UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

OIL AND GAS INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND ITS EFFECT ON COMMUNITIES: EXPERIENCES FROM GHANA AND UGANDA

BY

MALIAM ACIO

(10509709)

THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES DEGREE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

I hereby certify this thesis as original and my own and that neither part nor the whole has ever been presented in this University or any other institution for an award of any academic degree. All references of others made to the work have duly been acknowledged.

.....	……..……..……
MALIAM ACIO	**DATE**
(Candidate)	
.....	……..……..……
PROF. FELIX. A. ASANTE	**DATE**
(Principal Supervisor)	
.....	……..……..……
DR. WOLFRAM LAUBE	**DATE**
(Co-Supervisor)	
.....	……..……..……
PROF. SAMUEL AGYEI-MENSAH	**DATE**
(Co-Supervisor)	

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents,

Emeritus Bishop Melchizedek Otim

and

Aya Joyce Otim.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The greatest gratitude goes to Almighty God. My heart is filled with endless joy for granting me life and good health to complete this work. I will forever praise you Lord.

To Prof. Felix A. Asante, Dr. Wolfram Laube and Prof. Agyei-Mensah, I remain ever so grateful for your excellent guidance through dedicated support and an 'open-door' policy. Deutscher Akademischer Austauch Dienst (DAAD) deserves my heartfelt appreciation for funding my studies through their German Academic Exchange Service.

To my ISSER faculty and non-faculty staff, PhD graduate office team and my class 'cohorts', it has been such a beautiful educative journey together, getting to work with each of you, becoming good friends and partners for community, nation and world development. To external partners including research assistants, Ghanaian and Ugandan government officials, Civil Society Organisations, cultural and traditional institutions and my research respondents, I say meda mo'ase ('thank you' in Twi) and apwoyo atek ('thank you' in Lango).

To my own aunt Pat, friends in Ghana (the African Star) and Uganda (the Pearl of Africa) my lovely home nation, for consistently keeping in touch, encouraging and supporting me through the four year period. You will remain my most adorable confidants for life. To my Christ Anglican Church, Legon, family, thanks for the encouragement and spiritual support.

Now to my own family, Almighty God has done it for us. Your unconditional support is noted for life. God knows your names one by one and what my heart prays about each of you. To my dearest Apap (my cheerleader), Aya, brothers, sisters, in-laws, nieces, nephews, 'grand and great grandkids', Thank you for sacrificing and missing me all these years. I have missed you too and I love you all. May God reward you all.

ABSTRACT

It is expected that the discovery of oil and gas will propel economic growth and development. When Uganda and Ghana discovered oil and gas in commercial quantities in 2006 and 2007 respectively, there were high hopes that projects emanating from the sector would positively affect the two nations, particularly the project communities. Uganda and Ghana undertook projects following the discovery of oil: Uganda acquired lands for the construction of an oil refinery in Hoima District; and Ghana built a Gas Plant at Atuabo in the Ellembelle District in the Western Region. This study examined the effects of displacement, which resulted from land acquisitions for the two projects; and highlighted the roles played by institutions in the processes leading to the displacement, and how the interactions shape the outcome of the displacement of affected communities.

The study was guided by two key theories. The Impoverishment and Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) Model of Micheal Cernea (1997), which presents eight key risks associated with displacement. These are landless, homelessness, joblessness, marginalisation, food security, social disarticulation, morbidity and mortality. The actor-oriented approach underscores the role of different actors and interests in influencing development outcomes and Livelihood Framework was adopted and modified, informed by the IRR framework and the actor-oriented approach theory to develop a conceptual framework that guided the study. The study employed a mixed method approach. The qualitative was employed for both study areas and quantitative for the Ghana case study; and qualitative for interviews with relevant government institutions, traditional authorities of the project areas, and CSOs who were directly involved in the acquisition, resettlement and compensation processes.

Acknowledging the context and dynamics of both cases, the study found that the projects created both direct and indirect displacement in the project affected communities. In both countries, dialogue processes were informational rather than consultative. The consequences of the minimal consultation processes resulted in undervaluation of assets on the lands acquired and delayed payment of compensation. There was institutional interaction at various levels of the acquisition and project implementation processes where government, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and traditional authorities, played various roles in the interest of the state and the people.

While the two projects displaced people's livelihoods through the loss of farmlands and housing among others, the people furthermore encountered institutional bureaucracy that delayed their effort in seeking redress on concerns that they had on the projects. The study recommends that the government of Ghana consider passing a law for prior payment of compensation before acquisition and taking over of land and other properties. In Uganda, laws on compulsory acquisition must empower owners of land and property affected by projects to engage private valuers at government cost. Both governments should comply with their land acquisition policies and laws, conduct meaningful consultation and make adequate and timely compensation to affected people.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AfDB	African Development Bank
AfDBG	African Development Bank Group
BP	Bank Procedure
CDB	Chinese Development Bank
CDCO	District Community Development Office
CHPS	Community-based Health Planning and Services
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CSPOG	Civil Society Platform on Oil and Gas
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DAAD	Deutscher Akademischer Austauch Dienst
DFID	Department of International Development
DRC	District Resident Commissioner
ECH	Ethics Committee for the Humanities
EI	Executive Instruments
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EPA	Environmental Protection Agencies
EPCC	Engineering, Procurement, Construction and Commissioning
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GNPC	Ghana National Petroleum Corporation
GP	Guiding Principle
GPID	Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement
GRM	Grievance Redress Mechanism
GSS	Ghana Statistical Services
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).
IDI	In Depth Interview
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Centre

IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IRR	Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction
ISSER	Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research
LI	Legislative Instrument
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
LVD	Land Valuation Division
MEMD	Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development
MLNR	Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources
MLHUD	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
MoFEP	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoP	Ministry of Petroleum
OP	Operational Policy
ORRA	Oil Refinery Resident Association
PAPs	Project Affected Persons
PHC	Population and Housing Census
PIA	Project Implementation Agreement
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RAP	Resettlement Action Plan
RSC	Refugees Studies Centre
SFI	Strategic Friends International
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SRID	Statistics Research and Information Directorate
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UHRC	Uganda Human Rights Commission
ULC	Uganda Lands Commission
UNCST	Uganda National Council for Science and Technology
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme

UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UWOPA	Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Oil discovery for most countries is normally received with great joy and anticipation for accelerated economic growth (Vokes, 2012) although it does not directly translate into higher GDP and human development for most developing countries (Asamoah, 2012). Most discoveries have happened in among marginalised poor communities around the world in countries such as Indonesia, Nigeria, Burma, Angola, Colombia, Ghana and Uganda (Terminski, 2011). In general, oil-related displacement in different parts of the developing world bear a similar pattern. Their common element is growing economic and social marginalisation, resulting from bad governance, ethnic domination by those in power, politicising benefits, and corruption tendencies (Terminski, 2011), thus making the resource curse theory a reality. This assertion is backed by evidence from the Niger Delta in Nigeria and in South Sudan, where oil and gas discoveries have resulted in unending conflict amidst its vast resources; thus, displacing millions and causing stunted economic growth and often environmental degradation (Akpabio and Akpan, 2010).

Ghana and Uganda are among the most recent countries in Africa to discover oil. In 2006 Uganda discovered its oil in commercial quantities; while Ghana discovered its oil in commercial quantity in 2007 (Asamoah, 2012). Following these discoveries, different oil-related activities have since taken place. This has altered people's livelihoods in the communities where oil has been discovered in both Ghana and Uganda. In Ghana, although most of the displacement has happened indirectly, where communities have lost pieces of land but have not been physically relocated, the need to lay gas pipelines necessitated government acquiring land from communities for this project

(Asamoah, 2012). According to reports of Global Rights Alert (2013), other oil-related activities, like hotel construction, warehouses, and road works among others, have likewise affected the communities. The situation is quite different and more devastating in Uganda where over seven thousand people have been directly displaced (they have been physically relocated from the ear marked refinery land) to pave the way for the construction of an oil refinery (Global Rights Alert Report, 2013).

According to Crawford et al. (2015), displacement numbers has been on the increase every year: in 2014, 59.5 million were displaced globally due to disaster, conflict and development, with the number increasing to 65.3 million by 2017. Internally displaced people comprised just under 50% of the total displaced (Crawford et al., 2015). In the 1990's, according to a World Bank report, 10 million persons worldwide entered a cycle of displacement by development projects such as dams, roads, oil refineries constructions, gas and mining projects (World Bank, 1994). While such projects bring a lot of benefits to society, they correspondingly impose costs, which are often borne by its poorest and most marginalised members (Cernea, 2000).

According to Bebbignton (2009), extractive industries are one of the major causes of environmental damage and relative poverty, coupled with limited economic diversification in most areas where extractive activities take place. Bebbignton notes that public health conditions worsen and cites the example of La Oroya town in Peru, which is at the centre of regional mining and smelting and identified as one of the world's 10 most polluted areas (Bebbignton, 2010). For millions of people around the world development related activities have cost them their homes, their livelihoods, their health, and even their very lives. Impoverishment and disempowerment

often become their lot, with particularly harsh consequences for women and children (Robinson, 2003).

Development-induced displacement spreads widespread social, environmental and economic changes that usually follow a well-established pattern. These patterns vary in intensity but are most times consistent regardless of the type of project or industry responsible for the displacement (Cernea & McDowell, 2000). Failure to mitigate and avoid these risks may generate "new poverty", as opposed to the "old poverty", thus, poor people become even poorer (Cernea & Scmidit-Saltau, 2000). Even more difficult is the fact that the extent to which displacement affects people's lives is not tangible and therefore not measurable. The extent of impacts like marginalisation, social disarticulation and displacement are difficult and problematic to arrive at (Penz, Drydyk and Bose, 2011; Cernea and McDowell, 2000).

Development-induced displacement is not a recent phenomenon. In Europe, after the enlightenment in the 18th century, large scientific and technological advances sparked economic growth and industrialisation. These huge societal transformations brought about various forms of displacement. During the colonial period and after independence, western modes of development became global models and many 'developing' countries started industrialising, modernising their agriculture, and developing their physical infrastructure through, for instance, the creation of large dams. The 1970s to 1980s saw a global boom in infrastructural development with highly disastrous levels of displacement (Dwivedi, 1999). According to Das (1996), since World War II, many communities have undergone resettlement as a result of development efforts driven by dam construction, rural development projects, urban renewal and development and implementation of political programmes (Das, 1996).

This is an important and common phenomenon that happens worldwide: yearly a large number of people, mostly from remote, rural and marginal communities, face severe threats to their livelihood security due to displacement for different purposes (Penz et al., 2011). This takes place in different forms and in different places. The forced removal of people from their homes due to development, conflict and disaster, and, in some instances, economic displacement through restricted access to sources of livelihood force people to move in pursuit of their livelihoods (Cernea and Scmidit-Saltau, 2000). Mostly large land acquisition for development projects deprive people of their livelihood and yet its role in economic development is minimum and most times not benefiting those directly affected (Lobo and Kumar, 2009). There have been efforts to try and minimise the negative impact of development-induced displacement through enacting policies and guidelines that guide the process, as is discussed in detail in section 2.9 of chapter two.

1.2 Problem Statement

Displacement, even when it seemed necessary as part of a developmental programme, is most times crisis-prone in nature and it causes profound socio-economic as well as cultural disruption for communities affected (Cernea, 1997). It breaks up peoples' living patterns, social ways of living and continuity; and breaks down existing means of production, distorts social networks, causes many to be impoverished, threatens cultural identity, and increases the risks and spread of diseases (Robinson, 2003).

Extractive industry is not an exception when it comes to community displacement. Oil and gas production has displaced communities, either directly through physical relocations and evictions

or indirectly by destroying their sources of livelihood and networks through which they derived a living (Cernea, 2000. They are often faced with landlessness, joblessness, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, marginalisation, increased morbidity and social disarticulation (Cernea, 2000). Thus, the affected communities in many countries have sparked off conflicts and protests demanding for their rights and some have resulted in armed conflict, for instance in Nigeria's Niger Delta, South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (Terminski, 2012; Chindo, 2011). This has ultimately led to extreme violations of people's rights, including the right to life, as people lose their livelihoods, especially the poor and marginalised sections of the society such as the fishing and farming communities (Anyawu and Erhijakpor, 2014).

This study goes a long way to fill the knowledge gap in terms of empirical studies in the area of oil and gas in Ghana and Uganda where most studies in the field of displacement have so far been carried out in the mining and energy sector (Clarinval and Hunt, 2014). Literature on displacement mostly relates to development induced displacements; that is, the large dam constructions and the resultant displacements (Das, 1996). Empirical studies carried out in this area have focused on the social-economic impact of oil and gas on the communities but not necessarily on displacement and its effects on the communities' livelihoods with a concentration on government policies and laws guiding the process and its effective implementation (Hens, 2005; Mooney, 2003a).

Cernea (1996) showed the significance of studying displacement and notes that displacement activities are big, very frequent and consequential enough to merit research into its dynamics, its types and livelihood alterations; thus, making it an important field of study in order to understand its dynamics and its effects on communities. The Kampala Convention (2012) on the protection of internally displaced persons and the International Monitoring Centre report (2016) on

displacement in Africa mentions internal displacement including displacement caused by large development projects (one of the most neglected issues, unlike conflict) and natural disasters that are normally loud and attract global attention and action. This, therefore, calls for more studies and documentation of the dynamics of how well development-induced displacement is handled via conducting research and documenting the facts and figures that, at the moment, are difficult to arrive at in Africa (International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2016; Kampala Convention, 2012).

According to Ploeg (2011), availability of natural resources in a country can be either a blessing or a curse. With evidence of resource rich countries turning their resources into a blessing, for instance Botswana is rich in diamond and it has contributed over 80% of its foreign exchange to its country, Norway, United States of America (USA) and Canada are some of the countries that have turned their natural resources into a blessing through development. He also indicated countries where the abundance of resource wealth has become a curse, namely Nigeria, Sudan, and Congo, all part of the African continent. This situation, coupled with weak and corrupt institutions that promote rent seeking, has resulted in slow growth of these economies (Fosu, 2011; Ploeg, 2011).

However, this study focused on an inquiry into the experiences of displacement induced by oil and gas related activities in the Ghana gas pipeline project and Uganda's oil refinery project and its effects on communities: a thorough study context with project details is discussed in chapter four. This deeper study will build on to the few existing empirical works on oil and gas displacement and its effects in both Ghana and Uganda.

Both countries under study have laws (Ghana's 1992 Constitution and Uganda's 1995 Constitution) that make provision for the protection of its citizens' rights and right to ownership of property including land. Inappropriate implementation of these laws creates a major loophole through which protest and conflicts arise as communities begin to feel cheated due to the unfair compensation provided (Terminski, 2011; Chindo, 2011). Ghana's development-induced displacement is not a recent occurrence with the case of Akosombo dam where over 78,000 persons were displaced in the 1960's; and with the recent construction of the Bui dam that affected over 2000 people: both to pave way for development. The Akosombo dam sets a case for Ghana's land acquisition and compensation where lessons learnt informed future projects. Some of the compensation issues regarding the construction of the Akosombo dam have not been concluded to date (Rashid et al., 2008; Tsikata, 2012).

In Uganda, the construction of the Bujagali hydropower dam displaced a number of people in recent years, including the Karuma hydropower dam being the most recent development-induced displacement project prior to the oil refinery displacement. The affected communities of the Bujagali hydro electricity dam still grumble in dissatisfaction of the compensation and resettlement (Kangave, 2011).

1.3 Research Question

What are the impacts of oil and gas induced displacement and its effects on communities in Ghana and Uganda?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Main Objective

To assess the nature of oil and gas induced displacements and its effects on affected communities in Ghana and Uganda.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To identify the oil and gas displacement context and dynamics for communities in Ghana and Uganda.
2. To analyse institutional involvement, participation, compensation and resettlement of the land acquisition process for both Ghana and Uganda.
3. To assess the effects of oil and gas induced displacement on communities using the Atuabo Gas Project in Ghana as a case study.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Ghana and Uganda are similar and dis-similar in many ways. This makes it interesting to study the two countries in the context of displacement induced by their new oil and gas discoveries. Both countries' constitutions emphasise citizens' right to own property. Ghana's 1992 Constitution, Article 18(2) provides for circumstances under which the government can acquire land and its procedure; with a similar provision found in Uganda's 1995 Constitution, Article 26. The constitutions in the two countries empower them to compulsorily acquire property. However, in Ghana, this can only be made under the law (ACT 125) that makes provision for prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation; while in Uganda, compulsory land acquisition can only to be made upon prior payment of a fair and adequate compensation before taking possession of lands

Ghana and Uganda are among the countries with the most recent discoveries of oil and gas on the continent and are dealing with similar issues from the development of laws and policies related to oil and gas production and infrastructural development and value addition on the crude raw material.

Most studies on development-induced displacement are retrospective, mostly conducted far after the displacement and development has occurred. This study combines the institutional framework with contemporary and retrospective perspectives on oil and gas induced-displacements in the two countries, and examines the interaction between both countries' legal and institutional contexts and how they shaped the displacement processes and outcomes. It is therefore of great importance to investigate how both countries have been affected by this phenomena with regards to land acquisition handling and management after decades of debates on the resource curse thesis.

1.6 Thesis Structure

The thesis has been organised into seven chapters. Following the introductory chapter is Chapter Two, which presents and discusses literature within the scope of the study. The chapter presents literature reviewed on displacement, the concept of displacement, oil and gas displacement globally, in Africa, and specifically for Ghana and Uganda. This section is followed by a discussion of relevant international policies and guidelines regarding displacement and compensation as well as the effects of displacement on communities. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the conceptual and theoretical framework adopted for the study.

Chapter three gives details of the study area and the methodological approach used for the study. Chapters Four to Six present the research results, with Chapter Four highlighting the displacement

context and dynamics for Ghana and Uganda. The project details for the Ghana Gas Project and Uganda Oil Refinery are discussed with a description of the legal framework, land acquisition process and the status quo for both countries. The analyses of institutional roles and participation during the process of acquisition, giving the background of the institutions involved, the roles they played and the institutional review of the process is discussed in Chapter Five. Chapter Six is a case study of the Ghana gas plant and presents the results of a quantitative study of the effects of the gas plant project on the affected communities. The last chapter (Chapter Seven) briefly summarizes and discusses the empirical results, and provides the conclusion, policy recommendations and areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the literature on displacement: defining displacement as a concept, its different forms, and international policies and guidelines on displacement. In addition to this, oil and gas related displacement scenarios globally and in Africa are reviewed, together with international best practices concerning handling displacement issues. The chapter concludes with a discussion on theories of displacement, the conceptual framework and theoretical considerations adopted for the study. The two main concepts and theories guiding this work are the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction theory and the Livelihood Framework.

2.2 The Concept of Development

Development is a multidimensional state of progress encompassing all human development indexes among which is health, education and income. According to Todaro and Smith (2012), different nations perceive development and approach development using different strategies. This could be by investment into infrastructural development, industrialization, agricultural investment or human capital investment. However, in contrast to the Lewis model of transfer of surplus labour from the traditional agricultural sector to that of manufacturing to facilitate development, increased savings and investment are perceived by patterns-of-development analysts as necessary, however not a sufficient condition for achieving economic growth (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

Accumulation of physical and human capital alone is not enough for achieving development as an interrelated change in the economic structure of a country is necessary for this transition from a

traditional economic system to a modern one (Maitra, 2009). The fundamental shift by most countries from traditional to modernity means adapting different models and approaches for higher economic growth and development (Maitra, 2009).

The desire for growth and development by most states has led to a need for the establishment of development projects. However, the setting up of such projects has triggered the phenomenon of displacement of huge populations of its citizens and residents in those areas creating a category of "Development Induced Displaced" (DID) persons that are categorized under internally displaced persons (Maitra, 2009). Todaro and Smith (2012) noted that development is not only economic and financial growth, but must encompass more than the material and financial side of people's lives to expand human freedoms.

2.3 The Concept of Displacement

There has been an increasing phenomenon of forced displacement over the last decade, according to the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (2017). The report indicated that 65.3 million people were displaced globally due to disaster, conflict and other violation of human rights as of 2015. Scholars have argued that between 2000 and 2014, the figure of displaced people increased by 1.6 million (Crawford, Cosgrave, Haysom and Walicki, 2015). From a figure of 59.5 million displaced people in 2014, the number increased to 65.3 million in 2017. These internally placed people constituted only 50% of the totally displaced persons globally (Crawford et al., 2015).

Displacement, which is synonymous with large development projects, is one of the most negative impacts associated with such projects (Bartolome, de Wet, Mander and Nagraj, 2000). Development project induced displacements have been critiqued for multiple reasons. Human

rights issues, governance, transparency and accountability regime, exclusion of community affected voices in the determination of compensation packages, consent, resettlement plan dynamics, in addition to policy and legal instruments that govern the processes, are some of the key concerns that various groups of persons and organisation have articulated (Bartolome et al., 2000). This author also stresses the involuntary nature of displacement, which is often characterised by delayed relocation, and the creation of uncertainties for the displaced people whose livelihoods are usually not destructed causing trauma for many of them.

Bartolome et al. (2000) asserts that academia has taken for a given the multifaceted nature of displacement and has not fully explored its different dimensions. Cernea (1997) opines that displacement causes social disruption more than a natural phenomenon and thus necessitates efforts to reduce its negative effects and must be counter-balanced. The International Disaster Management Centre (2016) noted that it is important to understand the circumstances surrounding displacement in order to safeguard the rights of those affected and ensure displacement does not ruin the intended development goals.

Persons displaced by development projects suffer a range of human rights violations. Firstly, their involuntary removal from their homes is a violation of the right to adequate housing. If they also lose access to land and natural resources, other rights may be undermined, including access to food, livelihoods, education, water and healthcare (IDMC, 2016). Furthermore, their physical security may be at risk if they resist displacement, or if force is used during evictions. Other impacts may include deteriorating health, restricted mobility and the loss of social support networks. Decades of study have shown that displacement caused by development projects leads to impoverishment and disempowerment (IDMC, 2016).

The IFC's (2002) Handbook for Preparing Resettlement Action Plans defines economic displacement as loss of income streams or means of livelihood resulting from land acquisition or obstructed access to resources (land, water, or forest) resulting from the construction or operation of a project or its associated facilities. Economic displacement can be both permanent (e.g. when arable land is acquired for the permanent placement of project infrastructure) and temporary (e.g., when crops are damaged during exploration activities).

Many scholars have generally agreed that displacement is a broad concept encompassing both development mediated ones and natural disaster induced ones. Cernea (2000) and Mooney (2003a) enumerate some of the causal factors of displacement such as development project induced, conflicts, religious persecution amongst others. Furthermore, Mooney (2003a) noted that the involuntary nature of the movement is a key characteristic of displacement. Thus, persons moving out of a geographical or economic space voluntarily are not necessarily displaced but can be described, at best, as economic migrants. Population displacement is an outcome of multiple sets of factors. Cernea (2000) maintains development-induced displacement is coercive in nature thus restricting the choices that affected persons could make in the circumstance. Usually, the consequences of a shrunken choice option cause affected persons to face more risks than opportunities if they were to stay in their original communities.

Exploring further the concept of displacement in terms of location, brings to the fore the unwavering evidence that displacement is not just a rural or urban menace but rather a social problem that can take place in any geographical space (Mooney, 2003a). In the urban face, for instance, the growth of economies and expansion of towns influence the need for investment in infrastructure, which stimulates demand for land for industrial estates, services, commercial

activities, communication, road networks and transportation corridors. Land re-development becomes a necessity to accommodate such development. However, much of such land is already populated, making displacement and resettlement of the existing population a prominent feature of development projects (Mooney, 2003a).

Cernea (2003) opines that development caused displacement brings along a number of negative social and economic effects to the affected households. This is because many people who are displaced do not get resettled and rehabilitated properly both socially and economically. As a result impoverishment, an ally of displacement, with its de facto lack of social justice and equity, is then manifest in numerous ways. This cuts across a number of countries throughout the developing world when involuntary resettlement occurs. Forced displacement epitomizes social exclusion of certain groups of people. It accumulates physical exclusion from a geographic territory with economic and social exclusion out of a set of functioning social networks (Cernea, 2003).

Exploring the concept of displacement further, Downing (2002) noted that displacement involves physical dislocation of people from their dwelling and the expropriation of productive land and other assets to pave way for development. According to Cernea (2003), displacement normally starts prior to physical eviction from the residence via legally stopping construction, entrepreneurial investment, as well as public infrastructure investment. Displacement can be experienced in many ways including the people who get less benefit as a result of a development process, those who face serious consequences and for those individuals and communities who involuntarily move losing their homes, networks, jobs, social capital and emotional ties to their homes.

Terminski (2011) noted that development-induced displacement is a disruption of a communities' livelihood in order to make way for large dams, industrial zones, transportation routes, game parks and commercial forestry; and concerns the balance between the benefits of infrastructural development and the costs and pains of being uprooted and consequently resettled. This poses a huge risk of impoverishment carried by those forcibly displaced through compulsory land acquisition (Terminski, 2012).

The ambiguous nature of the term development complicates the discussion on development-induced displacement. Development can refer to a social goal, an ideal of social well-being to which peoples, their governments, and international agencies aspire. It can likewise refer to complex social and economic policies, practices and changes that lead towards achieving such a goal (Ferris, 2012).

2.4 Types of Displacement

2.4.1 Environment Induced Displacement

Hens (2005) noted that environmentally displaced persons are persons affected by natural disasters and have moved from their communities and countries to safer destinations abroad. Earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and floods are some of the more common ones that have displaced millions of people across the world. Nonetheless, some categories of natural disasters are man-made. For instance, extraction and exploration of natural resources, dam construction, nuclear testing and hazardous waste site construction can cause environmental degradation and destruction, which can cause displacement in terms of land. Hens (2005) notes that environmental displacement are often responses to a combination of environmental stresses.

2.4.2 Development-Induced Displacement

According to IDMC (2016), development-induced displacement occurs when governments expropriate lands for projects and, as such, compulsory eviction causes people to move from their lands and homes. Principle 6 of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement stresses the arbitrariness of displacement that large-scale development projects cause especially if there is no compelling justification that such displacement is in the public interest. IDMC (2016) further notes that displacement covers both people forced to leave for reason that are illegitimate and those that violate their rights. However, resettlement is compulsory, legitimate and legal.

