



UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

Oiling the Wheels of Conflict?

Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points,
Ghana.

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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ABSTRACT

Natural resource, particularly oil, has been predicted to be a core factor of internal conflicts in the post-cold war era (Le Billon, 2001; Klare, 2001). This thesis explores the potential for conflict in new and emerging petro-states where recent oil discoveries have raised concerns about the risk of oil conflict occurring. The relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970) serves as the main theoretical point of discussion for this study.

Using a case study of Cape Three Points in Ghana, the study empirically examines how community level grievances, in terms of challenges and expectations connected with the discovery and production of oil, increase the potential for conflict in petro-states. Based on a mixed method research strategy, qualitative interviews and quantitative responses were analysed to shed light on local grievances, relative deprivation and the potential for conflict in Cape Three Points.

The study finds that the prevalence of unfulfilled expectations and rise in oil-related challenges has resulted in community level grievances in Cape Three Points. Consequently, local grievances have generated a feeling of relative deprivation among community members, when compared to other oil-bearing coastal communities, the government and the oil companies. However, the study suggest that the high level of frustration that has resulted from the feeling of relative deprivation has not directly translated into aggressive, violent conflict, although the potential remains high. Rather, a contrasting opinion on the use of aggression/violence to address grievances and relative deprivation exists among community members. Age, gender and collective attitude accounts for the contrasting opinion. On the basis of the analysis, the study concludes that from a relative deprivation perspective, conflict tendencies are evident in Cape Three Points, however, the onset of violent conflict seems unlikely, especially in the short term.

Keywords: Natural Resource, Conflict, Relative deprivation.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my parent; Mr. Ebenezer Wuadom Warden and Mrs. Theresa Timbilla Warden. For all your efforts to make me who I am today, I will keep making you proud. Thank you

DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

I, Edwin Wuadom Warden, confirm that this work

‘Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana’.

has not been previously submitted, either in whole or in part for a degree at this University or any other institution of higher learning. To the best of my knowledge the thesis is original and contains no materials previously published or written by any other persons except as acknowledged in the text and reference list.

.....

Kristiansand, 15 December, 2015.

Edwin Wuadom Warden

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE.....	iv
1. CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Statement of problem.....	2
1.3. Objective of the study.....	3
1.4. Research questions.....	3
1.4.1. Main question.....	3
1.4.2. Sub-questions.....	3
1.5. Significance of the study.....	3
1.6. Overview of the study area.....	4
1.6.1. Geographical characteristics.....	5
1.6.2. Economic activities of residents.....	6
1.7. Overview of Ghana's oil sector.....	7
1.7.1. History of oil exploration in Ghana.....	7
1.7.2. The Jubilee Field.....	7
1.7.3. Legal Framework for Oil and Gas Exploration in Ghana.....	9
1.7.4. Local Content and Local Participation in Petroleum Activities (Local Content Policy).....	10
1.7.5. The Role of Civil Society in Ghana's oil sector; Friends of the Nation (FON) Ghana.....	12
1.8. Clarification of concepts.....	12
1.8.1. Conflict.....	12
1.8.2. Petro-state.....	13

1.8.3. Grievance	13
1.9. Thesis organization	14
2. CHAPTER TWO	15
2.1. Literature review and theoretical framework	15
2.2. Natural resources, conflict and development	15
2.3. Connecting the strings; natural resources and conflict nexus	15
2.4. Explaining the natural resource-conflict nexus; factors accountable for conflicts	16
2.4.1. Grievance as a conflict driver	16
2.4.2. Greed as a conflict driver	17
2.5. Oil and conflict in African petro-states; lessons from the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria	18
2.5.1. A case of oil conflict in the Niger Delta Region	19
2.5.2. Specific challenges and grievances in Niger Delta Region	20
2.5.3. From grievances to violent conflict	21
2.6. Saving Ghana from its oil	22
2.6.1. Preventing the oil “resource curse” in Ghana	23
2.6.2. Can Ghana be different? Making a case for optimism	24
2.6.3. Managing expectations in oil bearing communities	25
2.7. Theoretical framework	26
2.7.1. Rethinking conflict: beyond greed and grievance - a synergy?	27
3. CHAPTER THREE	29
3.1. Introduction	29
3.2. Philosophical Foundation of the study	29
3.3. Research Strategy: Mixed Method	30
3.4. Research Design: Case study	31
3.5. Sampling	32
3.5.1. Sampling Technique	32

3.5.2. Sample Size.....	33
3.6. Data collection.....	34
3.6.1. Qualitative Method of Data Collection	34
3.6.2. Quantitative Method of Data Collection	36
3.7. Data Analysis.....	37
3.7.1. Qualitative data analysis.....	37
3.7.2. Quantitative data analysis	38
3.8. Ethical Consideration	38
3.9. Research quality, validity and reliability	39
3.9.1. Limitations of the study and experiences from the fieldwork	39
3.10.....	C
Conclusion	41
4. CHAPTER FOUR.....	42
4.1. Data presentation and analysis of main findings	42
4.2. Demographic characteristics of respondents	43
4.2.1. Gender	43
4.2.2. Age	44
4.2.3. Level of education.....	45
4.2.4. Occupation of respondents.....	46
4.2.5. Demography and the potential of an oil conflict.....	47
4.3. Assessing the grievance: expectations and challenges in Cape Three Points	48
4.3.1. Main expectations of local people in Cape Three Points.....	48
4.3.2. Main challenges of local people in Cape Three Points	56
4.3.3. A highlight of other oil related challenges not present in Cape Three Points.....	63
4.4. Applying the relative deprivation theory in the case of Cape Three Points	64
4.4.1. To what extent do the people of Cape Three Points feel relatively deprived?	64
4.4.2. To what extent are the local people of Cape Three Points frustrated?.....	66

4.4.3. Assessing the level of aggression in Cape Three Points	69
4.5. Linking grievances, relative deprivation and potential conflict.	76
4.6. Summary	78
5. CHAPTER FIVE	79
5.1. Conclusion and implications of the study.....	79
5.2. Summary of major findings	79
5.2.1. What are the main expectations of the local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?	80
5.2.2. What are the main existing and emerging challenges in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?	81
5.2.3. To what extent is the relative deprivation theory useful in assessing the potential for an oil conflict in Cape Three Points?	82
5.3. Implications of the study findings	83
5.3.1. Managing community level grievances.....	83
5.3.2. Addressing community challenges	85
5.3.3. The need to resolve emerging tensions	86
5.4. Limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies	86
6. REFERENCES	88

List of Tables

Table 1. Main respondents and the method of data collection	33
Table 2. Gender distribution of respondents.....	43
Table 3. Do you face any challenges with the oil production close to Cape Three Points?	56

List of Figures

Figure 1. The location of Cape Three Point and the Jubilee Field	5
Figure 2. Location of Cape Three Points and other oil-bearing communities.....	6
Figure 3. Projected government revenue from oil	8
Figure 4. Policy objectives of the 2013 (Local Content Policy) Regulation.	11
Figure 5. Field experience; low interest of respondents	41
Figure 6. Age group of respondent	44
Figure 7. Level of education of respondents.....	45
Figure 8. Main Occupation of respondents.....	46
Figure 9. Expectation after oil discovery in Ghana	49
Figure 10. Most important (initial) expectations of respondents.....	49
Figure 11. Initial and current expectations	52
Figure 12. Expectations connected to election promises	54
Figure 13. Most important challenges of local people in Cape Three Points	57
Figure 14. The remains of Sargassum on the beaches of Cape Three Points	59
Figure 15. Dead whale near Cape Three Points.....	60
Figure 16. Fishermen fishing close to the offshore oilrig.....	61
Figure 17. Who the respondents think is benefitting/ has benefited from oil revenue	64
Figure 18. The only pipe-borne water pump in Cape Three Points.....	65
Figure 19. Current level of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Points	67
Figure 20. How do you seek to address your grievances and frustrations?.....	69
Figure 21. Do you think violence is or would be an option to address your grievances and frustrations?.....	70
Figure 22. A cross tabulation of age group of respondents and respondents opinions on violence as an option to address grievances and frustrations	70
Figure 23. A cross tabulation of gender of respondents and respondents opinions on violence as an option to address grievances and frustrations	72

List of Appendices

Appendix 1. Questionnaire: Members of the local community of Cape Three Points

Appendix 2. Semi-structured interview: Traditional chief of Cape Three Points

Appendix 3. Focus Group Discussion Interview Guide: Youth and Fishermen

Appendix 4. Semi-structured interview: Security expert

Appendix 5. Semi-structured interview Community liaison officer, Tullow oil.

Abbreviations

CTP	Cape Three Points
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GNPC	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
GPC	Ghana Petroleum Commission
KA IPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre
ABFA	Annual Budget Financing Amount
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute
CNN	Cable news network
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CEMAG	Community Environmental Monitoring and Advocacy Group ()
CRC	Coastal Resource Centre
DFA	Deprivation, Frustration Aggression
EPA	Environmental protection Agency
E& P Forum/UNEP	Exploration and Production Forum/ United Nations Environmental Programme
FON	Friends of the Nation
FPSO	Floating Production, Storage and Offloading
GOG	Government of Ghana
GNYP	Ghana National Youth Policy
IFC	International Financial Corporation

LI	Legislative Instrument
MOE	Ministry of Energy
MOSOP	Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People
MEND	Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta
MPA	Model Petroleum Agreement
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NOC	National Oil Company
GMA	Ghana Maritime Authority
GPI	Global Peace index
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
OFU	Oil for Development
PC	Petroleum Commission
PIAC	Public Interest and Accountability Committee
PRMA	Petroleum Revenue management Act
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council Law, PNDCL
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. CHAPTER ONE

1.1. Introduction

As the global interest in natural resources continue to grow, the interconnection between natural resources and conflict have been identified as a key security threat of the 21st century (Roll and Sperling, 2011; Garrett and Piccinni, 2012). Subsequently, the nexus between natural resource, conflict and development has been evidently established. On the one hand, resources such as land, water and oil have provided basic human needs, reduced poverty, secured human survival and economic growth and propelled societies to higher levels of development (McPhail, 2000; McNeish, 2010). On the other hand, these same resources have been objects of unending wars within and between states, affecting peace and stability and consequently, retarding growth and development.

With the dawn of the post-cold war era, it has been predicted that natural resource, specifically oil, will remain at the heart of wars and civil strife (Le Billon, 2001; Klare, 2001). Experiences from petro-states¹ present robust evidence of the link between oil and conflict, though there is a lack of consensus among researchers on the causal factors explaining the oil-conflict nexus². With new oil discoveries along the Gulf of Guinea and other parts of Africa, researchers, policy makers and governments of new and emerging petro-states have become increasingly concerned about understanding the causal factors of resource conflict in an attempt to address potential natural resource conflicts³. It is with this debate and the researcher's interest in natural resource conflicts in Africa that this study is conducted. The purpose of the study is to identify the main expectations and challenges associated with the discovery and production of oil in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially translate into natural resource conflict. To do this, the relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970) is adopted as a foundation for discussion.

¹ Petro states refers to oil producing countries, such as Nigeria, Sudan and Angola. See section 1.8 for further clarification.

² Whilst some researchers focus on the socio-political grievances that compel individuals to mobilise and rebel (Gurr, 1970), others have focused on economic incentives and motivations of conflict (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004).

³ It is worthy to note that natural resource conflict constitute one feature of the broader discourse on natural 'resource curse' linking abundance of resources to lower economic growth, weak state, corruption among others (Auty, 1993). Today, natural resource conflict is regarded one of the most precarious features of the infamous resource curse syndrome that bedevil many states

1.2. Statement of problem

Ghana discovered oil in commercial quantities on the west coastal belt in 2007 and begun official drilling in 2010 (GNPC, 2014). Since then, expectations of the potential impact of the oil revenue on the national economy and the citizens has grown significantly. Despite the high hopes, citizens have expressed much dissatisfaction and disappointment about emerging issues of challenges and unfulfilled expectations (Colombant, 2011, Osei Tutu, 2012, Obeng-Odoom, 2010). This is particularly so for the people in the Western Region, the hub of Ghana's oil operations. In 2010, chiefs from the Western Region presented a petition to parliament to demand that 10% of oil reserves are allocated to the region for development (Gadugah, 2010). The rationale behind the petition was presented by a Traditional chief from Western Region who lamented that "when they share the cake up there, they leave out the Western Region. This time, if there is oil and gas in the region we should benefit more than everybody else" (BBC, 2011). Though expectations of these 'stakeholders' have been criticised for often being "unrealistic, grossly exaggerated and unfounded" (Edjekumhene et al, 2010, p.1), it has been argued that the chiefs' demands did not only highlight the expectations and desperations of the local people, but also the "ethnic and regional conflict that could emerge" (Kpodo, 2010).

Yet, research shows that these expectations and other grievances over natural resource exploitation when unmet can potentially lead to major source of socio-political conflict (Gurr, 1970). In this way, natural resources may generate conflicts and stifle development. In other African countries such as Nigeria, Angola and Sudan, the discovery and exploration of oil generated and heightened community grievances that resulted in years of conflicts and civil strife. Though different reasons have accounted for oil conflicts in different parts of Africa, these reasons need to be examined and understood in relation to contextual circumstances in new and emerging petro-states. The main preoccupation of the study therefore is to focus on the existing expectations and emerging challenges of local people in oil-bearing communities and how the relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970) can assist in understanding the potential of an oil conflict.

1.3. Objective of the study

The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict⁴. The specific objectives are in two folds. First, I seek to identify and understand the main grievances among the local people of oil-bearing communities. Secondly, I intend to examine the extent to which the relative deprivation theory can assist in understanding the risk/potential of oil conflict.

1.4. Research questions

1.4.1. Main question

- What are the main grievances of the local people in oil-bearing communities and how can such grievances potentially lead to oil conflict?⁵

1.4.2. Sub-questions

To answer the overarching research question, the study will particular seek to answer the following questions;

- What are the main expectations of the local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?
- What are the main challenges in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?
- To what extent is the relative deprivation theory useful in assessing the potential for an oil conflict in Cape Three Points?

1.5. Significance of the study

Given that there is the awareness that natural resource conflict presents a key security risk for the 21st century, an attempt to identify and understand the causal factors of natural resource conflict is significant in devising mitigation strategies, in order to sustain growth and promote development. Thus, the study is relevant to the field of development since it focuses on

⁴ The kind of conflict that is being referred to in this study is not one dimensional. Community level grievances could erupt low intensity conflicts between two or more ethnic/tribal groups in oil-bearing communities over competition for resource control, revenue or development; between oil-bearing communities and oil company or/and government as well as other unforeseen potential actors.

⁵ The community of Cape Three Points (CTP) in Western Region was used a case study to answer the research question.

natural resource and conflict. The focus on oil conflict is significant globally and particularly urgent for the African continent as many African countries have recently discovered oil in commercial quantities (E.g. Uganda, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania and Cameroun). The findings of this study can be useful in comparative and contextual analysis in these new and emerging petro-states.

In Ghana, the literature on the oil and gas sector is still evolving. So far, most studies on Ghana's oil sector have focused on the impact of oil production on different sectors of the economy and governance. Also, much attention has been paid to whether Ghana can avoid the overall resource curse. Little attention has been paid particularly to understanding the potential of conflict. Considering the emerging grievances, it has become necessary to unravel the theoretical and empirical relationship between oil and conflict and to assess them in contextual circumstances, which remains the focus of this study. The findings will not only add up to the growing body of knowledge in the field but will help fill the literature gap on the conflict aspect of Ghana's oil debate. The study will be instrumental for policy makers in devising policies necessary to curtail potential causes of an oil conflict. Though Cape Three Points is used as the case study, the findings can be very useful for other oil-bearing communities along the coast of Ghana.

1.6. Overview of the study area

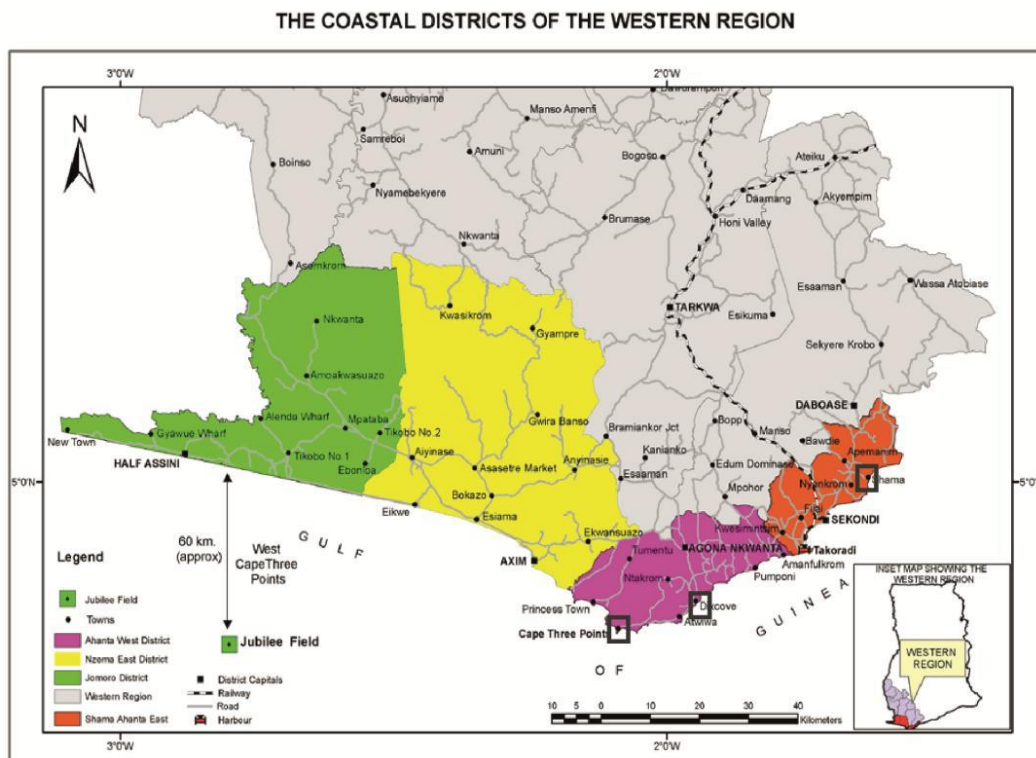
The study is conducted in a small fishing community known as Cape Three Points (CTP) in the Western Region of Ghana. In coastal communities like Cape Three Points, fishing remains the dominant source of livelihood. Offshore competition between oil operations and fishing activities, onshore pollution perceived to be caused by oil operations as well as the transformation, such as infrastructural changes, from oil activities affect the local people of these coastal communities more than anyone else. Specifically, Cape Three Points was the first and most popular community to be associated with the discovery of oil in Ghana due to its proximity to the first major oil find in Ghana, the Jubilee Field. As discussed later in chapter four, the local people therefore feel a sense of ownership over the oil and its revenue. After five years of oil exploitation and revenue generation from oil resource, there are less concrete improvement in the lives of people, leaving these coastal dwellers disappointed. These reasons, among others, make Cape Three Points an appropriate area for a case study.

1.6.1. Geographical characteristics

Cape Three Points is a small fishing community located in the Western Region of Ghana. As shown in figure 1, it is located at the southernmost tip of Ghana and has been called the “land nearest nowhere,” because it is the landmass closest to longitude 0 degree (the Greenwich Meridian) and latitude 0 degree (the Equator) (Ghanawestcoast, 2010). Locally known as “Atinkyin”, Cape Three Points is surrounded by other rural fishing communities along the west coast of Ghana that have gained significance in national and international discussions due to the discovery and production of petroleum resources. These towns include Dixcove, Agona-Nkwanta, Princess Town, Busua among others. For administrative governance purposes, these communities are all part of the Ahanta West District in the Western Region of Ghana.

Cape Three Points is surrounded by coastal rainforest reserve, hills and rubber and palm-oil plantations. Other key geographical features in the area includes bays, capes and beaches. The coastline of Cape Three Points is also home to some dolphins and whales who move through the waters of the Gulf of Guinea off Ghana’s coast (Escapethreepoints, 2015). Figures 1 and 2 shows the location of Cape Three Points, the Jubilee Field and other oil-bearing communities.

Figure 1. The location of Cape Three Point and the Jubilee Field



(Agbefu, 2010)

Figure 2. Location of Cape Three Points and other oil-bearing communities



(Ghanawestcoast, 2015)

In terms of population size, Cape Three Points is approximately populated by some 900 inhabitants comprised of 200 and 430 adult males and females respectively (CRC, 2012). Migration is a common phenomenon in the area as people migrate internally to other surrounding communities (Dixcove, Agona) or neighbouring countries (Cote d'Ivoire) in search of seasonal job opportunities (King, 2010, p. 14). This makes the population count unstable throughout the year.

1.6.2. Economic activities of residents

Like other coastal areas in Ghana, fishing remains the dominant economic activity in Cape Three Points. Whilst most are directly involved as fishermen, other are indirectly employed in the fishing industry as fishmongers and net menders. Some fisher folks are also engage in supplementary occupations to sustain their families since fishing is not very lucrative all year round. Aside fishing, farming is the most important occupation in Cape Three Points. Most farmers in Cape Three Points grow cassava, maize, palm tree and vegetables. Other minority occupations include masons, tourist guides, carpenters and drivers. Most women usually engage in petty trading, thus, selling basic household necessities such as food, soap and stationery. Tourism is another economic sector in the area. Apart from the nice beaches and coastline surfing, there is a lighthouse which was built in 1925 and is currently a primary tourist attraction. A couple of guest houses for tourists have sprung up that employ some of the youth in and around Cape Three Points. Those in the tourism industry work as tour guards, cooks, customer service personnel and guest house assistants.

1.7. Overview of Ghana's oil sector

1.7.1. History of oil exploration in Ghana

Ghana officially joined the ranks of oil producing countries in 2007 when oil was discovered in commercial quantities west of Cape Three Points in the Western Region of Ghana (GNPC, 2012). Though oil was discovered in commercial quantities in 2007, a historical account of the country's effort towards oil and gas exploration dates back to the 19th century, specifically in 1890 (Edjekumhene et al, 2010; Boateng, 2008). According to the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (2015), exploration for hydrocarbons in Ghana started in the 19th century when oil seepages were sited onshore in the Western Region. Since then, four prominent phases of oil exploration have been acknowledged.