Corruption, threat and violence against affected people, and blatant disregard for national and international policies, guiding principles, processes that compel government or owners of the project to give fair compensation, and resettle the people are some of the elements that characterise development-induced displacement (Cernea, 2003). Resettlement and compensation schemes are often underfunded because these are usually not key considerations in project designs. Even when these are done, community voices are not included in the decision-making.

Infrastructural development projects undertaken by states, often financed by international finance organisation, displace people. A scope of the displacement caused by development has shown that the number of people displaced due to development projects is higher than the estimated 25 million people displaced due to conflicts. The number of development-induced displaced persons is likely to increase in the near future as states embark on aggressive urbanisation, industrialisation and electrification projects to propel development. Such projects are prone to both predicted and unpredicted environmental impacts similar to the construction of the Akosombo dam in Ghana,

which resulted in massive floods at the time and affected peoples' homes, crops, properties and tools for livelihood (Tsikata, 2012).

Cernea (2000) identified at least 8 typologies of impacts in connection with development-induced displacement. These concern land expropriation related landlessness and homelessness, livelihood insecurity and its attendant joblessness and food insecurity, decreased access to common property and social disintegration.

Literature on displacement is situated within two strands of arguments (Dwivedi, 1999), like, scholars who are oriented to this thinking, focus on its consequences. Action oriented development scholars, on the other hand, identify displacement with the problems of development itself, which is deemed to be the uneven distribution of benefits and costs associated with it. It bears heavily on the marginalised in society to carry the burden of development, as they are those who are mainly displaced.

2.5 Oil and Gas Displacements

Oil and gas extractive activities have come under scrutiny for a number of environmental infractions, for instance oil spillage, which is associated with the sector and globally discussed, often cause displacement of people (Kadafa, 2012). Ndimbwa (2014) noted that the recent conflict between Ukraine and Russia are linked to oil and gas prices, distribution and supplies. Ndimbwa (2014) further observed that population disenfranchisement and displacement in Sudan is as a result of gas resource development activities in the country. Again, Ndimbwa (2014) acknowledged that oil bunkering and gas extraction activities has added to alleged government corruption and conflict to exacerbate problems of poverty spread, and population displacements in

Nigeria, particularly in the Niger Delta region. In Tanzania, perception on marginalisation and oil and gas resource distribution imbalance induced tension and disquiet among the affected people. These skirmishes have resulted in displacement of people through voluntary and involuntary migration.

According to Terminski (2011), social and political problems arise out of the extraction of oil and gas. These include environmental degradation and human right abuses. It is common in displacement literature that, among many factors, when accounting for global displacement today, oil and gas exploration has been a key player. Furthermore, O`Rourke and Connolly (2003) expounded on the environmental degradation that accompanies oil and gas extraction and how it could displace populations. They point to the sheer amount of waste generated from the sector, which surpasses all other sectors combined.

Holloran (2005) acknowledged that global oil and gas displacement has been dire with potential impacts. Displacement could occur when wells are fragmented and there is the construction of roads. While a portion of the displacement data points to conflict related displacement in sub-Saharan Africa, oil and gas activities such as exploration, development and distribution also displace significant numbers of people on the continent. Indeed, Terminski (2011) argues that African oil exploration and discovery has caused conflicts that have displaced many people internally. Due to the complexity of displacement in the extractive industries, four typologies are identified: environmental, conflict, disasters and development induced displacement.

Even though displacement associated with oil exploration has been a known feature in the world for some time now, the grave problems such as fragile democracies and states that have failed to establish strong governance structures are seen in recent times. Across the African region,

countries that are noted for oil related conflicts and associated displacement include Nigeria and Sudan. Although there are some levels of displacement with other oil-producing countries such as Angola and Ghana, the magnitude of displacement is less significant compared to that of Sudan and Nigeria, where extraction is occurring in the Upper Nile region. One pipeline construction resulted in the burning of 48 villages and 55,000 people being internally displaced (Terminski, 2011).

While the displacement of persons on the African continent with respect to oil exploration is a known problem, another perspective of the problem to explore is the measures or approaches employed in the resettlement of these people to lessen the impacts of displacement. According to Terminski (2012), processes and frameworks used to resettle displaced people vary according to the political context, and the prevailing ethnic and social circumstances. In countries such as Sudan, human rights abuses were associated with involuntary resettlement in 1999 and 2002 due to the conflict context. However, in countries with a peaceful environment, the implementation of resettlement is more humane although persons who protest could incur the wrath of authorities.

It is worth noting that oil and gas exploration does not only affect populations directly but also affects the environment in ways that indirectly affect human activities leading to displacements. According to Terminski (2012), crude oil production has more significant effects on the environment than the construction of big projects such as dams. The environmental destruction in the Niger Delta provides ample evidence on the consequences of oil production and associated displacement. In Nigeria, Kenya and other places in Africa, a common feature in the oil communities is the explosion of pipelines occasioned by theft by local people.

Another dimension to the oil and gas related displacement in Africa is that poor people are seriously affected, as noted by Barbara P. Thomas-Slayter in Terminski (2012) that

> *Oil exploration by international oil companies, especially Shell, has turned the Ogoni homeland in Nigeria into a wasteland of pollution with a poisoned atmosphere and widespread devastation caused by acid rain, oil spillage, and oil blowouts. Lands, stream, and creeks are totally and continually polluted, the atmosphere has been poisoned with hydrocarbon, vapours, methane, carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and soot emitted by gas (p 11)*

Natural resources such as water, land, hydrocarbons, gold and diamonds are some of the most desirable resources in the world as many people's livelihoods are tied to them. However, a two-pronged approach must be alluded to in analysing the occurrence of displacement either the political and social dimensions. This context must be explored as their production and development cause conflicts associated with the funds they generate and the battle to control the resource. Often, indigenous people are locked in-between various groups seeking to control such resources (Terminski, 2012). Oil extraction is associated with violence and this is one of the key discussion points around the resource curse discourse (Oruonye 2012; Watts, 2005) especially in SSA. Oil revenues are often misappropriated and used to fund the conflicts. Sudan and Chad provide classical examples of this phenomenon within the African continent. Oruonye (2012) noted that the 27 year war between UNITA rebels and the MPLA was financed and fuelled using funds from oil proceeds.

Additionally, the environmental impacts of the sector are to be noted, as gas flaring is associated with climate variabilities in affected regions. This has also led to food insecurity and diseases. The social impacts of the poor management of the resource is demonstrated in Angola, the second highest producer of oil, who ranks poorly in many fundamental social development indicators.

Civil Society Organisations in Chad have expressed disquiet about the expectations that the development of oil in the Southern region would bring any benefits to the local people given the fact that it has weak governance and democratic structures (Pegg, 2003).

The problems associated with the oil and gas sectors in Nigeria make front page news on local and international media spaces daily (Obi, 2009). The Niger Delta, which is the country's largest oil producing region with an estimated production of 2.46 million barrels - most of which goes to the United States and other Western oil importing countries, has seen increased militia insurgency. Local people, whose livelihoods are affected, hardly benefit from the production of the resource (Obi, 2009).

2.6 Gas Related Displacement in Ghana

In Ghana, government displacement and resettlement can be traced to 1956 when the Government attempted to decongest the Frafra people in Northern Region by resettling them at Damongo in the Gonja District of Northern Region. Despite the provision of a house, land, and farming equipment the people found it difficult to leave their homes and as at 1958 only 149 families had moved; nevertheless they still tracked 200 miles away to send their dead home (Chambers, 1970). In the 1950s the government earmarked a site in Tema for the construction of a harbour, resulting in a resettlement project, which affected over 12000 people by 1959. Chambers described the project as a success, the lessons from which informed the Akosombo resettlement project (Chambers, 1970) that was embarked upon by the Government in 1960s.

The construction of Akosombo dam for hydro-electric purposes displaced over 80,000 people in the project catchment areas and downstream communities, especially in the Eastern and Volta

regions; making it the largest displacement of people occasioned by a developmental project in Ghana. Prior to the project, the affected communities were primarily dependent on farming, fishing and trading of farm produce, fish and clams (Tsikata, 2012). The Akosombo dam construction came with high prospects of jobs, healthier living, a scientific mix of agriculture for the communities, and high power generation for industrialisation of Ghana. Despite Volta River Authority's efforts to achieve its set objectives, there were unresolved issues concerning compensation, consultation and resettlement of the communities (Rashid, 2008). These issues and experiences of Ghana's land acquisition and resettlement informed Ghana Gas Plant's project, which is a subject of this study and discussed in details in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Ghana has had its share of internal displacement mainly as a result of ethnic and political intolerance and development (Ocran, 2010). However, displacement induced as a result of gas exploration and production has not been common, taking notice of the fact that commercial development of oil and gas fields is fairly recent in the country. Nonetheless, in a study on oil and gas development at Ghana's Cape Three Points, Boahene and Peprah (2011) predicted that people would be displaced. Rather precisely, they point to the economic displacement of people, especially women who may not get the opportunity to work in the sector.

Ablo and Asamoa (2018), in their study of the Ghana Gas Plant communities, noted that, despite Ghana's effort for development through the establishment of the Ghana Gas Plant as a catalyst, this has negatively affected the community. The shock of loss of lands and crops, and delayed compensation to the affected had negative effects on livelihoods. The majority to those who lost their land relied on agriculture for their livelihoods (Ablo and Asamoah, 2018). Daily Graphic (2014) highlighted the effect of the gas exploration in the Nzema East District and the Ghana Gas

Company's pledge and assurance of a livelihood restoration of the affected communities. This was being done through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities which are geared towards providing social interventions to the people to ease the stress that the oil displacement has caused (Daily Graphic, 2014).

Asamoah (2012) noted that, for farmers in the Western Region who had lost their farmlands due to oil and gas projects in their communities, aside from the physical displacement caused, there was economic displacement and livelihood stresses in that they lost their livelihood assets, and the compensation packages provided to them were not commensurate to their losses. Again, he noted that most of the projects haven't provided alternative livelihood options for the people thus increasing their vulnerability (Asamoah, 2014).

2.7 Oil Related Displacement in Uganda

In Uganda, the recent development-induced displacement is the result of the Bujagali Hydro Electricity Project in Jinja District. It was identified in the early 1990s as the countries power engine (Kangave, 2011). Kangave indicated that the government of Uganda approached the World Bank in 1997 for a loan to help develop the facility, this delayed and, as at 2004, Uganda had an electricity supply crisis, which fell short by about 22% of the total requirement. In 2001, the World Bank approved the loan and preliminary works started including socio-economic surveys. The dam affected 8700 persons and directly displaced 714 people. The project was entangled with irregularities in terms of handling the compensation and resettlement aspects. The World Bank Inspection panel was notified through an NGO and later published a report confirming the failure of government and project implementer to abide by the World Bank operations policy (OP 4.12). The irregularities included: the flows in the socio-economic survey, which did not reflect the

realities; failure to minimise losses and impoverishment risk of those that are dependent on the river and agriculture; and the consultation was problematic as it only involved a few of those directly affected (Kangave, 2011). The Karuma Hydro-Electricity (KHE) Project in 2013 followed on from this, and was aimed at increasing the country's power generation and to boost industrialisation. According to the National Association of Professional Environmentalists (NAPE, 2013), the project directly affected 414 persons. The project was characterised by irregularities on issues of consultation and compensation by government. According to NAPE (2013), the government claimed that a number of claimants are bonafide occupants, defined by the law of Uganda as;

> *a person who before the coming into force of the Constitution; (a) had occupied and utilized or developed any land unchallenged by the registered owner or agent of the registered owner for twelve years or more; or (b) had been settled on land by the Government or an agent of the Government, which may include a local authority (Section 29 (2) of the Land Act Cap 227 as Amended).*

The affected occupants in Karuma were mostly resettled by the government during the insurgency in the Northern Region, having lived on the said land unchallenged for over 25 years. This gives them the rights over the land and, consequentially, makes them eligible for compensation if they have to be displaced (NAPE, 2013). Shortly after the KHE project, the oil refinery project followed suit from 2012 to date, and is extensively discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

According to Balikuddembe and Ardalan (2014), the discovery of oil in commercial quantities in the Albertina Rift Valley Graben at Uganda in 2006 was celebrated because of the potential that sector has for economic development. With that discovery, Uganda, together with its East Africa neighbours (Tanzania, Kenya and Ethiopia), Ghana and Mozambique joined the league of oil and

gas frontiers as new entrants (Thunstorm, 2013). Exploration of about 64 wells discovered 20 oil and gas fields estimated to hold over 2. 5 billion barrels of oil (Golombok and Jones, 2015).

Even though oil-related activities in Uganda has not existed for very long, some level of displacement, especially economic displacement, has been identified in the country. Global Rights Alert (2013) noted that building a refinery in Uganda required a number of resources including land. In view of this, the government obtained about 29 square kilometres of land in Kabaale, Hoima District. The 2012 Resettlement Action Plan report stated that about 7118 persons were affected.

Since the assessment of properties and living conditions in 2012, the country's Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development noted that 93 out of a total of 1221 households opted for resettlement in lieu of monetary compensation equivalent to their land and the property lost as a result of the acquisition (Global Rights Alerts, 2015). Data on oil and gas related displacement in Uganda is difficult to come by and this is echoed by the Uganda Human Rights Commission's special report for December 2013, which holds that there is information asymmetry regarding the oil and gas industry. While the information at the national level is inadequate, the district and community levels experienced even worse forms of the information flow problem. According to the Uganda Human Rights Commission (2013), the lack of information creates disempowerment and vulnerability. Oil exploration and refinery related activities oftentimes come with environment-related issues, which, if no mitigating mechanisms are put in place, can be hazardous to living organisms, inclusive of human beings.

Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) (2013) again noted that affected communities have complained about the decline in the quality of the environment following the exploration. For

instances, in communities in the Buliisa and Kasemene Districts, affected persons complained about air pollution and excessive noise, which has affected the health of people. It is also reported that oil waste was usually dumped close to Bugana, near River Zoria, a key source of water for people and animals. The Human Rights Commission moreover reported that such pollution mostly affected vulnerable persons like pregnant women, Uganda children and older persons who disproportionately have borne the effects of the exploration.

According to the Uganda Human Rights Commission (2013), Kasemene, Avogera and Kisomere farmers, who lost gardens, were not compensated. In addition to this, in the Ondiek Exploration Pad area in Nebbi District, a number of issues were raised about the exploration process. For instance, the dense use of equipment caused vibration; and heavy dust that emanated engulfed the area without the companies making any effort to remedy the situation. As a result, the people suffered from coughs and flu. With specific reference to impacts on crops, women noted that machine fumes quicken the rotting process of cassava; however they did not know where to lodge their complaints. Ripened cotton pods were reported to have been soiled due to the dust. Again, in Kikaya West Oil Pad area in the Nebbi District, road upgrading related to the problem caused specific ailments such as coughs and colds. Overall, livelihoods were affected in the districts due to the oil exploration.

2.8 Effects of Oil and Gas Displacement on Community's Livelihood

Livelihoods are capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living. According to Farrington, Carney, Ashley and Turton (1999), the main objective of the livelihood approach is to provide alternative portfolios of economic activities for people to make meaning of their daily

lives. Long (2001) asserts that this departs from the interventionist approach, which are ready-made solutions. It is also a shift from neo-Marxist pessimism to a more optimistic thinking, which is actor oriented. Scoones (1998) opines that sustainable livelihood is that which makes people cope with and adapt to different stressors. This should enable them to maintain a certain level of certainty for the present and the future without alteration in their natural resource base from which they derive their economic activities (Scoones, 1998). According to Mahdi, Shivakoti and Schmidt-Vogt (2009), there is increasing attention being paid to people's livelihood capital that could be affected by both internal and external factors.

Carney (1998) noted that, in most communities in low-income countries, people struggle to provide basic needs (such as food) for their families and most times are affected negatively by the oil and gas related projects. According to Bartolome et al. (2000), displacement causes severe social, economic and environmental stresses that translate themselves into physiological, psychological, socio-economic and ecological damages. Cernea (1997) noted that forcibly displaced populations are often already poor, and thus end up worse off for a longer period resulting in many suffering the pains of development. Chindo, (2011) noted that the Niger Delta, which has contributed to the growth and development of Nigeria, has also experienced ecosystem damages due to unsustainable oil exploration activities. These ecosystem resources are the very sources of livelihood resources for the local people. Thus, the destruction of the ecosystem affects access to livelihood resources negatively.

The environmental problems of the Niger Delta resulted generally in land resource degradation, renewable resource degradation and environmental pollution, agricultural land degradation, fisheries depletion, deforestation, biodiversity loss, and mangrove degradation. The loss of these

livelihood assets represents a struggle that inhabitants go through, lending further explanation to the abject poverty in the area. Ukoli (2005) observed that past spills in the Niger Delta, for instance, has led to complete relocation of particular communities, loss of ancestral homes, loss of forest and agricultural land, destruction of fishing grounds and reduction in fish population, which is the major source of income for the people in the Delta area.

The destruction of the physical environment not only destroys the resources for livelihoods but correspondingly is a stress to psychic fulfilment and cultural meaning derived from the environment. While rural roads, for instance, can be social and economic arteries for communities in a broader sense. The myriad of environmental impacts from oil and gas exploration further compound the livelihood status of the rural poor who lack access to assets of production sufficient to feed a family, or who have just enough to sustain families but with no surplus. Changes in livelihoods due to oil exploration shows that, in most cases, poorer people are more vulnerable to changes in the environment, in part because social, political and economic exclusion means they almost always have fewer choices about where they live. A United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) report in 2009 points to the fact that both environmental pollution and conflicts due to the production of raw materials raise the health risk of the local population (UNEP, 2009).

Chindo (2011) states that there is damage to traditional social relations and ways of life as there is an increase in levels of alcohol, drug consumption and violence from migrant workers in oil production areas. Livelihood insecurity is a siege of death coupled with the impact of environmental destruction emanating from oil exploration and production. Food insecurity has

become a socio-political time bomb in many displaced areas, a burden for both actors and spectators.

Infrastructural provisions are likewise overstretched and become more expensive as the demand for it continuously goes up. This pressure is transmitted to local land and house owners who begin to demand more than they usually would charge irrespective of the consumer`s origin or income (Rud and Aragon, 2013). Apart from those security threats, the increase in housing and living costs can trigger movements out of the community, which destroys existing social networks (Planitz and Kuzu, 2015).

Boahene and Peprah (2011) mention that oil and gas production comes with other supporting economic activities such as hotel and restaurant services, banking, transport activities, health care services, road construction, telecommunication, and many more allied services that are able to benefit the people. Planitz and Kuzu (2015) noted that some of the major socioeconomic effects expected from the impact of oil activities in Ghana include loss of livelihoods, especially fishing; flooding of the labour market by migrants searching for jobs increases the unemployment rate in the regions of oil exploration; inflation in prices of items such as accommodation, food, and leisure; and increasing social vices such as commercial sex work, drug abuse, crime and health implications of pollution.

Lack of human capital in the form of skills and education for instance is seen to affect the ability to secure a livelihood. Basedau (2005) opined that the oil industry employs mainly highly skilled workers to operate activities such as the running of the off-shore oil platforms, and on-shore infrastructures such as pipelines and refineries. The local population, however, has nurtured exaggerated expectations of employment opportunities. These hopes are frequently dashed and, in

turn, can lead to tensions between communities and companies. Waskow and Welch (2005) notes that there could be an exception to this case during the construction phase of the oil infrastructure when short-term employment of the local workforce is undertaken. Planitz and Kuzu (2015) expounds that the ability to generate financial capital is dependent on wages or proceeds of work and living costs in a household`s success in developing a livelihood strategy. Oil production is often accompanied by the influx of high-skilled foreign workers who cause an increase in demand for certain goods and services.

In the 1950s, natural resource wealth was viewed as an anchor for a big push in development: this belief is currently a double-edged sword bringing about development or under development (Fosu, 2011). Ross (2004b) presents a concise description of the resource curse based on the observation that natural resources play a key role in triggering, prolonging and financing conflicts. According to Ross (2004b) cited in Obi (2009), resource wealth has the potential to harm a country`s prospects for development. Obi (2009) asserts that, beyond the increasing risk of conflict and chaos by financing conflicts, natural resources can similarly increase the vulnerability of countries to armed conflict by weakening the ability of political institutions to peacefully resolve conflicts that displace people. Obi's view suggests that natural resources increase the risk of war and insecurity. This explanation focuses on the negative effects of resource wealth at the state level. Slowly it escalates from lower economic growth, corruption and authoritarian rule associated with weak institutions; with institutions being the key to the success of the resource sector. Le Billon (2008) sums up broader findings on these macro-level dynamics as low per capita income, declining economic growth rate, weak government coercive capacity, institutional authority and political regimes in transition.

Oil discovery for Ghana and Uganda is currently viewed as accelerators for growth with both countries taking into consideration lessons from best practices of other resource rich countries to emulate the likes of Norway and learning from some of the resource rich failed and troubled countries like Nigeria, South Sudan among them. Taking this into consideration, an analysis of how the two countries managed its oil-related developments leading to direct and indirect displacement, which will either interrupt livelihoods leading to impoverishment or rather improve livelihoods.

2.9 Overview of Global Policies and Guidelines on Displacement

The disruptive nature of displacement requires rigorous national and international policies and regulations to guide the process. Currently, 22 countries including six African countries have domesticated international guiding frameworks on resettlement and displacement in their domestic laws (Ferris, 2012). Some of these frameworks include World Bank, Asian and African Development Banks policy on displacement and resettlement. The push to adopt guiding principles for project affected displacements emanated from the Brookings Bern Project on Internal Displacement (UNOCHA, 1998). Countries such as Nepal, Sudan, Uganda, and Afghanistan have all designed policy frameworks that try to minimise the effect of the displacement on affected people. On the African continent, 40 countries have signed the Kampala Convention adopted in 2012 to protect the rights of internally displaced persons including those displaced due to development. However, only 25 countries ratified the convention in 2017.

The implementation of the multiplicity of laws drawn from different sources is a very complex process (Borton, Buchanan-Smith and Otto, 2005). The Guiding Principles on Internal

Displacement (GPID) was designed to streamline and create a unified framework that could be applied in many contexts (Mooney, 2003a). The 30 principles define specific issues on displacement and explained what it should be at each phase. The Guiding Principle is not a binding principle but it is drawn from human rights and humanitarian laws and principles (Mooney, 2003a). To make it accessible to more countries, it is translated into various languages. Signatories have domesticated it and incorporated it into national laws and frameworks.

Angola first incorporated the provisions in its national framework in 2001, followed by Burundi, Sudan, Uganda and Colombia. However, there appears to be a disjuncture between the making of the law and its implementation. Borton et al. (2005) and Deng (2000) opined that the guiding principles are just moral codes if there is no law binding governments to enforce them. There is the expectation that the guiding principles will attain the customary international law status (Banerjee, Chaudhry and Das, 2005).

It is noteworthy that there are variations in these policies across specific areas of displacement. Policies on Internationally Displaced Persons (IDPs) vary from country to country although both categories constitute displaced people. Policies on displacement are both international and national in nature. Some of the international policies include the World Bank Policies, and African Development Bank Policy.

2.9.1 International Rehabilitation and Resettlement Guidelines and Policies

There are several international rehabilitation and resettlement policies, guidelines and principles. Many nations have developed their rehabilitation and resettlement policies to synchronise with these international policies. Bartolome et al. (2000) noted information flow is basic to resettlement

and rehabilitation, thus underlying every state project is a requirement for information dissemination with appropriate local media and other channels of communication. The information should include data on the nature and type of land acquired, its specific address, and displacement and resettlement schedules. In addition, a resettlement policy must be made available to communities and affected persons. Invariably, this should spell out the compensation scheme and the resettlement commitments especially those that detailed the provision of amenities, job and other productive resource provision. The policy must be subjected to public scrutiny through debates and brainstorming before they are finalised (Bartolome et al., 2000).

There are different principles and approaches often used in policy proposals regarding resettlement and rehabilitation. The cash compensation approach, according to Goyal (1996), is faulty since it is difficult to quantify losses people incur during displacement. The land-for-land approach provides a more reliable basis of compensation, but it is critiqued based on the fact that sufficient land may not be available to be allocated to all displaced persons. Even when it is available, there is no guarantee that the land has the same fertility and utility to the affected person as compared to the lost land. The principle is also quite constraining in the sense that it makes no use of the possible substitutability between land and other resources in formulating a resettlement package. The standard of living approach requires that displaced persons attain higher living standards after displacement and not lower. Thus, there is a deadlock on how compensation should be effected to achieve this result. The mid-way appears to be the bargaining approach. The approach provides the opportunity for displaced persons to have a say in how their compensation should be effected and this is based on collective bargaining. The caveat here is that group bargaining can hide individual desires. The non-coercive approach raises important institutional questions especially

in terms of the stakes involved as the approach is least popular with the public sector who mostly employ its compulsory land acquisition laws that do not make provision for bargaining (Goyal, 1996).

2.9.2 World Bank Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policies

International Financial Institutions such as the World Bank have become concerned with the displacement issue that arise out of the projects they finance. Consequently, in 1980, the World Bank adopted safeguard policies to provide a guiding framework for dealing with persons affected by the projects it funds (Clark, 2002). This is in recognition of the deterioration that project affected persons suffer in many countries.

According to Bugalski and Pred (2013), the new World Bank Policy on Involuntary Resettlement, Operational Policy 4.12, aims at reducing involuntary resettlement, promoting benefit sharing and consultation between project-affected communities and implementers. This means that the livelihood destruction that comes with displacement is considered a key priority. The framework likewise recognises that persons affected by projects are not only those that are directly displaced, and provision must be made of such persons as well.

Another key consideration in the framework is to enable displaced persons to reconstruct their lives to bring them to pre-resettlement levels or even higher. The consideration within the World Bank's mandate to alleviate poverty and uphold people's economic and human rights, which is in tandem with good practices that enhance sustainable livelihoods. This approach is a big shift in the lending practices of the bank; nevertheless there are calls for the bank to synchronise the provision with other international human rights instruments to, as a matter of law, include prior

informed consent in the framework (Clark, 2002). The recent land grab phenomenon in the Global South that has generated global discussion should provide an opportunity for the World Bank to bring its involuntary resettlement guidelines to address the human right issues associated with project-induced land grabs (Bugalski and Pred, 2013).

2.9.3 African Development Bank Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policies

Evidence from literature and databases points out that, globally, there are no precise figures and data of persons affected by development-induced displacement (IDMC, 2016). Nonetheless, various estimates and projections have been made. In the last 10 years, the African Development Bank (AfDB) has supported about 97 projects that have resettlement components distributed across the African continent (AfDB, 2015). With its wide application, the proceeding paragraphs provide a review of the policy, some key strengths and weaknesses as well as directions for filling key gaps.