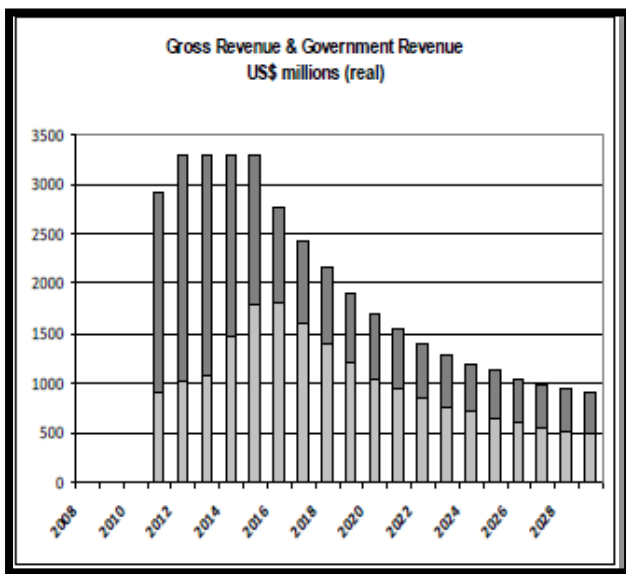
The initial phase commenced from 1896-1969 when initial efforts were made to explore onshore oil and gas in the Tano area within the Western Region. Five wells were drilled without adequate geological understanding, no seismic data and had little documentation (Boateng, 2008). The second phase of exploration (1970-1984) saw some improvement, most evident with the move towards offshore drilling. Many of the wells drilled around this phase showed improved and encouraging oil and gas discoveries. By 1984, the then government institutionalised oil operations by establishing a statutory and legal framework to guide and accelerate petroleum exploration and production in Ghana (GNPC, 2015). The Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) was established. The inception of GNPC in 1984 characterised the third phase (1985 – 2000) of oil exploration in Ghana. This period saw improved governance of exploratory activities plus a boost in technological operation. However, most of the early exploration yielded minimal commercial discoveries, nevertheless, these phases did set the tone for the grand discovery that came later. During the fourth phase since 2001, GNPC has been restructured and resourced to focus more on its core function of collaborating and facilitating the search for commercial quantities of hydrocarbon deposits. Thus, giant strides have been made that led to the discovery of commercial quantities of oil and gas off the west coast of Cape Three Points in 2007.

1.7.2. The Jubilee Field

Ghana celebrated its 50th anniversary of independence in 2007, the same year commercial quantities of oil and gas were discovered offshore around Cape Three Points. Hence the oil fields have been named "Jubilee Field". After many years of petroleum exploration, the discovery of the Jubilee field remains the most successful find in Ghana exploration history.

The Jubilee Field holds recoverable reserves of 460 million barrels of oil (mmbo) and 568 billion cubic feet (bcf) of gas as at 31st December, 2014 (PIAC, 2014). Estimates by the World Bank indicates that Ghana is expected to earn an average of US\$ 1.5 billion from 2013 to 2030 in revenue from the Jubilee field, as shown in figure 3⁶ (World Bank, 2009). So far, the total revenue that has accrued to the Government of Ghana (GOG) since the first oil production in 2010 is US\$ 2.811 billion as at the end of 2014 (PIAC, 2014, p. 33).

Figure 3. Projected government revenue from oil



(World Bank, 2009, p. 1)

By percentage composition of the Jubilee fields, the following companies have a share of the oil revenue; Tullow Oil & Gas (Operator) 34.705%, Kosmos Energy (technical operator for development) 23.491 %, Anadarko Petroleum Corporation 23.491 %, Ghana National Petroleum Corporation 13.75%, Sabre Oil & Gas 2.813 % and EO Group 1.75% (Kastning, 2014, p. 8).

The government share of the revenue 13.75% is deposited in a petroleum holding fund which is the primary account created “to receive and disburse petroleum revenue due the republic” (PRMA, 2011, p. 5). This fund disburses monies to the two other funds; Ghana Heritage

⁶ From the figure 3, it is evident that this study was conducted at the period when oil revenue is expected to be at its peak.

Fund and Ghana Stabilisation Fund⁷. The rest of the fund is directed towards the Annual Budget Financing Amount (ABFA) which is the amount of petroleum revenue allocated for spending in the budget in a financial year (PIAC, 2014). It must be noted that, though the Jubilee field is currently the main oil field, there are ongoing developments on other oil fields (example Saltpond Field) that provide additional revenue to the Government in Ghana.

1.7.3. Legal Framework for Oil and Gas Exploration in Ghana

As stated above, the first legal instrument applied in the petroleum industry was in 1984 which led to the establishment of the GNPC. Since then, many developments have been made. Below is a recap of the relevant legal framework applicable to the oil and gas sector in Ghana.

The Constitution of Ghana 1992 represents the overarching framework from which all other laws exist. The constitution addresses certain issues with regards to natural resources production. The issue of ownership as stipulated in the constitution will be highlighted for further discussions. The Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC) Law (Provisional National Defence Council Law, PNDCL 64) of 1983 established the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation as the statutory institution responsible for both the commercial operations as well as the regulator of the commercial activities of the oil and gas sector. The Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Law 1984, (PNDCL 84) established the legal and fiscal framework for the petroleum exploration and production activities in Ghana. The Petroleum Commission Act, 2011, Act 821 established a new Petroleum Commission (PC) as a regulator of the oil and gas sector and a manager of utilization of petroleum resources. This means that, the GNPC, which under the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation Act (Act 64 of 1983) played a dual role of a regulator and commercial partner in the oil sector now only focuses on the commercial exploration, development and production. The Petroleum Income Tax Law, 1987, PNDCL 188 sets out the framework for direct taxation of companies in the oil and gas sector. The Environmental Protection Agency Act, Act 490 of 1994 established the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) as the principal institution for environmental protection in Ghana. The EPA's policy direction is further articulated by the Environmental Assessment Regulations of 1999 (LI 1652). The Petroleum Revenue Management Act 2011,

⁷ The Ghana Heritage Fund is an intergenerational support fund whilst the Ghana Stabilisation Fund is meant to cushion the country's public expenditure during financial shortfall. The Oil for Development Programme (OfU) by the Norwegian government has been instrumental in developing the financial management of Ghana's oil proceeds (NORAD, 2013)

Act 815 provides the framework for the collection, allocation and management of petroleum revenue in a responsible, accountable and sustainable manner for the benefit of the country. It also establishes the Petroleum Reserves Accounts: Ghana Petroleum Account, the Ghana Heritage Fund and the Ghana Stabilisation Fund. Finally, the Model Petroleum Agreements (MPAs) governs how the government of Ghana, the GNPC and other national institutions will cooperate with other private companies over issues related to oil and gas.

There are other international regulations that affect Ghana's oil and gas sector. However, internally, the Ghanaian model for administering the offshore petroleum sector relies mainly on five governmental bodies. They include the Ministry of Energy (MoE) which sets out energy policy; the National Oil Company (NOC), the Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC), which engages in commercial operations; the Ghana Maritime Authority (GMA) which provides maritime oversight and regulation; and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the country's environmental regulator (Osei Bonsu, 2011).

1.7.4. Local Content and Local Participation in Petroleum Activities

(Local Content Policy)

Because significant revenues were expected from the Jubilee Field before oil production began, citizens and policy makers feared that the expected revenue will have little impact without the participation of Ghanaians in the oil and gas sector. Thus, numerous calls were made for Ghana to develop a strategy that will effectively engage citizens in the oil and gas sector.

On 3rd March 2011, the Government of Ghana, after extensive stakeholder consultations, developed the Local Content and Local Participation in Petroleum Activities Policy ("Local Content Policy"). The Local Content Policy outlines strategies which aim at enhancing national development, creating jobs and effectively managing the potential revenue from oil and gas production (Adabla, 2014). Two years later, the Petroleum Regulation (Local Content and Local Participation), 2013 (L.I. 2204) ("2013 Regulation") was enacted "to compel contractors, subcontractors, licensees and other related entities in the petroleum industry to engage Ghanaian citizens and create equal opportunities for indigenous Ghanaian companies to ensure the development of local capacity, the promotion of value addition through the use of local expertise and Ghanaian goods and services, and the increase in the competitiveness of domestic businesses in the oil and gas industry" (Adabla, 2014, p.2). The vision is to, among other things, ensure "full local participation in all aspects of the oil and

gas value chain of at least 90% by 2020" (MOE, 2010, p.4). Figure 4 outlines the policy objectives of the local content policy regulation.

Figure 4. Policy objectives of the 2013 (Local Content Policy) Regulation.

LOCAL CONTENT POLICY

Policy objectives of the 2013 Regulation

Regulation 1 of the 2013 Regulation stipulates the key policy objectives to be attained under the Local Content. These include:

- The maximisation of value-addition and job creation through the use of local expertise, local goods and services, local businesses and local financing in the petroleum industry;
- Local capacity development through education, skills transfer, expertise development and the transfer of technology
- Increasing the capability and international competitiveness of domestic businesses;
- The creation of petroleum and related supportive industries;
- Maintaining a degree of control for Ghanaians over development initiatives for local stakeholders; and
- Providing for robust and transparent monitoring and reporting systems to ensure the delivery of local content policy

Source: Ministry of Energy, Ghana (2010)

Generally, the policy is touted as one of the best and positive steps an African nation has taken to ensure the benefit of natural resource to the citizens (Kweku Baako, 2014). This is true on paper but not so in practice. Though the policy has taken effect, little can be seen as a direct benefit to the local people within the oil-bearing communities after 4-5 years of accrued government revenue. Findings from the study indicates that local people have not benefited from the policy, for several reasons as discussed in the fourth chapter of the study. Though it looks overambitious today, the effective implementation of the policy at both national and local levels remains critical to the maintenance of peace and stability between oil communities, oil companies, the government and the country as a whole.

1.7.5. The Role of Civil Society in Ghana's oil sector; Friends of the Nation (FON) Ghana.

The role of effective management of the oil and gas sector has not been limited to the government domain. Numerous civil society organisations in Ghana have been actively involved in various aspects of the management of the oil resources. With regards to Cape Three Points and for that matter, the Western Region, one of the most influential and notable organization is the Friends of the Nation (FON), Ghana.

FON has been a major mouthpiece of the people of Western Region especially on issues of natural resource governance and community development. With regards to the oil and gas sector, FON works to promote transparency, accountability and environmental sustainability in the exploitation of petroleum resources. Their aim is to empower civil society to engage with government to collectively address the critical challenges of the sector and also facilitate participatory policy formulation and implementation (FON, 2015). The organisation has, in collaboration with other civil society organizations and government bodies, organized a number of stakeholder conferences, community development and education programs, research and evidence gathering, information sharing and capacity development. In 2009, FON facilitated the formation of Community Environmental Monitoring and Advocacy Group (CEMAG) in the six coastal districts of the Western Region to serve as a platform for locals to bring forth the challenges concerning oil exploration (FON, 2015). The idea is to improve citizenry participation in petroleum governance. The organisation has also successfully conducted and published extensive research reports on the socioeconomic and environmental impact of oil exploration along the coastal areas.

1.8. Clarification of concepts

For better understanding, certain concepts and terminologies used must be clarified. In the context of this study, the following concepts will be defined as follows.

1.8.1. Conflict

Conflict is defined differently by different researchers and institutions. For example, Dokken (2008, p. 3) defines conflict as “an interaction between interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and who expect interference from the other party if they attempt to achieve their goal”. The Uppsala Conflict Data Programme adopts a state-based definition of conflict as a “contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the

use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year” (UCDP, 2015).. From this definition, when a conflict that involves the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year, it is described as armed conflict” (UCDP, 2015). Considering the different definitions and forms of conflict used in peace and conflict discourse, the use of the term conflict in this study will refer to the various levels and forms of conflict that could potentially ensue between oil-bearing communities, government, oil producing companies and other stakeholders. This may include; latent conflict, exemplified by initial disagreements and non-physical, dormant tensions, and manifest conflict, exemplified by protest, confrontation, low intensity armed conflict. The latter is of more importance to the analysis in this study.

1.8.2. Petro-state

The term is mostly used to refer to countries that rely heavily on petroleum revenue (Goldman, 2008). In this study, it is used in a rather loose form to represent oil producing and exporting countries. This implies that, new and emerging petro-states, as used in the study refers to countries that have recently discovered oil reserves in commercial quantities. Examples of such countries are Ghana, Uganda, Liberia, Kenya, Tanzania and Cameroun.

1.8.3. Grievance

Grievance can be defined “as a concern or complaint raised by an individual or a group within communities affected by company operations” (IFC, 2009, p. 4). In the context of this study, the concept of grievance will refer to two main variables; challenges and expectations. The former represents the challenges faced by oil-bearing communities as a result of the discovery and production of oil while the later represent the unfulfilled expectations of local people concerning the discovery and production of oil. Together, the two variables representing grievance will assist in understanding the level of frustration among local people and the perceived means of addressing such grievances, including the possible use of aggression. It is important to note that, grievances may arise from either real or perceived impacts of a company’s operations. However in reality, whether grievances are real or perceived, they usually have the same impact on communities that is affected.

1.9. Thesis organization

The entire research consists of five chapters. Chapter one comprises the introduction to the study, the research objectives and research questions and an overview of the study area as well as other relevant debates on the prospects and challenges of oil production in Ghana. The second chapter reviews and analyses the major literature in the field of natural resource conflict and development relevant to this study. It examines the natural resource-conflict nexus in relation to greed and grievance debate before discussing more specific issues about oil in Nigeria and Ghana. The theoretical framework for this study is discussed at the end of this chapter. Chapter three embodies the methodology and discusses the corresponding rationale, advantages and disadvantages of each. It ends with some practical experience from the fieldwork as well as the ethical considerations of the study. Chapter four embodies the presentation, discussion and analysis of the field data. The final chapter summarises the findings and discusses further policy implications of the findings.

2. CHAPTER TWO

2.1. Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter presents a review of existing literature in the field of natural resource and conflict, as well as contemporary articles on Ghana's oil sector that are of particular relevance to the study. I start by looking at the broader picture; natural resource, conflict and development nexus before discussing mainstream debates; the greed-grievance dichotomy as causes of natural resource conflict. Then I narrow down to literature on the grievance-based causes of oil conflicts in other African petro-states using Nigeria as a case study. At the end of the literature review, I will discuss other relevant studies on the oil sector in Ghana before finally defining and explaining the theoretical framework forming the basis of the study.

2.2. Natural resources, conflict and development

Natural resources have an ambivalent character on development. On the one hand, prior to the 1980s, natural resources have been known by conventional wisdom to propel countries to high levels of development. The idea has been that because exploitation of natural resources generate sizeable revenues, increase employment opportunities and provide social infrastructure to isolated rural areas in which they are typically located, natural resources have the "potential to stimulate economic growth, reduce poverty and raise living standards" (McPhail, 2000:1). On the other hand, natural resources have directly or indirectly fuelled conflict and other forms of violence in countries especially in the post-cold war era (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Le Billon, 2001). In these cases, the curse of natural resource affect countries in terms of worsening economic conditions which aggravate collective grievances and contribute to a breakdown of state-society relations. As a consequence, the resource curse syndrome has fuelled conflicts of varying intensities in different resource rich countries (Auty, 1993). The interconnection between natural resources and conflict is not straightforward. Whilst the abundance of some resources increases the likelihood of conflicts (diamonds), the scarcity of others (water) have conflict tendencies (CMI, 2013). Ultimately, different natural resources, different contextual situations and different time periods present different opportunities and challenges towards global and national development.

2.3. Connecting the strings; natural resources and conflict nexus

Numerous studies have found a connection between natural resources and conflict. One of the initial studies linking natural resources to conflict was by Collier and Hoeffler (1998 and later

2004). After examining the experiences of 98 countries and 27 civil wars from 1960-1992, they concluded that natural resource abundance, in terms of primary commodity, has a significant influence on the onset of civil war. Other researchers have suggested similar connections, however, oil proves to be arguably the most conflict-prone natural resource (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004; Ross, 2004; Fearon and Laitin, 2003; Le Billon, 2001). For instance, Fearon and Laitin (2003, p. 85-86) find only oil, not other resources, has a significant relationship with conflict. Similarly, Collier and Hoeffler (2004, p.580) find that oil is particularly responsible for conflict as “high levels of oil dependence are even more likely to be associated with conflict than similarly high levels of dependence upon other commodity exports”. Thus, Ross (2012, p. 1) posits that the resource curse is overwhelmingly an oil curse. The oil-conflict link seems robust but quite complex in nature. A study by Humphreys (2005) agrees to the oil-conflict nexus but explains further that oil production, rather than oil reserve has the potential of increasing the likelihood of conflict. Others like Le Billon (2001) and Lujala (2010) argue that it is important to consider the location of production when examining the oil-conflict link (See below). Insights from the literature on the link between natural resources, particularly oil and conflict suggest that oil increases the likelihood of experiencing conflict. Having established the resource-conflict nexus, what reasons or causal factors and conditions makes natural resource conflicts possible. The next topic discusses the factors accountable for natural resource conflicts.

2.4. Explaining the natural resource-conflict nexus; factors accountable for conflicts

Explanations to the natural resource-conflict nexus have been diverse, however, two main narratives are predominant in conflict literature; greed and grievance.

2.4.1. Grievance as a conflict driver

The advocates of grievance as a conflict driver holds that conflicts are invariably connected to motive(s), be it religion, ethnicity, sociocultural issues or identity. The existence of weak institutions creates and/or perpetuates existing inequalities within society, thus increasing the perceived discrepancies amongst individuals and groups of that society. The consequence is a feeling of deprivation, marginalization, and dissatisfaction that becomes the primary motive for people to organize and rebel against existing systems. Gurr (1970) argues that conflict is caused by grievances that generate a sense of relative deprivation that groups have when they compare to other groups fighting for similar resources. Deprivation as a micro-foundation for

conflict, whether perceived or imagined, remains a predisposing factor to violence in a given society because it produces a frustration-aggression effect that potentially leads to conflicts. Empirical studies by Kirwin and Cho (2009) conducted in 17 African countries found among other factors that grievances, defined in groups' perception of how they are treated by the government, are strongly associated with political violence and higher levels of participation in demonstrations⁸. Applying this to resource conflicts, natural resource extraction may generate community-level grievances that potentially lead to larger violent conflicts;

Large scale extraction operations tend to spur expectations of substantial income increases, which often actually end up bypassing the local population. However, central governments often reap the largest benefits from extraction, while social and environmental costs tend to be borne by local communities residing in areas of extraction. In turn, the resulting horizontal inequalities – exacerbated by an expectations gap – breed grievances that, if left unaddressed, increase the risk of conflict.

(UN 2011, p. 15).

This narrative seems appropriate for the study since it reflects the emerging circumstances that surround the discovery and production of oil in Ghana.

2.4.2. Greed as a conflict driver

The proponents of greed as a conflict driver argue that grievances are always present, hence what really causes conflict is opportunity not motive. Collier and Hoeffler (2004, p. 588) contend that what actually influences the opportunity for rebellion is the availability of financing and since natural resources provide such finances, it makes rebellion feasible and attractive and thus increases conflict risk in resource rich countries. They conclude that, though grievances may add extra explanation power to the economic opportunities, such grievances may be disconnected from social concerns and are therefore not enough to explain the cause of conflict (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004. p. 589). Keen (1998) supports the idea of rebel financing by suggesting that with the end of the cold war, the main source of rebel financing have come from natural resources. In furtherance, Ross (2004) considers the role of the external actors. He contends that oil wealth may encourage foreign parties to start or support a civil war because mineral wealth increases the benefits of intervention or participation (Ross, 2004). Some researchers have suggested additional dimensions to oil

⁸ For other quantitative studies on grievances and conflict, see Ostby (2008).

conflict in relation to the greed narrative (Ross, 2004; Le Billon, 2001; Lujala, 2010). For example, Lujala (2010) argues that it is important to consider the location of production when examining the oil-conflict link. Offshore oil is significantly harder for rebels to access than onshore oil. He therefore finds onshore oil production to increase the likelihood of conflict, while offshore oil has no significant effect (Lujala, 2010).

This is a relevant point and can be applied to the case of Ghana when compared to Nigeria. Oil operations in Nigeria's Delta region are mostly onshore, thus increases the opportunity for rebels to intercept production and capture resources. Unlike Nigeria, Ghana's oil productions are mostly offshore. By implication, the chances of an oil conflict in Ghana are limited when one follows the greed narrative. This argument resonates with scholars such as Ross (2004) and Le Billon (2001) who have argued that 'unlootable' resources (resources located offshore and difficult to mine) and 'unobstructable' resources (whereby transportation cannot be easily blocked by a small number of individuals with relatively inexpensive weapons) present different opportunities for rebels, thus makes conflicts less likely to occur.

From the above, some researchers have focused on how natural resources fund rebellion, how resource rents serve as booty for rebel mobilization and other economically based incentives for conflict. Others have looked into genuine grievance, expectations and inequalities that influences individuals to mobilise and rebel. Both are legit and arguably combinable. However, the researcher is interested in the latter; what specific grievances, challenges and expectations, compel people to rebel and possibly start a conflict. For this study, the grievance narrative and the relative deprivation perspective seems appropriate for identifying and understanding local grievances in oil communities. This will be further explained under the theoretical framework. At this point, I discuss experiences from Nigeria and how specific grievances have fuelled conflict.

2.5. Oil and conflict in African petro-states; lessons from the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria

The reason for selecting Nigeria is that, as Africa's largest producer of oil and most ethnically diverse nation, Nigeria presents a complex case of oil conflict that provides lesson for other African petro-states. Underlying the complexities in the Nigerian case are certain key components; community level grievances and relative deprivation. The challenges and expectations of the local people in the Niger Delta area will be discussed in the light of

understanding oil conflict in Africa. The two statements below summarises the grievances and deprivations of the local people as well as the emergence of violent conflict.

The widespread perception of relative deprivation in the core Niger Delta states is driven by the considerable mismatch between the level of wealth extracted from the region and the benefits accruing to the region and its people.

(World Bank, 2008: 8–9)

In virtually every community, there have been occasions in which regular police, or the army, have beaten, detained, or even killed those in protests, peaceful or otherwise, or individuals who have called for compensation for oil damage, whether youths, women, children or traditional leaders.

(Human Rights Watch, 1999 Report on Oil Exploitation in Nigeria)

Nigeria is Africa's leading producer and exporter of oil. With an average production of approximately 2 million barrels per day, oil revenue account for more than 40% of GDP, 80% of the government's budgetary revenue and over 90% of exports (Obi and Rustad, 2011, p. 4). Oil resources were discovered in large commercial quantities at Oloribiri Community in 1956 but official exportation started two years later in 1958 (Obi and Rustad, 2011). The Niger Delta is the hub of oil production in Nigeria⁹. Despite the economic contributions from the area, it is disadvantaged in terms of infrastructural development and continuously suffers from environmental degradation due to oil activities. Since the late 1990s, the Niger Delta Region has been confronted by years of petro-violence, insurgencies and armed conflicts (Nwokolo, 2009; Obi and Rustad, 2011). These reasons make Nigeria an appropriate case for the oil-conflict nexus in Africa.

2.5.1. A case of oil conflict in the Niger Delta Region

The discovery and subsequent production of oil in the Niger Delta Region came with high expectations and challenges. Particularly in the oil communities of the Niger delta, challenges and hardships faced by the local people generated into genuine grievances and a feeling of relative deprivation over oil revenue and damages connected to oil production. The hopes for better conditions of living generated among the oil-bearing communities, high as they were, have been largely squandered and instead of oil serving as a blessing to Nigeria, the reverse

⁹ Approximately 90% of Nigeria foreign exchange earnings from oil comes from the Niger Delta Region alone (Nwokolo, 2009)

has so far been the case (Omotola, 2006.p.9). The challenges were such that local government areas without oil facilities fared better on poverty index than local government areas with oil village communities and oil facilities, “an indication of unequal distribution of oil revenues” (UNDP, 2006, p. 15).

2.5.2. Specific challenges and grievances in Niger Delta Region

Among the grievances (specific challenges and unfulfilled expectations) leading to public frustration, the most prevalent and most documented has been environmental degradation caused by oil production. In the words of Omotola (2006, p. 10), “the most devastating effects of oil exploitation on the Niger Delta are the increasing threats of environmental apocalypse in the area, which manifest in various forms”. Main environmental challenges have been oil spills and gas flaring. Available statistics indicates that “between 1976 and 1999, about 3,000 oil spill incidents were reported by the oil companies operating in Nigeria, translating into over 2 million barrels of oil spilled into the country’s terrestrial, coastal and offshore marine environment” (Omotola, 2006.p.10). The incessant oil spillages and consistency of gas flaring highly affected the social and physical environment and led to a decline in livelihood and deprived the local people of their main source of livelihood; farming and fishing (Eteng, 1997 cited in Nwokolo, 2009; Omotola, 2006). Whilst the cumulative effects of oil spills and gas flaring were devastating, complaints by locals yielded less response and minimal effort by both government and oil companies to deal with the problem. The situation generated and exacerbated widespread frustration among the local people, particularly, the youth.

Unemployment has also been identified as another major issue that contributed hugely to the conflict in the Niger Delta. Most oil companies do not hire their employees from the region, but from the non-oil producing region of Nigeria (Obi and Rustad, 2011, Bloomfield, 2008). This has created a huge number of unemployed and idle youth who felt relatively deprived of their own resource. Partly due to the destruction of farmland and rivers which affected traditional occupation and livelihood as noted above, unemployment among the youth continued for long time without sustainable effort to improve situation (Mbah, 2013; Nwokolo, 2013). When unemployed youths from oil-producing communities besieged oil companies in search of jobs, the companies began buying peace by paying the youth monthly allowances (Obi and Rustad, 2011, p. 25). This approach created more problems as it proved to be unsustainable in the long run. The hardship and disappointment that came with

unemployment translated into collective frustration that contributed to the conflict in the region.

Other grievances that came with the oil production were the unmet expectations of local people. While they expected that oil revenue will transform ill-equipped hospitals, schools without teachers and books, lack of good roads and lack of electricity in some communities, the revenues generated from the oil in the community was used to develop other regions (Turner and Brownhill, 2004, UNDP, 2006). Among the many expectations connected to the oil production in the area, the majority of people were hoping for an upsurge in infrastructure development in the area. However, Nwokolo (2009, p. 4) observes that there was neglect of the region through “lack of development of infrastructures by the Nigerian state and non-commitment to corporate social responsibility by oil multinational companies operating in the region”. Considering this, the people of the Niger delta area begun to feel relatively deprived and alienated from their own resource since they had not received a fair share of the revenue accrued from oil production in the area. Ikelebge (2005) indicates that decades of oil exploitation and state neglect have created an impoverished, marginalized and exploited citizenry which after more than two decades produced a resistance of which the youths have been vanguards.

2.5.3. From grievances to violent conflict

On the other side of the challenges was the possibility to redress grievances by government and oil companies. With growing sense of economic hardship, bitterness and political exclusion over years of oil production, the Ogoni, Ijaw and other people in the Niger Delta, who have been worse affected for decades begun trying to stand up for themselves, their environment and their basic human and economic rights. Public protest became the only viable means for the people to express their discontent and grievances (Mbah, 2013). These initial peaceful agitations, street protests and demonstrations, media and litigation that took place throughout the 70s, 80s and 90s proved futile as the government and oil companies seemed indifferent and failed to meet their demands (Omotola, 2006.p.8). Rather, cases of state repression and use of military force by some oil companies became the response to local protest (Obi and Rustad, 2011). This was captured in a 1999 Human Rights Watch report.

We found repeated incidents in which people were brutalized for attempting to raise grievances with the companies; in some cases security

forces threatened, beat, and jailed members of community delegations even before they presented their case...Many local people seemed to be the object of repression simply for putting forth an interpretation of a compensation agreement, or for seeking effective compensation for land ruined or livelihood lost. (Human Rights Watch, 1999, p. 1-2)

Following the execution of one of the early environmental activist - Ken-Saro-wiwa, who wanted to peacefully bring this imbalance of the use of revenues from oil resources to the attention of the government, there was a change of tactics as various militant groups began to emerge. Beginning from the 1990s, the struggle for environmental security and the development of the Niger Delta began to assume a frightening dimension as it was effectively radicalised. On this note, the emergence of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) signalled the beginning of full scale violence in the region. By the late 1990, decades of deprivation and lack of development transformed the situation from a stage of 'incipient conflict' to 'hard-line confrontation' and eventually into a 'low intensity war' (Reychler, 1999).

In conclusion, unattained expectations and challenges coupled with state neglect and under-development resulted in disappointment among a large number of local citizens in oil communities. Prolong disappointment created a feeling of deprivation and a marginalised, frustrated and aggressive citizenry. This was heightened by institutional failure and government repressive measures towards earlier peaceful protest. In the end, the failure of non-violent measures to yield the desired results resulted in the radicalisation of the struggle to redress local grievances through violent means. What is important to restate is that, though these conditions of grievances started after oil operation, it took over three decades before actual violent ensued. Clearly, oil discovery and its exploitation have played a crucial role in the conflict of the Niger delta region.

2.6. Saving Ghana from its oil

Generally, most of the literature on Ghana's oil industry have examined whether Ghana can avoid the resource curse that bedevil other African petro-states. It should be noted that, little has been written specifically on potential oil conflict, which remains the focus of the study.

2.6.1. Preventing the oil “resource curse” in Ghana

A study by Kuzu and Nantogmah (2010) looked into how the resource curse syndrome could be avoided in Ghana. In their paper, they analysed both institutional and policy framework in Ghana’s oil sector and the effective strategies that can prevent problems connected to oil discovery. They found that very good policies and legal instruments have been earmarked for implementation. However, as of 2010, none of the policies and/or legal instruments was in place (Kuzu and Nantogmah, 2010. p.8). The study identified income inequality, wide regional income disparity and unequal distribution of economic growth which they feared might get worse with the oil discovery and production. According to them, “where oil and gas is produced, inadequate national policies to streamline income and wealth distribution may result in huge disparities between incomes of persons working in the petroleum industry and those employed in other sectors” (Kuzu and Nantogmah, 2010.p.12). Even though the situation is different now after five years since the publication, the concern is still valid. Various policies such as local content policy and institutions such as Petroleum Commission have been put in place to promote effective management of oil revenues. However, communities and individuals still feel left out of the oil revenue. As noted by Osei-Tutu (2012) such inequality has been an issue in the resource rich Western Region for a long time and with oil production underway, such disparities may developed into stronger grievances craving for immediate redress. Kuzu and Nantogmah (2010, p. 8) therefore conclude with a hint of scepticism that, while Ghana may be doing everything to avoid the resource curse; it appears that the country is not learning the right lessons.

Similar scepticisms have been expressed by Obeng-Odoom (2010). In his article which delves into transparency in oil management, he looks at issues of land ownership and grabbing from local people, lack of compensation for local people and other local community grievances. Obeng-Odoom (2010, p. 112) argues that “there are weak regulations, little interest in making special arrangements for local communities, issues of ownership looms, the issue of land revenue management is unresolved and transnational oil companies are already scrambling for Ghana’s oil”. Consequently, transparency within the oil sector is not sufficient according to Obeng-Odoom (2010). On these bases, he concludes that it is hard to be optimistic about the effectiveness of Ghana to avert the resource curse or for oil communities to enjoy the benefit of the oil (Obeng-Odoom, 2010, p. 112).

Gyampo (2011) agree with the sceptic perspective of Ghana's inability to manage the oil discovery. In his study, Gyampo focuses on Ghana's exclusion of civil society from oil policy-making during the preparatory stage of production. He suggest that Ghana possesses an inadequate parliamentary system of governance and lacks transparency in creating regulatory framework for this sector (Gyampo, 2011. P.4). Thus, these arguments suggest that Ghana could fall into the 'oil curse,' based on the history of oil production in the continent, the inability to provide transparency in this industry, and the Ghanaian government not taking into account the concerns of its civil society who represent the challenges of the people (Gyampo, 2011 P. 4). Though some his arguments are debatable, an aspect of transparency that is most applicable to this study is the access to information at the community level. Most local people are unaware and less educated about the transcending issues in the oil and gas sector. The lack of access to information and adequate education on oil policies tend to influence the kind of expectations local people have.

2.6.2. Can Ghana be different? Making a case for optimism

When considering the negative impact oil has had on Nigeria, it is understandable why there are sceptical views on the effects that oil discovery might have in Ghana. Nevertheless, some have maintained that there is a fundamental difference between Ghana and other African petro-states, which could make a case for optimism to some extent.

A study by Amundsen (2013) claims that Ghana's governance indicators, legal framework and institutional framework for good enough to managing the oil sector. Many analysts have argued along this line that Ghana is in a stronger position to prevent the socio-economic and political plights many of its neighbours faced upon oil discovery.

According to Stephen Hayes, head of the Corporate Council on Africa, Ghana's government and society are relatively transparent compared to other countries dealing in oil, and hence a better opportunity to get it right. Moreover, Hayes highlights another key difference, noting that Ghana's economy is much more diversified than other oil-producing countries in Africa, as it earns billions from cocoa and gold. The oil revenues expected only represents 6 percent of their economy — compare that to Nigeria where oil revenue represents 92 percent of the economy or Angola where it's almost 100 percent. It indicates they won't be dependent on oil revenue... and are in a far better position to manage it more wisely.

(BBC, 2010, cited in Mitchell, 2010, p. 3).

Considering the statement above, statistically, one can argue that there is a cause for optimism, the Nigerian experience would not be replicated in Ghana since Ghana has relatively better governance institutions when compared with Nigeria and other African petro-states countries. Mitchell (2012) also agrees that Ghana's 'exceptionalism' in Africa makes it a strong candidate for successful resource management. Mitchell (2012) opines that though other African countries have been plagued by this menace, "Ghana's political stability, history of good governance and relatively strong institutions are signals that the country will effectively manage its new source of wealth" (p. 3). Ghana scores above the 50th percentile in the World Bank Institute's Worldwide Governance Indicator rankings based on rule of law, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, and voice and accountability. Also, on corruption, Ghana ranks 67 out of 180 countries in Transparency International's Global Corruption Report 2008 (Gary 2009, p. 7). Additionally, the economy is more diversified than other countries. Gold mining and cocoa products are major exports in Ghana. So there is some merit in the optimistic view that with less dependence on oil, conflict is less likely.

However, over-concentration on oil during the periods of oil production may affect other sectors if efforts are not made to keep the diverse production sectors active during and after oil production period¹⁰. Besides that, the level of transparency in Ghana is questionable when considering the high level of public corruption in the country. In short, using the most common political and economic measures, that is, peace and stability, democracy and governance, corruption, macroeconomic stability, Ghana seems to be highly successful, relative to other developing countries (Moss and Young, 2009). But, there are cautions-natural resources and oil in particular, have been closely associated with deterioration in many of these very same areas that could save Ghana from an oil conflict (Moss and Young, 2009). Oil may generate grievances and frustrations among citizens which could escalate with time and affect the peace and stability of the country.

2.6.3. Managing expectations in oil bearing communities.

One of the few studies particularly on expectations and the risk of conflict in Ghana has been discussed by a researcher at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC), Joana Osei-Tutu (2012). In her study, Osei-Tutu (2012) discusses the impact of oil discovery and production on the local people and youth in the Western Region. She notes

¹⁰ Oil production is expected to last from 2010 until 2030 (PIAC, 2014; World Bank, 2009)

that despite its large economic contribution to the national budget, in terms of natural resources, the Western Region has remained “one of the most neglected in Ghana” (Osei-Tutu, 2012, p.2). Inhabitants have complained of an increase in unemployment, lack of infrastructural development, high cost of living and an anticipation of land grabbing for gas project (Osei-Tutu, 2012. p. 2-4). Despite these grievances, Osei-Tutu (2012) also notes that oil discovery has resulted in high levels of expectation, particularly from the Western Region. The situation according to Osei- Tutu has created a “number of unemployed and agitated youth” (Osei-Tutu, 2012, p. 4-5). She concludes by cautioning that if not managed properly, this absence of development, coupled with the unaddressed expectations and grievances of the citizens, could lead to an outbreak of conflict among citizens of the region, government, and the oil and gas industry (Osei-Tutu, 2012, p.2). However, after 5 years of oil production, have these expectations changed or are they the same? What the more important expectations that are likely to cause such an outbreak of conflict and how can take occur? For example, concerns have been identified within the fishery industry of oil-bearing communities with regards to fishing restrictions close to the oilrig. (Ellimah 2009; Badgley 2012). Livelihoods of fishermen have been affected as a result of the restriction and there have been reports of tension between fisherman oil companies because of these happenings.

An underlying element of most of these studies is the existence of grievances. Thus, a common consensus among the various studies conducted before and after the actual start of the oil production has been the high levels of expectations among citizens and the challenges associated with oil production. It must be noted that, most of these studies have been conducted at the early stages of oil discovery and production. This study will seek to unravel the main grievances and attempt to identify the dynamics that have occurred after 5 years of oil production and revenue generation. This will enhance an understanding of how such dynamics influence current circumstances surrounding oil production in oil-bearing communities.

2.7. Theoretical framework

Gurr’s (1970) theory of relative deprivation, which is one of the dominant grievance based theories, is being revisited as the framework for the study, in relation to current circumstances to identify and discuss potential conflict drivers in the Ghanaian context.

In his explanation of 'why men rebel', Gurr (1970, p.37) defines Relative deprivation (RD) as actors "perceived discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities". Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods and conditions they think they are capable of getting and keeping. The discrepancy between expectations and capabilities can emerge in relation to any collectively sought value, which can be economic, psychological or political and thus giving rise to the feeling of frustration. He argues that when people feel they are in a relatively deprived state - compared to what they think they should actually have - the propensity of violence is high (Gurr, 1970). He uses relative deprivation to demonstrate that the risk of violence is connected to frustration-aggression. Thus, when there is mass discontent and deprivation, people get frustrated and are forced to organize and translate their grievances into aggressive action. The more intense and prolonged a feeling of frustration, the greater the probability of aggression. To Gurr (1970), frustration-aggression generated by relative deprivation is the "primary source of the human capacity for violence" (p.36).

2.7.1. Rethinking conflict: beyond greed and grievance - a synergy?

A synergetic approach has been put forward by researchers such as Keen (2000) and Nwokolo (2009). Keen (2000, p. 5) for example argues that greed generates grievances, possibly leading to rebellion, which may in turn generate and legitimize further greed. Hence, an integrated approach might be more suitable to explain conflict tendencies. Nwokolo (2009) shares similar sentiments when he observes that natural resources conflicts are first and foremost motivated by grievance, which could later transcend into greed. He explains further that as a situation moves from latent conflict position to low intensity war, the relationship to the oil resources changes from group grievances over deprivation towards an urge to control the resources, or at worse loot from it to sustain the group. He concludes therefore that that the tendency of resource conflict to move from a grievance motivated conflict to a greed motivated conflict anchors on time and opportunity structure (Nwokolo, 2009, p.6-9).

It is worth noting that this study supports an integrated approach of explaining conflict in which greed and grievance factors are adequately considered. That notwithstanding, while such integrated models can be suitable for general analytical studies, that will not be the approach of this study. Considering the case of Ghana, the later approach (Nwokolo, 2009) to

synergize the greed and grievance debate informs this study and, thus, explains why the researcher focuses on how initial grievances can translate into potential conflict over time.

Adopting this approach is based on the evaluation of contextual circumstances in the coastal areas in the Western Region. The aforementioned studies have indicated the existence of oil related grievances in Ghana. Again, as indicated in the literature review, unlike Nigeria, Ghana's oil fields are offshore, which makes it less 'lootable' for rebel groups to control (Lujala, 2010; Le billon, 2001). In addition, measuring the greed model qualitatively is more suitable when studying an already existing conflict, where a rebel group already exist. This study looks rather at the potential of a conflict. These reasons make the greed argument less applicable based on contextual considerations. From the relative deprivation perspective, the study will examine the respondents' opinion on grievances, expectations and challenges, as well as their level of frustration and opinion on suitable approaches to the redress of such grievances that could serve as potential drivers of an oil conflict. This will be done bearing in mind the review of conflict drivers in other African petro states, Nigeria. Next, the study presents and discusses the methodological framework of the study.

3. CHAPTER THREE

3.1. Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the methodological framework employed in the study. It encompasses the philosophical foundation of the study, the research strategy, data collection and analysis methods. The final part of the chapter discusses the ethical considerations and some experiences from the fieldwork.

3.2. Philosophical Foundation of the study

Before discussing the specific details of the research methodology, it is relevant to underline the philosophical foundation upon which the study rests. The research strategy adopted in this study was influenced by the constructivist ontology and interpretivist epistemology of research. According to Bryman (2008), epistemology “concerns itself with what should be regarded as acceptable knowledge” whilst ontological consideration deals with the “nature of social entities”, thus to what extent should social entities be considered independent of or a part of social realities (Bryman, 2008:13, 19). These two main paradigms constitutes knowledge about social world and essentially seek to explain the various ways of understanding social phenomena, and for that matter, how social research is conducted. There exist a dichotomy among researchers with regards to epistemology and ontology. Whilst some researchers perceive this social reality as objective, exclusive and existing outside and independent of any human influence, i.e. objectivism/positivism, others perceive social reality as socially constructed and subject to human interpretations and actions, i.e. interpretivism/constructivism (Bryman, 2008).

Positivism is an epistemological paradigm that holds the view that knowledge about social phenomena is true and acceptable only if it applies a natural science model which is independent of prejudices and biases based on emotions, social influences and interest (Bryman, 2008). An underlying feature of such an orientation is the emphasis on objectivity which is an ontological consideration and rests on the principle that the study of social entities should be external to social actors including the researcher. Thus, a quantitative research strategy in which data is statistically quantified is the most dominant research strategy within the positivist paradigm. Contrarily, interpretivism is an epistemological orientation that holds the view that truth or true meaning comes as a result of participants’ engagement in the real world (Crotty, 1998, p.8). This school of thought contends that the principles and processes for the study of human behaviour and social phenomena does not

exist independently but interacts and thus makes it highly influenced by several external factors. To fully understand, social phenomenon ought to be subjected to interpretations (Bryman, 2008). The ontological orientation to this paradigm is constructionism. Constructivism asserts that “social phenomenon and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors” (Bryman, 2008, p. 19). In order to study human behaviour constructively, a qualitative approach in which data is systematically qualified and interpreted is mostly used.

Bearing in mind the two approaches, the researcher considered the interpretivist-constructivist orientation the most suitable for this study. An important part of adopting this approach is the opportunity and ability of the researcher to augment the study with his understanding of social reality upon interactions with the subjects of study, that is, the respondents at Cape Three Points. By consensual interpretation of meaning, understanding of the environment and ability to interact with it, the researcher and the respondent have the opportunity to “present a specific version of social reality, rather than one that could be definitive” of it (Bryman 2008: 19). Interpretivism enabled me to understand social phenomena (conflict) and appreciate how critical concepts (grievances; challenges and expectations) are socially constructed from the perspective of local people in oil-bearing communities.

3.3. Research Strategy: Mixed Method

In conducting research, two main methodological strategies exist; qualitative and quantitative. According to Creswell (2007), the choice of a research method is informed by what the researcher is interested in investigating or knowing. Qualitative research methods produce data that is rich in information and can enable a researcher to make conclusions about social processes in particular settings (Neuman, 2005). Quantitative methods are distinguished from qualitative methods in terms of the former generating data that can be empirically analysed by employing numerical techniques (Bryman, 2012). Both methods have their inherent strengths and weaknesses they bring to bear on any piece of research. Qualitative studies provides in-depth understanding of peculiar situations thus limiting the ability to generalize whiles quantitative studies produces generalised theories and hypotheses but provides less explanation to contextual situations. With either strategies deficient in one way or another, some researchers have combined both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a mixed method strategy (Bryman, 2008).

For the purpose of this research, a mixed method research strategy was adopted. In view of that, qualitative and quantitative methods were combined in an integrative manner such that data derived from both methods was mutually reinforcing (Bryman 2012, p. 628). In a mixed method strategy, one approach may be dominant or both approaches will have equal value in the research. By way of clarification based on priority and sequence, the method adopted in this study was predominantly qualitative with partial quantitative support, also known as the “QUAL-quant” typology of mixed method strategy (Bryman 2012, p. 632). The rationale behind the adoption of a mixed method was that; whilst qualitative methods sought to explore how respondents constructed meanings and interpreted their grievances, the data from the quantitative method was used to partly confirm the qualitative data and to ascertain the specific questions that could not be answered qualitatively. For example, during my fieldwork in Cape Three Points, I observed that there were relatively fewer older men and young women than young boys and old women in the community. To be able to confirm my observation to solidify my analysis (of the proportion of male and the high propensity for violence), I conducted a closed-ended survey questionnaire that sought to highlight, among other things, the gender and age disparity of the respondents within the community. This makes the addition of quantitative method both appropriate and justifiable. By implication, this mixed method strategy was based on “triangulation and completeness” (Bryman 2012, p.633). Triangulation of both methods has been key in achieving validity and reliability in the study.

3.4. Research Design: Case study

Research design basically refers to how the actual research question is going to be answered. According to Yin (2003), the research design is the action plan of the whole research process that guides how the research is going to be executed to answer outlined research questions. The design is usually crafted based on the research method. Considering the research question and the predominant research strategy, the case study research design was adopted for the study. A case study design, as Bryman (2008) points out, is a research design that entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. To better understand complex social phenomena such as oil-conflict nexus, grievances and relative deprivation, it was important that the focus was limited to a specific case study. A case study is used to enhance an understanding of the complexities and particular nature of a case (Stake, 1995 cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 66). The use of a case study was particularly good for examining the “why” “how” and “what” aspects of research study (Yin, 2003). For instance, case study allowed me

to understand what the specific grievances of the local people in Cape Three Points were and how challenges and unfulfilled expectations could potentially cause violence. However, a major challenge with the use of case study is the limited external validity - the ability to generalise into broader context with the findings of a specific case (Bryman, 2012, p. 69). Although the main preoccupation of the study is a detailed understanding of the case, it is assumed that the findings can be of inferential relevance to future studies.