The African Development Bank Group (AfDBG) policy on Involuntary Resettlement has been designed to cover involuntary displacement and resettlement of bank projects' affected people and this deals with those within the project area that may lose shelter, assets and means of livelihood (AfDB, 2003). It is meant to assist the Bank and borrowers to address resettlement issues in order to mitigate the negative impacts of displacement and resettlement and establish sustainable economy and society. AfDB (2003) noted that its 1990 Environmental Policy's overall objective is to incorporate all environmental concerns in all of the Bank's funded projects and operations. Although most of the regional member countries of the Bank have laws and procedures for the expropriation of lands, most times the laws are weak, and lack clarity and effectiveness in dealing

with displacement and resettlement. As a result, affected populations may have received some form of compensation, yet they remain impoverished soon after the resettlement plan is implemented (AfDB, 2003).

The main goal of the involuntary resettlement policy is to safeguard the affected people and ensure that they are treated equitably and share in the benefits of the projects that affected them. The objectives of the policy are to ensure that the disruption of the livelihood of people in the project are minimized; to ensure that the displaced persons receive resettlement assistance so as to improve their living standards; and provide explicit guidance to Bank staff and to borrowers; and set up a mechanism for monitoring the performance of the resettlement programmes.

According to the AfDB policy, the borrower is responsible for the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of activities spelt out in the plan. However, the Bank will play a supervisory role during the implementation of the plan and upon project completion, conduct a project completion assessment to assess the level of success and challenges faced in implementing the resettlement action and recommend remedies.

Lessons learnt from the policy reveals that most member countries' expropriation laws and regulations are unclear on how to compensate for the land-based resources and economic activities affected because of involuntary resettlement. Consequently, many of those affected by displacement in development projects may receive adequate compensation from the state, and yet remain impoverished after the resettlement project. Again, for the agriculture and rural development sector, it is observed that there are always challenges when people are forced to move from fertile lands to marginal and non-fertile lands resulting in a loss of income due to either

reduced crop production or lack of employment opportunities or worsened health conditions. (AfDBG, 2003).

The African Development Bank Group (AfDBG) (2015) noted that the AfDB involuntary resettlement policy compares well with the involuntary resettlement and compensation provision of other multilateral development banks. It is opined that the policy strongly specifies that resettlement is to be avoided whenever possible, particularly if negative impacts on people will be severe or difficult to quantify. Again, the policy requires that displaced persons be informed about their options and rights pertaining to resettlement. It is worth noting, however, that there are areas in which other multilateral development banks' policies appear to be more comprehensive compared to the AfDB policies on involuntary resettlement. AfDBG's (2015) review of the involuntary resettlement policy of the AfDB further opines that some implementing agencies and civil society organisations have very low or no awareness of the Bank's involuntary resettlement policy. This goes to underline the weaknesses in the effective implementation of key policies specified in the policy.

In comparisons drawn between the AfDB`s involuntary resettlement policies and that of other organizations, AfDBG (2015) observed that similar to other institutions like the World Bank, AfDB's policy strongly specifies that avoidance of resettlement should be prioritized. It provides that, in every case, the alternative to refrain from carrying out the project should be seriously considered, particularly if negative impacts on affected people will be severe or difficult to quantify. Avoidance in this case does not necessarily mean to do nothing, but rather, could mean avoiding resettlement on certain sections of the project and minimizing it where possible.

Despite the strengths inherent in the AfDB's policies on involuntary resettlement, there are some policy gaps that have been observed. AfDBG (2015) identified the following areas in the Involuntary Resettlement Policy as having shortfalls: avoidance of forced migration; coverage of partial displacement; resettlement involving indigenous persons; resettlement in anticipation of Bank funding; environmental management at resettlement sites; involuntary resettlement instruments; benchmarking livelihood improvements; financing of resettlement; and monitoring and evaluation of resettlement projects.

It is observed that the safeguard policies do not differ much in principle as discussed from the two institutions including the Guiding Principle on IDS of the UN and the Kampala Convention (2012) whose provisions all emphasise protection of rights of the affected. The inherent strengths in the policy is the key attention placed on the environment and indigenous people. The focus on safeguarding the environment is very key in addressing environmentally induced displacement; for instance, in areas where resource extraction has led to damaging squabbles on the environment. The implementation of these policies in oil and gas production areas is critical for minimizing hazards that are posed to the environment that indirectly affect livelihoods of people. Furthermore, the policy makes provisions for the consideration of indigenous people in resettlement plans. This is very critical to enable satisfaction of the interest of the people and forestalling possible unrest from dissatisfied people. Furthermore, it considers indigenes of the host communities such that the settling of the new population does not critically affect the livelihoods of the hosts but rather impact positively on them.

However, there are inherent weaknesses in the policy as it failed to address the influence of institutional factors on the Bank's resettlement activities. Measures critical for eschewing

corruption and institutional ineptitude have not been clearly laid out. Furthermore, attention has not been made to the various forms of displacement and the kind of resettlement packages that ought to be accorded to each type of displacement.

2.10 Theories of Displacement

2.10.1 Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) Model

Micheal Cernea developed the IRR in the late 1990s as an addition to previous displacement and resettlement frameworks developed by different scholars. The weaknesses identified in the earlier frameworks such as their peculiarities, as they emphasise only specific aspects such as environmental, stress and loss among others are deemed inadequate in addressing displacement that has economic, social and cultural dimensions. The IRR is framed with the recognition that displacement and dislocation cause social injustice and impoverish people. This is because development projects do not share the gains and losses equally and there is inequitable distribution of risks and benefits. To avert these, the model was developed to understand the dimensions of displacement and relocation, identify its risks, shape behaviour towards responses to it, guide resettlement and reconstruction and serve as a tool to gather knowledge and data to guide responses and action. The IRR serves four functions.

1. **Diagnostic-explanatory and cognitive function**

This function, which is an important pre-project function, enables planners to collect adequate data of past displacement, dislocation and resettlement to inform the current project. This is a pre-project phase of getting the dynamics drawing from other similar projects. The data to be gathered at this stage should include the specific features of the past projects and how it displaced and

dislocated people. It should moreover include the outcome of packages to the displaced people. Under this function, eight risks have been identified.

a) Landless- when projects are implemented, lands get expropriated
b) Homelessness- people are evicted from their homes either directly or indirectly through the project's unintended consequences
c) Joblessness- livelihood losses are common
d) Marginalisation- the conditions of the affected people deteriorate
e) Food security- loss of livelihood and commons cause food insecurity
f) Social disarticulation- communities get integrated and the social fabric breaks down as affected people lose social networks
g) Morbidity and mortality- the risks of disease and death increases as affected people see a shrink in their livelihood assets

In examining the risk-anatomy of displacement, the model suggests that preventing or overcoming the pattern of impoverishment requires targeted risk reversal or mitigation. This, Cernea (1997) noted, can be accomplished through focused strategies backed by commensurate financing. Thus, an important highlight, which could be the ninth risk is the destruction of schooling and its effects on school children. This is because when schools are destroyed, or parents lose their sources of livelihood, it negatively affects school children. The eight impoverishment risks affect social groups differently: it is context and location specific. The nature of the displacement means that people may not experience all of these at one go. Even when affected people experience all of these, particular risks may be more intense for some groups than others. For example, women may

suffer more severe impacts than other social groups due to their social positions in the society. The eight impoverishment risks encompass economic, social and cultural asset losses.

2. **Predictive-warning and planning function**

The predictive function enables project planners to predict the impoverishment risk in advance before the decision to displace is made. Four aspects of this are highlighted. These include an assessment of the risk; adequate response to the risk predicted; proactive response by the population at risk; and transparent communication between the affected people and the project implementers. This function allocates responsibility to both project planners, implementers and the affected communities. It also emphasises participation and communication, and highlights the voice of the affected communities.

3. **A problem resolution function**

The purpose of this function is to emphasis the 'how' of the anticipated risks. It should be able to address the reversal of the eight risks identified in a well-coordinated manner. It is important to note that, before the outcome of the risk reversal could be achieved, broad consultation and participatory mechanisms should be integrated into the processes to displace people. There must be a collective engagement since the effects of displacement could be both collective and individual. It also affects social groups differently. Women, youth, the aged, and migrants should be considered at this stage if the function is to work effectively. At the end of these processes, the desirable outcome should be that affected communities have productive resources to re-establish their livelihoods, get back their economic activities, get their homes back, increase their food security, become more socially cohesive after reconstruction, achieve social inclusion and see an improvement in their health status.

4. A research function

This function emphasises the importance of the model to researchers. It is to guide the formulation of hypothesis and orient the research.

The IRR Model is useful in understanding the complex issues regarding project induced displacements. It is a useful tool to measure the risks and how processes that were used in the Ghana and Ugandan cases achieve specific outcomes. Although the projects are already ongoing and displacement already occurred, the model's four functions are adaptable to the current situation. However, only the first three functions would be used as they include tangible things to measure in this current research.

The most widespread effect of involuntary displacement is the impoverishment of considerable numbers of people. Impoverishment coupled with lack of social justice and equity is manifest in a number of countries throughout the developing world when involuntary resettlement occurs (Cernea, 1997). Forced displacement cumulates physical exclusion from a geographic territory with economic and social exclusion out of a set of functioning social networks. Impoverishment is one of the looming risks in displacement. The conventional planning approaches that cause many to be displaced and allow only a few to be rehabilitated does not adequately protect against risks and loss of entitlements and rights. They have led to recurrent failures. In most cases, they have been incapable of preventing the victimisation, de-capitalisation, and impoverishment of those affected. But the repeated instances of resettlement without rehabilitation point sharply to congenital defects in the current domestic policies of many countries, not just in the planning procedures. Even when displacement is planned, mass impoverishment itself is not a necessary outcome and therefore should not be tolerated as inexorable (Cernea, 1997).

Cernea (1997) noted that the origin of the model is grounded on both empirical and theoretical bases. Empirically, it is derived from the extraordinary accumulation of factual findings during the last quarter century, reported by resettlement studies in many countries. Theoretically, it benefits from the new state of the art resettlement research during the same period. The impoverishment risks and reconstruction model focuses on the social and economic content of both segments of the process: the forced displacement and the re-establishment. The model captures processes that are simultaneous, but it also reflects the movement in time from the destitution of displacement to recovery in resettlement if any. At the core of the model are three fundamental concepts: risk, impoverishment, and reconstruction. These risk can be further categorised into human, natural, financial, social and physical capital. Actions to safeguard against such risks are indispensable; therefore, reconstructive strategies must be multidimensional, taking the form of a comprehensive and systematic resettlement and rehabilitation programme (Cernea, 1997). The study adopted the IRR Model alongside the Livelihood Framework to develop a conceptual framework to guide its process.

2.10.2 Actor-oriented Approach

Since World War II, three core ideologies have shaped global development models (Long, 2001). The modernization development thinking (1950s) viewed a positive progression to a society with complex institutional technological transfers from one society to the other and this is ordered in a way that the transfers are from the Global North to the Global South. This approach 'pushed' the traditional society to attain 'modernity' despite economic challenges with the same patterns of development. The central message remains the same with the patterns of development on a world scale, referred to as 'actors' (Long, 2001).

The mid-1960s heralded the dependency thinking where its scholars questioned the development path of developing countries. Notable is that the core took control of planned interventions and implementation with little involvement of the actors in the periphery. By mid-1970s the trend moved to Political Economy thinking, which underscores how social and political institutions and structures act together to allocate resources. According to Long (2001), the actors influence the project outcomes based on how they interact as individuals, groups, and institutions (either internal or external) since their actions are intertwined in a multiplicity of different levels with different interests. In these cases of oil and gas projects, the actors are the Government, CSOs, traditional authority, influential individuals on the project and affected communities who all interact at different levels.

The actor-oriented approach prefers that all forms of external intervention entering the existing world of the individuals and groups affected is mediated and transformed by the same actors. This structures interact as actors and directly influence the kind of outcome that the project would yield. Therefore, actors are not mere disembodied categories or of low class but rather jointly operate to cause positive or negative outcomes (Long, 2001). Niger Delta and South Sudan community actors in oil and gas projects, not managed properly, have caused disruptions to production, displacements and deaths (Terminski, 2012).

The actor-oriented approach provides a lens through which power struggles at all levels can be interpreted. Even those subordinate, like the affected communities subordinate to the state, can mobilize people-power to halt project implementation when dissatisfied or promote the project success when satisfied. Such involvement is normally not at discursive levels, but they influence the activities of their superiors (Long, 2001). The considerations in the political economy

approach similarly include intangibles such as feelings and emotions (Tunner, 1992). This is captured in Cernea's IRR framework as intangible aspects that are mostly not included in displacement and resettlement framework.

Planned interventions in the 1960s - 70s mechanically changed to planning, implementation and outcomes. This left no flexibility during implementation to deal with the different actors - like considering the beneficiaries (lower actors) who are directly or indirectly affected. According to Laube (2007), the complex legal pluralism of the universe has embedded in it high levels of uncertainty, which affects the actors' choice of frameworks to achieve their goals and provides a framework from which actors can carefully choose from to legitimize their claims. The resource rich African states are besieged with uncertainty and negotiability and, most times, are highly contested. Past experiences of natural resource struggles paired with legal pluralism have made the management and control of these resources quite ambiguous (Obi, 2009).

In planned interventions, policy makers source for support for the other aspects of policies that must guide the process rather than the best approach to be adopted. As this is insufficient in solving planned intervention challenges, a break away from the conventional approach would bring about a desired outcome, flexible enough to span beyond the time and space confined in the conventional approach and more inclusive of all the actors involved (Long, 2001).

Development should not be viewed as material and organisational inputs only, but should also incorporate participatory; requiring the bringing on board of a broad category of actors and approaches through planned interventions to achieve desired outcomes. Edwards (1989) cited in Long (2001), maintains that mere technological transfers and planned interventions do not necessarily lead to development.

This conceptual framework is shaped by the actor-oriented perspective of development, which emphasises the role of actors and institutions, and how they influence decision-making and developmental outcomes. Since Governments need for development is borne out of its duty to transform its economy and improve the wellbeing and livelihood of its citizens through proper allocation of resources in different projects (Ghana Gas Plant and Uganda Oil Refinery), these decisions could be guided to national economic good for development and modernisation. In both case studies, the decisions affected people's livelihood and human, natural, physical, financial and social assets in various ways.

The outcome is determined by the involvement of actors who all play instrumental roles in guiding the process to achieve a desired outcome in relation to their livelihood. Land acquisition is guided by existing national laws and policies drawn from international best practices. The Oil and Gas companies act within the laws and policy framework in executing their mandate, which in this case is the acquisition of land for the projects. The cultural institutions play an important role for Ghana Gas as the Chiefs hold the land in trust for their subjects, and they manage the process to directly affect the people's livelihood. The Civil Society Organisation's role in the land acquisition process varies from ensuring that laws and policies are adhered, to overall protection of rights of affected persons and ensuring government projects are implemented without creating negative impact. Therefore, the conceptual framework adopted from the Livelihood and Impoverishment, Risk, Reconstruction frameworks is applied to assess the effect of the oil and gas induced displacement and its effects on communities in Ghana and Uganda.

2.11 Conceptual Framework: Sustainable Livelihood and Displacement Framework

Inter-Agency Standing Committee Framework is one of the core guiding principles in internally displaced persons (Deng, 2010). The framework emphasises participation of different interest groups in the determination of issues that affect displaced communities. The framework guides the processes of displacement and resettlement occasioned by both man-made and natural disasters. According to the framework, people enjoy durable solutions when there is non-discrimination and equal access, reintegration, and an absence of vulnerability relating to displacement. The framework acknowledges the need for voluntary decision-making and the provision of safety-non-discriminatory reintegration support in order to achieve durable solutions.

2.11.1 Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The theoretical framework adopted from the Department of International Development (DFID) and Cernea's (2007) Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) framework are both policy-planning frameworks. The framework presents anticipated risks, vulnerability and its impact on livelihood assets and likely outcomes. The livelihood framework is being adopted for assessing the effect of vulnerability in the context of displacement on the project's affected persons' livelihood (Cernea, 1997).

Sustainable livelihood comprises of a range of capital, in this case using five key household assets identified by DFID that include natural, social, financial, physical, and human capital (Chambers and Conway, 1992). These five key capitals have proven to be useful tools for programming as well as assessing the household and community vulnerability levels (United Nations General Assembly, 1997). These shocks are not always negative. However, shocks can destroy livelihoods

directly and, in some instances, force people to abandon their homes (conflict, flooding and land acquisition).

Human capital, ranges from health, education to access to drinking water. Development projects are expected to enhance access and quality of education, health and safe water. On education, a focus on enhancing and preserving local knowledge is one key aspect to ensure shocks such as displacement does not cause a negative effect on education and knowledge (Turton, 2000). While the social capital here would refer to membership, people's networks and connectedness that are built on trust and how such networks supports in productivity like group farming. This social capital links to transforming structures and processes that directly influences social capital through norms and polices that exist. Shocks on natural capital can be safeguarded through improved leadership and provision of alternative livelihood approaches (Turton, 2000).

Clearly, natural capital is very important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from resource-based activities (farming, fishing, gathering in forests, mineral extraction, etc.). However, its importance goes way beyond this. Humans depend and derive their livelihood from the ecosystem, which encompasses the whole of natural capital. Moreover, financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives (Pain and Lautze, 2002). This can be converted with varying degrees of ease, depending upon transforming structures and processes – into other types of capital. It can also be used for direct achievement of livelihood outcomes like food purchasing to reduce food insecurity. However this is an assest that is least available with the poor people. In addition, physical capital infrastructure – such as roads are key to the integration of the remote areas where many of the poor live. Access to such

infrastructures is similarly a key concern. Sometimes costly infrastructure exists in an area, but this does not mean that the poor have access to it (Pain and Lautze, 2001).

Although the SLAs provide a guide on understanding livelihood activities, they have been critiqued due to some weaknesses identified in their framing. Levine (2014) opined that the framework has been criticized for ignoring gender issues for example, while placing too much emphasis on material assets. These are captured in the IRR framework, including social disarticulation and marginalisation of communities and common community assets. Therefore, using the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) framework and the sustainable livelihood framework widens the scope to allow additional outcomes to be assessed.

Despite the criticisms, the sustainable livelihoods approach has many strengths that makes it an important framework for understanding livelihoods as it is considered people-centred (Turton, 2000). This people-centeredness of the approach is important since the SLA was designed in the context where previous frameworks focused on institutions and resources. The SLA takes a step back to consider wider issues or rural development. It extended the menu for support to livelihood development in both the short and the long term. Furthermore, SLA provides a tool for a review of existing information on rural livelihoods.

According to Pain and Lautze (2002), DFID's Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) continues to be influential in development planning and implementation. This is because its fundamental objectives are anchored on the livelihoods of people based on their asset capital portfolio. They are assessed in terms of their vulnerability to shocks and the institutional context within which they exist; and, in this case, the shock is displacement with its potential outcome. An

understanding of this helps to introduce interventions to mitigate negative outcomes and harness opportunities for positive outcomes.

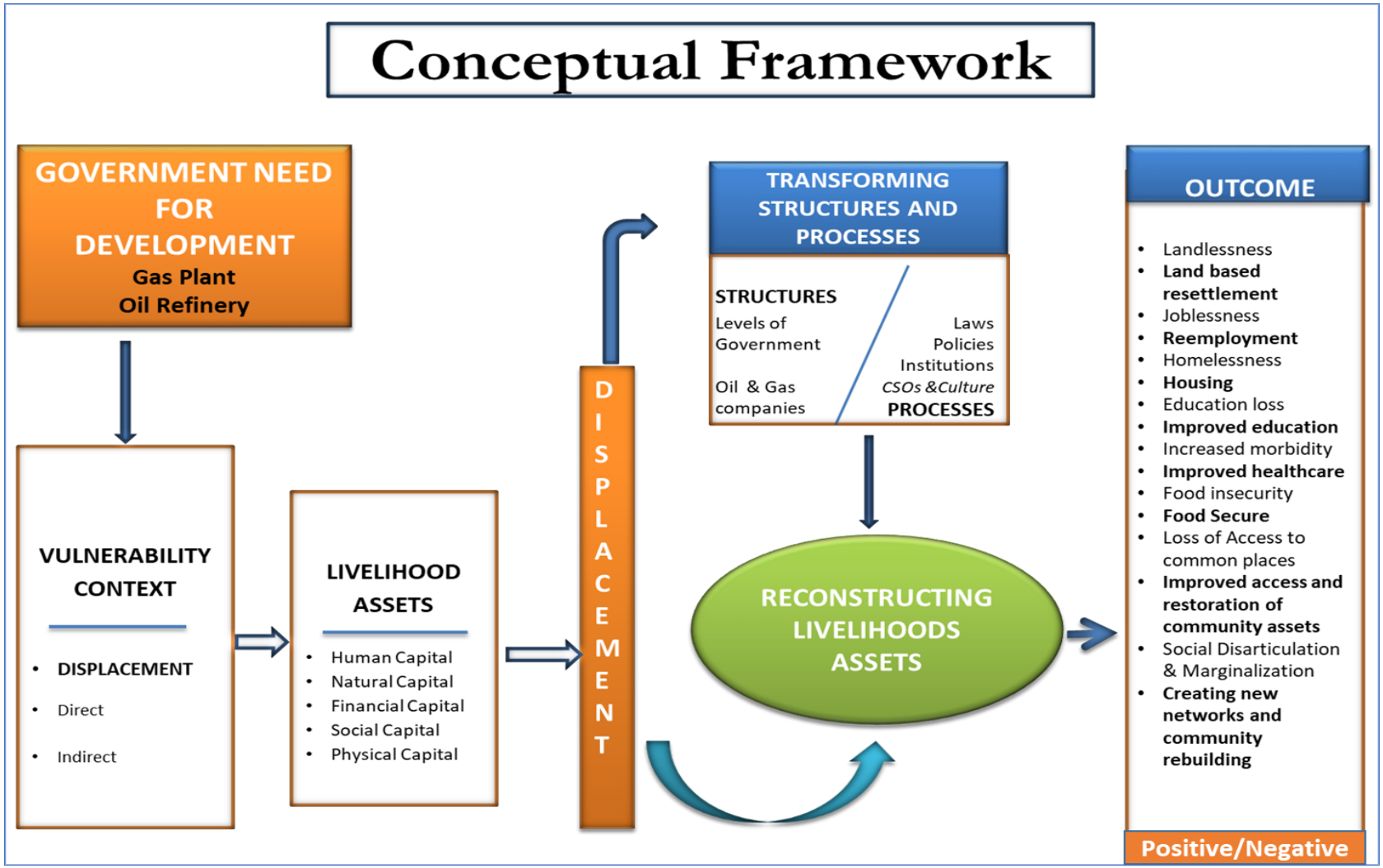
2.11.2 Displacement Framework

Displacement, being a part of such vulnerability, poses risks similar to the shocks and trends and vulnerability that affect all communities' livelihood assets; that is, human, natural, financial, social and physical capital. The magnitude of the effects varies from one vulnerability context to another and from society to society. The outcome from such a vulnerability, in this case displacement, is by the transforming structures of government, private sectors, oil and gas companies and processes spelt out in the laws, policies, cultures and institutions. How they all interact and implement the project would lead to a particular outcome that improves the lives of the affected, or rather impoverishes and marginalises the affected. In this particular case, displacement, as the vulnerability, may possibly yield a positive or negative outcome dependent on the project design and its implementation influenced by the transforming structure and processes.

Displacement, in this case caused by oil and gas related activities in Ghana and Uganda, is deemed to create outcomes. This could result in effects such as landlessness or land-based re-settlement; joblessness or re-employment; homelessness or housing; education loss or improved education; increased morbidity or improved health care; food insecurity or food surety; loss of access to common places or improved access and restoration of community assets; and social disarticulation and marginalisation or creation of new networks and community rebuilding. The adoption of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Framework

created a guideline in conducting the study and establishing the effects of displacement on the communities.

Figure 2.1: Oil and Gas Induced Displacement Conceptual Framework



Adapted and modified from the DFID livelihood framework and Cernea (1997) displacement framework

The framework in figure 2.1 informed the analysis and structuring of the study findings. The government's need for development, because of oil and gas discoveries, led to the establishment of the gas plant in Atuabo and the proposed oil refinery construction in Uganda, leading to land acquisition and displacement and that sets the context and dynamics of the study discussed in chapter 4 and highlighting the effects, especially for Uganda, linked to the outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter on methodology presents a detailed account of the research design, study population for both Ghana and Uganda, sampling techniques, data sources and instruments. Ethical considerations to ensure that the study abides by the required social science research ethics has been well described in this chapter, which includes data validation measures that were undertaken during the study. The range of data collection techniques used, namely In Depth Interview (IDI), Focus Group Discussion (FGD), transect walk as a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tool, as well the household survey, are discussed in this chapter. The field data collection process, data management and analysis using qualitative and quantitative approaches are likewise discussed in details in this chapter.