3.5. Sampling

The scope of the study area, Cape Three Points, has been already presented in the first chapter. The interviewees for the study included; the chief of Cape Three Points, who is regarded as the custodian of the land and the highest traditional leader in Cape Three Points; community members, that is, the local people in Cape Three Points; fishermen and fishmongers; local representative of oil company (Tullow Oil) in the Ahanta West District and a security expert at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Centre, Joana Osei-Tutu, who previously conducted a research in the same area. It must be noted that, emails and personal attempts were made to interview representative of Ghana National Petroleum Corporation and Ghana Petroleum Commission but to no avail.

3.5.1. Sampling Technique

To be able to interview the targeted respondents, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used for qualitative data while the quantitative sampling was mostly by accessibility and availability. By purposive sampling, the researcher initially identified and selected key units, individuals, institutions and documents “with direct reference” and of significance to the topic (Bryman, 2012, p. 416). Once these units were identified and interviewed or researched on, a snowball sampling was introduced so that other participants who have had experience or characteristics relevant to the research were recommended and subsequently contacted for further information. During my pilot at the village of Cape Three Points, I did not know anyone in the village. My first contact, was the nephew of the chief, since the community is a small village. Through him, I was able to meet the chief and agree on the date begin the actual fieldwork. I was further directed to other individuals who were more resourceful to the research, such as the fishermen. However, finding respondents amongst the local people proved to be difficult from the beginning. Some people declined to be interviewed because they had been interviewed too many times ever since oil was discovered off the shores of Cape Three Points and because they have seen no improvement

in their lives, there was no need to grant further interviews. This situation compelled the researcher to rely on people that were available, willing and able to be interviewed, who were mostly the youth. Thus, some respondents were selected based on availability and accessibility (Bryman, 2012, p. 201). This challenge was somehow productive for the studies since the topic, i.e. conflict, was more central to the youth.

An important technique during the fieldwork was theoretical sampling technique. Crang and Cook (2007) proposes the use of theoretical sampling and saturation in research situations whereby data collection is discontinued at the point when no new significant information is being obtained. Interviews were conducted until the point of diminishing marginal returns, after interviewing about forty-three community members, where additional information did not contribute any additional knowledge.

3.5.2. Sample Size

In total, fifty-eight (58) respondents were interviewed during the fieldwork. These respondents were categorised into two main groups; primary and secondary respondents. The former includes the community members and chief while the latter included the representative of the oil company and a security expert at the Kofi Anna International Peacekeeping Training Centre. The table below illustrates the main respondents and the method of data collection.

Table 1. Main respondents and the method of data collection

Category	Number of respondents	Method of interview/ Mode of data collection
Primary (individual community members)	43	Structured / direct observation
Primary(FGD-Fishermen)	4	Semi-structured
Primary (FGD-Youth)	8	Semi-structured
Primary (Chief)	1	Semi-structured
Secondary (representative of oil community)	1	Semi-structured
Secondary(Security Expert)	1	Semi-structured

3.6. Data collection

Many methods of data analysis exist for both qualitative and quantitative studies. However, for the purpose of this study, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, focused group discussion and document analysis were the main methods of qualitative data while structured interview was for quantitative data collection.

3.6.1. Qualitative Method of Data Collection

3.6.1.1. Semi-Structured Interview

The main source of data was obtained from partially structured interviews. Bryman (2012) notes that under semi-structured interview, the researcher uses an interview guide but there is a fair degree of flexibility in asking and answering questions. The potential benefit of this method is that, with relative flexibility, a lot more interesting and relevant information might be brought on board to give a deeper and broader understanding of the case at hand.

Additionally, there is the opportunity to further inquire the rationale behind interviewee responses. Before my fieldwork, I drafted a series of semi-structured questions based on my readings on the research question. After a review by my supervisor, I finalised the question and began to practise them in a pilot interview with friends before finally going to the field.

Despite the benefits listed above, some limitations are associated with semi-structured interviews. As an unprofessional interviewer, a challenge of interviewing had to do with language and wording (Bryman, 2012) whereby respondents misinterpreted the translated questions. To curb the situation, the researcher conducted a couple of mock interviews with friends at different settings and times. This provided the researcher with experience and presented some possible challenges that were dealt with during the interview. A positive experience was that, since I speak one of the main native languages (Fante) in the Western Region, I was able to communicate clearly with everyone I interviewed. During all interviews, record keeping was key. I recorded most of the voice responses with a mobile phone and actively took notes of important comments. These were later used for cross-checking during transcription and data analysis. Body language and gestures of respondents were adequately monitored during the interviews as well.

3.6.1.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation was also used for data collection to augment finding from interviews. This involved directly immersing into the communities, engaging in communal activities and

observing behaviour of respondents (youth and fisher-folks) and the surrounding environment at large. As Bryman (2012) observes, people may be reluctant to respond to some complex issues (such as violence and conflict) in an interview situation. In such cases, finding “understanding comes from prolonged interaction” with members involved (Bryman 2012, p. 494). With a limited time frame, the researcher was involved in the community activities with groups and individuals in order to examine particular aspect of the research question. Among the things observed, the focus was to identify any characteristic of violence between people and groups in their everyday life. It was also to provide additional understanding of the possible means of dealing with grievances specifically on the question of whether violence will be an option to address grievances. From the first day of my fieldwork till the end, I spent the most part of my day with the youth of the village. We mostly walked into bushes to get palm wine (a local sweet drink), played football, visited vocational sites and joined in evening cinema shows. My ability to speak Fante was crucial, as it was very easily to integrate with the youth. All these efforts allowed me to observe and understand the context very well. I was aware of the problems associated with ‘going native’ in research and thus, the fieldwork was conducted with much caution.

3.6.1.3. *Focused Group Discussion (FGD)*

FGD remained an important part of collecting qualitative data from respondents. During the planning stage, I decided to have three separate FDGs involving male youth, female youth and fisher-folks. This proved to be a challenging task as it was difficult to assemble the different groups. The first FDG was held with the fisher-folks at the beach. Four of them (two executive members and two other members of the fishers union in Cape Three Points) were present to discuss issues relating to challenges and grievances connected to oil discovery and production. The second group was with the male youth. This was held on a football field after a training with the youth. It was agreed before the training started, since that was one of the few opportunities to assemble majority of the youth (both players and spectators) at one place. In total, eight respondents were selected to participate in the discussion that lasted approximately forty-five minutes. Most of the discussion centred on the unfulfilled expectations and collective challenges of the youth concerning oil discovery and production as well as how the youth were planning to collectively address such grievances. The final FDG was unsuccessful as it was not possible to meet with the few female youth in the community although frantic efforts were made towards that. Both group discussions were recorded for further reference as it was not possible to jot down all the points.

The two FDGs offered additional data and methodological rigour to individual interviews (King and Horrocks, 2010) particularly by allowing the researcher to understand the collective (more general) view of the topic. A common challenge in most meetings were that, one individual attempted to dominate the discussion since they mostly shared similar views (Marvasti, 2004). As the researcher was aware of this tendency beforehand, it was possible to manage the situation by encouraging others to add their own voice to the discussion.

3.6.1.4. Review of Document

Another qualitative source of data was the review of document that were relevant to natural resource and conflict and were not produced specifically for the purpose of this studies (Bryman, 2012, p. 543). Document reviewed included both private and state documents (Scott, 1990 cited in Bryman, 2012) such as laws and policies on oil revenue, newspaper articles, reports and most importantly books and peer reviewed articles by other researchers. Document review permitted the identification of theoretical perspectives and to place the study into academic context. This started during proposal writing and continued through the fieldwork until the end of the thesis writing. Since not all of the document were objective, the research maintained caution in selecting materials for the study.

3.6.2. Quantitative Method of Data Collection

3.6.2.1. Structured Interview

As noted earlier, a structured quantitative interviewing process was carried out to supply some key information about respondents and as well to help increase the reliability and credibility of the findings. Bryman (2012, p. 210) defines structured interview as a standardized interview aimed at given all interviewees the ‘same context of question’ and ‘same interview stimulus’. By this method, specific questions on the impact of oil on livelihood, opportunity for addressing grievances, propensity of conflict among others, were asked to all respondents. The questions had predetermined (fixed) range of answers to choose from, in order to easily interpret and process data findings and avert errors related to coding of open-ended questions (Bryman, 2012, p. 211). Some challenges of using structured interviews are probing, prompting and response set (Bryman, 2012, p. 223-227) whereby researcher assist respondents in answering question due to low comprehension of question, limited knowledge or when respondents have low commitment rate for the questionnaire. Although these are inevitable, efforts such as direct repetition and stressing the importance of the topic (conflict) were made to reduce such occurrences. As stated before, majority of the

respondents were not well educated and thus could not read the questionnaire. I spent many hours to probe some respondents to make sure they understood exactly what the question meant. For example, many respondents spoke about their challenges when they were asked about their expectations. It became necessary after the first two interviews that, I had to clearly distinguish between challenges and expectations in order to get the appropriate responses.

3.7. Data Analysis

3.7.1. Qualitative data analysis

A large amount of data was derived from documents, semi-structured interviews and FGDs. As such, the researcher concurrently analysed data during data collection stage. This was also necessary as the researcher was hard pressed for time, which meant data analysis had to be an “iterative and reflexive process” that began during data collection rather than after data collection (Stake 1995, p.9). The research adopted thematic analysis to analyse the qualitative data. Bryman (2012, p. 578) notes that thematic analysis, which is one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis, involves the search for recurrent themes that are of significance to the research question. A theme represents a category of indicators built on coded transcripts (and notes), identified through data, that relates the research question and provides the researcher with a theoretical understanding of data (Bryman, 2013, p. 580). Key themes in this study included ‘conflict/violence’ ‘grievances’ and ‘expectations’.

The researcher initially transcribed interview responses, field notes from participant observation and key themes from document reviews. In order not to leave out vital information, the transcripts were compared to that of the voice taping recorded during interviews. This was followed by a frequent reading and rereading of transcript to identify core themes that were then categorized in the framework (matrix). Identification of themes was mostly based on, inter alia; recurrence topics, theory-related ideas, and similar/diverging factors (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). The core themes (example; expectations) were then broken down into sub-themes (example; fulfilled expectations and unfulfilled expectations) for detail analysis, still in a matrix form. Together with the researcher's observation in the field, thematic analysis of data provided meaningful understanding on the connections between subthemes and main themes in generating findings about grievances, relative deprivation and potential violence/conflict.

3.7.2. Quantitative data analysis

The quantitative structured interview were analysed using computer software, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Interview responses from the field were initially coded before they were imputed into SPSS. The main variables were defined in accordance to interview questions to generate descriptive statistical results. These descriptive statistics were transformed into graphs and tables that highlighted the major findings of the study.

Quantitative data analysis allow the researcher to cross tabulate results from two set of questions to further elaborate on the findings. For instance, statistics on gender and age distribution of respondents were cross-analysed with data on respondents' opinion on the possible use of violence, as a means to address their grievances. Additionally, such descriptive analysis provided statistical confirmation of some qualitative observations made by the researcher.

3.8. Ethical Consideration

In every research, it is prudent and for that matter necessary to evaluate the values and ethics involved at all stages of research. Bryman (2012, p. 130) maintain that, ethical considerations are significant because they directly relate to the “integrity of a piece of research and the discipline that are involved”. According to Diener and Crandall (1978, cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 135) the four main ethical issues necessary for consideration include “harm to participant; lack of informed consent; invasion of privacy and deception”.

With regards to harm to participants, before the study was conducted, the researcher was mindful of the fact that the study could possibly be harmful to the respondents during or after the research. Harm can either be emotional or physical (Bryman, 2012, p. 135). For example, it is possible that some questions posed to respondent (such as; ‘how has oil production affected your fishing business?’) might remind them of bad experiences and bring back pain or sorrow which can be emotionally harmful. To address this, the research conformed to the British Sociological Association Statement of Ethical Practice (2002) by attempting to “anticipate, and to guard against, consequences for research participants that can be predicted to be harmful” (Article 26). This was done by rephrasing or ignoring questions when harm was anticipated.

Closely related to harm-to-respondent is the invasion of privacy; anonymity and confidentiality of respondent. Sensitive issues like conflict and grievances are likely to produce sensitive response. As such, the researcher made efforts to ensure a high sense of

confidentiality of report in order not to put respondents into trouble in the future. Thus, numbers and alphabets, rather than names were mostly used to identify respondents in the process of data collection.

Arguably, the most challenging ethical consideration is the lack of informed consent. By adopting participant observation, it was practically impossible to be able to inform all participants about the purpose and role of the researcher. Some respondents were better studied from afar, without directly informing them), while others, example; the chief, responded well to of the topic when he was well informed about the purpose. Thus, informing all participants might affect the findings. Lack of informed consent is related to the issue of deception-“research without consent” (Bryman, 2012, p. 140). However, the researcher provided adequate information and sought proper consent as and when it was necessary. This was done mainly by verbally informing participants before any interview was conducted. Similarly, respondents were asked before any voice recording was made.

3.9. Research quality, validity and reliability

It is important to note that, since this research was largely qualitative, the constructivist ontological consideration allowed the researcher to consciously and unconsciously influence the study. Also the fact that the researcher is identified as a researcher may have had reactive effect on respondents who might exaggerate or understate important information (Silverman, 2001; Bryman 2008). For this reason, triangulation of research methods (qualitative and quantitative data) made it possible to minimize the bias involved and to achieve reliability and validity. Additionally, the use of different methods of data collection (interviews, observation, documents) and different respondents (local people, oil company) improve the validity and reliability of the case study (Yin, 2003). As stated earlier, since the study is based on specific contextual issues, it has less external validity. However, the study can serve as a point of reference for other similar studies when possible.

3.9.1. Limitations of the study and experiences from the fieldwork

The study began in the August 2014 until December 2015, although initial preparation started earlier. From December 2014 to February 2015, I travelled to Ghana to conduct my fieldwork. Before travelling to Ghana, emails were sent to respondents that could be reach via mail including security expert at the KAIPTC. I made my first trip to the study area in December to acclimatize myself with the area, make initial contacts and seek necessary

permissions for the study. After the New Year holidays, I embarked on the actual fieldwork to Cape Three Points, and later travelled between Western Region and Greater Accra Region in order to meet interview appointments. In all, it was a successful field trip.

At the planning stage, coming out with a meaningful research question that reflected my interest was quite challenging. Series of individual thoughts, group discussions and advices from supervisor were useful in refining and developing my research questions throughout the study.

There were difficulties in accessing and reaching some respondents for data collection. One side of this challenge had to do with high-ranking officials from the oil companies and GNPC. Emails were either not replied or appointments were not granted. This made it difficult to keep up with the initial structure of the study, thus, influenced a change in the course of writing. On the other hand, a major challenge encountered in the field was that, some of the respondents in Cape Three Points refused to be interviewed after the intention of my visit was made known. The reason was that many other researchers from the oil companies, government or private entities have come to interview them since the discovery of oil in the area but they have since then seen no corresponding change in their lives. This situation sums up in making the people feel deprived, abandoned and 'not being heard'. Consequently, some potential respondents were apathetic and reluctant to be interviewed, while others showed signs of anger and frustrations towards the researcher. It was not uncommon to come across some conversations as illustrated in the box below.

Figure 5. Field experience; low interest of respondents

Responses from potential respondents that either refused to be interviewed or accepted to be interviewed after a long period of discussions on the disappointment.

Researcher: *Good morning!* (researcher goes on to introduce himself and the purpose for which he came)

Potential respondent A: *“I don’t have time again for this nonsense again, many people have come here since oil came here to take something from us but they have given us nothing oooo”*

Potential respondent X: *“No I’m not interested, I don’t even want to be angry again.”*

Potential respondent Y: *“You people always come here to lie to us, take our information and never come back to help us. From now anybody that comes here to interview we (the fishermen) will see, how we will beat him/her. You are lucky you are one of us.”*

(Fieldwork, 2015)

These responses portrayed the disappointment and frustrations of the larger population, as discussed later in chapter four. What helped was that, I am a native of another coastal town close to Cape Three Points called Dixcove (Nfuma), which faces similar situation like the other coastal communities in Western Region. Introducing myself as a son of the land, speaking in their language (Fante) and expressing an understanding of their plight made me accepted to many people which made it possible to interview people.

3.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, the methodological framework of the study has been holistically discussed. The beginning of the chapter examined the philosophical orientation of the study as a constructivist/interpretivist approach of research. The case study design as it is employed in mixed method research strategy has been discussed as well. The pros and cons of the different data collection and analysis strategies have also been looked at. The final part of the chapter identified some ethical issues considered in the study. The next chapter presents and analysis the actual finding of the study.

4. CHAPTER FOUR

4.1. Data presentation and analysis of main findings

This chapter focuses on the presentation of data and analysis of the major findings. Findings are presented in tabular and graphical forms to enhance analysis and discussions. The results are analysed in the light of the research questions and theoretical framework stated earlier. As a point of departure, a reminder of the research questions is prudent. The objective was to identify the main grievances in the oil bearing community of Cape Three Points and how grievances can potentially translate into conflict. The underlying theoretical perspective is relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970). To answer the overarching research question, the study particularly sought to answer the following questions;

- What are the main expectations of the local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?
- What are the main challenges in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?
- To what extent is the relative deprivation theory useful in assessing the potential for an oil conflict in Cape Three Points?

Going by the aforementioned questions, the findings can be divided into three parts. Firstly, it begins with the demographic characteristics of the respondents, particularly gender, age, education and occupation, which may influence individual's views, perceptions and behaviours within society. In the second section, the initial and current expectations of the local people are examined followed by the major challenges connected to oil production which will be explained in the third section. In the final section, attention is paid to the level of frustration and the potential use of violence as a means to address grievances. In sum, the chapter attempts to find out how grievances generate frustration that may potentially escalate into aggression, social conflict and low intensity war. As a point of departure, it is noteworthy to mention that the discovery or production of oil does not necessarily or directly translate into conflict. However, the existence and emergence of grievances linked with the discovery and production of oil makes the occurrence of conflict more likely. This premise informs the discussions in this chapter.

4.2. Demographic characteristics of respondents

This section focuses on respondents' demographic background which covers sex, age group, education and occupation. These characteristics tend to influence individual's views, perceptions and collective actions within society to a large extent.

4.2.1. Gender

The research sought the opinion of both male and female respondents in the community. Out of the 43 respondents interviewed, there were 29 males representing 67% and 14 females representing 33% of the total respondents. The table below shows the gender distribution of respondents

Table 2. Gender distribution of respondents

Gender of respondent		
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Male	29	67.4
Female	14	32.6
Total	43	100.0

(Field survey, 2015)

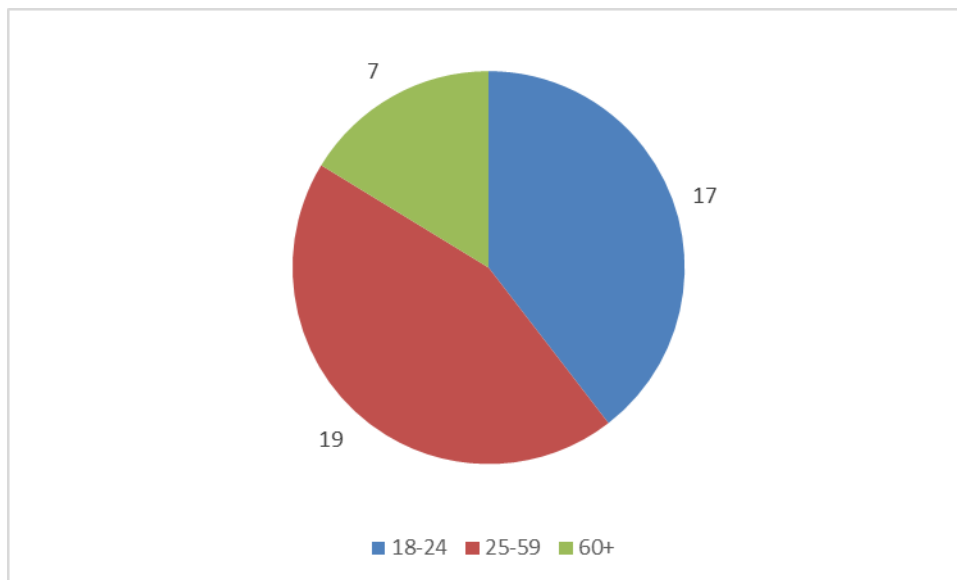
From the table, it is evident that there were more males respondents than females. One reason for this was that the researcher mostly visited the beaches where many people, mostly males, were available to be interviewed. In the households, women were usually busy with chores or small trade and few offered the opportunity to be interviewed. Another reason lies in the fact that most men were more eager to voice out their concerns because many were directly affected due to their occupation as fishermen.

Generally speaking, gender is a salient component of development discourse and conflict studies specifically. Studies have shown that young males are more engaged in violence whiles females and children are mostly the victims and targets (Urdal, 2012; Collier, 1999). Looking at the potential drivers of natural resource conflict, it is necessary to look into how different genders perceive situations differently. The opinion of both men and women varied depending on the topic at stake. As later shown in this study with regards with the use of violence, the percentage of males in support of violence were more than that of females.

4.2.2. Age

The study also considered the age distribution of the respondents. The respondents were grouped into three year groups ranging from the interval 15-24, 25-59 and above 60. The result shows that 17 respondents were between 18-24 years, 19 respondents were between 35-59 years and 7 respondents were above 60 years. Thus, the views of both the young, matured and old were accessed in the study.

Figure 6. Age group of respondent



(Field survey, 2015)

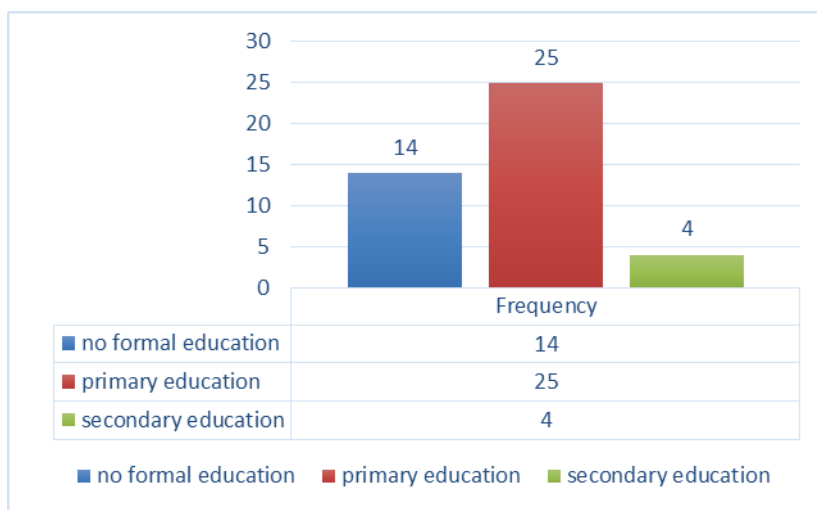
The results from the data depicts a youthful population. One a broader perspective, it reflects the age distribution in Ghana. According to the latest population census 2010, Ghana's population has a youthful structure (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, p. 53). What exactly constitute a youthful population? The definition of youth is a contested term. The United Nations uses an age range of 15-24 years to classify a youthful population. However, the concept of youth also captures certain socio-cultural, economic and political considerations within different contexts or societies. Oluwaniyi (2010, p. 311) clarifies that "youth is a social construction arising out of the political, socio-cultural, institutional and economic dynamics of a society that needs to be fully interrogated in order to understand the milieu within which it operates". In view of this, the Ghana National Youth Policy (NYP) extends the age range to persons who are within the age bracket of fifteen (15) and thirty-five (35) years (NYP, 2010). This study adopted the definition by the Ghana National Youth Policy to reflect contextual consideration. In any case, whether going by the UN definition (38% of the

respondents) or the NYP definition (over 80% of respondents), the underlying fact is that most of the respondents represent a youthful population that have the ability to adopt and use aggressive and violent approaches to address their grievances. Hence, the age distribution tends to support an argument towards potential conflict. Studies have found the existence of a youthful population as a key feature of countries that experienced conflicts, social unrest and other forms of aggression (Urdal, 2012). The impact of the age distribution on the findings is further analysed in the discussion.