3.2 Study Area

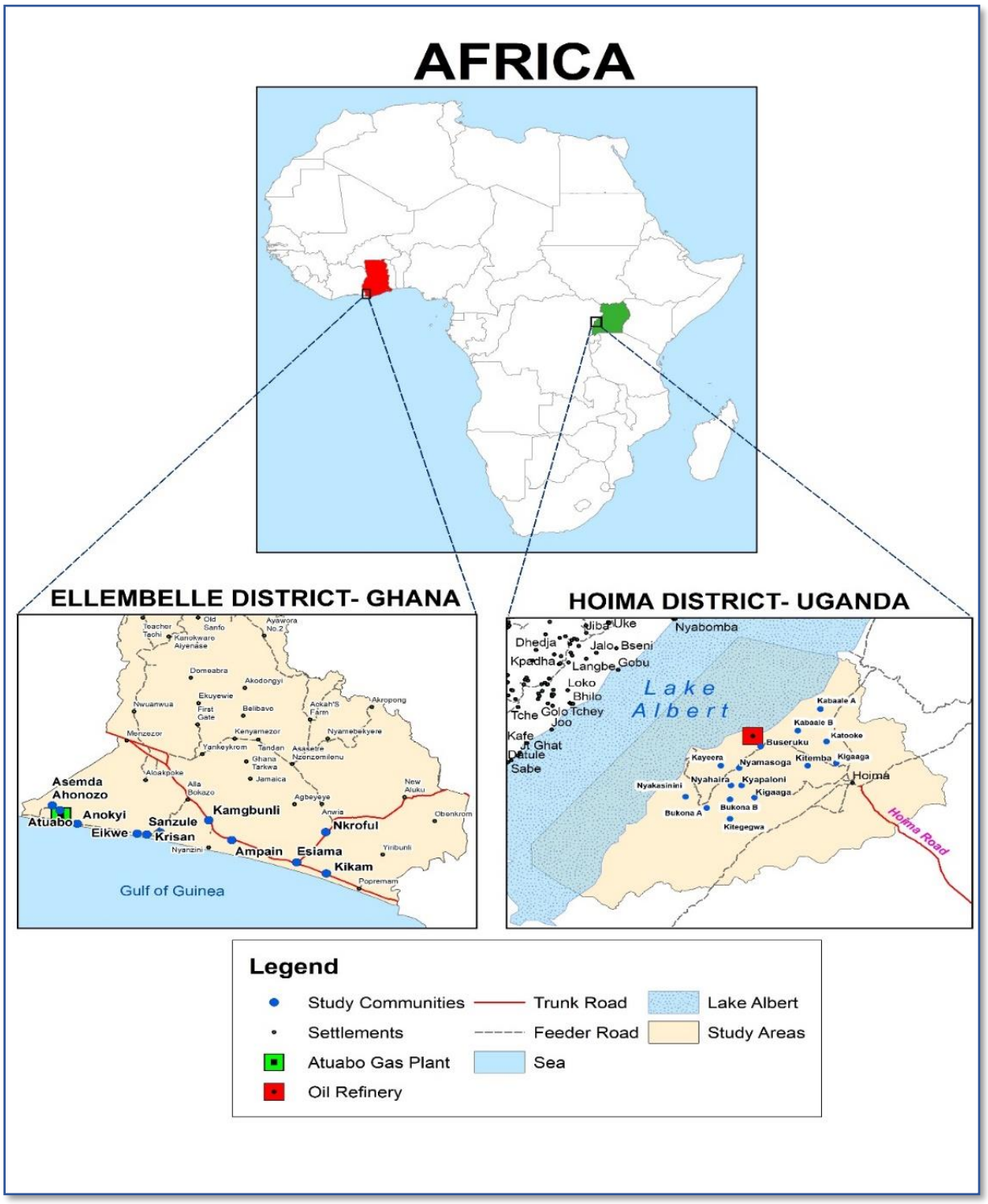
3.2.1 Study Site and Population for Ghana and Uganda

Ghana is situated in the Western part of Africa and bordered by Togo on the East, Bukina Faso on the Northern part and Cote d'Ivoire on the western side. The country is administratively subdivided into 10 regions (http://www.ghana.gov.gh/). The study population is in the Western part of the country. The study population is the Ghana gas (directly and indirectly) affected communities in the Ellembelle District in the Western Region of Ghana. Eleven (11) communities were sampled for the study, namely: Eikwe, Krisian, Sanzule, Kamgbunli, Ampain, Esiama, Kikam, and Nkroful, Atuabo, Asemda Suzo, and Anokye.

Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa, bordered by South Sudan in the north, Kenya to the east, Tanzania and Rwanda to the South and Democratic Republic of Congo in the west. Uganda's current population is estimated at 41 million, with the majority dependent on agriculture (http://gou.go.ug/content/facts-figures; Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS); ICF International, 2015). Uganda's recent oil discovery is situated in the Western Albertine Rift. The study population is the oil refinery (directly) affected communities in Kaabale, Buseruka Sub County, Hoima District in the Western Region of Uganda, where 13 communities were affected and all formed part of the sample. The affected communities include Kyapaloni, Nyamasoga, Bukona A, Bukona B, Kayeera, Nyahaira, Kitegegwa, Kigaaga B, Katooke, Kitemba, Kabaale A, Kabaale B and Nyakasinini.

The map below shows the map of Africa and the physical location of Ghana and Uganda on the continent as well as the districts.

Figure 3.1: Map showing Africa, including the location of Ghana and Uganda



Source: Centre for Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Services (CERSGIS)

3.2.2 Ellembelle District, Ghana

Ellembelle District is one of the twenty-two districts in the Western Region of Ghana. According to Ghana Statistical Services (GSS) (2014), the district, through Legislative Instrument (LI) 1918, was carved out of Nzema East District on December 2007. It was inaugurated on 29th February 2008 with its capital at Nkroful, notable for being the birthplace of the first president of the Republic of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. According to Asamoah (2014), the district is located on the southern part of the Western Region between longitudes $2^0 05^I$ W and $2^0 35^i$ W and latitude $4^0 40^i$ N and $5^0 20^i$ N. The district shares boundaries with the Jomoro District to the West, Wassa Amenfi West District to the North, Nzema East Municipal to the South-east, Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal to the East and a 70 kilometres stretch of beautiful sandy beaches to the south. According to GSS (2014), the district covers a total area of about 995.8 sq.km, which constitutes about 9.8 % of the landmass of the Western Region.

Asamoah (2012) pointed out that the district is within the semi-equatorial climatic zone and experiences all-year round rainfall with an annual mean of 1700 mm. The highest rainfall occurs between May and August and has relatively dry periods between November and February. The average monthly temperature is 290C. The high rainfall in the area explains the presence of many rivers, some of which made part of the land marshy and unsuitable for cultivation. Land for cultivation is therefore a scarce commodity in the study area (Asamoah, 2014).

The combination of high rainfall, temperature and humidity support semi-deciduous forest vegetation in the northern section of the district, but the southern part is secondary vegetation due to human activities. The coastal stretch is a mixture of savannah and secondary forest with relatively fertile soil that sometimes suffers leaching. According to the field findings, the area

supports the cultivation of many crops, including food crops and cash crops such as cocoa, oil palm, coconut, and sugarcane. Groundnut and pineapple cultivation as non-traditional cash crops has gained currency in the study communities. The study revealed that the major food crops grown include cassava, yam, maize, paddy rice, beans, cocoyam and vegetables. Prior to the discovery and commencement of oil production in Ghana, the land-use pattern had been dominated by agriculture with cash crops such as cocoa and coffee in the northern part of the district and coconut in the coastal strip.

Data from the 2010 Population and Housing Census (PHC) indicates that the district has a population of 87,501 constituting 3.7% of the entire population of the Western Region. Out of this figure, the female population is 45,184 representing 51.6 % while the remaining 42,317 (48.4 %) are males. The population of 87,501 may suggest that there is not much pressure on the land, given the population density of about 88 persons per km2.

In terms of health infrastructure of the district, GSS (2014) noted that there is only one hospital, the St. Martin de Porres Catholic Hospital at Eikwe, eight health centres, one clinic and four Community-based Health Planning and Services (CHPS) compounds. Furthermore, GSS (2014) expounds that the National Health Insurance Authority has established a scheme at Nkroful for the district in addition to that of the Nzema East Municipality.

According to the 2012 Education Management Information System of the District Education Directorate, there were 74 pre-schools, 78 primary schools, 50 junior high schools, four senior high schools, one technical school, one vocational school, and one special school in the district. In terms of spatial distribution however, most of the schools are found to be concentrated in the southern part of the district. Furthermore, most of the communities in the southern part of the

district have a good water supply either by borehole or running pipes. However, other communities, especially those within the northern part, have no access to potable water and rather resort to the use of unprotected wells, streams and rivers. Regarding the vulnerability of communities to oil exploration and production activities, the major oil fields of Ghana are located within Ellembelle District, hence the location for a hub of industrial activities that will eventually result in increased population and infrastructural development, with an accompanied threat of environmental stress like pollution, deforestation and land degradation.

3.2.3 Hoima District, Uganda

The Republic of Uganda is located in East Africa and lies astride the equator. As confirmed by the 2012 data of the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). The country has an area of 241,039 square kilometres and is administratively divided into 112 districts as of 2016 (UBOS, 2012). According to the 2006 Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), the 2002 population and housing census was the most comprehensive census ever conducted in the country. The demography of Uganda showed that there were 5 million households of which 14% were in the urban areas. Furthermore, single headed households constituted 13% of all households. Urban areas tend to have smaller households. According to UBOS (2002), 77% of the households in Uganda were headed by males. At the national level, the Sudanese were the largest number of non-Ugandans resident in the country accounting for 30% of the total non-national population.

The household population based on the 2002 census for some of the oil districts of the country includes Hoima (326.6), Kibaale (404.1) and Masindi (454.5). The UBOS (2007) maintains that the population of Uganda is estimated to increase from 28.6 million in 2007 to 40.6 million in

2017. While natural increase may play a significant role in this movement in population, the oil and gas industry may be a major boost factor to drive immigration of workers seeking to benefit from the oil industry.

Zziwa (2014) argue that historically Hoima was a part of Bunyoro Kingdom but when Ugandan Kingdoms were abolished in 1967, Bunyoro became a district. Subsequently, Bunyoro was divided into North and South with the southern part named Hoima District of Western Uganda in 1980. It is bordered by Buliisa District to the north, Masindi District to the northeast, Kyankwanzi District to the east, Kibaale District to the south, Nkoroko District to the southwest and the Democratic Republic of Congo across Lake Albert to the west (UBOS, 2011). Hoima is the capital of the district and is about 230 km (by road) northwest of the capital Kampala (Oryema, Babirye, Baguma, Wasswa, and Guwatudde, 2017).

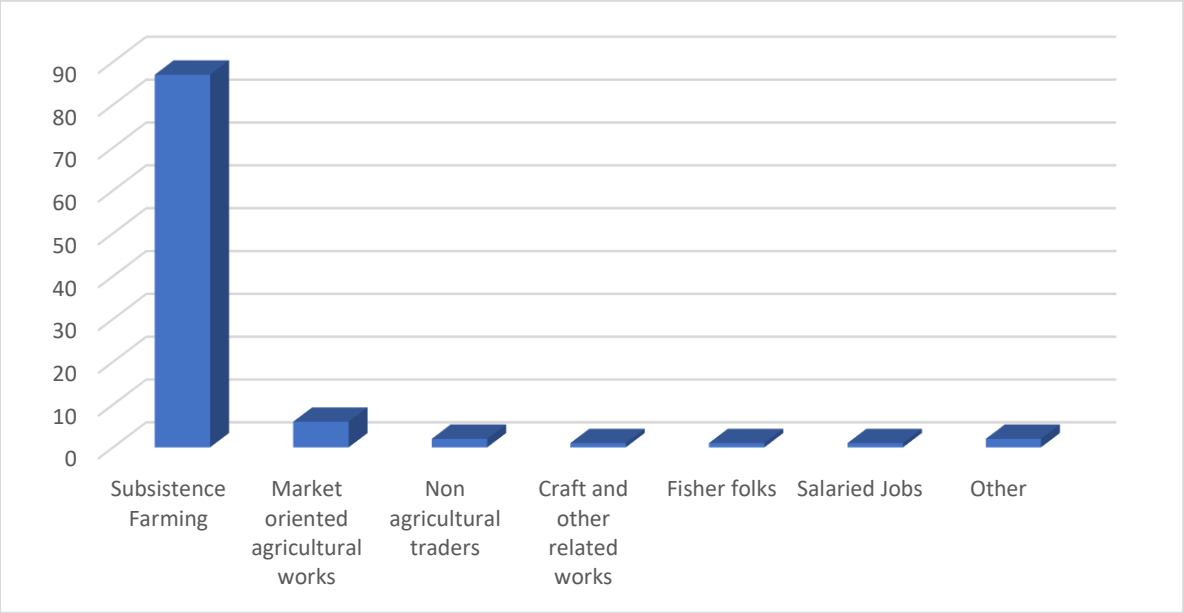
The district is now one of the most populated in Uganda. In 2010, the Uganda Bureau of Statistics estimated the population of Hoima District at 499,100 and 523,400 in 2011 (Zziwa, 2014). By 2012, the mid-year population was estimated at 548,800 (Manyindo, Van Alstine, Amaniga Ruhanga, Mukuru, Smith, Nantongo and Dyer, 2014). Based on the provisional report from the 2014 census, the district is estimated to be growing at a rate of 4.3% (Oryema et al., 2017).

Agriculture, with emphasis on food crops, is the backbone of the district`s economy. Typical crops grown are sorghum, maize, and millet (Winyi, 2016). Fishing is another source of income for those living close to Lake Albert. Zziwa (2014) noted that the district currently has a total of 180 primary schools with 151 government, 16 private and 13 community schools. The district also has 29 secondary schools out of which 11 are government, 12 are private, and six are community

schools. Oryema et al. (2017) expounded on the high level of dependency in the district noting that the district has an estimated 106,000 children under five years and approximately 23,000 infants.

As indicated in the Uganda Oil Refinery Resettlement Action Plan (2012), 87% of the affected community are subsistence farmers, 6% are involved in market oriented agricultural works, 2% are trading in non-agricultural products, while fisher folks, salaried jobs and crafts are 1% each, with those involved in other works constituting 2%.

Figure 3.2: Occupation of Household Heads in the oil Refinery affected Communities in Hoima District



Source: Oil Refinery Resettlement Action Plan (2012)

The Uganda oil refinery project was ear marked to be established at Kaabale in Buseruka Sub County of Hoima District of the Albertine Graben in Western Uganda. The project affected 2,121 households (over 7,118 individuals). The majority of those affected opted for cash compensation while 72 households opted for resettlement (this number kept dropping from 93 households on the

resettlement list in 2015 during a first visit to the site to 72 by 2017). Finally, 46 households were given houses and 25 given lands without houses.

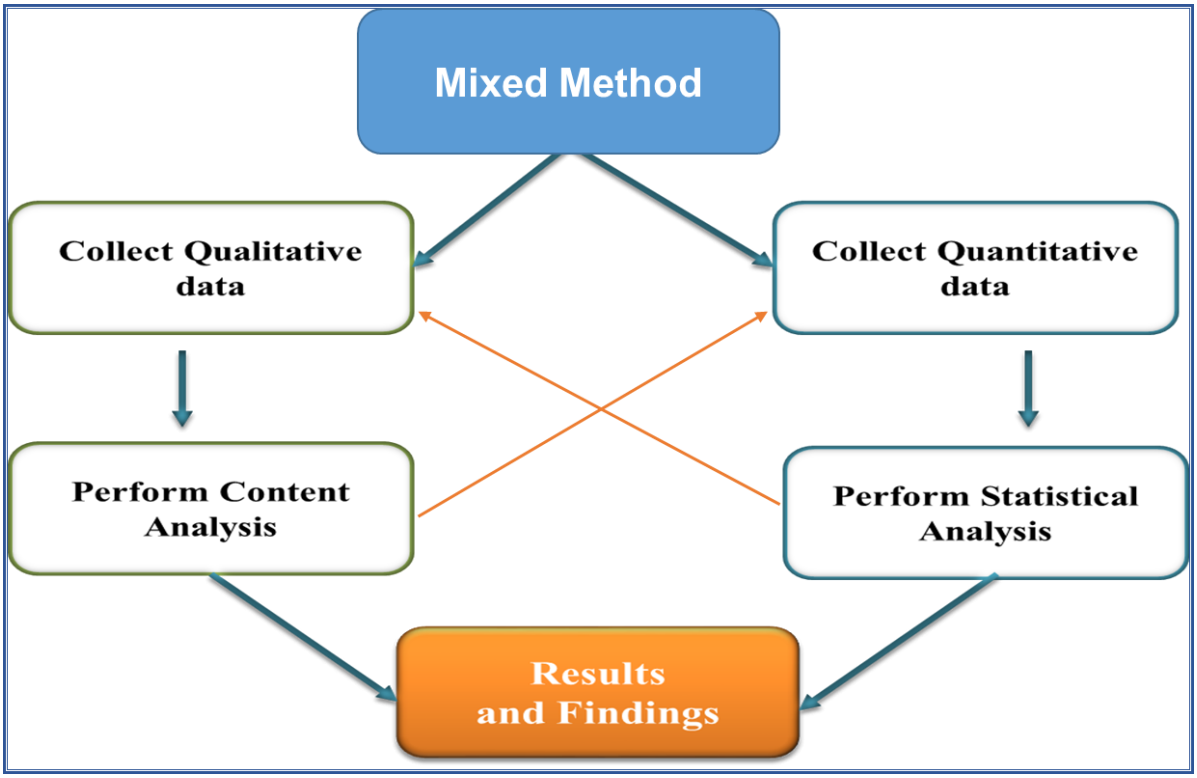
3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Research Design

The study employed a mix method approach involving both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques, to answer the main research question on what are the impacts of oil and gas displacement on communities in Ghana Gas Plant affected communities and Uganda oil refinery affected communities. According to Creswell (2007), the qualitative approach provides an opportunity for the researcher to understand the problem and meanings ascribed to it by the affected. Through face to face interactions and observation, the researcher was better placed to understand the issues being researched. This addressed the first and second objectives as well as informed the questionnaire design and sampling for the quantitative study in Ghana. On the other hand, the quantitative approach enabled the collection of data from a large sample of households to assess the effect of the gas plant project on the communities in the Ellembelle District in the Western Region of Ghana. This provided numerical data to explain the phenomenon addressing objective 3 of the study and the findings are presented in Chapter Six.

Patton (2002) encouraged the use of the mix method approach considering that each method has its own limitations; and using more than one method is a way to minimize gaps and limitations from each approach as they complement each other; not necessarily that one is superior to the other. This triangulation, as demonstrated in figure 3.4, is one way the data was validated (Patton, 2002).

Figure 3.3: Research Design Framework



Source: Adopted and modified from Patton (2002).

3.3.2 Data Source

In Ghana, primary data was gathered from the Ghana Gas affected communities in Ellembelle District and other key stakeholders, while in Uganda primary data were gathered from the Oil Refinery affected communities in Hoima District and other key stakeholders. For both Ghana and Uganda the institutions sampled included government institutions, CSOs and traditional authorities. Note that secondary data was gathered from literature relevant to the study, published and unpublished books, journals, organisational reports and some other literature deemed relevant for the study. Different data collection techniques were employed, an approach that encourages triangulation and data validity.

3.3.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The sampled communities for the study were purposively determined from the target population. These are communities the project has directly and indirectly affected and displaced through land acquisition for the gas pipeline project in the Western Region of Ghana. In Uganda the sample was taken from communities the Oil Refinery project in Kabaale Sub County in Hoima District has affected.

Institutions selected for the study were grouped into three categories for both Ghana and Uganda. Their selection was based on both bottom-up and top-down approaches during the pre-field visit where information was gathered from the user government institutions (Ghana Gas Limited and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development in Uganda) and other key and relevant institutions involved and their roles. At the community level, through in-depth interviews, information was solicited from institutions that were working in communities the Gas Project and Oil Refinery in Ghana and Uganda respectively have affected. The key identified institutions were government ministries and parastatals, civil society organisations and traditional/cultural institutions.

Government institutions in Ghana included regulatory and implementing institutions such as the Ministries, which included Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Lands Commission, Ministry of Petroleum, Ministry of Agriculture and Ghana Gas Company, the implementing agency. In Uganda, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD), Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Directorate of Petroleum, Uganda Lands Commission (ULC) and Strategic Friends International (SFI) were included.

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) formed another category of institutions that made up the sample. For both Ghana and Uganda, this included local and international civil society organisations that were selected from among those the communities, government institutions and the traditional authorities mentioned during the fieldwork. These CSOs had worked with the communities on issues related to the project while others were based on snowballing from one institution to another. These institutions worked at different levels and aspects including policy, advocacy, training, research and, during the implementation processes, pushing and taking part in consultations.

Traditional institutions from the affected communities formed part of the categories of institutions identified for the study. In Ghana, this included the paramount chief (Chiefs in Ghana are the traditional leaders of the people, curved out mostly by family, where there is a family head, clan with a clan head and ethnicity, they own lands and hold land in trust of the people) of Nzema East of Ellembelle District and randomly selected chiefs from other communities within the 11 sampled communities.

For the case of Uganda, Kabaale Sub County of Hoima District in Bunyoro Kingdom (Bunyoro kingdom is a traditional area of the Banyoro ethnic group under the leadership of a king, 'The King of Bunyoro'. It covers seven districts of Hoima, Bulisa, Kiriandongo, Masindi, Kakumiro, Kagadi and Kibale district), two of the kingdom officials were purposively selected because of their instrumental role in the displacement process and direct engagement with the affected communities. Quantitative sample from Ellembelle was randomly done from a list of those affected, using a simple random selection criteria.

3.3.4 Sampling – Ghana

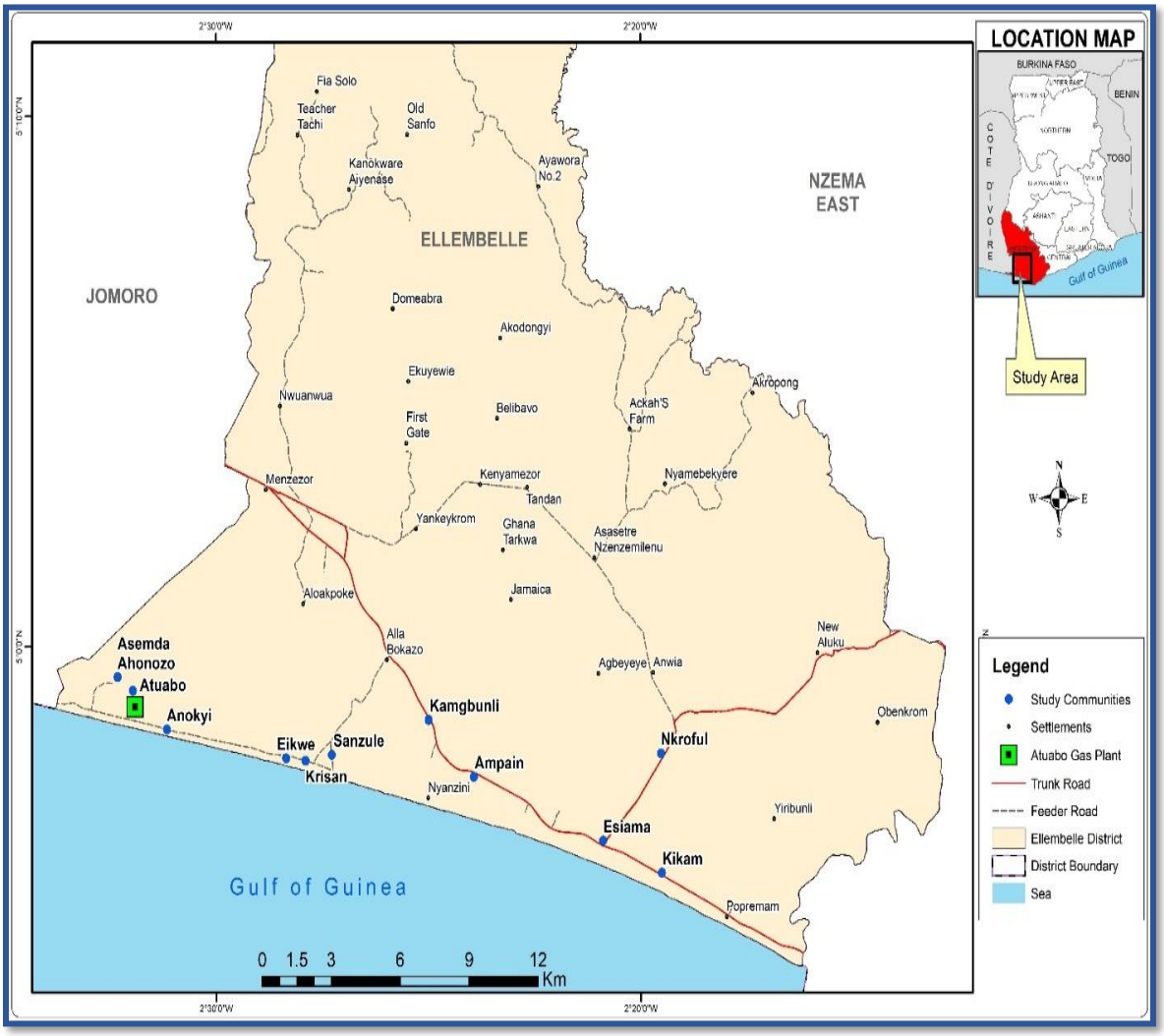
In Ghana, Ellembelle District was selected after profiling all the six districts of Ellembelle, Nzema East, Ahanta West, Wassa West, Sekondi-Takoradi and Shama Districts. The profiling was based on the dynamics regarding the level of Ghana Gas's activities and number of person the project directly affected. Ellembelle District had the highest number of those affected, besides being the location for the gas plant establishment located in Atuabo. Ellembelle District has 19 affected communities in total, namely: Asemda Suzo, Atuabo, Anokye, Baku, Ngalekyi, Ngalekpole, Eikwe, Krisian, Sanzule, Kamgbunli, Ampain, Azulemio, Esiama, Kikam, Asanta, Nkroful, Teleku Boakazo, Aluku and Angyale. Out of the 19 communities, 11 were randomly sampled for the study, namely Eikwe, Krisian, Sanzule, Kamgbunli, Ampain, Esiama, Kikam, and Nkroful with Atuabo, Asemda Suzo, and Anokye purposely selected. Atuabo being the gas plant establishment location and Asemda Suazo and Anokye both bordering the gas plant establishment made it necessary for them to form part of sample.

A simple random sampling technique was used to select 246 project-affected households from the list of total affected households in the 11 communities. The main indicator used for statistical power analysis was the level of household farm productivity, which is expected to change by 15% (0.37 standard units of key outcomes in terms of effect size).

The intra-cluster correlation (fraction of the variance between households to the total variability) was estimated to be 0.016. A minimum statistical power of at least 80% was assumed and compared to a conservative power of 90%, and a series of estimates based on statistical power between 80% and 90% was constructed.

Based on these parameters, the minimum sample size of about 246 households were selected from the project affected communities. In other words, for the given parameters, a 246 sample is the minimum that will yield a power of about 80% to detect a small effect size of 0.179. In this case, it is believed that the design is powered enough to detect the anticipated changes if they do occur, since 0.179 is far lower than the minimum of anticipated livelihood change of 0.21 by the project.

Figure 3.4: Map of Ellembelle District Showing Study Communities



Source: Centre for Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Services (CERSGIS)

Table 3.1: Expected and Actual Sample Size Disaggregated by Gender

Communities	Expected Sample		Actual Sample	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
AMPAIN	5	3	4	3
ANOKYE	26	17	26	17
ASEMNDA SUAZO	19	12	19	12
ATUABO	5	4	5	4
EIKWE	12	8	12	8
ESIAMA	26	17	26	17
KAMGBUNLI	13	9	13	9
KIKAM	13	8	13	8
KRISAN	8	5	8	5
NKROFUL	8	6	8	5
SANZULE	13	9	13	9
TOTAL	148	98	146	97

Source: Field Survey (2017)

Out of the 246 households sampled, a total of 244 households, as shown in Table 3.1, were successfully interviewed accounting for about 99% of the entire sample leaving two households accounting for 1% attrition rate, since all households on the replacement list were exhausted.

While the qualitative interviews involved Focused Group Discussion for mixed groups of men and women, communities for these discussions were randomly selected to include men only FGD, women only FGD and a mixed FGD of males and females. A list of communities were written on pieces of paper and mixed up together and randomly picked to determine where each of the FGDs would take place. However, it should be noted that the youth joined in for the other FGDs and aired their concerns and issues. For the men only category, FGDs were conducted in Kamgbunli and Esiama (two in total), while women only FGDs was conducted in Asemda Suazo and Esiama (two in total). For the mixed male and female category, FGDs was conducted with participants from Atuabo, Eikwe, and Sanzule (three in total).

The traditional institutions were similarly randomly selected from the already selected communities to include the Chiefs of Anokye, Eikwe and Dikro, and the family head of Kamgbunli. The Paramount Chief of East Nzema (technically Ellembelle District) who also doubles as the Chief of Atuabo was purposively selected being the overall Chief and having been at the centre of the Ghana Gas land acquisition and all its related issues including a court case where he represented the community. Additionally, he is a board member of Ghana Gas representing the people.

Table 3.2: Focus Group Discussions Conducted in Ghana

FGD Category	No. Interviewed	Location
Mixed	3	Atuabo, Eikwe and Sanzule
Women	2	Asemda Suazo and Anokye
Men	2	Kamgbunli and Esiama

Source: Field Work (2017)

Table 3.3: In-depth Interviews Conducted in Ghana

In-depth Interview	No. Interviewed	Location
In-depth Interview	5	Atuabo, Kambunli, Eikwe, Esiama and Anokye

Source: Field Work (2017)

Civil Society Organisations (CSO) selected were mainly those identified by the communities as working with them and those recommended by other institutions as having done work in the area. They include local and international CSOs.

Table 3.4: Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) Interviewed in Ghana

CSOs	No. Interviewed	Persons Interviewed
IBIS – Ghana	1	Program Manager
African Centre for Energy Policy (ACEPT)	1	Acting Chief Executive officer
Community Land and Development Foundation (COLANDEF)	1	Executive Officer
Civil Society Platform on Oil and Gas (CSPOG)	1	Chairperson

Source: Field Work (2017)

On the government side, the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources was selected for its role in Ghana's land management and policy; the Lands Commission handles land operations and all related matters of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources (MLNR); the Ministry of Petroleum (MoP); and Ghana Gas Limited, the implementing agency were also selected.

Table 3.5: Key Informant Interviews Conducted in Ghana

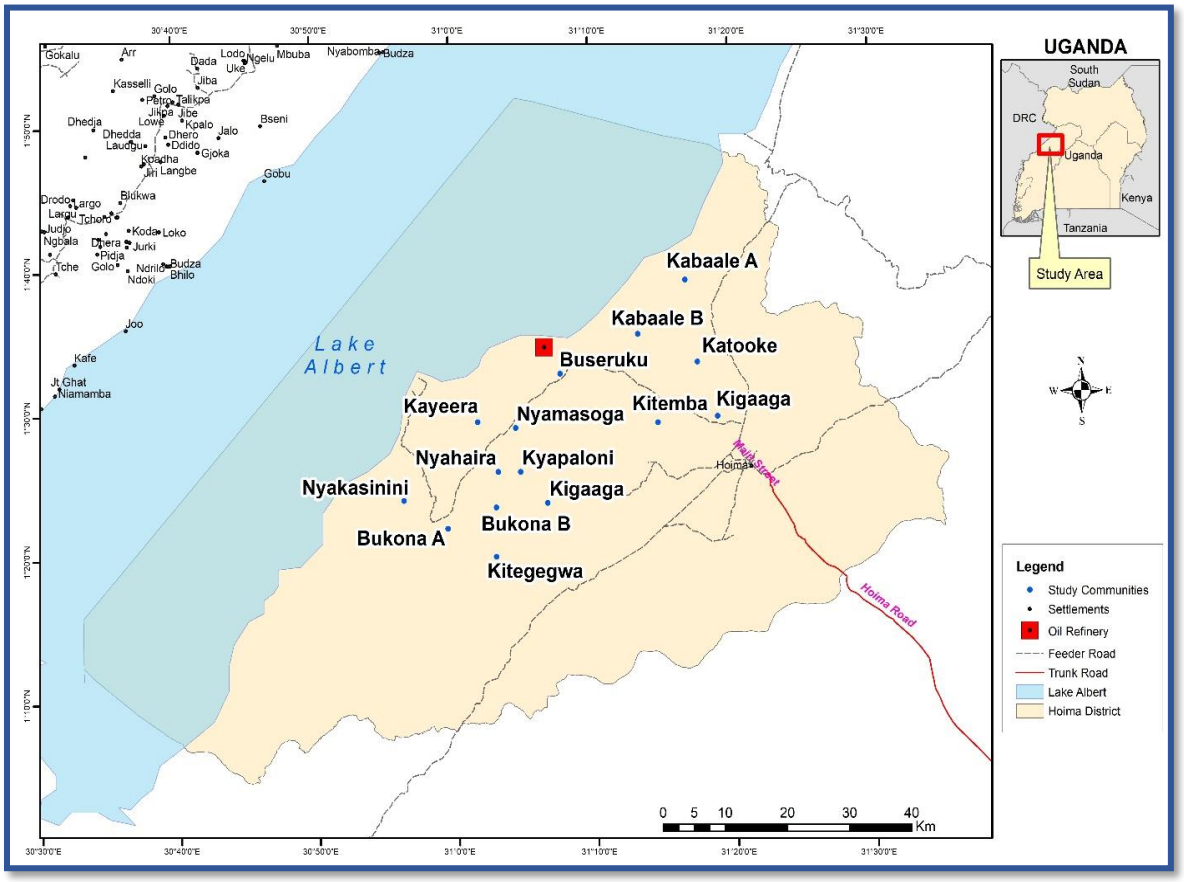
Government Institution	No. Interviewed	Officer interviewed
Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources	1	Director of Lands
Ministry of Petroleum	1	Ministry official
	1	Head of Land Valuation Department - Accra
Lands Commission	1	Land Valuation Officer – Western Region (Based in Takoradi)
	1	Head of Legal
Ghana Gas	1	Community Liaison Officer

Source: Field Work (2017)

3.3.5 Sampling – Uganda

The oil refinery project was selected for the study because it is a Government of Uganda project that has caused displacement of such high magnitude in recent years and, especially, because it involves the oil and gas sector. The study site was purposively selected. The 29.34 square kilometres of land acquired by government through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) in Kabaale Sub County in Hoima District directly affected 13 villages of Kyapaloni, Nyamasoga, Bukona A, Bukona B, Kayeera, Nyahaira, Kitegegwa, Kigaaga B, Katooke, Kitemba, Kabaale A, Kabaale B and Nyakasinini.

Figure 3.5: Map of Hoima District showing the study Communities



Source: Centre for Remote Sensing and Geographic Information Services (CERSGIS)

Five (5) FGDs were conducted among those who opted for compensation. This included two women only, two men only and one youth FGD. Each FGD had between 7-12 participants. The second category was two FGDs with those who received cash compensation, bought land and resettled between the refinery site and the new resettlement homes. In total 7 FGDs were conducted.

Table 3.6: Focus Group Discussions Interviews Conducted in Uganda

FGD	No. Interviewed	Location
Women	2	Nyahaira
Men	2	Nyahaira and Kyapoloni
Youth	1	Nyahaira
Cash Compensation	2	Rwamutonga and Nyabihukuru
In-depth Interview	5	Oil Refinery Community

Source: Field Work (2017)

Table 3.7: In-depth Interviews Conducted in Uganda

In-depth Interviews	No. Interviewed	Location
In-depth Interview	5	Oil Refinery Community

Source: Field Work (2017)

The government institutions selected were the line ministries and departments involved and the user Ministry; Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD), Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) and Uganda Lands Commission. Strategic Friends International (SFI) Consultancy were also selected as they had conducted the social-economic impact assessment and later implemented the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP).

Table 3.8: Key Informant Interviews Conducted in Uganda

Government Institution	No. Interviewed	Officer interviewed
Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD)	1	Chief Government Valuer
	1	Senior Valuer
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development	1	Senior Lands Officer (core refinery project team member)
Uganda Lands Commission	1	Senior Lands Officer (In charge of government land acquisitions)
Hoima District Officials	1	Assistant Chief Administrative Officer (ACAO)
	1	Hoima District Lands Officer
	1	Member Hoima District Lands Board
Strategic Friends International	1	Executive Director

Source: Field Work (2017)

In selecting the CSOs and traditional institutions the bottom-up and top-down approach was used to identify those relevant to the study. The list was gathered from the community, and focussed on CSOs working or that had previously worked with them in regard to the acquisition. They preferred those CSOs that had more presence, activities and visibility.

Two of the Bunyoro Kingdom Ministers were interviewed as the traditional authority in the Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom where Hoima District and, particularly the refinery site, is located. They were the Gender Minister and the Kingdom spokesperson who has also reported and extensively advocated for the Project Affected Persons (PAPs) by the refinery and other oil related issues and conflicts within the Kingdom.

Table 3.9: CSOs and Traditional Authority Interviewed in Uganda

Institution	No. Interviewed	Persons Interviewed
CSO		
Action Aid International, Uganda	1	Oil in Uganda, program manager
		Extractive Governance Officer
International Alert	1	Country Manager
	1	Gender Specialist
Global Rights Alert (GRA)		Project Coordinator
African Institute for Energy Governance (AFIEGO)	1	Senior Communications Officer
Traditional Authority		
Bunyoro Kitara kingdom	1	Kingdom Spokesperson
	1	Gender Minister

Source: Field Work (2017)

3.4 Data Collection Process

At the earlier stage of the study, a reconnaissance visit was made to both study sites in Ghana and Uganda. This was to familiarise with the study sites, to be informed of the proposed development process, serve as a guide in the choice of data collection methods and techniques as well as clearly defining the sample size and specific area of study. The first pre-field visit took place in January 2015, where a lengthy discussion was held with the Paramount Chief of Sekondi, who was influential in the Western Regional House of Chiefs' discussions on the oil and gas activities and the Ghana Gas affected communities. A meeting with the East Nzema Paramount chief was also held, along with Ghana Gas plant officials as well as other opinion leaders in the community. Between August and September 2015, a similar field visit was undertaken to the oil refinery site in Kaabale Sub County, Hoima District in Uganda. A discussion was held with different stakeholders. Pre-visits in Ghana and Uganda gave a good understanding of the field area and the dynamics in both countries; and started the profiling of institutions at that time. The pre-field visit

played a big role in shaping and refining the entire study. This informed the tool development, sampling process and data collection. Data collection tools were pre-tested prior to data collection, from the pre-test the tools were refined for data collection. The data collection period for Uganda was between December 2016 and February 2017. In Ghana the process continued from February 2017 to May 2017. Within the period I, however, kept in touch with some key respondents by phone calls and emails to gather additional information for both countries. In the case of Ghana, a final field visit was conducted to Ellembelle in June 2018 to seek clarity on some of the issues arising from the analysis.

3.4.1 Data Collection Instrument

Data collection was done using a range of tools and instruments in order to triangulate and get different perspectives from the different groups using the most appropriate technique. This included an in-depth interview guide, FGD guide, institutional interview guide, household questionnaire and information gathering guide.

3.4.2 In-depth Interview Guide

An in-depth interview guide was administered to key selected individuals within the community in both Ghana and Uganda. The guide was divided into sections, including demographics, livelihood and production activities, and general knowledge about the Gas plant project, the Uganda oil refinery, and the communities' feelings towards the project. The interview guide solicited information about the losses, employment and coping strategies by those affected. The sampled respondents for the in-depth interviews here included representatives of relevant government departments like Land Commission in Ghana, particularly, the valuation and

compensation department, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Ministry of Petroleum, Ghana Gas Limited, and Land Administration Project. In Uganda it included Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Uganda Lands Commission, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, Hoima District officials. We interviewed the executive director of Strategic Friends International (SFI), the consulting firm contracted by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development to manage the resettlement and relocation process on its behalf. The Civil Society Organisations involved in the process for both Ghana and Uganda and selected key respondents from the affected communities were also interviewed. A copy of the in-depth interview guide is attached as Appendix 1.

3.4.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Guide

The FGD guide was administered both in Ghana and in Uganda, aimed at gathering community wide information on the project and the magnitude of its loss. This was administered to different categories of project-affected persons including men only, women only, youth and mixed groups as detailed in the sampling criteria above. This tool, like the in-depth interview tool, had questions in different sections, which included an introductory part, the area and the people where information regarding the ethnicity, languages they spoke and out migration were asked. This was followed by another section on the communities' knowledge of the project, their feelings, and reactions towards the project. The next section dealt with losses incurred by the community because of the project. The communities' involvement during the decision-making process and issues related to housing and employment formed another section in the FGD guide. A copy of the FGD guide is attached as Appendix 2.

Figure 3.6: Women Only FGD in Nyahaira Village, Uganda

Source: Field Work 2017

3.4.4 Institutional Interview Guide

The institutional interview guide was administered to government, civil society and traditional institutions. The guide solicited information on institutions highlighting their background, objectives, mandate, operations and involvement in the project. The guide contained questions concerning the institution's involvement during the acquisition process, achievement made from roles played, implementation challenges faced and how they overcame them. The institutions' review of the land acquisition process was sought covering the different aspects that they found critical and how best this could be improved upon and those aspects that they found commendable during the process of land acquisition. A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix 3.

3.4.5 Information Gathering Guide

The information gathering tool was used to get basic information related to land acquisitions, laws and policies, the project details were mostly from core institutions. In Ghana, this helped in gathering information from the Lands Commission and in Uganda from Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, which handles the land acquisition process on behalf of government. The sections in the guide included a historical perspective and evaluation of the land acquisition and compensation laws and policies, the project backgrounds (Gas project in Ghana and Oil refinery project in Uganda), type of displacement, land valuation process, compensation process and the legal framework used for the acquisition. A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix 4.

3.4.6 Household Questionnaire

The household questionnaire was administered to the sampled households in Ghana only since the majority of the affected communities in Uganda opted for cash and had since left the community with only about 46 household left waiting resettlement. This number of households would be best studied using a qualitative approach. This was to address objective three – assessing the effect of the Ghana gas plant project on communities in Ellembelle District. The questionnaire had twelve sections: the household background information, educational background, employment, consultation and acquisition, losses as a result of the acquisition, food security, common property access, relations with Ghana Gas, health and, lastly, information on institutions, government and Ghana Gas project. The household questionnaire was administered to 244 households in 11 communities from Ellembelle District. A copy of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix 5.

3.5 Data Management and Analysis

3.5.1 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative information gathered from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions including other field notes were typed out as a first step towards the analysis. Recordings from the interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed and reviewed in order to clean the information of any errors in preparation for the analysis. With keen attention to the objectives and all questionnaires used for the study, themes were derived from which codes were likewise derived under each objective. Each transcript and the field notes were coded manually using the review comment icon in Microsoft Word to code on every line or paragraph using an appropriate code. Once this process was completed, each code was copied and placed under a particular theme. After all the categorization was finalized, the writing process started.

3.5.2 Quantitative Analysis

The field survey data collected was entered in a CSpro software design programme. The data was cleaned and analysed using STATA with the main unit of analysis being the household and individuals. The variables analysed included the effect on education, employment, land, health, food security and access to common properties. Descriptive statistics used in the analysis included percentages, charts, tables and cross tabulation. A chi-square test was employed to test the relationship between tenure arrangements before 2014 and after 2014 whilst a t-test was used to test the difference between average land owned and cultivated as well as other individual and household welfare indicators (such as food security, health and employment) within the same period. These were done to establish the existence of any significant relationship in tenure arrangements and changes in size of land owned and size of land cultivated by project affected

households before and after 2014. This was to establish other individual and household welfare indicators in project affected households before and after 2014 as well.

3.6 Ethical Considerations and Data Validation

During data collection, permission was sought from responsible authorities, including government, religious, and cultural leaders in the study area as well as other institutions where data was collected. An introductory letter was written to all institutions by ISSER introducing the investigator, the purpose of the study and requesting them to provide necessary information. To the institutions and communities visited, a general introductory 'To whom it may concern' letter was availed. Consent of participants were sought prior to engaging them into the process and they were only took part with fully informed consent of the purpose and details of the study at all times. To most of the institutions, the acceptance was minuted on a copy of the introductory letter, while for individual respondents and communities the information was read out to them in a language they understood and allowed them to ask questions and consent to take part willingly with an informed background.

The use of mix method data collection provided a simultaneous validation for the information gathered as it comprised a triangulated approach, with quantitative and qualitative approaches employed during the study. This included in-depth interviews, institutional interviews and FGDs. This all helped in authenticating the findings and was re-confirmation of already gathered information throughout the study.

According to Tracy (2010), good qualitative research reflects our good behaviours in our daily lives. She emphasized that, while presenting people's voice one should be cautious and let no

other voices silence others but let all voices be heard. This was addressed through speaking to different categories of respondents during the data collection and reporting the people's voices and, in some instances, direct quotes from the respondents in the results chapters.

In adherence to research ethics during the study, selected participants were clearly and well informed about the purpose of the study, their required time, confidentiality of information that they are sharing and identity. As a consequence, pseudo names have been used all through whenever there is a direct quote or a description in terms of male/female to avoid specifics that could bridge the confidentiality agreement with the respondents. Permission was taken to take pictures and to use them in the study: a few of these have been used in the thesis.

During the writing process the respondents were consulted for clarification on issues that seemed unclear. Upon completion of the draft, a field trip was made to the study area in Ghana and phone interviews and emails were made to Uganda for clarity and additional information. By doing this, the information gathered was validated and authenticated. According to Tracy, the relationship we create with the participants during our fieldwork impacts on the results and findings of the research, especially once we can always get back to clarify information gathered (Tracy, 2010).

CHAPTER FOUR

OIL AND GAS DISPLACEMENT CONTEXT AND DYNAMICS FOR COMMUNITIES IN GHANA AND UGANDA

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a discussion of the study area and research methodology and Chapter Four now presents the results of the displacement context and dynamics for Ghana and Uganda. Here, details of Ghana Gas Project and the Ugandan Oil Refinery project and each operational stage is provided in a timeline series. It provides the legal framework context used for the acquisition of the land in both countries, and the project dynamics under the consultation and decision making process, compensation of communities, gender dynamics and effect of the acquisition of the oil refinery communities as well as losers and winners in the process. The chapter concludes with discussions on communities' coping strategies and country specific issues.

4.2 Context

4.2.1 The Ghana Gas Project

The discovery of Ghana's oil and gas reserves in the Jubilee Fields in 2007 signified a turning point in the developmental efforts of the government and the people. In recognition of the oil and gas resources in national development, the late former President, Professor John Evans Atta Mills in February 2011 commissioned a "National Gas Development Task Force" to review and make appropriate recommendations for the speedy realisation of a national gas commercialisation infrastructure system. As a result, in April 2011, the Task Force made a recommendation to the President that included the evacuation and treatment of associated gas from the Jubilee Field

production. Further, Ghana National Gas Company (Ghana Gas) was formed in July 2011 with the responsibility to build, own and operate infrastructure required for the gathering, processing, transporting and marketing of natural gas resources in the country.

Figure 4.1: The Ghana Gas Plant

Source: Taken in 2017 by the researcher during field work.

A loan was secured from the Chinese Development Bank (CDB) through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MoFEP) for the implementation of the project. The government of Ghana raised 15% of the total amount whilst the CDB funded the remaining 85%. Ghana Gas signed a Project Implementation Agreement (PIA) with Sinopec International Petroleum Service Corporation (Sinopec) in November 2011 to enable the early implementation of the project. This involved engineering, procurement, construction and commissioning (EPCC) of the project.

The project management and supervision was contracted to AECOM Technology Corporation (AECOM), a US based global provider of professional technical and management support services. Under the terms of the agreement, AECOM took over construction and engineering management from Ghana Gas, conducted factory acceptance testing of all critical equipment, supervised integration of all systems, performed pre-commissioning and commissioning of the entire system, managed the transition from construction to operational start-up and developed the project management plan and skills training for Ghana Gas staff.

Due to its enormous benefits the gas plant project was envisaged to be key for development. These benefits included generation of gainful employment, supporting a vibrant petroleum and petrochemical industry, and providing a new economic growth sector for Ghana starting with the Western Region. This would provide huge opportunities for a more competitive pricing of indigenous gas, secure competitiveness of Ghanaian industry, accelerate economic development, support strategic objectives of becoming a petroleum processing hub, resume Ghana's strategic role as preferred exporter of power in the sub-region and Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) from the project to meet national demand and eliminate periodic shortages (LPG is advantageous as it will replace wood fuels and avoid de-forestation and economic), social benefits from broadening ownership in the country's natural resources, as elaborated on in the Ghana Gas unpublished Information Pack and interviews with the Ghana Gas officials (Ghana National Petroleum Corporation, 2016).

Table 4.1: Ghana Gas Project Timeline

Period	Activities
2007	
	Government announces oil discovery in commercial quantities offshore Jubilee Field
	The need to establish Gas Processing Plant.
	Collaboration between GNPC and VRA begins
	DOMUNLI SITE – 18.9 km^2 (approximately 4,670.29 acres) earmarked for the Gas plant establishment
2010	
14th January	Formal acquisition process initiated for Domunli site
2011	
February	National Gas Development Task Force Commissioned by the President to review and make appropriate recommendations for the speedy realisation of a national gas commercialisation infrastructure system
March	Interim valuation assessment begins on the DOMUNLI SITE.
April	The National Gas Development Task Force made a recommendation to the President for the establishment of Ghana Gas.
July	Ghana Gas established
November	Construction and commissioning agreement signed with Sinopec International Petroleum Services
2012	
January	Government officially announces that Ghana Gas is taking over the Gas component of GNPC Operations i.e. GNPC exit, Ghana Gas joins
August	The valuation team officially abandons the Domunli site and relocates to Atuabo.

2013	
31st January	Final report for the Environmental Impact Statement for the Onshore Gas Pipeline Component of the Gas Infrastructure Project was submitted
2014	
August and September	The Executive Instruments were published in the national daily's making the compulsory acquisition legal.
	Officially the community land was acquired and people displaced
August	Completion of the construction
2015	
February and March	Legal cut-off date for submissions of claims by claimants or project affected persons.
September 2015	Commissioning of the Gas Plant
September 2014 to date	Submission of claims by the affected communities is still pending
	Land compensation is yet to be made

Source: Researcher's Compilation (2018)

Ghana Gas plant is located in Atuabo in Ellembelle District. The plant pipeline is 111 kilometres long running across six districts from Atuabo in Ellembelle, Jomoro, Nzema East, Ahanta West, Shama and Sekondi-Takoradi, all in the Western Region, Ghana.

4.2.2 Land and Legal Framework Used for Acquisition

Land ownership classification in Ghana is fundamentally based on the ownership of "allodial" title for interests to land. Ollennu (1962) observed that there is no land in Ghana without an owner. According to the National Land Policy (1999), land ownership in Ghana is broadly divided into

two, namely, private lands or public/state lands. However, sandwiched between these two land-types is vested land. Private land is held in trust by the chief on behalf of the community; family and individual land ownership falls under private land. State and vested land, however, is held in trust by the government on behalf of the communities (Ollennu, 1962).

The guiding legal framework for land acquisition is the Constitution of Ghana 1992, Article 20 on protection from deprivation of property, which states that:

> *(1) No property of any description or interest in or right over any property shall be compulsorily taken possession of or acquired by the State unless the following conditions are satisfied;*
>
> > *(a) the taking of possession or acquisition if necessary is in the interest of the State defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning or the development or utilization of property in such a manner as to promote the public benefit; and*
> >
> > *(b) the necessity for the acquisition is clearly stated and is such as to provide reasonable justification for causing any hardship that may result to any person who has an interest in or right over the property.*
>
> *(2) Compulsory acquisition of property by the State shall only be made under a law that makes provision for:*
>
> > *(a) the **prompt payment** of **fair** and **adequate compensation**; and*
> >
> > *(b) the right of access to the high court by any person who has an interest in or right over the property whether direct or on appeal from other authority, for the determination of his interest or right and the amount of compensation to which he is entitled.*
>
> *(3) Where compulsory acquisition or possession of land affected by the state in accordance with clause (1) of this article involves displacement of any inhabitants, the state shall resettle the displaced inhabitants of any inhabitants on a suitable alternative land with due regard for their economic well-being and social and cultural values.*
>
> *(4) Nothing in this article shall be construed as affecting the operation of any general law so far as it provides for the taking of possession or acquisition of property (p 43-44).*

The State Land Act, 1962, (Act 123) operationalised the constitutional provision that was used for the Ghana Gas plant project land acquisition, and Lands Commission implemented it. The Act gives a clear guide and procedure for the acquisition of land in line with the constitutional provision for prompt payment of fair and adequate compensation.

The Government, through its agency, Ghana National Petroleum Company (GNPC) chose Domunli in Jomoro District and Atuabo in Ellembelle District for the proposed Ghana National Gas Company (commonly referred to as Ghana Gas) project. The feasibility studies conducted however found Domunli more suitable for the gas plant project. The District Assembly was informed and consultations were held with district officials, chiefs, farm owners and other stakeholders on the acquisition process and the project. The community members were not convinced during discussions and their agitation delayed the project. As a result, the project was moved to Atuabo where the Paramount Chief consented and proceeded to give land for the project; thus the project was established in Atuabo (Mohammed, 2017 unpublished thesis).

4.2.3 The Ghana Gas Plant Land Acquisition Process

The land acquisition process was handed over to the Lands Commission who handled the process on behalf of Ghana Gas following its mandate. The process as discussed above included survey, demarcation and valuation.