4.2.3. Level of education

The study also inquired about the educational level of the respondents. The findings revealed that 25 out of 43 respondents had basic education (primary school and junior high school), 4 respondents had secondary education (secondary school and ‘O’ level education) whiles 14 out of 34 had no formal education. The figure below show the educational level of the respondents.

Figure 7. Level of education of respondents



(Field survey, 2015)

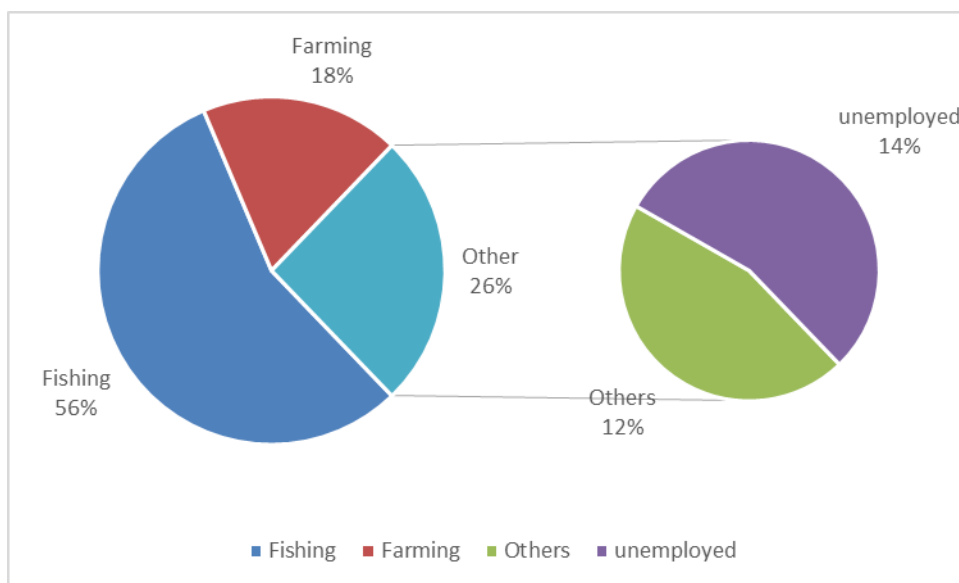
It can be deduced from the figure above that there is a low level of education among the respondents. Typical of most rural fishing communities in Ghana, there is relatively less emphasis on education. Two reasons account for this. First, at the early stages, children spend time on the beach helping the parents or sometimes even engaging in fishing activities which makes them drop out of school during or after primary level. Secondly, limited educational facilities partly explain why many children and youth in fishing communities drop out of school after primary or junior high school. During the field trip, I observed that there was no

secondary school (senior high school) in or around Cape Three Points. The nearby secondary school was in Agona-Nkwanta, approximately two hours from the village. As a result, few of the local people have attained education above secondary level. Though the challenge of education is evident in most coastal communities in Ghana, the level of education among the respondents does not reflect the broader picture neither in the Western Region nor Ghana as a whole. Literacy level in Ghana stand at about 74% nationwide (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, p. 117). A point to note is that, none of the respondents interviewed in Cape Three Points had had tertiary education. By implication, most of the inhabitants of the community were relatively less qualified, when compared to foreigners both from Ghana and outside, for white collar jobs in the oil and gas industry. Probably, the university graduates from the community had either migrated to work or find jobs in big cities. Similar to the discussion on age-group, education is highly connected to the potential for conflict. This is particularly in tandem with studies by Ostby and Urdal (2011) who argue that limited access to educational opportunities could breed grievances which may eventually lead to conflicts. The level of education is further analysis in the discussion.

4.2.4. Occupation of respondents

The study also looked at the main occupation of the respondent. From the available data, 24 respondents were involved in fishing occupation, 8 were involved farming activities, 5 had other occupations and 6 were unemployed. The graph below shows the main occupation of the respondents.

Figure 8. Main Occupation of respondents



(Field survey, 2015)

The result from the figure confirms the findings of other studies that the majority of the local people in the community are engaged in fishing and farming activities. These include mostly fishermen and fishmongers, thus making fishing the most dominant occupation represented with over 50% of respondents. Farming is also another important occupation in the area as shown by the chart. Most of the farmers interviewed were engaged in cassava planting, palm oil plantation and vegetables. The remaining 26% of respondents represented those that were either engaged in other occupation such as palm wine tappers, carpenters, tour guards and masons and those that were unemployed. Having a sizeable percentage of 14% of the respondents, the unemployed respondents had either lost their jobs within the fishing industry as a result of what they call 'bad businesses or 'low catch' or were young people who had never been properly employed and who hoped to get employment mostly in the oil industry.

4.2.5. Demography and the potential of an oil conflict

What do these findings about the demographic characteristics (gender, age, education structure and occupation) of the respondents reveal? Because there are more males, more young people, lower level of education and a sizeable number of unemployed people, the community of Cape Three Points may be categorised as a community with "large natural resources, many young men and little education" which makes them very much more at risk of conflict (Collier 1999, p. 5). Whether conflict is motivated by greed or grievance, people need to demonstrate, protest or in the extreme case carry arms. To engage in any form of violence, people have to be willing and able. This is where the youthful male population becomes an important factor. Again these people will need a reason to engage in violence. The discovery of natural resources, the promise of development and the associated disappointment may provide good reasons to engage in violence. The process from latent competition to manifest conflict however takes time to mature and escalate. In furtherance, conflict occurs when the constraining factors that hinder the occurrence of violence are either weakened or removed. Education and employment may serve as constraining factors for several reasons. First, higher level of education provides alternative means of supporting oneself, thus could reduce dependence on collective resources that increases conflict risk. Secondly, education broadens individual knowledge thus provides alternative means of managing tension that may help reduce the use of violence. Employment keeps people engaged and sufficient enough not to engage in conflict. In the absence of adequate education and employment, conflict is more likely, especially among frustrated men and women.

It must be noted however that, the level of education, gender distribution and the number of youthful population in any given community are not necessarily the causal factors of conflicts and violence. Rather, they present suitable conditions necessary for natural resource conflicts to occur. Hence, the demographic characteristics highlighted will be further cross-analysed with other findings to discuss significant analysis.

4.3. Assessing the grievances: expectations and challenges in Cape Three Points

In order to understand the grievances among local people in Cape Three Points, the combination of two variables; expectations and challenges were contextualised to further explain the phenomenon under study. Expectations capture the idealistic issues (thoughts, perceptions, hopes and aspirations) whilst challenges encompass the realities (realistic problems, development issues) faced by local people in oil bearing communities. The two are interconnected; specific challenges, such as lack of infrastructure, shapes the expectations of local people for development infrastructure, just as expectations, when they are not fulfilled, may become a collective challenge in local communities. Together, they generates individual and community level grievances that when unaddressed, have the potential of driving social conflict, local low intensity conflict and other minor latent conflicts.

4.3.1. Main expectations of local people in Cape Three Points

The first major question of the study was to identify the main expectations of the local people in relation to the discovery and production of oil close to the shore of Cape Three Points. Thus, questions on expectations were subdivided into initial and current expectation so as to understand both the specific expectations and the dynamics over time.

The study asked respondents, in a close-ended question, if they had expectations when oil was discovered and what their current expectations were. The findings indicated that 100% of respondent stated that they all had initial expectations when oil was discovered. This resonates with other studies conducted in other oil bearing communities in Africa. Most communities and countries where oil was discovered and produced have often experienced increasing and sometimes exaggerated expectations of how the oil wealth can transform their lives. Ghana is thus no exception in this case. The discovery of oil in Ghana since 2007, as shown by this and other studies, came with very high expectations.

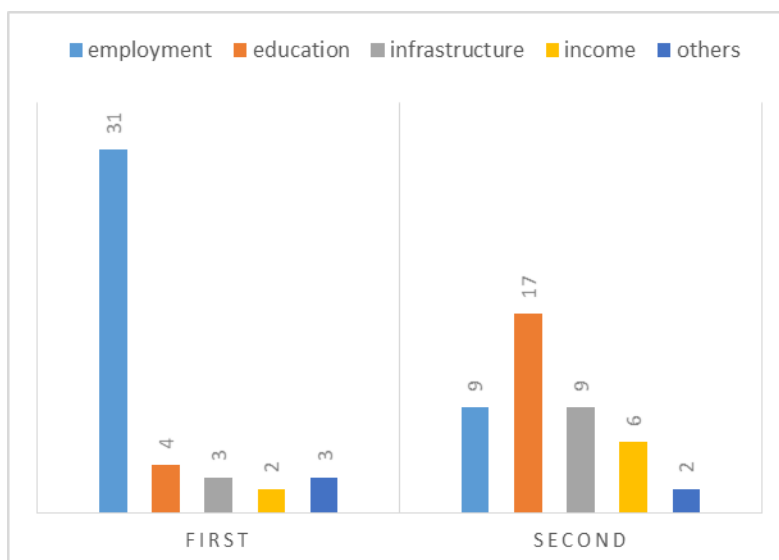
Figure 9. High expectations after oil discovery in Ghana



(The Guardian, 2007)

As shown in figure 9, initial expectations were so widespread that religious organization organized their sermons around oil discovery. What were these specific expectations and how have they changed over time? Respondents were asked about the most important expectations they had in the initial stage and present expectations. Options included expectations connected to infrastructure, education, employment, income and others. As shown in the figure below, the study found employment to be the most important initial expectation of the local people of Cape Three Points.

Figure 10. Most important (initial) expectations of respondents



(Field survey, 2015)

From the figure above, 31 out of 43 respondents stated that their most important expectations was employment.

4.3.1.1. *Employment*

Respondents hoped that oil discovery and production within their communities would generate an overwhelming employment opportunity that could replace the fishing business. This they hoped would increase their income levels and standards of living than what they have as fishermen. These expectant locals however noted clearly that, they were aware of the fact that, due to their low levels of education, they could not get any job on the oilrig on in top positions since it needed some technical knowledge. Rather, they mostly expected to be employed in other related activities such as masons, carpenter, ‘watchman’ (security guards) and drivers for the oil companies. In the words of one respondent:

Before the oil drilling, we were told the oil companies will employ a lot of us so we were asked to write our names for potential jobs. I am a carpenter, so I wrote my name for carpentry job. Many people from nearby communities came to write their names as well. But since we submitted it to the Assembly woman, we haven't heard anything yet.

The statement above indicates that the expectation of employment was not entirely unrealistic. It also indicates that the expectations of the local people were based on promises made to them mostly by the local politicians. Others were also expectant because they have become unemployed due to the decline in the fishing industry. One of the respondents who lost his job explained his employment situation:

Some years ago, I was a fisherman. During that time, business was good, we sometimes travelled to Ivory Coast and Liberia to catch fish and come back to sell. I was doing very well. Later business really went down, when I spend money to buy fuel for fishing, I come back with nothing. So I stopped. I was however happy that oil was found here. We heard they (oil companies) were going to give us jobs here in Cape Three Points and I was hoping to become a driver for them because I have a drivers' licence. But so far, nothing has happened ooo, no job, no money.

From this conversion, the use ‘ooo’ in Ghanaian language places emphasis on the words before. This means that, the respondent, like most of the youth of Cape Three Points and surrounding communities, was very hopeful of getting jobs in the oil sector but are very disappointed by their current employment situation. This expectation emerged at the early stage of oil production when a local content policy was being drafted by the Minister of Energy and Parliament to make sure that, at least 10% of the jobs in the oil sector goes to the citizens, a percentage expected to rise to 90% by 2020 (MOE, 2010, p.4). Though the policy has been enacted by parliament, after five years since oil production commenced, there has

been no employment related to the oil industry for the people in Cape Three Points. This makes the local content policy rather pragmatically unrealistic. Several reasons have accounted for this. Most of the oil companies have their base office in either the capital city (Accra) or in major cities like Takoradi where people have been employed. Currently, there has neither been any massive infrastructural development by the oil companies or the government in the Cape Three Points area that would employ people based on proximity. Thirdly, most of the jobs in the offshore oil sector require high level of education, training and expertise, a requirement that many of the inhabitants of Cape Three Points currently do not have. These and other factors have created a gap between expectation and actual capability in terms of job creation, thus have rendered the local content policy inadequately impactful in the eyes of the local people.

4.3.1.2. Education

The second most prevalent expectation was on education. The respondents said they initially believed that the oil discovery will help to address the problem of education in the community. Specifically, the youth expected the oil companies to set up schools to improve accessibility or to provide scholarships for higher education. Among the adult respondents, there were hopes that employment opportunity would aid them to be able to easily afford the education of their children to higher levels of education. As noted above, the same problem with the implementation of the local content policy on education applies here. None of the students have been awarded scholarship for further studies which makes the people think that most of the other recipients of the scholarship come from other communities and major cities.

4.3.1.3. Other expectations

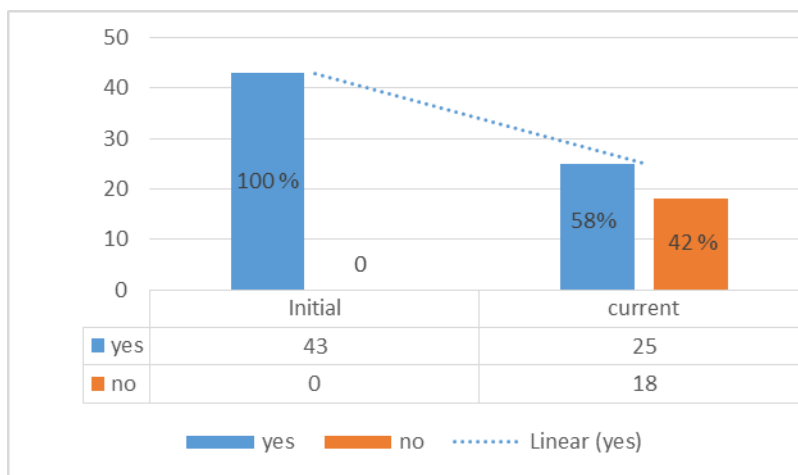
The other expectations the respondents had in connection to oil discovery included infrastructural development and increase in income. They were expecting that electricity would be expanded into Cape Three Points, that drinking water taps would be provided and that the bad road to Cape Three Points would be fixed. Also, they were hopeful of an increase in income relative to the fishing business as employment opportunities in the lucrative oil industry would have impacted on their income and standards of living. In reality, none of these expectations have been met, as discussed below.

4.3.1.4. Dynamics in expectations over time

In confirmation of earlier studies by Osei-Tutu (2012), Mitchell (2009) among others, these findings show a very high level of expectation among the respondent at the early stages of oil

discovery and operation. However, unlike other studies, the study made further attempt to highlight the variation over time in the level of expectation and the importance attached to specific expectations. This was done by assessing the current expectations, after four-five years of oil production and revenue generation, and comparing them to the initial expectation at the time oil was discovered. The findings suggest that the level of expectation have diminished over time.

Figure 11. Initial and current expectations



(Field survey, 2015)

Initial expectations, which stood at 100% for all respondents had diminished to 58%. Almost half of the respondents (42%) said they had no expectations currently after five years of oil production and eight years of oil discovery as shown in the figure above. Even for those who still had expectations, the findings show further that while 88.2% had very high expectation initially, only 10.5% currently had high expectation, an indication that current expectation had reduced both in number and in intensity. Another aspect of change in expectations can be identified when considering the importance placed on specific expectations. As indicated earlier, initial expectations were centred primarily on employment of locals in oil companies. After years of production failed to provide such jobs, expectations have now shifted towards education and infrastructure. As one male adult respondent remarked:

We have been hoping and waiting to get jobs in the oil sector. That has not happened, not even the road or the electricity issue has been fixed. If not for anything, at least they should support the education of our children. We need secondary schools and scholarships for our children

Most respondents who were expecting to get jobs at the time of oil discovery were now requesting for at least some sort of support in educating the children and youth and improving infrastructure. The respondents argued that education and infrastructure were currently more important.

4.3.1.5. Have the expectations of local people in Cape Three Points been met?

To understand the reasons for the change in expectations as well as the way in which expectations were managed, the study sought to find out if expectation of the people were met. Out of the 43 respondents, 37 (85%) clearly stated that none of the expectations had been met while 6 (14.7%) said partially yes. The 14.7% mostly argued that the community had been promised by the government of an extension of electricity to the village. Though that had not fully materialised, there has been progress after the oil discovery. Electricity connection polls have been extended to the village and they are now only waiting for electricity meters to enjoy electricity for the first time in the village. Another benefit was a donation of electric lamps to final year students in junior high school by Tullow oil (Interview with Community liaison officer for Tullow oil, fieldwork, 2015). As one of the participants in the FGD (youth) suggested, these two benefits were as a result of the “discovery of oil off the shore of Cape Three Points which has made the town popular”. Despite the minor benefits, the fact that not a single respondent said an absolute yes to the question “in your opinion, has your expectation been met?” explains partly why the level of expectations had drastically reduced over time.

4.3.1.6. Who do respondents think is more responsible for the local people; government or oil companies

The interactions with the respondents also revealed that most of the expectations are directed mainly to the government and then the oil companies. As a fisherman noted, “I guess you noticed we have no road and hospital here. Since they are getting money from the oil, we expect the government to come to our aid”. This view was also shared by the community liaison officer for Tullow oil who clearly stated that though Tullow oil is engaged in some development projects, the company was not responsible for the development of local communities. Though expectations were currently connected to the government, it was however not clear if what they expected from the government was different from what they expected from the oil companies. What was clear was that, these expectations according to the people were heightened by government and political parties promises made, especially

during the 2012 election campaign, in the early days of the oil discovery. During the election campaign of 2012, many oil-bearing communities close to Cape Three Points were promised among other things that the main road will be fixed. But after the elections and with oil production ongoing, these promises have still not been fulfilled. For this reason, Osei-Tutu (KAIPTC) argued that any potential conflict in the oil-bearing communities will most likely ensue between the local communities and the government (Interview with Osei-Tutu, fieldwork, 2015). As shown in the picture below, community members in Princess Town, one of the oil-bearing communities close to Cape Three Points, express their disappointment with political promises in line with their expectations.

Figure 12. Expectations connected to election promises



(Osei-Tutu, 2012)

Most of these promises are yet to be fulfilled and local people find it difficult to gain employment within the oil industry. For now, “we have to contend with the social problems and underdevelopment while waiting for government to fulfil its promises” as put forth by one respondent.

4.3.1.7. The issue of ownership

Before discussing the major challenges, it is important to note that an underlying factor behind the expectation of the local people partly emanate from their perception about ownership of the oil. Indeed, the perception of local people in relation to ownership of natural resources and the use of its revenue goes a long way to influence individual and communal behaviour at the local and national level. Information from the FGD with the youth as well as individual responses by some interviewees drew the researcher’s attention to the ambivalence

that characterised the issue of ownership. The 1992 constitution of Ghana, specifically Article 257(6) stipulates that;

Every mineral in its natural state in, under or upon any land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water courses 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)

Put differently, the minerals of the land and sea including oil is the property of Ghana and for that matter the people of Ghana. It is against this backdrop that citizens claim extensive ownership of the oil which has in turn resulted in high level of expectation connected to the discovery of oil. However, as indicated in chapter one, the right for exploration, development and production of different offshore blocks has been sold to private companies, thus given the government a limited share of the revenue.

An insight gained through my interaction with the respondents was that, this constitutional provision have been misunderstood by the local people in a more direct way. Respondents claimed ownership of the oil and other resources in community. An evident trend in the response of the local people was the claim of ownership over the oil resources. It was not uncommon to come across respondents referring to the point that ‘the oil belongs to us’. A respondent stated his opinion on ownership:

When the oil was discovered, they said it is in Cape Three Points, not Accra, not Kumasi. They put our name of the oil and said it is ours. The reason is that the land, the forest and the sea here all belongs to us. We farm on them, we fish from them and we eat from them because it belongs to us. If there is any problem on the land or the sea, it will affect us first before anybody. That is why we deserve to benefit from it as well.

The statement above draws attention to the socio-cultural perspective of the local people. In most traditional communities in Ghana, chiefs exercise authority of lands and other resources and have the power to allocate land to people, so long as the state is uninvolved or not interested in using it. This partly explains why the local people feel that if oil has been discovered on the shores of Cape Three Points, then the ‘oil belongs to us and we should benefit from it first’. The claim of ownership, which is among the main foundations upon which local expectations are generated may seem right considering the fact that the local people will suffer the consequences of environmental challenges such as an oil spill. Since

some expectations are based on misperceptions and misunderstandings, they remain unsubstantiated and thus practically unmerited. Nevertheless, the mere existence of expectations call for measures to address them. Not fulfilling or addressing such expectations generate discontent just as genuine expectations do. In particular to this case, the relative deprivation theoretical framework is useful in highlighting what may potentially happen when people think they cannot get what rightly belongs to them. As earlier explained in the case of the Niger Delta, when such perceptions are misplaced and unaddressed; the feeling of relative deprivation causes ‘men (and women) to rebel’ (Gurr, 1970). The perception of ownership, unfulfilled expectations and its associated disappointment that characterised the Niger Delta during the early stages of oil production seems to be present in the Ghanaian context and in Cape Three Points in particular. In Cape Three Points, the heightened expectations and consequent diminished expectation has resulting in frustration that is continually brewing, as will be elaborated on below. At the same time, what had come to replace diminishing expectations were the increasing challenges faced by local people in oil bearing communities.

4.3.2. Main challenges of local people in Cape Three Points

As previously mentioned, the other variable of understanding grievance in this study was done by considering the emerging and existing challenges in the community of Cape Three Points that were either caused or perceived to be caused by oil discovery or operation.