In Ghana, government land acquisition is done on behalf of the President in the interest of the people of Ghana. Ghana Gas made enquires with the Lands Commission regarding the land to be acquired. An approval was sought and taken from the Department of Town and Country Planning to ensure that the proposed acquisition conformed to the planning regulations of the area, and the

survey report from the Survey and Mapping Department of the Lands Commission. They confirmed that the new location in Atuabo had suitable land after the first option in Jomoro was abandoned. A formal application was then submitted to the Regional Minister of Western Region. Based on the proposed plan, the District Chief Executives of the six districts were informed by the Minister's office. Committees comprising experts from Town and Country Planning Department, Survey and Mapping Division, Land Valuation Division (LVD), Environmental Protection Agency, and Utility Services (Water and Electricity Department), National Environmental Authority and Community representative (Chief) were constituted.

In this particular acquisition for the Ghana Gas Plant, two committees were constituted. One committee was constituted following Act 125 with the purpose of acquiring land for the processing plant and subsidiary stations; while the second committee was formed based on the Lands-Statutory Way Leaves Act, 1963 (Act 186) in charge of the pipeline corridor. Eventually the two committees formed were collapsed into one committee, relegating the committee formed using Act 186. All acquisition were done using Act 125.

The Act provides for three community engagements: the first is a recognisance meeting where affected people are informed of the project and its magnitude; the second is a Durbar meeting where affected people can ask questions and get clarification (unlike the first instance that is only informative); and the third and final meeting is for valuation purposes and is an exercise where the affected people are involved in demarcation. Staff of the Lands Commission conducted the whole process for the Gas plant acquisition because, at the time, the Ghana Gas staff were all new and had no experience in handling an acquisition process. Lands Commission handled this part of the process on its behalf and often in the presence of Ghana Gas staff. The Project Affected Persons

(PAPs) are permitted to engage the services of a private valuer who the government pays 10% of the total value of one's affected property. In line with the global policies and guidelines on displacement discussed in Chapter Two, section 2.9, Ghana's approach does not comply with the prior compensation as recommended. The cash compensation, which is the case in the current Ghana Gas Plant land acquisition appears to be defective as it does not take into consideration all the other losses. According to Goyal (1996), a combination of different approaches including land for land would be recommended as the affected derive their livelihoods mostly from land.

The Gas plant, now established at Atuabo, has four distribution stations and a valve station with its pipeline running across six districts from Ellembelle to Aboadze in Shama District covering a distance of 111kms, and is approximately 368.29 hectares (910 acres) as indicated in the 2014 Executive Instrument (EI) 47.

4.2.3.1 Payment of Compensation

Table 4.2 presents payment amounts to 10 out of 11 communities interviewed during the fieldwork. A payroll obtained from LVD of the Lands Commission indicates amounts paid out as crop compensation to the PAPs who lost their crops. The total amount paid is Gh¢ 570,546. PAPs received between Gh¢20 and Gh¢10,000 depending on what they lost. Asemda Suazo and Atuabo received the highest amounts. This is not surprising considering that the majority of the affected farmers at the Gas Plant establishment resided in Asemda Suazo, followed by Esiama, which is more urbanised. Some PAPs lost buildings and commercial plots besides their farms and no compensation has so far been made to this effect.

Table 4.2: Amount Paid for Crops Compensation per Community in the Study Sample in Ghana

No.	Community	No. of People Affected	Total to be Paid (Gh¢)
1	Atuabo	45	104,114
2	Kambgbunli	37	18,445
3	Eikwe	38	12, 815
4	Asemda Suazo	103	190,152
5	Krisan	21	12,064
6	Ampain	15	7,157
7	Anokye	7	9,535
8	Sanzule	22	12,798
9	Esiama	75	143,758
10	Kikam	28	59,708
11	Nkroful	Not established	Not available
	TOTAL	**436**	**570,546**

Source: Official payroll from Lands Commission in 2016.

The number of affected persons captured here are of individuals affected from the sampled communities. These were then listed into households prior to sampling for the study.

4.2.3.2 Land Acquired

The land acquired for the project in Ellembelle District included sites for establishing the Gas Plant, the offshore transitions pipeline to the plant, Esiama distribution station site and part of the Gas pipeline that runs through Ellembelle.

Table 4.3: Showing Project Acquired Land

Project	Acres Acquired	Location
Gas Plant	982.637 acres (397.66 Hectares)	Atuabo
Off Shore Gas Pipeline to the Plant	2.393 acres (0.968 Hectares)	Atuabo
Gas pipeline	111 kms long / 35 metres wide	Across six districts (Atuabo-Aboadze)
Distribution Station	63.694 acres (25.776 Hectares)	Esiama

Source: Interviews and Executive Instruments (EI, 48, 49, 50 and 51).

Gas Plant project in Ellembelle District affected a total of 503 individuals across the 19 communities as presented in Chapter Three. This is approximately 400 households (more than one person was affected in some households). According to the Ghana Gas Plant Environmental Assessment Statement (2013), the total number of members in a household affected by the gas plant pipeline project was found to be six or fewer persons (Ghana Gas Environmental Assessment Statement, 2013).

The household size with the highest percentage was the 4-6 range representing 44%, followed by the 7-9 range with 22% and then the 1-3 range with 18%. The major occupations of the respondents were basically farming, formal employment, artisanship, trading and services. The most dominant was farming with 37%, followed by trading with 26.5%. The study tried to identify the assets of respondents to estimate the level of accumulation of what can be considered as wealth to serve as indicators for their standards of living (Ghana Gas Environmental Assessment Statement, 2013).

In measuring their income and wealth, the largest proportion, which was 24% of the respondents, earned above GH¢ 500. This was followed by 12.5% of the respondents who earned between GH¢

50 - 100. Compared to the other expenditure items, food was the item that a sizeable number of respondents spent the most on as was confirmed by Ghana Gas Plant Environmental Impact Statement Report (2013). Asamoah (2012), in the findings of his unpublished thesis, confirmed these earnings of PAPs' prior to the land acquisition.

From interviews conducted with key informants, land compensations had not yet been made and is pending due to demarcation and boundary issues within the communities and Chieftaincies according to Ghana Gas and the Land Valuation Division of the Lands Commission. The interest in land within the project scope lies with the Chieftaincy stool, families and individuals. Ghana Gas needs to identify the true owners of the land and negotiate with them for their payments to be made. Ghana Gas, however, confirmed that compensation funds are available and deposited in the EXCO account awaiting conclusion of the pending issues and verification of true land owners after which payments will be made. Out of over 1000 persons affected across the six districts, less than 50 claims have been submitted to Ghana Gas. On the other hand, the affected community members are waiting for their compensation to be paid but they have not even submitted their claims. This therefore means that the compensation cannot be made unless claims have been submitted.

4.2.4 The Uganda Oil Refinery Project

Soon after Uganda's oil discovery in 2006, the country set out on a search for means and ways to turn this oil find into a blessing rather than a curse as indicated in the project objective and alluded to by government officials. Being a land locked country, Uganda looked for ways of maximizing benefits from its oil resources. As indicate in the Uganda Oil Refinery Resettlement Action Plan (2012) in 2010, with support of the Norwegian Government, Government of Uganda undertook an

international procurement process and selected Foster Wheeler Energy Limited (FWEL) to conduct a feasibility study on the best alternatives for Uganda's oil profit maximization (RAP, 2012).

According to an interviewed official from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD), the study report recommended an oil refinery as the best alternative considering that Uganda's oil is waxy and would need heated pipes through to the port of Mombasa. This would prove more expensive and not a profitable alternative to pursue. Based on this recommendation, the Government embarked on the development and construction of an oil refinery. From all the available sites, a 29.34 square kilometres piece of land in Kabaale Parish, Buseruka Sub County in Hoima District of the Albertine Graben was chosen as the most appropriate location due to its closeness to the oil fields.

An official from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) indicated that the refinery construction option was necessitated as key based on a number of factors such as:

- The existence of only one oil refinery in East and Central Africa and this would expand the regions production capacity;
- It would guarantee profit maximisation and boost supply to the neighbouring countries of Rwanda and Burundi as well as meet domestic demand;
- Contribute to a stable supply of petroleum products; and
- Create employment
  (In-depth Interview, an official MEMD, 1st February 2017, Kampala)

By 2012, Ugandan Government contracted Strategic Friends International (SFI), a local consulting firm, to conduct a social economic study and develop a Resettlement Action Plan (RAP), which was completed by November 2012 (Global Rights Alert Report, 2013).

Table 4.4: Oil Refinery Project Timeline

Year	Activity
2006	
	Oil and gas discovery in Albertine Graben
2010	
	Contracted Foster Wheeler Energy Limited (FWEL)
	Commissioned the Feasibility Study and made recommendations for the refinery alternative
2011	
	Identified refinery site
2012	
	Contracted Strategic Friends International to conduct a social economic study and develop a Resettlement Action Plan (RAP).
	2nd June 2012 was set as the cut-off date for compensation eligibility: any occupation and development activities after this would not be compensated
	Valuation
2013	
2013	By 2013 people had been displaced by cut-off date as official indication of government takeover, pending compensation
	Strategic Friends contracted to implement the RAP
2013	Cash Compensation of the affected persons started in 2013 and completed in 2016
4th October	On 4th October 2013, national dialogue on the implementation of the RAP – and the rights of the affected persons was held, organized by Global Rights Alert
2016/17	Construction and completion of the resettlement homes
2018	
February 2018	Resettlement of the 72 PAPs, 46 with housing and 26 land based
Pending	The oil refinery construction has not yet started and a contractor is yet to be procured

Source: Field Interview 2015 – 2018, and Resettlement Action Plan, (2012)

4.2.5 Land and Legal Framework used for Acquisition in Uganda

The 1995 Constitution of Uganda Article 237 prescribes land tenure and ownership in Uganda. Section (1) states that land in Uganda belongs to the citizens of Uganda and is vested in them in accordance with the land tenure systems provided for in this constitution. Section (3) details the four land tenure systems in Uganda through which land can be owned. They are (a) Customary; (b) Freehold; (c) Mailo; and (d) Leasehold.

The Land Act CAP. 227 Article (2) defines the different tenure systems:

a) *Customary land tenure system applies to specific land areas and is governed by customary laws. Land under this tenure is communally or jointly owned by particular groups of people and commonly controlled by elders, clan heads or well-defined administrative authority. Over 60% of Ugandan land is held on customary tenure system. It is found in the North, South and Western Uganda.*
b) *Freehold land tenure system involves holding of land in perpetuity or time without end; it was set up by an agreement between the kingdoms and the British Government with full rights to usage and development of land for any lawful purpose.*
c) *Mailo land tenure system involves the holding of registered land in eternity or perpetuity with the holder having a land title to it. It separates the ownership of land from ownership of developments on land.*
d) *Leasehold land tenure system involves owning land for a particular period of time. One can get a lease from an individual, local authority, organization, company, an institution, kingdom or from government for a period usually 49 or 99 years or in between with agreed terms and conditions by contract or operation of law or contractual agreement reached between the parties (p)*

The 1995 Constitution of Uganda Article 20 upholds protection of human rights as inherited and not granted by the state. All government organs respect and promote these enshrined rights and freedoms. While Article 26 Section (1) grants every person a right to own property, Section (2) of Article 26 states “no person shall be compulsorily deprived of property or any interests in or

right over property of any description except where the following conditions are satisfied". The same article empowers Government to compulsorily acquire land provided the acquisition is necessary and in the public interest, public use or is in the interest of defence, public order, public morality or public health.

The compulsory taking of possession or acquisition of property is made under the law that makes provision for ***prompt payment*** of ***a fair*** and ***adequate*** compensation ***prior to taking of possession*** or acquisition of the property. Section (2b) subsection (i) provides for a right of access to a court of law by any person who has an interest or right over the property.

The Land Act, CAP. 227, section 43 provides that Government or local Government may acquire land. This should be done in accordance with the provisions of Article 26 and 237(2) of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda. Section 76(1) (b) provides guidance on considerations to be made when valuing land. The Land Acquisition Act. CAP 226 spells out in details the compulsory acquisition process from the declaration that land is necessary for public interests, to surveying, negotiations and payments. It also makes provisions for redress through the courts in case of any grievance as is provided for in the constitution. The 1995 Constitution, the Uganda National Land Policy, 2013, the Land Act CAP 227 and the Land Acquisition Act CAP. 226 are all relevant legal frameworks that were used in the acquisition of the oil refinery land before the completion of the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Framework in 2016 for the petroleum development and production in the Albertine Graben. This new framework proposes to guide both government and the private oil companies on land acquisition and resettlement in the Albertine Graben of the oil region (RAP, 2012).

Project affected Persons (PAPs) who opted for cash compensation have since been paid and moved out of the area, leaving few who are awaiting resettlement into their newly constructed homes. The oil refinery construction works had not yet been done at the time of this field work in February 2017 and has still not been accomplished by the end of 2017.

4.2.6 The Oil Refinery Land Acquisition Process

Prior to the ear marking of Kaabale site as the refinery site, Government had other options including a site in Nakasogola District. Kaabale Sub County in Hoima District became ideal due to its proximity to the oil fields and the waxy nature of the oil that would affect long distance transportation. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development officially wrote to Uganda Lands Commission (ULC) who are the custodian of all government lands and acquisitions expressing interest in acquiring land in Kaabale Parish, Buseruka Sub County in Hoima District for the refinery project. Uganda Lands Commission then wrote to the Hoima District Land Board in accordance with the law. Upon the District Land Board‘s verification, the land was found suitable for the project and clearance was given to ULC to acquire the land. ULC then engaged Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD), charged with valuation, survey and demarcation in the process of the acquisition. Although MLUD surveyed the land, most of the occupants were not aware of that fact. It was during the survey and demarcation stage in 2012 that most of the land owners and occupants said they got to know about Government’s intention to acquire their land for the refinery.

This brought mixed feelings among the residents who had not been officially informed and consulted. When the residents started questioning and getting agitated with the pressure from

CSOs, the MEMD organized a meeting to inform the residents of the ongoing activities and Government's plan. Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, on completion of the survey, started the valuation process. The MEMD contracted Strategic Friends International (SFI), a consultancy firm, to conduct a socio-economic survey that would help in the preparation of the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP). The same firm (SFI) was awarded the contract to implement the RAP that they had prepared. The resettlement and compensation strategy was to be guided by the national legislation in close adherence to international best practice i.e., the World Bank operations policy 4.0 on resettlement and compensation as indicated in the RAP document (RAP, 2012).

The submission cut-off date for PAPs claims was 2nd June 2012: this was set to ensure that any developments on the land after cut-off date would not be eligible for compensation. Only land owners were entitled to compensation for lands, crops and other valuables on land and a 30% disturbance allowance. At the time of the census and RAP completion, only 29 households had chosen the resettlement option while 1,194 households chose cash compensation (RAP, 2014). During the pilot study conducted in August 2015, the number of PAPs waiting resettlement was 93 included the aged who were all to be resettled and were not given a cash option for fear of morbidity and increased risk of impoverishment and vulnerability. PAPs had previously expressed fear of being relocated far away and this pushed most of them to choose cash compensation.

By the end of the field data collection in January 2017, the number of those waiting to be resettled had come down further to 46 for those who had been resettled with housing and 26 for those resettled with only land as the Chief Government Valuer confirmed during an interview in January (2017). He justified this saying the 26 receiving only land are those who did not have any houses on their land. The affected PAPs however contested this argument and said it was a way for

Government to cheat them by not constructing houses for them. One of the two Primary schools affected (Kyapoloni Primary) was completed, however prior to commissioning in 2018, the Ministry of Education found it had not met certain required standards upon inspection. Repair works resumed and the school was scheduled to be opened by May 2018. The Auditor General's Report (2017) likewise confirms the defects at the school and many other irregularities that took place during the process, including delayed payments, inadequate payments, and lack of a Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM), thus causing financial loss to government due to mismanagement and delays (Auditor General's Report, 2017).

The social economic survey revealed that nine out of ten households derived their livelihood from farming. This means that their source of livelihood was heavily disturbed. In trying to deal with this important concern, livelihood restoration programmes were planned; and since their resettlement in February 2018, the PAPs have been given one cow and two goats for each household. During the interviews, the PAPs mentioned that they were to undergo a training on saloon management and tailoring for at least one household member in a bid to restore their livelihood. This was confirmed by Strategic Friends International, the consultant firm handling the resettlement. Prior to relocation, the PAPs were provided with a one-off set of assorted food items that included 'Posho' maize flour, beans and rice while they waited for resettlement. The PAPs complained that the portions given to them was inadequate to cater for their families for even up to a month.

For those who took cash compensation, a few financial training sessions were organized to enable them to manage their finances once they were paid. It was clearly observed that, while some PAPs put their money to good use as evidenced in their family outlook through new family houses

constructed, other PAPs who received cash mismanaged or wasted it, while some of them were able to buy land and build permanent and semi-permanent houses. Despite this achievement, they emphasized that their life has not been the same and in most communities where they moved to, the host community perceived them as dangerous as they had so much money and could attract thieves to their area, and use money to lure their wives and daughters especially. This negatively affected their assimilation into the communities.

4.2.6.1 Payment of Compensation

The project developed a resettlement action plan, which provided a guideline on how the compensation and resettlement would be done informed by a socio-economic study conducted prior to the exercise. As indicated in the RAP (2012), the project affected a 29.34 km² piece of land made up of 1,662 parcels of land; 1,221 households were affected with a total of 7,118 persons; and there were 2473 directly affected land owners who were eligible for compensation. All PAPs eligible for cash compensation were assisted to open bank accounts and all payment above one hundred thousand Uganda shillings (UGX 100,000 approximately United States Dollars (USD) 40) were to be paid by direct transfers to bank accounts. The total budget for compensation and its related activities amounted to UGX 70, 915,217,225.12, (approximately USD 28,366,087). Due to project implementation delays there was an increased cost to government to pay the RAP implementing consultant, which led to a loss of Uganda shillings 1,239,760,000 to government (RAP, 2012).

Table 4.5: The Overall Amount Spent on Compensation for the Oil Refinery Affected Communities

No.	Component	Amount (UGX)
1	Compensation of losses to PAPs	54,534,945,119.00
2	RAP activities for the affected and host community	3,674,845,00.00
3	RAP implementation agency fees	3, 757,943,228.57
4	Contingency (15%)	8,947,483,877.55
	Total	**70,915,217,225.12**

Source: Resettlement Action Plan (2012)

As per the last field visit, Project affected Persons (PAPs) who opted for cash compensation had since been paid and moved out of the area leaving those awaiting resettlement to their newly constructed homes. The oil refinery construction works had not been done at the time of this field work in February 2017 and until the end of 2017 the contract had not even been awarded for this construction. The refinery construction works has not yet started. However the PAPs were being resettled as of February 2018. Reasons for the delayed construction works are not clearly stated except for media news of the slow tender process and awarding of the contract. The MEMD only asserted that works in regard to the refinery construction has always been ongoing and have never stalled.

4.2.7 Oil Refinery PAPs Status Quo

From interviews with key informants it was established that PAPs who opted for resettlement have finally been resettled after waiting for over four years: 46 of the PAPs received houses and 26 were given only land. According to MEMD and Chief Government Valuer's office, the 26 PAPs owned land without houses constructed on it: accordingly, they could only be given land. As a part of the livelihood restoration programme by the MEMD, the recently resettled PAPs have been given one

cow and two goats per household as mentioned earlier. This was given to both those who received houses and those who did not

The community, through its Oil Refinery Resident Association (ORRA) and with the support from some CSOs, organised a meeting with the Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) immediately after they had been resettled in February 2018 to table the plea of those who have not been given houses considering that the majority of them are women. They also shared a number of pending issues including: a non-functional school; a bad road to the new site, which is a part of the package that was meant to be put in place by Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development; and of the six boreholes that were promised, only one was built, which serves the host community as well. This is already putting too much pressure on the existing pump.

4.3 Oil and Gas Induced Dynamics

4.3.1 Consultation and Decision Making During Acquisition

This section focuses on the consultative processes that took place for the acquisition, development and running of the oil and gas projects in both Ghana and Uganda. Respondents from the FGDs and KIIs in Ghana mentioned that there was minimal consultation and this was typically done at the time of demarcation when most of the affected persons interacted with the officials in regard to the project. As discussed in the above section, the law provides for three consultative meetings, namely the informative, durbar and valuation meetings where the communities are fully consulted and convinced to get on board. The meeting(s) held were not deep enough and, as was evident from the accounts by the respondents, community people, chiefs, NGOs and some government officials, the consultative processes for the acquisition of the land for the Ghana Gas Project were inadequate. However some of the respondents mentioned that they were talked to and informed

about the project through their chiefs, but the information given were inadequate for the majority of land owners. For instance, they were not told that their crops would be destroyed denying them a chance to harvest that year's produce. Some of the respondents acknowledged interacting with officials from Land Valuation Division during the demarcation stage with the counting of their crops for valuation. This was mainly at Esiama where most of them turned up for payments. Land Valuation Division staff confirmed meeting with the community members affected during the valuation process alongside the Ghana Gas team as earlier discussed in section 4.2.2. According to one of the male respondents in a FGD,

> *there were no formal consultation meeting that I know of, but during the demarcation exercise is when they called and told us that all those whose land and crops were affected should come and write their names against their loses and we did. But for consultation and negotiation on coconut, palm tree, food crops and other properties we were not consulted including the valuation rates, I will say nothing like that happened (Male FGD, Esiama 4th April 2017)*

Respondents of FGDs, in-depth interviews and KIIs in Ghana decried during the interviews that their concerns and approval were not sought before the demolishing of their farms and other landed properties and the later establishment of the project. At the very least, some avowed that they did not even have any information about the project prior to the demarcation of their land. One of the male respondents at a FGD in Esiama tried to recall when he got to know about the project by saying,

> *…as for the year they started coming here, I can't remember, but the project started long before the members of this community heard about it……but I think the project started somewhere around 2012 (Male FGD, Esiama 4th April 2017).*

Such a practice is not specific to the Ghana Gas communities nor the oil refinery affected communities but is a common practice in the extractive industry. Bebbignton (2010), in his work

in Peru, notes that most times the PAPs only become aware that their lands have been given out as concessions when the companies come to inspect.

Furthermore, there were no negotiations regarding valuation of the land and any other landed properties and compensation for the displacement. The people were unaware of the proposed right of way or path of the gas pipelines. The lack of knowledge about what went on bred a lack of transparency and mistrust by the land owners for the government officials, the chiefs and other leaders who acted on behalf of the people.

Government rates for crops are standard and reviewed yearly; therefore, the Statistics Research and Information Directorate (SRID) of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in Ghana generate the crop rates used for compensation. This, in itself, left very little room for negotiation and did not take into consideration the regional specific values attached to particular crops, which affect pricing and rates of compensation.

In the case of Uganda, while some of the community members affirmed that they took part in the consultative meetings, the meetings took place much after their land had been surveyed and this was upon the intervention of many NGOs. In one of the in-depth interviews, one of the affected leaders who is advocating for his community still awaiting resettlement said;

> *... when the team of surveyors got to our community, we asked them what their mission was and we were informed that the government had earmarked our community lands for the siting of an oil refinery... (Male Community leader in-depth Interview at Nyahairah Village, on 4th January 2017).*

This was the first time the community members had contact with the government team. According to the findings of this research from FGDs, in-depth interviews and KIIs, the respondents reported no consultations prior to the survey and demarcation of the land. This, an officer in the Community

Development Department in Hoima District, affirmed during an interview. He mentioned that the acquisition process for the oil refinery land had been a top down approach with minimal district involvement and community consultations. He said

> *...there has been no link between the district officials and the Ministry team working on the land acquisition. They (the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development and MEMD) just come from Kampala straight to the community (Male IDI with an official from the Hoima District Community Development office, on 6th January 2017, in Hoima District).*

The District Community Development Department of the District only became involved much later after the top officials involved had a misunderstanding with the community members who demanded that they should be involved. They then started the mobilisation of the community members for consultation meetings. At this stage, the situation had become tense and this forced the government officials from the Ministry to move to the communities with police and army escorts for fear of being attacked by the community members. One such meeting took place in December 2014 as was mentioned during a youth FGD on 4th January 2017. They could remember vividly the tension that engulfed their community and that the officials had, out of fear of danger, come to the meeting with a heavy police and military presence.

Figure 4.2: Showing agitated and demonstrating oil refinery project affected persons at the meeting with the MEMD officials at the oil refinery site

Source: www.oilinuganda.org

Following this, more consultative meetings were held and in one of the meetings, the State Minister for Minerals addressed the community members and responded to their concerns. These meetings continued to take place many times on different issues after the NGOs had intervened. On 4th October 2013, Global Rights Alert, one of the NGOs that has been very instrumental in advocating for the oil refinery affected communities, organised a national dialogue to discuss the implementation of the Resettlement Action Plan and to discuss the rights of the PAPs. The dialogue was attended by over 100 participants in Kampala including the PAPs, other NGOs working in the field, relevant Government Ministries and lawyers handling the cases. The meeting assessed and identified key weaknesses and gaps in the entire resettlement process.

Actions agreed upon and the way forward from this meeting were not taken into consideration as was revealed in an interview with an officer from Global Rights Alert on 18th January 2017 at their

office in Kampala. The lack of adherence to the law and implementation of agreements from consultative meetings led to delays of payment of compensations and resettlement of the communities. Even where they made independent choices and decisions on the choice of resettlement, they were threatened, more or less coerced, to opt for cash compensation and told if they chose resettlement they would be resettled far away in another region. This scared the residents, the majority of whom then opted for cash compensation. This was echoed at an FGD in Kyapoloni Village by one male participant who said

> *...during the meetings we were told a lot of good things about accepting the money option but nothing good was said about resettlement. We were also told that for those who will opt for resettlement, government will decide where to resettle them and this could be in Karamoja (a region far North). This scared many from taking the resettlement option. Though some of us still stayed on with the resettlement option while many more went for the money. (Male FGD, in Kyapoloni Village on 5th January 2017)*

4.3.2 Compensation of Project Affected Persons (PAPs)

In terms of compensation in Ghana, the SRID generates the rates for crops as discussed in the above section and this is reviewed yearly; while values for land is based on the prevailing market price. Compensation for crops had been paid, however a relatively large proportion of the respondents lamented that their compensations were inadequate or below their expectations while others confirmed not yet being paid. To them the farmlands were their main sources of livelihood. As such, the non-payment on the part of the government rendered them poor and impoverished. This had translated into their inability to pay for their wards' education and medical bills among others. Besides all these perceived or real losses on the low land valuation, their crops, fishponds and poultry farms, which were in the right of way of the gas pipeline, were all destroyed. In a female FGD one of the respondent had this to say,

> *I lost my pineapple farm. It is one plot of pineapple farm. The money they gave me for it is 19 cedis. I didn't even take that money because it is an insult to me. I gave the money out as gift to someone because when I look at it, I get pained. I am very angry about the treatment they gave me and the others. It is very bad that most of us are now struggling to pay our children's fees and can no longer take care of our family. (Female FGD, in Asemda Suazo, 5th April 2017)*

According to Ghana Gas and the Lands Commission, the reasons for delayed land compensation is as a result of conflicts over land among chiefs; i.e., ownership of the plant establishment is being contested by chiefs and the case is in court. There is also a lack of proper documentation and the inability to reach consensus on compensation, the rightful ownership of land even among families and communities border disputes still exists. According to Ghana Gas, the majority of these are issues that are beyond them to deal with, however they are working with relevant authorities to finalise the process and ensure payments are made. Despite the arguments the authorities put forward, Kasanga and Kotey (2001) found that land administration in Ghana is entangled with a number of constrains that affects its efficiency and effectiveness in dealing with land issues including acquisitions. This, they highlighted as including shortage of motivated staff, over compartmentalisation of the Lands Commission, frequent political interference and lack of basic logistics and support services. Ablo and Asamoa (2018) likewise found the same complaint from the Atuabo Gas Plant communities of delayed and inadequate compensation. Amidst the delay in payment and inadequate compensation, the community people had expectations of possible benefits from the establishment of the Ghana Gas project that has since not materialised. These expectations included employment opportunities, introduction of alternative livelihoods, and provision of social services in terms of education and health support and infrastructure: none of which has yet materialised. In an interview with one of the opinion leaders from Ampain community he stated that;

> *...if it is a government project, it should not affect individuals, so we were anticipating that what is due the farmers will be given to them. But if I should put it as it is, they were cheated. Because what is due them was not given. Only something scanty was given for crops. They have acquired the land using a Legislative Instrument (L.I), but they have not paid any compensation for the land that they have forcibly taken using the L.I. Some time ago, they told us to go through some valuation process, go for cadastral mapping to take the land size, other people engaged private consultants to come and valuate the things on the land. So we went through all these valuation processes at extra cost to us the individuals. But as I speak, they have not paid anything for the lands they took from us. (Male IDI, Opinion leader, Ampain, 2nd April 2014).*

It is worthy to note that the inadequacy of the compensation given was as a result of a comparison with the rates that other non-governmental oil and gas firms are giving to people from whom they have acquired lands for their activities in the area. Some of these private oil and gas services firms did not only give one-time-compensation but also continue to provide monthly subsistence allowance to the people that they have affected. One such firm provided educational facilities, health insurance and constructed a Chiefs palace. In the case of Sanzule, a neighbouring community of Atuabo also affected by Ghana Gas project, ENI-Ghana (a private oil and gas company) acquired land and paid an agreed amount to the affected persons after negotiations and an agreement was reached.

In the Ugandan case, right after the survey and completion of the socio-economic study a RAP was developed.

Compensation started in 2013 using the rates of 2011/12 financial year and went on until 2016; while those waiting resettlement were still at the refinery site at the time of my field work in January 2017. Moreover, by the end of 2017 it was confirmed they had not been resettled even though their resettlement houses had been completed. This has made them poorer and destitute as the majority of the community members depend on cassava and yet this tuber takes more than

three months to mature. Ever since the cut-of date they have not been allowed to grow crops that last more than three months. Most of those waiting to be resettled are now working as casual labourers on farms in the neighbouring communities so as to get some money to meet their basic needs.

The oil refinery PAPs awaiting resettlement indicated that their expectations were not met. This is in terms of the construction of their new houses and other social amenities in the community. The playgrounds and public spaces that were in the former community were absent in their new resettlement homes. To them, there were no clinics, churches, roads and water facilities in the new community. This would not only affect their standard of living but also negatively influence their social relationships. On a visit to the resettlement community in January 2017, most of the social services and the houses were under construction especially the school; while the health centre at the new resettlement community was still undergoing renovation and an upgrade to serve the resettled community. The PAPS complained that the housing estate design did not take into consideration their culture and input at the time they were consulted. They wanted their houses to be constructed on their pieces of land given to them at the new site. But government constructed a colony for them bringing everybody together, which is something they are not used to. One of the respondents at the female FGD in Nyahaira had this to say;

> *the houses are not well constructed, they are in a cemented compound, they have no shade, nowhere to seat with our families and friends like we have here. We are all packed together like goats. (Female FGD, Nyahaira 5th January 2017)*

In addition to their unmet expectations in terms of construction and provision of social amenities in the new community, the respondents who took cash compensation affirmed that the monetary compensations were not adequate and below their expectations. The compensation received was

between 3.5 and 4.5 million Uganda shillings (USD 1000 – 1500) per acre of land depending on the location. The rates were inadequate as compared to what was lost. A fair and adequate compensation to them should have been about 25 million Uganda Shillings (USD 7000) per acre. Other than this, the compensation packages did not take into account the associated hardships of relocation such as lack of job opportunities and non-tangible losses like social relationships, acquiring assets, and managing the family besides purchasing land and having a house to move in.

4.3.3 Women's Specific Issues during Project Implementation

There were highlights of gender differentials in the impact of the projects on the communities, both in Ghana and Uganda. The UN, in its toolkit and guidance for Preventing and Managing Land and Natural Resource Conflict (2012), emphasised the importance of involving women in the planning, management and implementation of extractive related activities as most times women are neglected and their key issues and concerns are not taken into consideration. In the Ghanaian case, some of the female respondents emphasised that they suffered more than their male counterparts did. They pointed to the situation where most of the women farmers were tenant farmers on the lands of their husbands, brothers, uncles or parents. During the processes, the men were at the forefront as proprietors to the neglect of the women tenant farmers; and the male owners were rather compensated to the neglect of the women. As such, even though their food crops were destroyed, they received nothing as compensation and thus they were absolutely at the mercy of the men who received the compensation. This was most apparent in Asemda Suazo, which had the highest number of farmers farming at the current Ghana Gas establishment, as compared to the Atuabo and Anokye communities who all border the Gas plant. One of the female respondent at the FGD complained and said,

> *For me, my farm was destroyed. The man who`s land on which I was farming said he added my crops to the things they counted for him. But he has not given me anything. I am really suffering they should come and help me. (Female FGD, Asemda Suazo, 5th April 2017)*

The women felt both the Ghana Gas and the land owners have cheated them. At the end of the day, they feel they just wasted their time and energy. The women explained that most of them who farmed on other people's lands (mostly males) were cheated because when the payment was made, the male land owner would tell them that they only paid him for the land and not for the crops; so at the end, those whose food crops were destroyed did not get anything in return and virtually lost everything. In a similar vein, the women pointed out that they depended on the produce of the male farmers and fishermen for their livelihoods. As market women and fishmongers, the reduction in the produce of the men thus affected them adversely as well.

In the case of Uganda, the women lamented that they were neglected from the negotiation meetings and the resettlement processes. Often, the government officials dealt with the families through their husbands and fathers. Even in situations where lands and other landed properties belonged to the woman, the man becomes the figurative head with whom all transactions were conducted. In the compensation processes, the government recommended that bank accounts should be opened through which compensation was to be paid. This was disadvantageous to most of the women because, again, the men were in charge. Reasons given included the low literacy levels of the women and the lack of knowledge and understanding of what was going on. This made it convenient to exclude women from the bank transactions. The adverse impacts on the women were further exacerbated when some of the men left them upon receiving the money to marry other women and migrate to other destinations. This left the women with the extra burden of childcare.

4.3.4 Consequences of the Acquisition on the Communities: a Case of the Oil Refinery

The oil refinery project had both a negative and positive effect on the community. Just like Uganda, Ghana has suffered both the negative and positive consequences of the Ghana Gas Plant Project, but details of the effects of the Plant on the communities in Ghana is discussed in Chapter 6. This chapter focuses on the case of Uganda based on the qualitative study to tease out the consequences and present the outcome. The effect of the oil community was however grave ranging from physical to social losses to the community. The acquisition of 29.34km^2 of land left 2,473 landowners landless: of this number, 72 chose resettlement implying that 2,401 PAPs received cash compensation. Some of the PAPs who received cash did not buy land but went on to rent and invested their money into motorcycles for business purposes and cars that became grounded after a period of less than one year. Some wasted it drinking alcohol leaving them landless and/or homeless. With the communal setting, most of them claimed they had their houses on the family plots for which compensation was not accorded to them; and for that reason, they have been rendered homeless. One elderly woman lamented at the women only FGD in Nyahaira;

> *"I cannot go and stay in my son's house it's a taboo and not our culture. However, government decided to build only one house yet my son has a wife and little children, we used his name because I am a widow and old and could not move around following this government people but they said I had no house. Now am worried how and where I will live in the new place once we are asked to leave here." (Women only FGD, Nyahaira 5th January 2017).*

This affected sources of livelihood including income, employment, businesses and farming, which employed the majority of those affected. According to the socio-economic survey report, which informed the RAP, 87.3% were subsistence crop farmers, 5.6% market oriented farmers, 1.8% wholesalers and retailers, 1.1% professionals in paid employment (including teachers and nurses among others), 1.1% subsistence livestock farmers, 0.7% fishermen and fish mongers and 2.4%

who engaged in other activities were all affected as they lost their main occupations and sources of livelihood. This led to loss of employment, business and lands where people derived their livelihood. This made them vulnerable and food insecure as those who received cash had to purchase food; a practice they did not do prior to the project and were not used to doing and could not purchase enough for their needs. In addition, for those who stayed back waiting resettlement, they were not allowed to plant crops that lasted over 3 months to mature and yet one of their major food crop is cassava which takes at least six months to mature for the varieties that they have. This threw a number of them into hunger and food insecurity. This scenario is similar to that of Ghana where the PAPs alluded to a drastic deterioration of the general wellbeing and food insecurity illustrated in figure 6.6, where more than 70% reported deteriorating wellbeing as a result of the project. Besides this, there was the loss of common places where they gathered fruits, building materials, spiritual places like churches, shrines and trees of spiritual importance that existed in their forest.

Table 4.6: Summary of the Project Effect and Loss to the Communities

No.	Impact	Magnitude
1	Project affected land	29.34km^2
2	Number of affected parcels of land	1662
3	Directly affected land owners (and licensee tenants)	2473
4	Project affected households	1221
5	Number of shrines	212
6	Number of sacred places and trees	474
7	Number of affected schools	4
8	Number of pupils affected	926
9	Number of affected water sources	15
10	Number of affected churches	13
11	Number of affected mosques	1
12	Number of football pitches	3
13	Number of markets and video halls	2
14	Vulnerable persons category	
15	Persons with disability	201
16	Chronically ill persons	106
17	Elderly	181
18	Women	3514
19	Children under (5 years)	1344
20	Person belonging to minority ethnic group	193

Source: Resettlement Action Plan, 2012

Other than the visible physical losses, the respondents in Uganda also suffered a breakdown of their social relationships and the proliferation of certain social vices that are derailing the fabric of the communities. They reported the rise in teenage pregnancy (as schools had closed down and school going age teenagers were out of school) and theft among others. The disruption of social life in the original settlement came at a cost to the people. Social relationships were severed in the process of resettlement as people moved and resettled in different areas. They also worried about

coping in the new place and having to build new social networks. Some of the respondents noted that marriages broke down because, when the men got hold of the compensation money, many decided to add on to the number of wives or marry someone else.

During the female only FGD in Nyahaira on 4th January 2017, two of the women in attendance affirmed being divorced by their husbands immediately after receiving the compensation money and now they are left in a dilemma without a future. In other cases the men married 2nd wives putting pressure on the already meagre and strained resources and emotional stress on their wives and children. Others lamented that they have their sense of belonging at their original home that has now been taken away. This was in the context that the original settlement was their ancestral home and, as such, they have formed attachments that were destroyed when their community was broken due to the oil refinery project. Now they have lost their social networks and have to live with total strangers who have not been known to them before.

> *"Our relatives went far away. For example when you lose a relative people come to console you. Now people have moved far and it is going to be difficult". (Female FGD, Nyahaira, 4th January 2017)*

Despite the negative effect, a few gains were harnessed. First, the Kaabale oil refinery community and its inhabitants have the attraction and support of NGOs. Second, the circumstances surrounding the decision-making, implementation and aftermath of the refinery project and the subsequent displacement and resettlement have triggered a review of the oil and gas laws and policies for the country. When crafted well, these laws and policies will guide future resettlement. A Land Acquisition and Resettlement Framework (RAF) for the Petroleum Development and Production in the Albertine Garben has been developed and was finalised in 2016. This, the three licensed companies for oil production in Uganda (CNOOC Uganda Limited, Total E and P Uganda

B.V and Tullow Uganda Operations Pty Limited) will use for all related acquisitions by private companies and government in the area. Thirdly, the establishment provided employment opportunities for the people, some as guides during the valuation and social economic survey for RAP preparation and as resettlement committee members. In Ghana too, the affected community reported having employment opportunity during the construction period, however all were for men (refer to section 6.2.2.3 of chapter 6).

In addition, people who lived in shacks and semi-permanent structures in the original settlement will have the opportunity of owning permanent houses once they are resettled, with land titles and other necessary documentation, in the new location. There was also the introduction of animal rearing where each resettled household was given a cow and a goat to rear. Among those who received cash compensation, some were able to buy lands, build houses, and/or livestock and pay their children's school fees. According to the respondents, a few of the young and unmarried especially spent their money on educating themselves. As in many other instances of displacement, it has winners and losers. While there were visible adverse effects, it was evident that there were traces of good happenings to be told in the story.

In the Ugandan case, the communities lost almost everything immovable and have had to start to rebuild in the new resettlement homes or buy elsewhere for those who received cash compensation. It is evident that the acquisition led to landlessness, joblessness, homelessness food insecurity, loss of access to common places, marginalisation as most of their social and economic status dropped, and PAPs felt they had lost respect in the community and even where they have gone to resettle. There were no cases of death associated with the project but there was a recorded increase in the number of cases of malaria among the resettled households as their neighbourhood became bushy

and inhabitable with wild animals and mosquitos due to its location close to a National game park and human numbers had gone down.

4.3.5 Community Reorganisation after Displacement

Besides the compensation packages to facilitate their reorganisation after their lands were taken over, the displaced carved out their own adaptation strategies to smoothen their reorganisation. Private oil and gas firms as well as NGOs are also supporting more coping strategies. These mechanisms ranged from socio-economic to activism. In the case of Ghana, some of the community members said they have decided to convert the remaining lands into housing projects to benefit from the rise in housing demand. To most of them, the remaining land is not big enough for farming and since the lands are closer to the community-developed area, they considered a housing development action especially in Atuabo and Esiama communities. The housing projects will be their new 'farms' where they can benefit from the yearly and monthly rentals.

Others who were originally farmers have resorted to joining their colleagues in fishing. This puts pressure on the already reduced fishing space that has become increasingly unproductive with severe restrictions having been imposed since the oil discovery. Some respondents mentioned that they have resorted to the cultivation of non-food crops such as rubber: this was common among the Kambgbunli community. Other households have ventured into the gathering and sale of firewood. In households where wives were not involved in farming, the dynamics are changing. The wives are now engaged in the cultivation of vegetables that have short maturity periods. According to Mohamed (2017), the youth across Western Coastal Region have formed groups and new groups are still emerging to fight for their rights. They are of the view that they have been

short-changed, and that it is only through demonstrations and legal actions that they can get their due.

In the case of Uganda, family and community meetings were held to plan for life in their new resettlement home. Some of the community people have taken on menial jobs to support their families. Others are looking for additional housing avenues to suite their family sizes, and most of the households interviewed intended to construct grass thatched structures on part of their farm land at the new resettlement homes.

4.3.6 Losers and Winners

In both country cases there are winners and there are losers. The Ghana Government wins for the bigger good of Ghana, which will reduce the revenues spent on generation of power, creating employment and infrastructural development, increase on government revenue and regional competitiveness in the Great Lakes Region. Some of the community members who have businesses around the sites such as housing and restaurants stand to win as they can supply food to the workers and numerous visitors in the area. However, the farmers whose lands were taken and those with restricted access to the area can be considered as losers to the development venture.

In Uganda, just like the case for Ghana, Government stands to benefit from a much reduced cost of transporting its oil to Mombasa by constructing a refinery, creating jobs for its citizens in the process and improving the standards of its citizens through the provision of improved services, including improved school structures, roads, health centre services among others. The communities bordering the refinery who have also not been affected will definitely benefit once the construction works starts, by providing labour and services to the workers. The PAPs who

owned grass-thatched structures on their pieces of land all stand a chance of owning permanent houses with the same amount of land and a land title. On the flip side, they have lost their homes, origin, social capital, land, housing, schools, places of worship and more.

To the losers, the resource curse theory becomes a reality in both Ghana and Uganda, considering that the existing development projects has not benefited those who have been affected as discussed above. But it has been a blessing to an extent, especially for Ghana where Gas production is ongoing.

All the above lacks any reference to official reactions with regards to community complaints. The account looks one sided. Did officials give any explanations why these problems occurred? What did NGOs have to say?

4.4 Conclusion

While in Ghana, the displacement context has been indirect, with at least no physical relocation of the population, still the communities suffered severe economic displacements as their sources of livelihood were destroyed due to the Gas project. They complained of minimal or no consultation with most of those affected, they did not know how much they were to be paid, or the values being used for their crops, properties and land. The PAPs furthermore complained of inadequate compensation. This further crippled their ability to immediately restore or even start alternative forms of livelihoods to their lost land and farms. The acquisition law, Act 123 empowered government to acquire land for development in the public interest and even take possession before compensation. This greatly reduces the negotiating powers of the people and their ability to demand timely compensation. Most compensation in Ghana for government projects have been

characterised by extreme delays; e.g., the case of Akosombo Dam, which affected over 80,000 persons directly in the Volta Region, details discussed in Chapter Two. The PAPs lament over their loss and live in uncertainty with little hope of ever being adequately compensated nor assisted by government to restore their livelihood nor do they benefit from the Gas Project.

PAPs in both Ghana and Uganda reported inadequate sharing of information and lack of transparency. The Ellembelle community interviewed reported not being aware of the environmental hazards related to the Gas Plant activities as no Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) report was shared with them. Now they are left to cope with strange diseases and extreme heat. The community also complained of water weeds at the sea shores that has affected their fishing and catchment as the pipe lines of the gas project comes through to the shores. In Uganda, the communities in the Hoima District Officials and Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom who were interviewed alluded to government's lack of transparency in the oil refinery related activities. Government officials interviewed at the Ministry said the information related to the oil refinery and the oil sector is very sensitive and cannot be disclosed in its entirety but they can be shared on request.

In Uganda's context, the communities were directly displaced, with over 7,000 people removed from a 29 km² piece of land. The PAPs, however, complained of late consultation by the project managers and upon intervention of the NGOs, and even after they were consulted their views were not taken into consideration: a case on point is the construction of their new resettlement homes. They had proposed to have their houses on their pieces of land but government built a modern urban estate for them. According to the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, they chose to build the colonies because the area was ear marked for an urban development due to the oil

exploration as this was part of the Physical Planning Act, 2010. Compensation was then provided in two packages of cash and resettlement. The 1995 Constitution of Uganda, Article 237(a) gives government powers to acquire land, as is the case of Ghana. However, the Ugandan Constitution emphasises a prompt payment of prior, fair and adequate compensation, which bars government from taking possession of any land before payment of compensation. This pushed Government to pay compensation before embarking on the refinery construction. The communities who were left behind awaiting resettlement have, since February 2018, been resettled after living in uncertainty for over 4 years.

CHAPTER FIVE

INSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN THE COMPENSATION AND RESETTLEMENT PROCESS FOR GHANA AND UGANDA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents selected institutions that were directly involved in the acquisition and compensation of the projects in both Ghana and Uganda. The nature and category of the institutions, their roles, review of the process and recommendations for improved land acquisition from their perspective is discussed. According to Reed et al. (2009), stakeholder engagement and involvement are very important in natural resource management. Their views and input facilitates efficiency and effectiveness of resources exploitation. Their roles are not to be ignored, and this includes those affecting, and those affected (Reed et al., 2009). This makes it important to understand the key institutions that were involved in the process, the roles they played and their analysis of the process. The institutions discussed here include government agencies involved in the process, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the Traditional Authority of the areas, who have directly been part of the process and played different roles including consultation with the people and liaison with the Gas Plant team.

The discussion on institutional involvement and participation on a planned intervention is taken from an actor's approach. According to Long (2001), and as discussed in section 2.9.2, actors influence and interaction determine the outcome of an intervention. The actors here include the government agencies pushing the policy agenda for development and the masses who are the local actors as well as beneficiaries in the process and subordinates to the powers that be. They, however, have the people's powers, which they can use to bring about attention to their cause.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Long (2001) makes a reference to the planned interventions of the 1960s-70s that mechanically clanged a plan, implementation and outcome, which was then measured to see how planned project objectives have been achieved. This did not leave flexibility during implementation to deal with the different actors at that level. This mechanically planned intervention approach does not take into consideration the lower actors, which in this scenario, are the beneficiaries or those who the planned intervention directly or indirectly affects. Laube (2007) further propounds that the complex legal pluralism of the universe has embedded in it high levels of uncertainty, which affects actors' choice of frameworks to enable them to achieve their goals. The legal pluralism provides a framework from which actors can carefully choose from to legitimize their claims. This chapter therefore presents the different actors who were directly involved in the process of land acquisition for both Ghana and Uganda, the roles they played as 'actors', and their own review of the process from policy to actual implementation.

5.2 The Roles Played by Institutions during the Land Acquisition Process

5.2.1 The Role of Government Institutions in Ghana

In Ghana, Government institutions that were involved included Ghana Gas Company (Ghana Gas), which was established based on an Act of Parliament in July 2011 with the responsibility to build, own and operate infrastructure required for the gathering, processing, transporting and marketing of natural gas resources in the country. In meeting its obligations, Ghana Gas worked with other government agencies to acquire land for its infrastructural establishment including the pipeline, valve and distribution stations across six districts as discussed in chapter 3. The key government agencies Ghana Gas worked closely with are the Land Valuation Division of the Lands Commission, Survey and Mapping Departments, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources,

Ministry of Petroleum and Ghana National Petroleum Corporation (GNPC). Ghana Gas also worked with a committee made up of Western Region's Regional Minister, Town and Country Planning Department, Survey and Mapping Division, Land Valuation Division, Environmental Protection Agency, Utility Services (majorly Water and Electricity Department), National Environmental Authority and representative(s) of the Chiefs/Community. All these made up the key government agencies that were involved in the land acquisition.

Ghana Gas officials interviewed talked about a close working relationship with the Lands Commission throughout the process of land acquisition, which included instituting a committee as mentioned earlier in the context expanded in Chapter 4. The Ghana Gas Plant land acquisition committee was charged with the responsibility of acquisition with procedures laid out in Act 123.

The Lands Commission and the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources were very instrumental in setting up the site committee to execute the task of land acquisition on behalf of Ghana Gas as required by Act 123. Their role included properly inspecting the land identified in Atuabo and assessing its suitability for the project, which they found suitable and appropriate after the failed acquisition in Jomoro. Details of the Jomoro failed acquisition is extensively discussed in Mohammad (2017) unpublished thesis.

It is worth remembering that the Ghana Gas acquisition process had initially two parallel committees set up at the beginning; one using Administration of Land Act, 1962 (Act 123), and another committee using the Lands (Statutory Wayleaves) Act, 1963 (Act 186). The two committees comprised of the same membership, so eventually the committee set up through Act 186 (Statutory Wayleaves) was dissolved. Act 186 makes provision for government to acquire

land without compensation as long as the acquisition would not affect more than 20% of the total land owned by the affected person.

According to a Senior Land Valuation Officer in Accra, part of the committee's role is to develop the Executive Instruments (EI) to be used for the acquisition. The EIs developed by this particular committee included:

- Executive Instrument (E.I 47) Gas plant establishment in Atuabo and Atuabo-Aboadze Gas Pipeline Instrument in 2014;
- Executive Instrument (E.I 48) Esiama Ellembelle District - Western Region Site for Gas Distribution Station in 2014;
- Executive Instrument(E.I 49) Nduabesa-Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipality - Western Region Site for Atuabo-Aboadze Gas Pipeline Block Valve Station 1;
- Executive Instrument (E.I 50) Atuabo-Ellembelle District Site for Off-Shore Gas Pipeline Land Fall;
- Executive Instrument (E.I 51) Atuabo-Ellembelle District Site for Gas Processing Plant;
- Executive Instrument (E.I 52) Kwekutslakrom-Ahanta West District Western Region - Site for Gas Pipeline Block Valve Station 2; and
- Executive Instrument (E.I 53) Inchaban-Shama District Site for Regulating and Metering Station 2.

The Executive Instrument developed were used for land acquisition across the six affected districts, although EI, 47, 48, 50 and 51 are those specifically used for land acquisition in Ellembelle District, details of the land acquired and the EI instrument details is presented in section 4.2.3.2 of chapter four. The committee wrote a report on the process to be undertaken, which the Regional Minister approved and submitted to the Minister of Land and Natural Resources for further approval as well, before it was forwarded to the Executive Secretary of the Lands Commission. The Lands Commission, Survey and Attorney General's Department then published an Executive Instrument (EI) in the Daily Guide News Paper. Procedurally as provided in State Land Act, 1962, (125) publication of the Executive Instrument, according to Act 123, formalises

the acquisition and permits those with an interest in the land to submit their claims for compensation. According to LVD, the stipulated process does not give provision for involvement of the affected persons and it is not a legal requirement to involve the affected persons in the process prior to the publication of the executive instrument. This was confirmed by LVD citing the procedure in section 1, State Lands Regulations 1962, L. I. 230.

From an interview with the Ministry of Petroleum, their major role was to provide guidance and oversight during the process; ensuring that the process is clearly transparent and that it follows the legislation, i.e., abiding with the National Environmental Policy. The Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, besides having its mandate of policy formulation, also vets the Executive Instrument, and checks and verifies that the descriptions contained in the plan are appropriate. According to an official of the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, the Ministry of Lands is the final place where, he said,

> *... we check to be sure that all the acquisition processes have been followed according to the law. In the Atuabo case the State Land Act 123 was properly followed (Ministry of Land and Natural Resources, Accra, 8 May 2017)*

The minister then signs the document after the verification process and submits it to the Attorney General's office where it was further checked to make sure the legalities were followed before approval for publication is given. The Attorney General's Department cleared the EIs and reports after which they were gazetted. The gazetting ends the process.