To identify the main challenges, respondents were ask if they do face challenges, or anticipate some challenges with the discovery and production of oil in their community. Out of the 43 respondents, a vast majority of 41 respondents (95%) lamented that the face different challenges whilst two respondents (5%) maintained that they do no/have not faced any form of challenge/problem connected to the oil.

Table 3. Do you face any challenges with the oil production close to Cape Three Points?

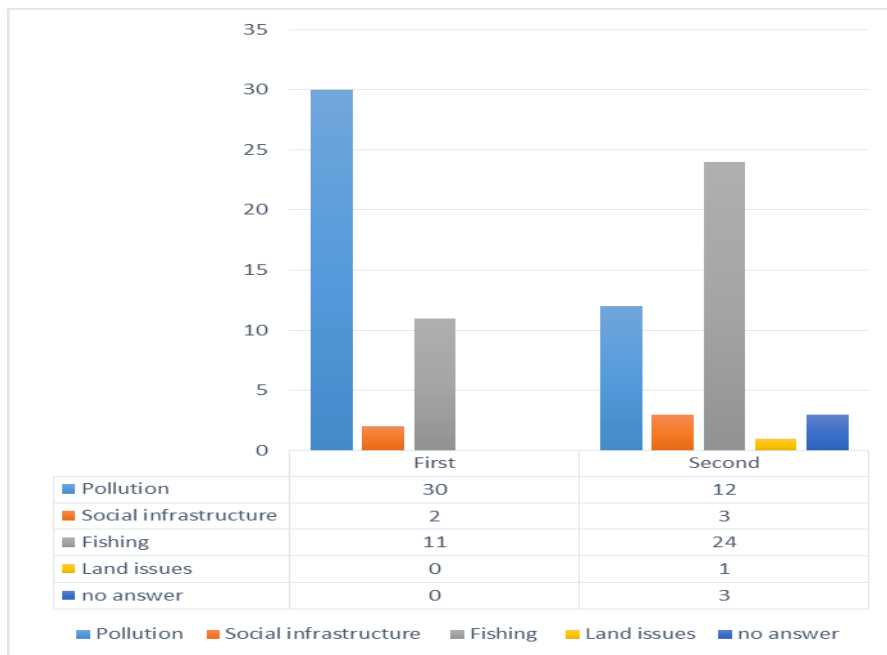
	Frequency	Valid Percent
Yes	41	95.3
No	2	4.7
Total	43	100.0

(Field survey, 2015)

The table above demonstrates that the majority of the local people in Cape Three Points stated that they were facing challenges that came as a result of oil production close to Cape Three Points. The existence of oil related challenges is not different from other oil producing communities like the Niger Delta. However, whether within Ghana or in other countries, specific challenges may differ over time and place, thus may influence local people differently. An important aspect of this study was to find out what exactly were the specific challenges people face as a result of the oil operations close to their shore. Such specific challenges were necessary as they were the main ingredient, together with other factors mentioned above, that could potential escalate into conflict.

Respondents were asked to stress on the most pressing challenges they have experienced/are experiencing. Based on other secondary sources, the options included pollution, high cost of living, fishing, and others, such as socio-cultural breakdown. The problem of gas flaring, for example, was consciously excluded from the options due the researcher prior knowledge that such activities were absent in the case of Cape Three Points since Ghana oil production, unlike Nigeria, were mostly offshore. According to majority of the respondents, the most important and pressing challenges in descending order were pollution, fishing, land issues and cost of living.

Figure 13. Most important challenges of local people in Cape Three Points



(Field survey, 2015)

As seen in the chart above, the study found two challenges to be most important for the people of Cape Three Points namely; pollution and fishing.

4.3.2.1. Pollution and environmental degradation

The main challenge mentioned by almost all respondents was in the category of pollution and environmental degradation. According to the respondents, a major source of pollution emanated from the proliferation of Sargassum (seaweeds) along the beaches of Cape Three Points after oil discovery and production began off the shore of Cape Three Points. Most of them complained that they have not seen such weeds or smell before and had only noticed it since the oil drilling commenced. Though they did not know what exactly it was or where it came from, they were very certain it was caused by the oil drilling offshore. Two main concerns were identified by respondents as problematic with the seaweeds. Offshore, the seaweeds clog up fishing nets and boat engines, hence destroying fishing equipment and affecting business. One fisherman recounted during the FGD that:

After they said oil is in the sea, we noticed the arrival of ‘some strange weeds’ disposed on the shore by the sea. The weeds could pile so high as human height after weeks. We could not work on the beach because of the smell. And when we go to sea, and we cast our nets, the weeds eat up our nets and engine.

On shore, the local people lamented that the seaweeds had a horrid smell when decomposing along the beach. In the words of a female respondent:

The strong smelling stench from the decomposing weeds stayed for weeks. It made life unbearable for the whole village because everywhere you go, you can smell it. In fact, the smell from the weeds was capable of causing headache and other health problem, maybe some people got sick, me I don't know.

Due to this issue, the respondents believe that they deserve to be compensated by the oil company, specifically Tullow oil, the main operator in the Jubilee field and the most known oil company among the people. Such a compensation did not/has not been received leaving the local people feeling disappointed.

The problem of seaweed pollutions proved to be a contentious one. Upon hearing the local people, the researcher consulted the Tullow oil community liaison officer in the Ahanta-West District on the issue. He argued that the cause of the Sargassum had nothing to do with oil production but rather it is a more natural occurrence that takes place “once in a while”

(Fieldwork, 2015). Scientific evidence (John and Lawson, 1991; Fakoya et al., 2011 cited in Ackah-Baidoo, 2013, p. 407) supports the claim by the community liaison officer that proliferation of sargassum can be a natural occurrence. What remains questionable is why it happened in Cape Three Points after oil was discovered. One cannot say if it was a mere natural confidence or the oil production indeed caused the proliferation of sargassum. Nevertheless, this issue remains a ‘hanging’ issue as both the local people and the oil companies share different opinions. This situation leaves the local people with the impression that oil companies do not want to take responsibility for their actions. Though at the time the researcher conducted the field study, only remaining debris of the weeds were found on the beach (see figure 13), most respondents considered that to be the most pressing challenge since oil operations began. As further discussion will show, the existing of grievances over disputed issues combines with other challenges to intensify frustration among local people, hence posing threats to the relationship between oil producers and local dwellers.

Figure 14. The remains of Sargassum on the beaches of Cape Three Points



(Fieldwork, 2015)

Although not directly commented on by most respondents, studies by the local NGO, Friends of the Nation, on coastal communities have found oil spillage and dead whales as other aspects of pollution in oil bearing communities caused by oil production. For instance, about 20 whales have been reported dead on the beaches of oil-bearing communities, including Cape Three Points, since late 2009 (FON, 2015). In 2010, Kosmos Energy, another partner oil company spilt over 600 barrels of low toxicity oil substance at its drilling fields in Cape Three Points (Amorin and Broni-Bediako, 2013).

Figure 15. Remains of a dead whale along the beach of Cape Three Points



(FON, 2015)

4.3.2.2. Decline in fishing

The findings revealed that the decline in the amount of fish catch and other fishery related challenges were the second most important challenge facing coastal people of Cape Three Points. According to fishermen and the community at large, there is a relative decline in the fishery industry in the community since oil was discovered in 2007. While many agree that it is a perennial problem depending on the season, a general consensus among the respondents existed stating that offshore oil production was responsible for the decline and other challenges facing the fishing industry. The most common reason referred to support this claim was the restriction on fishing close to the oilrig. According to authorities, for safety reasons, a 1000m exclusionary zone has been established around the oilrig on the jubilee field; the floating production, storage and offloading (FPSO) vessel used for oil production (ADB, 2009, p. 19). Consequently, fishermen are not allowed to fish within this zone. Due to the intensive lightening on and around the FPSO vessel, the fishermen maintained that the fishes are attracted to the oilrig. The claim has been supported by research or reports by government authorities. The Environmental Impact Assessment report of the Jubilee partners for example identifies that most of the pelagic fish species of the area are attracted to the oil's FPSO and as long as they remain under it or within the exclusion zone, fishermen cannot access it (ADB, 2009, p. 15). The situation has decreased the availability of fishes within fishing territory whilst increasing the availability of fishes close to the oilrig. With the restriction in place, they are forced to return home with relatively little catch. This, according

to the fishermen and other respondents involved in the fishing industry, has affected business. One female fishmonger who was interviewed grieved that:

...business is really bad now a days. Since this oil people started, our husbands come home with nothing. When we go to buy fish from the fishermen to sell, it is too expensive because they complain there is no catch. If I cannot get money from this fish, how can I feed my children? Things are really hard my brother.

To save their waning business, some fishermen confessed during the FDG that they have attempted to fish close to the oilrig. However, they complained they have been met with maltreatment by Navy officers who patrol around the rig. During the FGD almost all the fishermen agreed with one of the leaders as he lamented that:

The fishes like light so everywhere there is light, they gather there. That is why they always gather around the oilrig. Anytime we go to sea with and we try to go close to the rig, the oil people send some officers to chase us away. Sometimes they even beat us and seize our nets and equipment, because they think we are too stubborn.

Another respondents added that “in fact they treat us like ‘small boys’. This is not fair at all.”

These responses which indicate the existing tensions and use of force by the government are in tandem with reports by the FON affirming the increase militarisation in the offshore oil zone with serious harassment of fishermen, including physical assaults, arrest and detention of fishermen. There are also reports of two major accidents in 2007 and 2008 between oil supply vessel and fishing vessel that resulted in the death of about six fishermen. The fishermen and their families were not adequately compensated for the loss and adequate mitigation measures have not been instituted to avoid future occurrence (FON, 2011, p.15). Again, there are considerable similarities between the ongoing tensions in Ghana and the initial tensions between oil-bearing communities and the oil companies, as discussed in chapter two.

Figure 16. Fishermen fishing close to the offshore oilrig



(FON, 2011, p. 15)

This study can infer that fishermen and the entire community are not only losing their fishing territory and fish catch to oil production, but are also their livelihood. With more exploration and discoveries ongoing, tension might escalate in the future if adequate measures are not put in place to manage the tensions. It has been noted that, the lack of secure livelihoods can contribute to dissatisfaction and agitation that forces people to resort to violence in order to obtain necessary resources (USAID, 2005). The mere existence of grievances do not translate into conflict. The big question is how such grievances are handled by authorities responsible.

As shown above, the interactions with respondents indicated that most people were not satisfied with how their grievances were being handled by oil companies and government. The ongoing tension between the oil companies and government (Navy) on the one hand and the fishermen and the community on the other hand is an indication that there is either little consultation or no real consideration for the concerns of fishermen. Additionally, the tensions are an indication of huge disagreement between the two parties, hence increasing the disappointment, grievances and frustrations of the local people with regards to the discovery and production of oil. Other challenges expressed by respondents and ascertained with secondary data include the high cost of living, proposed relocation of the community and land grabbing in anticipation of further on shore development of oil industry in Cape Three Points. These were mentioned occasionally by single individuals and thus did not make any direct impact on the study.

4.3.2.3. *A highlight of other oil related challenges not present in Cape Three Points.*

An interesting point of discussion has to do with the consideration of challenges that are evident in other oil-bearing communities but absent in the case study of Cape Three Points. In other words, it is worth noting that, what makes these findings significant lies not only in the actual findings of the study but also what was not found.

For instance, unlike the case of Niger Delta, none of the respondent cited increased in social vices and other socio-cultural infiltration as challenges with regards to oil discovery and production. Studies however suggests that oil exploration and production operations are likely to induce economic social and cultural changes particularly on indigenous people who have their traditional life style affected (E& P Forum / UNEP, 1997, p. 11). In the case of Niger Delta for example, the oil bearing-community became a good ground for increasing prostitution and other social vices due to the presence of expatriate workers who attracted the attention of young girls (Turner and Brownhill, 2004, p. 69). This challenge was not identified as a problem among the local people of Cape Three Points since offshore oil operation was not accompanied with migration and settlement of foreigners in the community, as is it in bigger oil-bearing communities like Sekondi/Takoradi.

Secondly, research and personal observation shows an increase in cost of goods and services in Sekondi/Takoradi particularly on rent (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). This is a ripple effect of the discovery and production of oil in Western Region. There is an influx of foreigners, with relatively high standards of living, into the major cities in Western Region. The result is an increase in demand for housing over a relatively lower supply rate, causing a spike in rent and other basic necessities (Plänitz and Kuzu, 2015, p. 9). This was however not mentioned, as the researcher anticipated, as a general concern in Cape Three Points, although it remains a general concern in the Western Region (Obeng-Odoom, 2012).

Finally, although some respondent commented on the high cost of living, it did not reflect the general consensus neither did it reveal that it was necessarily tied to the discovery and production of oil, as in the case of Sekondi/Takoradi. By inferring from these challenges that were not prevalent in Cape Three Points, the study suggest that the influence of oil discovery and production on oil-bearing communities may not be only limited to proximity but also in term of geographical and demographic size as well as the significance of the community

within the region. Thus, how oil operations will affect a country, a region or a community also depends on its physical and demographic significance.

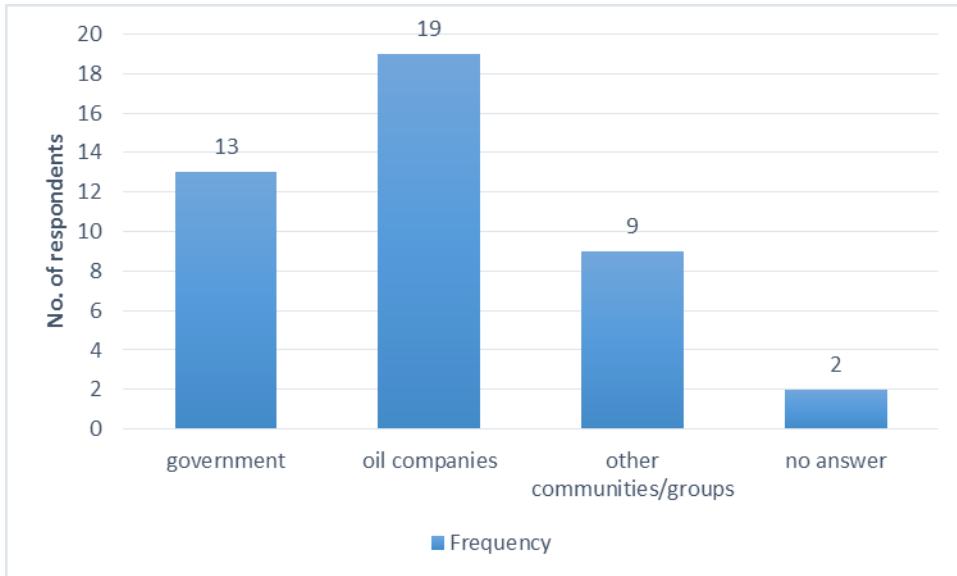
4.4. Applying the relative deprivation theory in the case of Cape Three Points

Three main elements are necessary when applying relative deprivation to any case: deprivation, frustration and aggression. In this study, I focus on three questions: Do people feel relatively deprived? What is the level of frustration among local people? Are people aggressive based on their frustration or are there sign of potential aggressive behaviour?

4.4.1. To what extent do the people of Cape Three Points feel relatively deprived?

Apart from highlighting and understanding the main challenges and expectations, the study also sought to gauge whether there was a feeling of relative deprivation among individuals or the community when compared with other individuals or communities. Two underlying questions are sufficient to establish whether the local people feel relatively deprived when they compare themselves with other individuals or communities. First, do local people feel they are unable to get what they deserve? In other words, is there a gap between value expectation and value capability? Secondly, do the local people feel that other people or communities benefit more than them? The first question is previously answered. The local people of Cape Three Points do feel that they deserve to benefit from the oil revenue since their community is the most mentioned community in relation to oil production in Ghana. However, that has not been realised. Rather, they have been faced with environmental and economic challenges connected to oil operations. On the second question, the majority of the respondent interviewed believed that the oil companies, government and other communities were benefiting from the oil revenue. As the table below shows, 44% of the respondents stated that the oil companies were the main beneficiaries. 30% mentioned that the government was benefiting from the revenue, whilst 21% believed that other communities especially in the District of Ellembele, were also benefiting from development projects.

Figure 17. Who the respondents think is benefitting/ has benefited from oil revenue



(Field survey, 2015)

The findings reveal that a large majority of the local people of Cape Three Points believed that they were being denied benefits to the oil revenues even though it belongs to them more than anyone else. There was a general impression among the local people that Cape Three Points has benefitted marginally from neither the oil companies nor the government. This impression is evident in the community as the researcher did not observe any ongoing development projects in the community. The pictures below show the only water pump in Cape Three Points.

Figure 18. The only pipe-borne water pump in Cape Three Points.



(Fieldwork , 2015)

Basic social amenities are either lacking or woefully inadequate. There is no electricity in the community. The road to Cape Three Points is untarred and filled with potholes, making it difficult to use especially during the rainy season. Rather, when driving through Takoradi to Cape Three Points, the researcher came across projects such as school buildings that were supported by Tullow oil and the government of Ghana. Such observations were in tandem with the impression of the people of Cape Three Points that other communities like, Takoradi, Ellembelle District and Nzema East District, were the main beneficiaries so far. Concerning development projects, the community liaison officer stressed on the fact that there is a competition, between six coastal districts and twenty-three oil-bearing local communities, for a share of development projects. As such, it is not impossible to single out Cape Three Points for development projects since assistance from Tullow oil is mostly on a community initiative and request-driven basis. As a result, a very common statement made by most respondents was captured in a maxim by one of the female respondents when asked about benefits from oil revenue in Cape Three Points.

Respondent: "...bebi aye yie no, na bebi so aseɪ", implying that whilst some places are getting better and progressing, other places suffer and retrogress.

A similar response was given by one of the participant in the FGD for the youth who rhetorically asked; "...have you seen anything going on here? Oh, nothing at all is here for us. If you like go to Nzema East or Ellembelle that is where all the development is taken place."

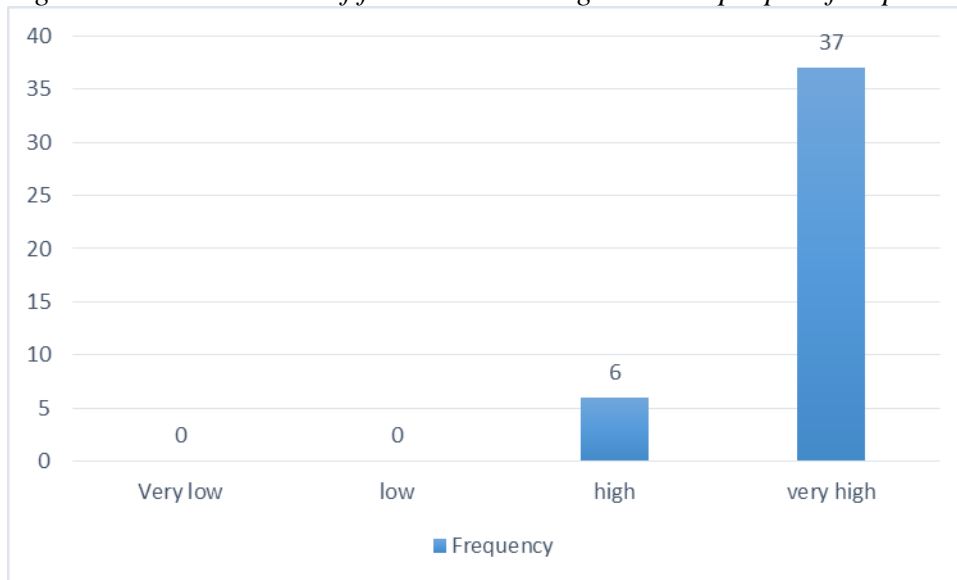
These statements sum up and reflect why most people in Cape Three Points feel relatively deprived of the oil revenue. These feelings of frustration are deepened based on these perception that one group or community have relatively smaller higher gains than another. This deprivation, relative to other groups and communities, when prolonged stimulates deeper disappointment in conjunction with emerging challenges and unfulfilled expectations which produce further frustration. As stated in the theoretical framework, one main mechanism linking grievances over the exploitation and use of natural resources to conflict is the feeling of relative deprivation which produces frustration and aggression. The next section looks at frustration and the level of frustration within Cape Three Points

4.4.2. To what extent are the local people of Cape Three Points frustrated?

Considering the grievances expressed by the respondents and given that there feel relatively deprived, the study sought to further inquire about frustration among the local people of Cape

Three Points. From the findings, every single respondent responded yes when asked whether he/she was frustrated or not. Subsequently, respondents were asked to rank their level of frustrated on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being very low frustrated and 5 being very high frustration. 37 respondents said they have a very high level of frustration while 6 said they have a high level of frustration.

Figure 19. Current level of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Points



(Field survey, 2015)

From the table above, there is clear indication of a very high level of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Points. The findings also reflect the inverse relationship between initial expectation and current frustration level. At the initial stages when oil was discovered, local people were not sceptical or frustrated about oil affecting their business, neither were they aware of the possible challenges associated with oil; it was mostly joyous. However, as initial expectation reduced from high to currently low level, combined with the emerging challenges, frustration soured up. Greater anxiety and frustration has been produced by the simultaneous rapid decline in expectations and rise in challenges.

4.4.2.1. Poor management of local grievances

At this point, it is prudent to reiterate the fact that the mere existence of challenges and expectations do not always generate into frustration. The key question is how such grievances are addressed by respective authorities. The feelings of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Points have emanated partly from a growing divergence between anticipated reality of oil discovery and actual manifest reality of oil production. However, the condition

is been mostly worsened when local people feel that they cannot reach their goal due to the difficulty of being heard, or getting their concerns addressed, a situation that compounds the feeling of deprivation and increases the frustration that exists among people. In an interview with the security expert at the KAIPTC, she reiterated the fact that challenges have not well been managed and that at the time she conducted her study in 2012 “ the people were very aggrieved but sadly some of them had become accustomed to it”. Two findings emerged in this regard; first, there is a lack of alternative means of addressing grievances; and secondly, grievances of local people have not been addressed properly. Most fishermen discussed this problem extensively during the FGD. An executive member of the Fishermen’s Union in Cape Three Points shared his experience:

A representative of Tullow oil gave me his contact number to call him if we have any problem here. I called him later to complain that we need just plastic chairs and canopies during work. You know it is very hot here when we work in the sun. The little way they can help us is by supporting us with our business. Almost four years now, he has since then been postponing his support. Sometimes he does not even answer my call. So far, they have done nothing for us.

Another participant added that:

They have called us for many meetings but when we told them about our concerns with the smelling weeds and the low fish catch, they (the oil companies) always denied being responsible. But if you say you are not responsible, how did the weeds come here. They should also come and live with us in order to smell the weeds. Until then, it feels as if nobody is listening to us and nobody is helping.

A third person stressed that:

Everyday people come here to interview us, but they never taken it anywhere, they don’t even come back. Right now, if you go to the town to interview the people, no one will want to talk to you, everyone is tired of all these interviews.

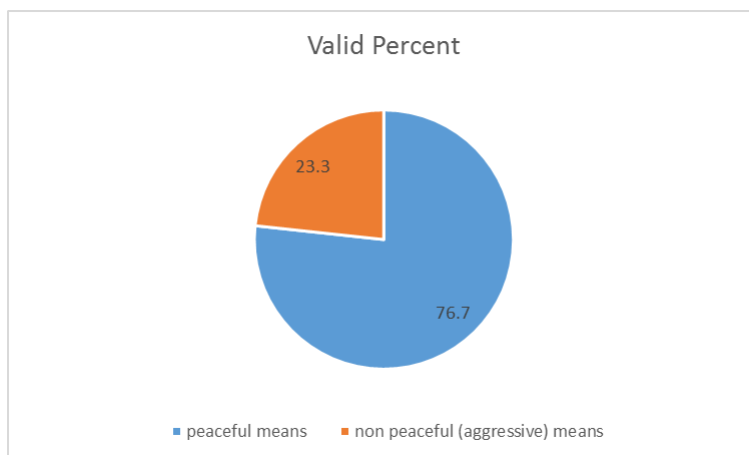
From the responses, it was evident that the local people have expressed their grievances but do not feel they have been heard. They also do not feel that their concerns were adequately considered by authorities. This seeming lack of alternative means to obtain the blocked goals induces a stronger urge to act aggressively based on the increasing frustration. Such collective frustration may trigger violent action.

4.4.3. Assessing the level of aggression in Cape Three Points

The fact that frustration, of different kinds and intensities may potentially lead to anger and aggressive behaviours is not uncommon with human existence. The key question here was to find out to what extent are the local people aggressive or likely to be aggressive?

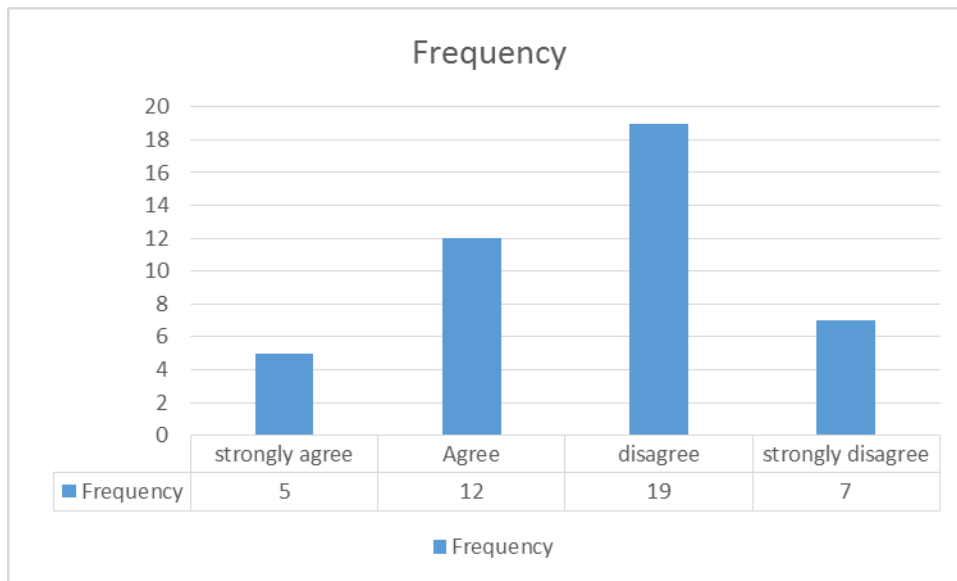
The challenge is that though the use of aggression/aggressive behaviours can be subjectively predicted, it is difficult to objectively measure before they actually occur. In this regard, the study sought to identify the options that people were willing to use to address their grievances. In addition, personal observations and semi structures interviews helped to reveal some findings with regards to aggression. Respondents were asked whether they prefer to resort to peaceful or aggressive means to address their grievances and frustrations. As shown below, 77 % of the respondents stressed that they prefer to use peaceful means whiles 23% emphasised the use of aggressive means. Secondly, respondents were asked categorically to agree or disagree with the question of whether violence is or would be an option in addressing their grievances. On this question, as shown below, 17 (40%) were in favour of the use of violence while 26 (60%) were against the use of violence.

Figure 20. How do you seek to address your grievances and frustrations?



(Field survey, 2015)

Figure 21. Do you think violence is or would be an option to address your grievances and frustrations?



(Field survey, 2015)

The table above summarises the views of the respondents on the use of aggressive and violence means in addressing their grievances.

4.4.3.1. *Contrasting findings on the potential use of aggression*

None aggressive perspective

First, the findings reveal that majority of the local people would prefer to use peaceful means over non peaceful means. The finding tends to disprove the long held assumption that aggression is always a consequence of frustration that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression (Dollard et al., 1939: 1). However, it does not imply an opposition to the proposition that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration (Dollard et al., 1939: 1). In other words, when frustration-aggression mechanism is applied to grievance-based conflicts, it can be argued that though most aggressive behaviours are based on frustrations, such frustrations do not always lead to aggression. Many factors explain why frustration may not lead to aggression and violence. Time, window of opportunity and other socio-cultural characteristics and communal values are some of the factors. Most of the respondents referred to negotiations and dialogue, judicial settlement and official intervention by government authorities as some of the peaceful means to be considered. These views also reflected the opinion of majority of respondents who were against the use of violence regardless of the circumstance. The reasons

was that, in the course of seeking peaceful means to address their grievances, they have become apathetic to the situation and have left their “problems to the God” as was indicated by the Chief.

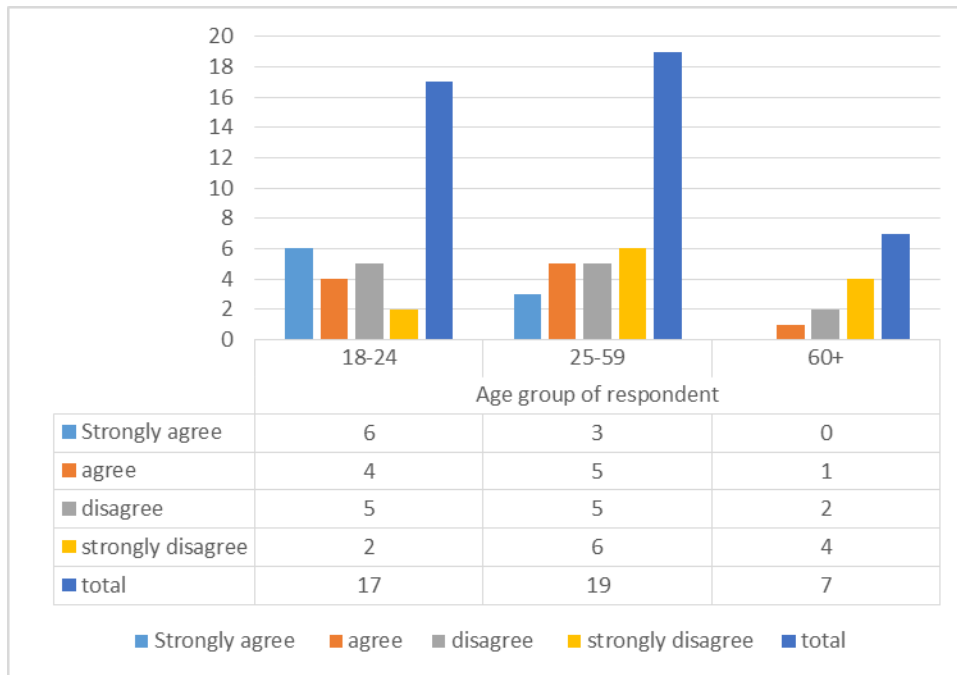
The idea of ‘leaving problems to God’ seems to be characteristic of local people in the community and the country in general. In the interview the Osei-Tutu, she maintained that, the absence of conflict in the oil-bearing communities despite the grievances they have is because “most of the elders in those areas are used to being promised and failed by all governments and have resigned themselves to trying to survive without government assistance and interventions” (Interview with Osei-Tutu, fieldwork, 2015). Another perspective expressed by some respondents pointed to the peaceful nature of the people of Ghana. Despite the many challenges faced by the country, Ghana is internationally recognised as a relatively peaceful nation. According to the Global Peace Index, Ghana is ranked the 5th most peaceful country in Sub-Saharan Africa (GPI, 2012 cited in UNDP, 2013). Tense situations have been managed mostly with less aggressive means. For instance, in 2012 after the general elections, tensions arose due to electoral mishaps and the perception of electoral malpractices. Unlike other countries where such situations resulted in electoral violence, this case in Ghana was referred to court after initial declaration of the winner. After several months of court proceedings, the same verdict was given by the court, a decision that was accepted by the “easy-going people of Ghana” (CNN, 2013). The view on the low level of aggression among respondents also corroborates with other studies that are optimistic about Ghana’s strong capacity to avert an oil conflict (Mitchell, 2012; Moss and Young, 2009). Many have touted Ghana’s ‘exceptionalism’ in Africa that “Ghana’s political stability, history of good governance and relatively strong institutions are signals that the country will effectively manage its new source of wealth” Mitchell (2012, p. 3).

Aggressive perspective

Secondly, whilst the non-aggressive perspective was observed in the study, the opposite was not absent. A significant minority of the respondents maintained that non-peaceful means were necessary at this point in changing their fortune. More specifically, 10 out of the 43 respondents stressed on the need for non-peaceful means while 17 out of 43 agreed (and strongly agreed) to the use of violence as an option to address their grievances and expressing their frustration, as shown in the figures above. Those that favoured relatively non-peaceful means mostly referred to ‘serious’ demonstrations and protests as strategies that could get the government’s and oil companies’ attention to their plights. This was particularly evident

when considering the age and gender distribution of the respondents. When the age group and gender distribution of the respondents were cross-tabulated with the opinion of respondents on aggression, some stimulating findings were made. The results are shown in the figures 21 and 22 below.

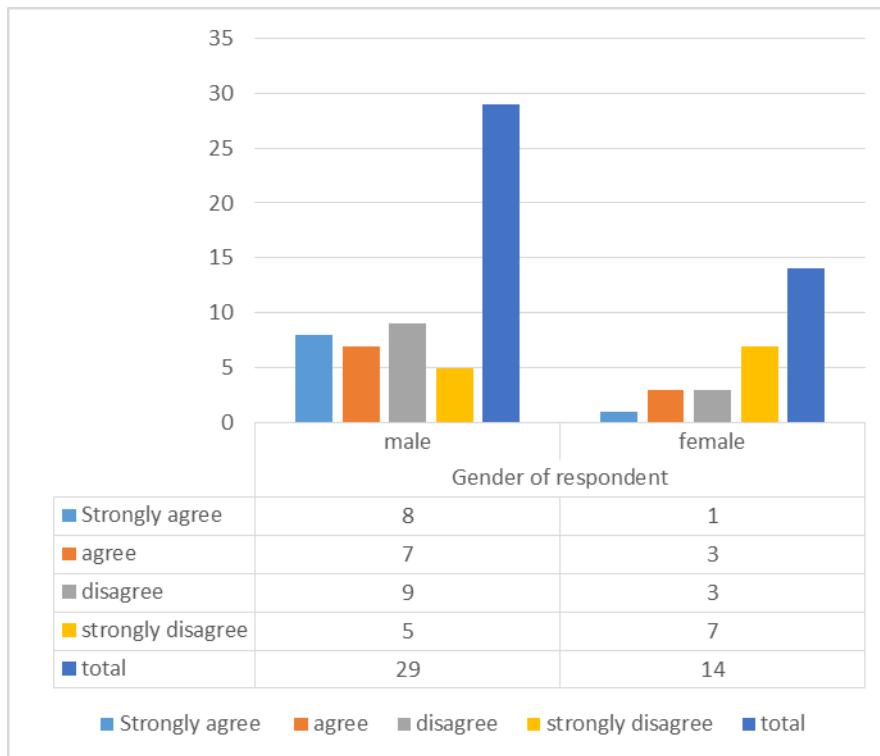
Figure 22. A cross tabulation of age group of respondents and respondents opinions on violence as an option to address grievances and frustrations



(Field survey, 2015)

In this figure (21), it is seen that out of the 17 respondents between ages 18-24 years, 10 of them were in favour of the use of violence. 8 out of 19 respondents between the ages of 25-59 years also favour the use of violence. However, only 1 respondent above 60 years supported the use of violence, thus 6 out of the 7 respondents above 60 years were against the use of violence. Clearly, as the age group increases the number of respondent in favour of violence decreased.

Figure 23. A cross tabulation of gender of respondents and respondents opinions on violence as an option to address grievances and frustrations



(Field survey, 2015)

From figure 22, it is seen the more males, 15 out of 29 respondents, were in favour of the use of violence than the female counterparts, 4 out of 14 respondents. Conversely, more females, 10 out of 14 respondents, disagreed with the use of violence. In total, majority of the males were in support of the use of violence while majority of the females disagreed with the use of violence.

4.4.3.2. The impact of age and gender distribution on the level of aggression

As shown in the two figures (21 and 22), when the age and gender distribution were cross analysed with the data from the use of violence as an option, it became evident that a large majority of the respondents who were in favour of the use of violence were males and within the youthful age group. As earlier indicated, age and gender are important factors when analysing potential conflict, particularly when connected to grievances. Studies by Urdal (2012, p. 2) suggest that a large youth population, coupled with low education and high unemployment increases the risk of political violence, especially those that are grievance based. Similarly, in discussing an enabling environment for conflict, Collier notes that a “country with large natural resources, many young men and little education is very much more at risk of conflict than one with the opposite characteristics” (Collier, 1999, p. 5). In the case of the Niger Delta, the youth were at the forefront of all the violence that plagued the

region. As Obi (2007, p.106) explained, they were agitated by the “high levels of youth unemployment, perceived discriminatory employment practices against locals by oil companies and socio economic and political marginalisation and neglect by successive administrations” which constituted the main grievances that lead to the oil conflict in the region. The findings thus resonates with theoretical propositions as well as past experiences to indicate that the potential for conflict over grievances remain high.

4.4.3.3. Individual responses, collective attitudes and the contrasting findings on the level of aggression.

Another inference from the findings was the impact of group attitudes and individual responses, observed though the use of different methods of data collection, on respondents’ opinion on the potential use of aggression.

On the one hand, the researcher’s personal observation found no indication of aggressive behaviour among the local people. As earlier stated in chapter three, as a participant observer I spent time with the youth playing football, eating together at home, watching movies and football matches at the cinema, going into the bushes to get food and palm wine. One of the main reasons for spending more time with them was to observe how they attempted to address minor issues on the day to day bases as well as the tendency towards the use of aggressive means with regards to oil related grievances. Such observations were necessary to identify how group behaviour influence people’s attitudes and actions on issues at the community level. No sign of violence was directly observed among the youth or in the community throughout the fieldwork period. Practically, it could be argued that the presence of the researcher, as a foreigner among the youth, may have influenced the behaviour of the people. Further efforts to probe the use of violence or aggression among the local people were made during the interview with the chief. When asked about any history of conflict within or between Cape Three Points and other communities, he quickly stated that there has been no major conflict in the last decades, “perhaps, there were in the very old age” (Chief of Cape Three Points, Fieldwork , 2014). Cape Three Points has hosted two ethnic groups (Nzemas and Ahanta) for many decades without ethnic conflicts.

On the other hand, group responses retrieved from both FGDs for the youth and fishermen revealed some signals of aggression, mainly due to the influence of collective attitude on individual actions. As a collective whole, the section of community members that partook in the FGD sympathised with each other on the collective challenges they face. Hence, together

they indicated collective frustration and collective aggressiveness that was not readily observed individually. In the FGD for the youth, one of the participants lamented that:

We want to know if Cape Three Points is part of Ghana or not, because, we don't see that. When oil was discovered, we were told that the government will start a new gas project in this area. It has rather been built somewhere else.

Another participant shouted “Ellembelle”, “Ellembelle” indicating that the gas project has been built at Ellembelle in the Ellembelle District. In continuation, the first respondent added that:

...if they continue to deceive us like this, then we the youth will come together as a group to directly face the oil companies.

Another participant seconded that:

If they continue the same way, we will actually stop them from drilling. We will just organize some boys and get on our boats to attack them on the rig. That is the only way the oil companies and government will listen to us and take us serious.

Similarly, during the FGD with the fishermen, most of the participants clearly stated their frustration with the turn of events. In disappointment, they have decided to be rough to any representative of the government or oil company. As one of the participants pointed out:

They said to us many times that they will help us but the help never came. So if they (referring to the oil companies or government representation) come here again, we will inquire from them what they are coming back here to do and why they promised us but did not deliver. If they cannot answer, then anything can happen. Because I am just sitting here and you come to promise me. When the time is due and you don't fulfil your promise and you refuse to answer my call again, then you only return to me for your slap. As we told you yesterday, you are lucky to be talking to us because you are from Dixcove. For the others, if they come to us again, we will humiliate them if they do.

These findings validate the impact of age distribution on the likelihood of conflict, as discussed earlier. Furthermore, the inconsistency in the responses from the interviews and personal observation - which indicate peaceful means over aggressive means and that of the FDGs - which indicate aggressive means over peaceful means- shows the difference between collective attitude and individual responses. In other words, it depicts how individuals act

differently when alone (individual responses) as compared to when they are in a group (collective attitudes). The preceding sections have confirmed these, among other findings; a decline in level of expectation, the existence and emergence of oil related challenges, a growing sense of relative deprivation, a high level of frustration and finally a contrasting opinion on aggression and the use of violence.

4.5. Linking grievances, relative deprivation and potential conflict.

In order to comprehend this assumed connection between grievances, relative deprivation (frustration-aggression) and potential conflict, one must consider Gurr's explanation of relative deprivation. As a reminder, in Gurr's (1970) explanation of the relative deprivation theory:

The primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be the frustration-aggression mechanism. Frustration does not necessarily lead to violence, and violence for some men is motivated by expectations of gain. The anger induced by frustration, however, is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instrumentalities. If frustrations are sufficiently prolonged or sharply felt, aggression is quite likely, if not certain, to occur. (Gurr, 1970, p 36-37).

The explanation points to that fact that relative deprivation should be understood as creating the potential for collective violence rather than an explicit prediction that violence and aggression are always the end result of frustration. Additionally, it suggest that there is a higher possibility for frustrated people to be aggressive and violence. Given that the findings demonstrate a combination of unfulfilled expectations and emerging challenges since the start of oil production in Ghana, it is appropriate to conclude the local people of Cape Three Points face grievances over the exploitation of oil. These grievances are mostly centred on expectations for employment and education as well as challenges of pollution and decline in the fishing industry, most of which are legitimate grievances. Though some of the grievances are arguably unsubstantiated practically unmerited, the mere existence of such misperceptions have stimulated similar frustrations as the real genuine grievances.

The findings show that expectations of local people have not been met, challenges have not been addressed and as such grievances have generated a feeling of relative deprivation as respondents' believe that other communities, government bodies and oil communities are the main beneficiaries of the oil wealth. Whiles grievances over oil discovery and production have resulted in a sense of relative deprivation in Cape Three Points, such a feeling of deprivation, in itself, has reinvigorated the grievances that the local people face. Together,

both grievances and the sense of relative deprivation have combined to generate high levels of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Point.

This line of argument then follows the 'DFA-linkage'; deprivation produces frustration, which eventually turns into aggression. The link between deprivation (relative) and frustration has been clearly established. However, the link between frustrations to aggression, i.e. use of violence is not directly observable and indications from the study are unclear. Collective attitudes from FDG indicate a sense of possible use of violence, while individual responses point towards relatively peaceful means of addressing grievances and frustration. Thus, despite the existing grievances, a sense of relative deprivation, and the high levels of frustration; the use of violence is neither evidently present nor practically absent. By implication, the study tends to support the assertion that frustrations do not always lead to aggression. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the conditions that support the use of violence and aggression are present in Cape Three Points.

As demonstrated in the early part of this chapter, the demographic characteristics of respondents in Cape Three Points presents suitable conditions that support the onset of conflict over resources. There are enough young people, enough males, a low level of education and unemployed local people in the community. Though frustrations have not directly fuelled violence, they have increased the likelihood that unemployed male youths will seek social and economic advancement by alternative, extra-legal, potentially aggressive means, as indicated by the findings (Gurr, 1970; Beehner, 2007). The actual onset of conflict usually depends on time factor and the availability of a window of opportunity. As previously discussed, the fact that Ghana's oil production is offshore, unlike Nigeria, makes it less lootable and less obstructable, less prone to attack and therefore puts a limitation on the opening of any window of opportunity. Likewise, it can be argued that Ghana is still at the early stages of production, hence, regardless of grievances and frustrations of the local people in Cape Three Points, the likelihood of conflict is limited considering the time factor. In Nigeria, oil conflict commenced in the 1990s although grievances associated with oil emerged in the 60s and 70s. What is important however is that, these findings will be necessary for the elimination and mitigation of possible sources of conflict especially at the community level. In conclusion, from a relative deprivation perspective, conflict tendencies are evident in Cape Three Points, however, violence conflict seems unlikely, especially in the short term. Whether or not the aggressive opinions expressed by respondents will be carried

out, what will be crucial will be how government and oil companies will further respond to local grievance from now and collective violence, if they do occur.

4.6. Summary

The chapter has presented and analysed the main findings from the data collected with regards to the research questions. Employment and education have been discussed as the main expectations whilst pollution and decline in fishing have been highlighted as the main challenges facing the people of Cape Three Points. The relative deprivation theory and other relevant literature have been applied in discussing the findings. The next chapter summarises the main findings of the study and elaborates on the implications of the main findings.

5. CHAPTER FIVE

5.1. Conclusion and implications of the study

Natural resources, particularly oil, have been identified as a threat to peace, security and development in the 21st century. With the emergence of new petro-states in Africa, the discussion of how to address and mitigate the risk of conflict have become topical among researchers. The discovery and subsequent production of oil in Ghana has sparked the ongoing debates about Ghana's ability to avoid the resource curse, and for that matter, the onset of an oil conflict in oil-bearing communities. This study is conducted in a bid to examine the likelihood of an oil conflict and to unravel the potential causes of such community level conflicts. As such, a case study of Cape Three Points, one of the main oil-bearing communities in Western Region, Ghana, was selected to provide an in-depth analysis. The purpose of the study was to identify the main challenges and unfulfilled expectations associated with the discovery and production of oil in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially translate into natural resource conflict. To do this, the relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970) was adopted as a foundation for discussion. The study begun by discussing the natural resource conflict in general and its potential for oil conflict in new and emerging petro-states. Further assessment of the greed and grievance debate essentially concluded that an integrated approach of synergizing the greed and grievances model is the most favourable approach of analysing conflict causes. Nevertheless, contextual considerations made by the researcher pointed towards the use of a grievance based theory, the relative deprivation theory, in understanding the risk of conflict in Ghana. The case of oil conflict in the Niger Delta Region, Nigeria was also extensively examined as a backdrop for highlighting contextual grievances in Ghana. This concluding chapter wraps up the study conducted over a year from 2014 to 2015. The conclusion is divided in three sections. The proceeding section will summarise the major findings and discussions in relation to the research questions as well as other issues that emerged during the fieldwork period in Cape Three Points. Implications of the main findings will be underlined in the second section. The final section will briefly highlight the limitations of the study and how the study could be corroborated through further studies.

5.2. Summary of major findings

The study sought to use the relative deprivation theory (Gurr, 1970) to explain the potential of an oil conflict in Ghana's Cape Three Points. This was done by linking grievances, relative

deprivation and the potential of an oil conflict. The first two research questions emphasised on identifying the grievances; expectations and challenges of local people whilst the last questions underlined the connection between grievances and the likelihood of an oil conflict, with the aid of the relative deprivation theory. The findings of the study are summarised below.

5.2.1. What are the main expectations of the local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?

Employment and education have been the main initial expectations, however, education and infrastructural development have become the dominant expectations currently.

The findings confirmed that employment and education were the two main expectations of local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil. In terms of employment, respondents were hopeful that they would be employed in the peripheries of the oil sector as oil production processes were expected to be in Cape Three Points. This they believed would better their income levels and consequently raise their standard of living. It was also noted that though the expectations may be partially overestimated, they were not entirely unrealistic; most respondents were aware of the employment opportunities they could occupy based on their level of education and area of expertise. Education was found to be the second most important expectation of the local people of CTP at the initial stages when oil was discovered and production begun. Respondents referred to the provision of scholarships and the improvement of the education facilities in the community as the main expectations connected to education. Based on the fact that the study sought to assess the dynamics over time, it became clear from the findings that after five years of oil production and revenue generation, none of the expectations were met. As a consequence, the initial preference of expectations shifted from employment to education. Most of the respondents stated that, their current expectation was on education because, if the oil companies and government have disappointed them with regards to employment, at least they deserve a better education for the children and youth. The findings also suggested that the level of expectation among the local people of CTP have diminished over time, both in terms of number and intensity. Far less people are currently expecting to benefit from the oil revenue. For those that still have expectation, the intensity has reduced from a very high level to low level of expectation.

Three other key findings emerged with regards to expectations of local people. Firstly, it was found that the expectations partly emanated from the misunderstanding of respondents with regards of the ownership of natural resources as well as promises made by politicians and political parties. Secondly, interaction with respondents revealed that most respondents directed their expectations to the government first and then to the oil companies as they believed the government was more responsible to them. Finally, it was clearly indicated that the expectations have not been fulfilled, thus accounting for the downing level of expectations among local people.

5.2.2. What are the main existing and emerging challenges in Cape Three Points with regards to the discovery and production of oil?

Environmental pollution and decline in fishing industry are the main challenges of local people.

The findings confirmed that majority of respondents (95%) do face challenges that emerged as a result of the discovery and production of oil close to CTP. Environmental pollution and the decline in fishing emerged as the two most important problems. In terms of pollution and environmental challenges, the proliferation of sargassum (seaweed) produced bad smell and affected fishing activities offshore in the early periods of oil production. The problem of seaweed pollution proved to be a contentious one as interactions with respondents revealed that whilst the community were sure the seaweeds was due to the oil operations offshore, the oil companies denied being responsible; pointing to the fact that it was a natural occurrence. As of the time the study was conducted, the problem of seaweeds remained a ‘hanging’ issue.

The findings show that the decline in the fishing industry is the most current challenges and the second most pressing challenge after environmental pollution. The main contributing factor referred to by respondents in relation to the decline in the fishing industry is the fishing restriction close to the oilrig. As a consequence of this, there were report of violence and tensions between fishermen and the Navy officers guarding around the rig. Results from interactions with respondents indicated that most people were not satisfied with how their grievances were being handled by oil companies and government. No compensation have been paid for the loose of livelihoods for some fishermen. The ongoing tensions between the oil companies and government (Navy) on the one hand and the fishermen and the community on the other hand tends to indicate that there is either little consultation or no real consideration for the concerns of fishermen. Additionally, the tensions are an indication of

huge disagreement between the two parties, hence increasing the disappointment, grievances and frustrations of the local people with regards to the discovery and production of oil.

The study also suggests that the influence of oil discovery and production on oil-bearing communities may not be only limited to proximity but also in terms of geographical and demographic size as well as the significance of the community within the region. Thus, how oil operations will affect a country, a region or a community also depends on its physical and demographic significance. Together, the existing of unfulfilled expectations and challenges associated with oil production, the findings suggest that widespread community level grievances are present in Cape Three Points.

5.2.3. To what extent is the relative deprivation theory useful in assessing the potential for an oil conflict in Cape Three Points?

From a relative deprivation perspective, conflict tendencies are evident in Cape Three Points, however, the onset of violent conflict seems unlikely, especially in the short term.

Given that community level grievances are pervasive in Cape Three Points, the application of relative deprivation focused on three questions: Do people feel relatively deprived? What is the level of frustration among local people? Are people aggressive based on their frustration or are there sign of potential aggressive behaviour?

The findings from the data collected pointed towards the fact that local people feel relatively deprived mainly because in their opinion, though they 'own' the oil and they and believe they deserve to benefit from the oil production and its revenue, none of the grievances have been addressed. Instead, they suggest that the government, oil companies and other communities and cities are benefiting from the oil revenue whilst they continue to live with their challenges. Hence, there is a gap between value expectation, what people think they deserve to have and value capability, what people believe they can get. The outcome of perceived discrepancy between value expectation and value capability, according to the relative deprivation theory, is the beginning of frustration and aggression. It was evident from the study that there is a high level of frustration among the local people of Cape Three Points. Frustrations have been produced by the simultaneous rapid decline in initial expectations and rise in challenges associated with oil production. Furthermore it was observed that whilst community level grievances have not been well addressed, an inference from the interaction with respondents show that there is a lack of alternative means for further addressing grievances of local people making it difficult for the local people to reach their expectations.

Though there has not been any known case of aggression or violence in connection with the oil production in Cape Three Points, the findings on the potential use of aggression or violence depict a contrasting opinion. Collective responses from group interviews presents an indication that the potential use of aggression or violence is high among the youth and fishermen. However, at the individual level, interviews portrayed a more peaceful opinion and apathetic attitude towards addressing grievances and frustrations of people. In another dimension, a key finding of the study is that age and gender tend to be influential on respondents opinion on the potential use of aggression. The analysis of the data revealed that most of the young male respondents favoured more aggressive methods of addressing grievances as compared to the females and older population who favoured the use of peaceful means.

Based on the analysis of grievances, relative deprivation and potential conflict, the study concludes that although conflict tendencies are evident in CTP, the onset violent (armed) conflict onset seems unlikely, especially in the short term. What is more important is that, latent conflict already exist between local communities and oil companies and government due to emerging challenges and unfulfilled expectations. Collective protests and demonstrations by locals have not yet occurred but seem very likely considering the level of frustration among local people. Ultimately, the occurrence of violent confrontation and low intensity conflict will depend on how collective grievances and frustrations will be addressed and how government and oil companies will respond to collective protest, when they do occur. In nutshell, the relative deprivation theory has been relevant to a large extent, in explaining how grievances of local people of CTP may lead to a potential conflict. The next sections highlights some implications of the study based on the major findings.

5.3. Implications of the study findings

Until actual aggressive or violent conflict occur, measures have to be put in place to either eliminate or effectively mitigate the conditions that enable grievances, relative deprivation and conflict to flourish.

5.3.1. Managing community level grievances

It is evident that community level grievances are pervasive among the people of Cape Three Points as well as other oil-bearing communities. High expectations have diminished whilst challenges have intensified especially in the fishing industry. There is therefore a need for an effective management of grievances in local communities. To be able to combat any issue to

its core, it is necessary to tackle the source of the problem. The study identified the claim of ownership by the local people as one of the main sources of the expectations connected to the oil discovery and production. To manage these expectations, proper sensitization and education of local people in oil-bearing communities on the stakes and responsibilities of individuals, communities, governments, oil companies and other parties in the oil sector will be needed. Here, the role of government bodies, such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the media and civil society organizations, such as FON, will be crucial in providing succinct information and creating awareness among local people with regards to oil and gas issues.

An important dimension of the sensitization and education is the effective flow of information. The study suggests that there is lack of information available and little consultation of local people. To curb this, information flow should come with constant rapidity and accuracy to local people and also provide enough opportunities for feedback from local people. Since the level of education is low in most coastal oil-bearing communities like CTP, there is the need for extra effort by the government to make sure information is well translated and understood by local people through direct dialogue and frequent meetings. Most rural communities rely on radio for information, as such the role of the media cannot be underestimated. As observed by Basedau and Mähler (2011, p. 93), “in new oil countries such as Sierra Leone and Ghana, where oil abundance per capita is limited, realistic calculations of how much oil revenues will actually be available for future redistribution is highly important for avoiding unfounded expectations of wealth”. The media must endeavour to be circumspect in their reportage and discussions regarding oil and gas issues, in order not to further create false expectations. Civil Society Organizations, such as FON, have been very instrumental in informing and educating local people and also listening to their concerns. Such efforts can be intensified with enhanced collaboration with government and other CSOs within the region.

Information flow must however be two-sided. Local people for whom the government is meant to serve need to be heard and they need to see a genuine attempt to address their challenges. Recent studies on oil and gas impact have found that there is a feeling of mistrust against politicians’ capability of steering the affairs of the country with regards to the discovery and production of oil (Plänitz and Kuzu, 2015, p. 79). This was evident in the findings of this study as local people had become apathetic towards the grievances and

unfulfilled political promises. In view of this, establishing a good communication and information flow between locals on the one hand and government and oil companies on the other hand through the media and CSO, the government can be able to forge a state-society synergy that is needed to rebuild a strong social capital and a trustful relationship with the local communities. The impact of social capital and state-society synergy in building trust between government and citizens (communities) has been widely linked to sustainable development (Øyhus, 2013, Evans 1996, Ostrom, 1996). Overall, it is necessary for proper sensitization, education and inflow of information to locals to clarify and alleviate wrong perceptions that have developed overtime, to manage and reduce the frustrations attached to collective expectations, and to rebuild a trustful relationship with local oil-bearing communities.

5.3.2. Addressing community challenges

It was noted in the study that the expectations that the local people had was linked to the challenges they faced, especially in terms of lack of infrastructural development. Meanwhile, it is generally regarded among Ghanaians that the availability of basic infrastructure in a country is a main indicator for economic development and progress (Plänitz and Kuzu, 2015, p.64). The existence of road construction works, reliable water supply, health facilities and electricity supply are therefore very critical to the local communities in measuring the impact of development in the communities. The Petroleum Revenue Management Act, 2011 (Act 815) stipulates that the government has to spend a portion of the oil revenues that is transferred to the Annual Budget for financing socio-economic interventions (Annual Budget Funding Amount-ABFA) on twelve focus areas. According to the Ministry of Finance, oil revenues so far have been spent on four focal areas: “Expenditure and Amortization of Loans for Oil and Gas Infrastructure; Road and Other Infrastructure; Agricultural Modernization; and Capacity Building” (Terkper 2013, p. 10). Although the road and other infrastructure priority area has received GHS1.1 billion (representing 68.5%) of all ABFA disbursements since 2011 (IMANI, 2015), no road project or infrastructural developments were observed in CTP, a confirmation of why the local people feel relatively deprived. Considering the lack of basic infrastructural development such as health facilities in CTP, the study suggest that efforts to address the challenges of local people will require an urgent infrastructural development to supply CTP and other oil-bearing communities with basic roads, hospitals and electricity. Similar suggestion have been made by Osei-Tutu based on her study in CTP (2012). In an interview with her, she also advanced the idea that massive infrastructural

development is needed in oil-bearing communities and the Western Region as a whole in other “to enable its inhabitants appreciate being part of the country and know that their contribution towards the national basket is welcomed”. (Osei-Tutu, 2015) This should be done proportionally so that other regions and communities do not also feel left out.

5.3.3. The need to resolve emerging tensions

Finally, emerging tensions have to be managed effectively so they do not escalate into violent conflict. As shown in the study, tensions are brewing up between the fishermen and the government security forces (Navy) on the issue of fishing close to the Jubilee Field oilrig. This has increased the dissatisfaction of locals with regards to how government and oil companies address their challenges. The ongoing tensions have to be urgently curtailed through dialogue and peaceful settlement with the fishermen and local communities with the involvement of other key stakeholders such as oil companies and National Peace Council. Peaceful settlement of emerging tensions implies that justice and fairness must be upheld. Hence, adequate compensation should be provided to fishermen and communities that lose their livelihood and possessions due to oil production activities. Oil companies should show, through the corporate social responsibility programs, a genuine effort to improve conditions in communities where they operate. Such effort to ensure peace and justice for local communities will be necessary to kindle local support of the offshore oil production rather than sparking collective opposition and rebellion against oil production.

5.4. Limitations of the study and suggestions for further studies

While these findings and the analysis may have its flaws and limitations, they do have considerable value, particularly in helping to explain the potential drivers of oil conflict and to predict, to some extent, the risk of oil conflict in oil-bearing communities in Ghana. For this reason, it is imperative to highlight other potential causes of conflict and issues that have not been adequately taken into consideration in this study. The following issues will be of interest for further research.

First, because this study was a theory-guided research work, other potential conflicts sources that were identified by the researcher were not adequately factored in the discussion. One of such issues is the ongoing disagreement between Ghana and Ivory Coast with regards to border issues and the ownership of oil fields. Though the case is still under the jurisdiction of the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (2015), it will be interesting to examine the events that unfolds between the two countries after the final verdict is given. In terms of

methodology, the study was limited to CTP and had relatively less number of respondents. However, it was illustrated in the findings that certain characteristics that may augment the grievance narrative of resource conflict, e.g. the decline in socio-cultural standards, were not evident in the small community of CTP as it is bigger cities like Takoradi. As such, further studies in major cities in the country may benefit from stronger statistical inferences. Finally, it will be interesting to find out if grievances and relative deprivation exist in other non-oil-bearing communities in Ghana and how the relationship differs from findings of this study.

On an ending note, this study is by no means an insinuation of imminent violence conflict in CTP, nor is it an indication of existing violence conflict. Rather, it has proven that the findings on grievances and relative deprivation in CTP present current conditions and circumstances that cannot be overlooked if violent conflict is to be prevented in Ghana and other new and emerging petro-states.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Target: Members of the local community of Cape Three Points.

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am a student from Ghana currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MSc.) Development Management at the University of Agder, Norway. This questionnaire is part of the requirements to obtain my master's degree in the above mentioned programme. My dissertation topic is "Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana". The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict.

I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer this questionnaire. NB: All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

Demographic data

I. Background information of respondents

A. Gender: Male () Female ()

B. Age group 18-29 () 30-59 () above 60 ()

C. Level of educational attainment

No formal education () Basic () Secondary () Tertiary () Others ()

D. Occupation

Fishing () Farming () Trader () Unemployed ()

Any other, please specify.....

II. Initial and Current Expectations concerning oil discovery and production

1. Did you/do you have expectations with regards to the oil discovery and production in your area?

Initial: Yes () No ()

Current: Yes () No ()

2. If yes, how will you rank the level of your expectation

Initial expectation

Current expectation

Very high

Very high

High

High

Moderate

Normal

Low

Low

Very low

Very low

3. What are the specific expectations you had/have with the oil discovery and production in your area?

Initial

Current

Employment /job creation ()

Employment /job creation ()

Education/Training ()

Education/Training ()

Better living standards/ rise in income ()
()

Better living standards/ rise in income

Infrastructural development ()

Infrastructural development ()

Any other(s), please specify.....
specify.....

Any other(s), please

4. What expectations have been met so far?

	Initial	Current
Employment /job creation ()		
Economic growth/Rise in income ()		

Infrastructural development ()		
Any other(s), please specify.....		

III. Emerging challenges

5. Do you face any challenges with the discovery and production of oil close to your community? Yes () No ()

6. If yes, what challenges do you face with the discovery and production of oil close to your community?

7. How will you rank the aforementioned challenges?

High cost of living ()

Pollution and environmental degradation ()

Decline in fishing ()

Lack of jobs ()

Land issues ()

Any other(s), please specify

8. In your opinion, do you feel you/your community have benefited from the oil production revenue so far.

You Yes () No ()

Your community Yes () No ()

9. Do you feel you/community will benefit from the oil production sometime in the future

You Yes () No ()

Community Yes () No ()

10. In your opinion, who do you think has benefited from the oil production revenue so far?

IV. Mitigation Avenues

11. Have you been consulted (by government or oil company) or expressed your opinion concerning the oil discovery and production in your area since it started

Yes () No ()

12. Have these grievances (expectations/challenges) been addressed?

Yes () No ()

13. If yes, what, when and how?

14. In your opinion, who should be more concerned/responsible for addressing your grievances? Please rank

Government ()

Oil companies ()

CSOs ()

Me/We/Community ()

Other(s), please specify..... ()

V. Frustration-Aggression?

15. Do you feel frustrated

Yes () No ()

a. If yes, how frustrated are you using of scale of 1-5. (NB.1=very low, 5=very high)

b. If yes, how do you personally (in a group) seek to further address your challenges?

.....

16. In order of preference, which of these alternatives are you willing and able to consider as an approach to addressing your grievances and frustrations

Official intervention by authorities (Assemblyman, government, Chief)

Negotiation and dialogue

The judicial process

Demonstrations and protest

Any other (s), please specify.....

17. Do you therefore prefer to resort to peaceful or non-peaceful means in order to address your grievances and frustrations?

Peaceful means ()

Non-peaceful means ()

18. Do you think violence is an option to address your grievances and frustrations?

Strongly agree ()

Agree ()

Don't agree ()

Disagree ()

Strongly disagree ()

19. How optimistic are you on a scale of 1 to 3 (1=low optimism, 3=high optimism)

Appendix 2. Semi-structured interview guide

Respondent: Traditional chief of Cape Three Points

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am a student from Ghana currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MSc.) Development Management at the University of Agder, Norway. This questionnaire is part of the requirements to obtain my master's degree in the above mentioned programme. My dissertation topic is "Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana". The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict.

I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer this questionnaire. NB: All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

1. Did you/do you have expectations with regards to the oil discovery and production in your area?
2. What are the specific expectations you had/have with the oil discovery and production in this community?
3. What were/are the specific most important challenges?
4. Do you think community grievances have been addressed? Kindly explain your answer.
5. In your opinion, do you feel your community have benefited from the oil production revenue so far?
6. How frustrated is the community with regards to the grievances connected to oil discovery and production?
7. How does the community seek to address the situation?
What do you think is the way forward?
8. Do you think violence is an option to address grievances and frustrations?
9. Is /has there been any minor ethnic or other conflicts/tensions in the community or surrounding communities.

Appendix 3. Focus Group Discussion Guide

Respondents: Youth and Fishermen

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am a student from Ghana currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MSc.) Development Management at the University of Agder, Norway. This questionnaire is part of the requirements to obtain my master's degree in the above mentioned programme. My dissertation topic is "Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana". The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict.

I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer this questionnaire. NB: All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

1. What were/are the specific expectations you had/have with the oil discovery and production in this community?
2. What were/are the most important challenges you face with the oil discovery and production in this community?
3. Do you think your grievances have been addressed? Kindly explain your answer.
4. In your opinion, do you feel the youth/fishermen have benefited from the oil production revenue so far?
5. How frustrated are you with regards to the grievances connected to oil discovery and production?
6. How do you seek to collectively address the situation?
7. Do you prefer to use peaceful or non/peaceful means?
8. Do you think violence is an option to address grievances and frustrations?

Appendix 4. Semi-structured interview guide

Respondents: Security expert; Joana Osei-Tutu (KAIPTC)

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am a student from Ghana currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MSc.) Development Management at the University of Agder, Norway. This questionnaire is part of the requirements to obtain my master's degree in the above mentioned programme. My dissertation topic is "Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana". The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict.

I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer this questionnaire. NB: All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

1. Based on the findings of your study in 2012, how will you rank the possibility of an oil conflict in Cape Three Point, on a scale of 1-5 (1-very low, 5-very high)?
2. Please explain why and what is likely to ignite any possible conflict.
3. Based on your study, what challenges/expectations are more likely to cause tensions and violence?
4. Based on your study, what form could a potential violent conflict take, considering the grievances of the local people? (1-3)
 - By local communities towards government
 - By local communities towards oil companies
 - Between local communities over share of development.
5. Despite the ongoing challenges and grievances, no violent conflict has been recorded in the Cape Three Points, and Ghana as a whole. In your opinion, what explains this?
6. Can an oil conflict be averted in Ghana, in the long term? If yes, why and what will make Ghana different from other African countries involved in oil conflict?
7. What can be done to further prevent conflict? Which issues should be the focus in the coming years in order for Ghana to avoid an oil conflict?

Appendix 5. Semi-structured interview guide

Respondent: Kingsley Arthur (Community liaison officer, representative of Tullow oil.)

My name is Edwin Wuadom Warden. I am a student from Ghana currently pursuing a Master Degree in (MSc.) Development Management at the University of Agder, Norway. This questionnaire is part of the requirements to obtain my master's degree in the above mentioned programme. My dissertation topic is "Oiling the Wheels of Conflict? Local Grievances, Relative Deprivation and the Potential for Conflict in Cape Three Points, Ghana". The main aim of the study is to identify the grievances (challenges and expectations) associated with oil discovery and production in Ghana and how such grievances can potentially lead to an oil conflict.

I would therefore be grateful if you could spend some few minutes to answer this questionnaire. NB: All answers provided are strictly for academic purposes and would be treated as confidential.

1. Are you aware of the grievances of the local people in Cape Three Points with regards to the oil discovery and production in the community?
2. What is being done to address the grievances and frustrations of local people? Do you think you have been effective in this respect?
3. In your opinion, have the local people of Cape Three Points benefited from the oil production revenue so far?
8. What is the way forward? What can be done to prevent grievances and frustrations from escalating into conflict?

Appendix 5. Letter of introduction

Date: 1 December, 2014 Visiting Address:
Gimtemmen 25
Phone: +47 38 14 16 20
Fax: +47 38 14 10 28

To Whom It May Concern,

EDWIN WARDEN

This is to certify that Edwin Warden is a student at University of Agder, Norway. He is pursuing a MSc degree in Development Management and is planning to conduct field work and data collection in Ghana in connection with his master's thesis. Field work in connection with the master's thesis is a compulsory part of the master programme.

He will do his thesis on the topic: "*Natural resources, conflict prevention and development in Ghana (Oil Sector)*", and is planning to do the data collection from 5 January to 10 February, 2015.

We would be most grateful if he could be rendered any necessary assistance during the period of his fieldwork.

With Best Wishes,
Yours Sincerely,



Jannik Stølen Timenes
Academic Adviser
Department of Global Development and Planning
University of Agder

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