It is worthy to note that following this, the EI was published for three consecutive occasions in The Daily Graphic, a national newspaper. The publication provided information that the stipulated lands had been acquired and those who had interests were made aware and could put in their claims for compensation. ACT 123 provides for a publication in the Gazette, posted at public areas of

those affected, this is clearly captured in the new Land Bill (2017) section 233, and once passed by Parliament it will ease the land acquisition process. The Attorney General also checked to ensure the acquiring institution, in this case Ghana Gas, had enough funds for compensation and had already deposited an amount into an EXCO account, and it was established that the money is available, which means that the acquisition process could proceed. During an interview with Ghana Gas, it was confirmed that the funds for compensation were available and in an EXCO account pending clearance of the land issues and submission of claims by the claimants before payments are to be effected.

After the land was gazetted, the Land Valuation Department of the Lands Commission conducted the valuation of crops, and property on the land. The Western Region's Land Valuation Department spearheaded this and the Lands Commission Head Office in Accra supported it. This support was necessary because the time frame was short and the regional office did not have an adequate number of staff to embark on this activity. Despite supporting the process with the national service personnel who played an instrumental role, according to the Land Valuation Officer in the Western Regional Office, they also supported Ghana Gas during the community engagement meetings. The team had three different meetings with the community, the first one being the reconnaissance meeting, where the community was informed of government's intention to acquire their land for the Gas project; this meeting was more informative and less interactive. This was followed by a durbar where questions were asked and answered. The third meetings took place during the valuation exercise.

5.2.2 The Role of Government Institutions in Uganda

In Uganda, the Oil Refinery is a government project under the Directorate of Petroleum, a department within the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD) based in Entebbe Municipality. The Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development was directly involved, especially in handling the land acquisition process. The land valuation department, headed by the Chief Government Valuer, worked closely with the Ugandan Lands Commission to acquire the 29.34 square kilometer piece of land in Hoima District. The Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development contracted a consulting firm, Strategic Friends International (SFI) to handle the resettlement process. The Hoima District officials, who included the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), Community Development Officer (CDO), and Lands Department all played minimal roles during the process, this is discussed below in section 5.3 paragraph 11.

In Uganda, different government institutions played different roles. Government, through the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development (MEMD), being the user institution in this case, showed its interest for developing an oil refinery after decisions were made based on its efforts to maximize profits from the oil revenue. Based on a feasibility study, it was recommended that an oil refinery was the best option for Uganda. The MEMD identified land and informed Uganda Lands Commission, who by the Land Act CAP. 227, is mandated to handle government land transactions. The Minister of Lands and Urban Development, in accordance to the Land Act Cap.227, and the Land Acquisition Act Cap.226, Section 2, gives powers to anybody the government mandates to enter any land the government needs, to assess, survey, dig or bore into the subsoil; and Section 3, gives the Minister of Lands and Urban Development powers to declare any land for government purposes. It was clear that the oil refinery acquisition was a high profile

acquisition for government purposes and the Ministry of Lands declared its interest in acquiring the land. The acquisition processes were more centralized than is specified in the Land Acquisition Act, which makes provision for involvement of the District Land Board. In this case, the Ministry handled the process more centrally with the Uganda Lands Commission (ULC). The District Land Board is, by law, expected to take a lead in government land acquisitions but, in this case, it was very minimal and, to a large extent, just informative.

After the Ministry of Land Survey Department had done the survey and demarcation, a cut-off date was set for 2nd June 2012 and Strategic Friends International (SFI), on behalf of the MEMD, conducted a social economic survey that informed the processes and development of the Resettlement Action Plan (RAP). It was in 2012 that the affected community got to know of government's plan to acquire their land for the oil refinery project. The MEMD hired Strategic Friends International to implement the RAP (Global Rights Alert, 2015). The District Community Development Office (DCDO) in Hoima played a conflict resolution role when they had to come in to resolve the issues the communities had concerning the implementation and compensation processes. At one point the affected persons became very agitated and denied audience to the implementing team from the MEMD and the implementing agency SFI. They were only willing to listen to the Hoima district officials as their own and would take their concerns, at this point the district officials came in to meet with them although they were accompanied by the MEMD and the SFI team.

5.3 Traditional Authorities

5.3.1 The Role of Traditional Authority in Ghana

In Ghana, traditional leaders often controlled land and land matters. The Ghana Gas case is one of those where the Chieftaincy institution played a major role. The Gas Plant establishment is situated on land that the Nzema East Paramountcy owns, and land along the pipeline has individual, family and chieftaincy ownership among other interests. The chiefs assisted the Gas Plant team in identifying the most suitable land for the plant and they also willingly gave land to the project. During this process neither the chiefs nor government had any consultation with the affected community. According to Amanor (2008), whenever government makes a demand for land in Ghana, considering its customary nature of ownership, more often than not conflict arises between the elites who control the political space and the masses whose heads are the chiefs. Boone and Duku (2012), in their study of ethnic land rights in Western Ghana, spoke about the entrenched chieftaincy rights over land within the region. This makes traditional institutions headed by the chiefs an important authority when it comes to land issues.

The Paramount chief of Nzema East gave the land to Ghana Gas for the establishment of the Gas plant and since the plant was establishment on land owned by the chieftaincy body, it necessitated the chiefs' direct involvement. The Nzema East Chief took advantage of a disagreement in Jomoro over land for the Gas project and offered land within his custody for the construction of the Gas plant with high expectations of the benefits that come with such developments. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana vests lands in the hands of the chiefs on behalf of its people. This bars government from taking over land even in the public interest without involvement of the chiefs. The later acquisition procedures were more for formalities as required by the law; however land

had already been offered by the chief for the project. Chiefs have a statutory role as per the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Several scholars have emphasized the roles that chiefs play in land management and administration (Amanor and Ubink, 2008; Boone and Duku, 2012; Mohammed, 2017).

The Ghana Gas project relied on the goodwill of the traditional authorities in the community for smooth acquisition of land and implementation of the project. During an interview with the Paramount Chief, he said,

> *... as a leader I wanted it (Gas project) here too. So they went to see the place and because of the advantages, we were okay with having the project here. But we also live in a country with low incentives. To have the project was a big thing for the community. They approached us, we gave them permission, they chose where they wanted to set up and we had no issues with that. Of course the elders went with them to pour libation. But there was no discussion of money, there was no discussion of acreage. The Regional Minister and the Sector Minister were all involved. We didn't want to stretch as we expected our people to benefit one way or the other. The Nzemas used to say that 'if your brother is sitting on the Guava tree, you will not eat the grass'. We also were confident of the benefits [because our leaders were involved... (IDI, with the Paramount Chief of East Nzema, on 12th March 2017)*

Even when the land acquired was not paid for, the government was able to carry out the project without much resistance based on the good will and expectation of anticipated benefits. The traditional authorities 'sold' the idea of the project to their subjects and political agents such as Assembly members, District Chief Executives and Members of Parliament who added their voices to the sensitisation processes. The sensitisation was conducted to propagate the assumed benefits, such as development and employment opportunities of the project to the affected communities. This ensured a positive atmosphere until the promised compensation and benefits were delayed and, for those that were paid, the amount fell below the expectation of the affect communities.

This notwithstanding, the situation quickly deteriorated when the traditional leaders and the community people were side-lined and not consulted in the determination of the compensation. The lack of a clear understanding of how government valuated their properties further escalated the challenge at hand. There were several agitations and the people sought to use any available means to get their due from the government. The affected formed demonstrations during one of the meetings where they were being paid at Esiama and refused the money and some claimed they threw the money back at the officials paying them, as the amount was extremely small. Some took court actions against the government and some of their chiefs in a desperate effort to solve their dissatisfaction (further details of this situation are presented in chapter 6).

5.3.2 The Role of Traditional Authority in Uganda

In Uganda, the acquired land falls within the jurisdiction of Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom, which is made up of six districts for the Banyoro people in Western Uganda: Hoima district is one of the districts under the Kingdom situated in Albertine Rift in the Western Part of Uganda. Traditionally, the kingdom oversees all lands within its jurisdiction even though individuals and families as well and government also own land in the kingdom. The now oil refinery acquired land was part of the forest that migrants from neighbouring communities, who have moved into the kingdom, occupied. The migrants came from the neighbouring areas to Bunyoro from across the river and cross borders with Republic of Congo and Rwanda as refugees. The Banyoro ethic group, who are the direct subjects of the kingdom only made up 7.3 % of the total population in the oil refinery area, with the Alurs ethic group from the neighbouring district making up to 70.7% of the population. The

Rwandese represented 4%, Congolese, 3% and other tribes made up the remaining 15% (RAP, 2012).

During an in-depth interview with the Kingdom spokesperson in January 2017, he stated that once their attention was drawn to the situation of the residents of the acquired oil refinery land and their dilemma by the sub chiefs in the area. The Kingdom officials held meetings in 2014 with the district officials represented by the District Community Development Officer to listen to the issues of the people in regard to the acquisition. The Kingdom Ministers then went on a visit, met with the affected communities to try and establish the issues that included complaints from the women that men were going ahead to open accounts alone without their wives; the compensation being offered was inadequate; and there were a lot of uncertainties especially for those who opted for resettlement (IDI, Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom spokesperson on 6th January 2017).

The Kingdom engaged with government on the issues through the central government and the district authorities especially at the point when the PAPs became agitated and did not want to listen to government any more. The Kingdom pushed for the resolution of issues raised and played a mediating role while demanding for the fair and adequate compensation of her people. Together, with the support of the CSOs, they took part in radio talk shows to sensitise the communities and to respond to some of the concerns and land issues in the kingdom. The kingdom continues to support its people through frequent visit by its Ministers to monitor the process.

With the Kingdom's and CSOs' involvement, they were able to get many more women to open bank accounts with their husbands. Some compensation rates were revised, which saw those who had rejected compensation rates earlier now accepting it. Community engagement was also broadened to accommodate women and others. Noteworthy is that Government's perception of

CSOs, whom it previously viewed as sabotaging the process, changed. The compensation and resettlement processes and issues became much clearer though with a tremendous delay as those to be resettled still await as per the time of this data collection.

5.4 Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

In both Ghana and Uganda, international and local CSOs participated in the compensation and resettlement process. These non-governmental organisations were involved in issues such as good governance of the extractive sector of natural resource with a focus on the oil refinery acquisition, valuation, compensation, women's involvement in the process, policies, advocacy, sensitization, peace building and public policy research among others. Some of the CSOs were loud in their work and advocacy while others were silent. They comprised of larger renowned global players and local active community based organizations. In some instances they worked in collusion while at most times they worked through their independent mandates as independent institutions.

The roles that the CSOs played in the implementation and compensation valuation and payment consisted of policy formulation, implementation, advocacy, training, conflict resolution and research. According to Aaronson (2011), CSOs are key stakeholders in the extractive industries as their involvement necessitates the monitoring of government activities in the sector, ensure the peoples' participation and access to information and, very importantly, holding governments accountable (Aaronson, 2011).

5.4.1 Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) Role in Ghana

5.4.1.1 Advocacy

The CSOs in Ghana through its umbrella group Civil Society Platform on Oil and Gas (CSPOG) advocated for drafting and amending of laws and policies on oil and gas. According to the CSPOG, at the beginning of the Ghana Gas project there was no specific law on gas in the country: it rather relied more on Ghana's Mining and Minerals Act 703 of 2006. As expected, this Act was not a direct fit for oil and gas related issues, in relation to land acquisition and compensation. After a number of CSOs' engagements, government heeded to some of their inputs by amending and drafting new laws and policies to regulate the oil and gas industry in Ghana. The CSOs have similarly engaged with Ghana Gas project concerning delayed payment of compensations. This was done via the holding of meetings with other stakeholders to discuss the pertinent issues regarding the project implementation and operations. The CSOs, through their platform, Civil Society Platform on Oil and Gas have engaged with government on a number of issues including compensation; as an officer from the CSO tried to recall,

> *I remember 2015, we were pushing Ghana Gas to pay compensation, we had a series of forums with Ghana Gas and they did pay some part of the compensation then. (Male, IDI, CSO, Accra 9th May 2017).*

He also affirmed that there are pending payments, especially for land, and they will continue to engage with Government and, particularly, Ghana Gas to advocate for fast payment to the PAPs. Again, through their advocacy as CSPOG, the CSOs got the government to agree to form a committee to develop regulations for the Petroleum Revenue Management Act and other policies in the oil and gas sector.

5.4.1.2 Training and Sensitization

In Ghana, CSOs took part in training and sensitising community members and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) to contribute meaningfully to the sector. In the case of the Gas Plant Project, the training focused on crop valuation, compensation and environmental risks associated with the operations of the Gas plant. This was confirmed during an interview with one of the opinion leaders in Ampain Community, who said,

> *… they [referring to CSOs] were the ones who came to educate us on the valuation process. They sensitise d us on how to value cassava and other crops we had on the land and that we have to be careful dealing with compensation and valuation. In fact we didn't know anything about evaluation and compensation before they came here (Male, IDI, Opinion Leader, Ampain on 2nd April 2017).*

According to the CSOs, trainings were organised for the CBOs who, in turn, facilitated community trainings and sensitisation onwards. CSOs' activities, including trainings concerning the Gas Plant project, has been minimal compared to the CSOs' involvement in Uganda.

5.4.1.3 Research

The advocacies by the CSOs were often based on research findings conducted in the area. The community-based researches were done to ascertain the level of the problems and suggest ways of ameliorating them, with the study including The Africa Centre for Energy Policy (2016) - RAT RACE – The New State of Ghana's Petroleum Fiscal Environment and Implications for Industry Competitiveness. At the time of this field work the CSOs, through its CSPOG, were at an advanced stage of discussions with DFID for a research grant to conduct research to gather empirical evidence on the socio-economic impact of oil and gas extraction on the coastal communities. The

findings, according to the group, would enable them to seek compensation and benefits for the communities and have a more focused advocacy across the sector based on empirical evidence.

5.4.2 Civil Society Organisations' (CSOs') Role in Uganda

5.4.2.1 Advocacy

In Uganda, the CSOs also played an active role in advocating for prior, adequate, fair and prompt compensation and protection of rights of the oil refinery affected communities. This was done through open dialogue with the people; publications by CSOs like Global Rights Alert. a local non-governmental organisation who have published extensively in the sector; radio programmes; and an online Oil in Uganda website, managed by Action Aid Uganda where a lot of information regarding the refinery affected communities and their plight is published (www.oilinuganda.org).

Because of the advocacy efforts of the CSOs in Uganda, a community Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) committee was formed. This was made up of the local council, youth representatives and community elders and women's representatives - all at the village level. The RAP committee helped in the valuation process, identifying boundaries for proper compensation, valuation and conflict resolution related to the project process. The CSOs, with assistance from the RAP committee, translated most of the materials into the local language in order to facilitate understanding, participation, and informed decision making by persons the project affected. There were also calls and advocacy for broader oil sector related materials and contracts to be translated into local languages for the locals to easily comprehend to ensure their involvement and participation in the oil and gas processes, decisions and activities within Uganda.

The advocacy likewise encouraged and pushed for the speedy payment of compensation to the PAPs, which had already delayed. Despite the many efforts, the compensation was delayed, in some instances up to over four years, and 2017 Auditor General's Report confirmed this assertion. The compensation process was planned to last for a period between six to eight months; however, it started from 2013 and continued until 2018 when the communities were resettled. The farmers and owners were allowed to harvest their crops for those whose gestation period was between three and six months, as a result of the advocacy drive from CSOs and the Traditional Authority. Furthermore, both semi and permanent structures were compensated for at the replacement cost as compared to the government practice of current value compensation (Global Rights Alert, 2015).

CSOs in Uganda took part in advocating for people's rights, through radio programs, meetings with the government officials and lobbying through the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development remained the CSOs' essential role during the process. This led to a National dialogue on the implementation of the RAP and protection of rights of host communities was organised and attended by the state i.e., Minister for Finance, Vice Chairperson on Parliamentary Forum on oil and gas and SFI officials. Other CSOs like Action Aid Uganda, Oil in Uganda, Fredrich Ebert Stiftung and AFRIEGO all participated at the dialogue. This included Hoima District officials, oil refinery opinion leaders among attendees (in total 109 institutions were represented at the consultative meeting) (Global Rights Alert, 2013). Through the CSOs' advocacy, spousal consents was achieved where wives were allowed to be a signatory to the agreements and open joint accounts. There was considerable achievement in environmental sustainable livelihoods based on the corporation between the CSOs, a number of livelihood reconstruction programmes, and benefits were put in place for the families who are waiting resettlement. Through dialogue with

the community, Kingdom authority and relevant government entities, there has been a follow up of the process and RAP implementation.

5.4.2.2 Training and Sensitization

For the case of Uganda, the different CSOs organised training programmes for the communities on different topics ranging from land rights to skills training to empowering the affected community. The trainings were conducted for different groups, including religious leaders who were similarly empowered so that they were able to speak for their people. The women were similarly trained on their rights and financial management as well. The CSOs facilitated exchange visits where some PAPs travelled and learnt coping strategies on post displacement rebuilding of their livelihoods from other communities in Uganda and one to Kenya. This had a positive impact on the community due to the exposure and shared and another lived experience, which gave the PAPs hope and courage to push on despite the challenges at hand.

5.4.2.3 Research

Research works and studies have been conducted by CSOs and published as reports. Some of the reports published in this study are regarding the plight of the oil refinery affected communities and included:

i. Global rights Alert (a) (2015), Acquisition of Land for the Refinery: Tracking Progress in Resettling Project Affected Persons Who Opted for Land for Land Compensation;
ii. Global Rights Alert (2013). Sleepless Nights: The Fears and Dilemmas of Oil Refinery Project Communities in the Face of Government of Uganda's Resettlement Action Plan; and

iii. International Alert (2010) Harnessing Oil For Peace And Development In Uganda, District Dialogue on Oil in Nwoya District.

5.4.2.4 Conflict Resolution

An important dimension of the activities of the CSOs was conflict resolution. The institutions came in to resolve issues that arose between the project implementers and the communities. There were situations where the institutions procured lawyers and legal advisors to represent the aggrieved community people in court, mainly involving inadequate compensations and the case is still in court. For instance, in Uganda, the women complained about men alone signing for the compensation, which broke families up and created family conflicts. The CSOs came in to mediate as well as to advocate for a space for women's issues to be resolved. A group of PAPs from the oil refinery have taken Government to court over inadequate compensation and what they termed irregularities during the compensation including using a previous year's rates to compute their payments. This was confirmed in the 2017 Auditor General's Report.

Table 5.1: A Summary of Key Roles Played by the Institutions (*The colours are indicative of the role*)

Institution	Policy	Implementation	Advocacy	Training	Sensitisation	Research
Government						
Traditional Authority						
CSOs						

Source: Researcher's own construct (2018)

5.5 Institutional Review and Analysis of the Project Processes and Implementation

The different sampled institutions gave a critical review of the process of land acquisition. This ranged from polices and laws, valuation compensation and resettlement. Based on how the implementation process was managed for both Ghana and Uganda. They provided, in most instances, options on how best the process for both countries could have been handled in its specific context.

5.5.1 Institutional Review and Analysis of the Project Process and Implementation for Ghana

5.5.1.1 Consent

Findings from the study revealed that it is advisable to gain the consent of the people who the project will affect prior to the commencement of the project. In the case of Ghana Gas, the project was not executed in Jomoro district where land had initially been ear marked for the project because the community did not agree to it. The chiefs of Atuabo, allocated land for the establishment of the Gas plant. The consent of those who utilised the land was not sought although they were informed that Ghana Gas has acquired the land.

5.5.2.2 Valuation

In Ghana, the valuation guideline is provided for in the law and the Ministry of Agriculture provides yearly rates for crops, which is applied uniformly across the country as earlier indicated, according to LVD. These rates and the procedures were under review at the time of the interview, however the policy of uniform application of the rates across regions also makes this problematic.

The time value of crops is an important aspect to consider. For the sake of this study, if a person has a tree that can feed him/her for about 20 years and such a person receives compensation for just one year, what happens to the rest of the 19 years?

Another gap identified concerned the human resource and technical challenges involved in undertaking the valuation process. At the time of valuation and consultation for the Ghana Gas project the company did not have qualified staff to conduct the activities including facilitating the meetings. The Lands Valuation Department of the Lands Commission, which was already under-staffed, therefore facilitated the entire process. This shortfall of staff and low commitment by those assigned, slowed down the work of concluding the valuation and compensation especially for land.

5.5.1.3 Compensation

Article 20 of the Ghana's Constitution provides that compensation should be fair, adequate and prompt. According to the CSOs, this was not achieved. This needs to be reflected through the legislative guideline. The fair and adequate compensation would be ensuring that payments are made at market value. Fairness is in the sense that there is betterment of the project as it affects the people or worse case ensure that their livelihood is restored to the same state they were before commencement of the project. The fairness is both on the side of the community and that of government. Act 125 did not make room for resettlement but Article 20:6 of the Constitution does. The CSOs also stated that, PAPs should have been given options for land compensation considering that the majority of the affected derive their livelihoods from land directly and those who farmed on communal lands are very unlikely to acquire land for farming from the chiefs.

A challenge identified with the compensation, during an interview with LVD, is that the rates that SRID generated were applied universally across all regions; and this does not reflect the actual values in specific regions. Even though rates are reviewed annually, the PAPs still complained of low rates of compensation.

Within the policy and laws, one of the gaps identified in Ghana is in the negotiation processes for the acquisition of the lands. The current law, Act 123, which was used for the acquisition, does not make adequate room for vigorous stakeholder negotiations. Except for the mandatory three meetings, namely the recognisance, the durbar and during valuation (as discussed earlier) through which the community and traditional leaders were informed, this meetings did not give the PAPs a chance of a fair information consultative meeting to create a good understanding, but was rather simply informative.

According to CSOs, conflicts over ownership of lands, which is one of the reasons that Ghana Gas gave for delayed land compensation, is not entirely true. The CSOs argue that not all lands have conflict and, as a result Ghana Gas, can pay off lands that are free of conflict. This is because not all lands acquired had issues or problems.

CSOs interactions, field visits and the advocacy process, affirmed that the process could have been better managed as far as the impact on the people was concerned. There are still people who haven't been compensated by Ghana Gas. For instance, some of the CSOs maintained that in some cases the compensation was really low. From the field study, some PAPs reported to have been paid just about Ghc 40 (approximately USD 8) for a coconut tree and this compensation is clearly inadequate compared to what one would have gained for harvesting the tree for a year. The

communities are aggrieved and the sadness and displeasure regarding how the project was handled is very evident during meetings with them.

Considering the unprotected stretches of the gas pipeline there is a need for Ghana Gas to make an effort to create and maintain a good relationship with the community. If someone or a group of people attacks it, the whole infrastructure could get damaged. And considering that government has the power to acquire land compulsorily by the law, According to the CSO representative;

> *government must, however, note that if, in acquiring land for a major investment like the Gas project, which is a long term investment and you do not handle it well and get the people to an acceptance level, then be rest assured that they you are brewing conflicts for the future…….you may have the power to take the land, but you may not have the power to control the anger of the people* ***(****female IDI, CSO, Ghana 11th May 2017****)****.*

5.5.1.4 Impact Assessment

The CSOs advised that it was not enough to only conduct an environmental impact assessment; but rather an environmental and social-economic impact assessment should have been conducted. This is normally not done for most government projects as emphasis is placed on the environmental impact assessment since it has a full established authority that handles this aspect. Social impacts are considered to be cross cutting, so they are mostly ignored and not conducted.

Ghana Gas availed the environmental impact assessment report to the people and a one day dissemination meeting was held. From an interview with the paramountcy, the one day dissemination was highly inadequate to achieve the desired objective. Later engagements with the chiefs revealed that they did not understand many things as the document was too voluminous for them to even read.

The affected communities in Ghana are not aware of the findings and recommendations in each assessment report on the environmental, social and economic impacts and proposed remedies. The CSOs were not formally involved in the project process from conceptualisation, negotiation, education and implementation.

> *…that is an area we haven't looked at but I think it is an important area. If civil society have resources, we can do our own valuation together with some consultants so that we can know the real values of crops (Male, IDI, CSO Ghana 9th May 2017).*

The CSOs in Ghana also recommended that the government agencies mandated to deal with oil and gas issues should be trained to match developments in Ghana and elsewhere.

In addition, law and policy discrepancy lies in the recognition that only owners with land titles and not settlers or tenant farmers, are liable to receive compensation. In many farming communities in Ghana, there is multiplicity of interest of land. The practice of the 'Abunu' (where farm proceeds are divided in equal halves between the landowner and the tenant farmer) and 'Abusa' (farm proceeds are divided into three where the landowner receives two parts and one for the tenant farmer) systems in which the tenant or settler farmer is recognised as rightful owner of the farm produce. In Atuabo, some the landowners received compensation for the destroyed crops on the land, even though they were in an informal agreement based on these two systems. This is not considered in the law and thus is to the detriment of the tenant farmers. This was evident, as earlier discussed in chapter four, where tenant farmers complained of being cheated by their landlords who failed to declare to them moneys received; and, in some cases, not even paid them for their share of crops on claims that Ghana Gas had not yet paid compensation. A staff member at the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources noted that;

> *..the mistake we have made over the years is that we think the paramount chief is the supreme so the land compensation is given to him. At the end of the day, it does not trickle down to the local people. And we do the same for the allodial recognition and ignore the informal interests that are key in our society like share cropping. (Male, IDI, Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Accra May 2017)*

At the time the Atuabo Gas plant process started, from a civil society perspective, the issue at hand was that there was no gas policy in the place. The CSOs argued that, because there was no policy in place, they were not sure of the protective mechanisms that were put in place in laying the pipes such that there would be no harm to the communities and no frequent leakages and possible blasts. The sequencing of policy formulation and implementation, which was advocated by the CSOs, opened up a gap that called for laws and policies to be enacted such as the Petroleum Revenue Management Act (passed on March 2nd 2011):

> *..as such sections of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act which made reference to the Petroleum Exploration and Production Act were incoherent and we drew governments attention to it and corrections were made accordingly (Male, IDI, CSO, Accra March 2017)*

The strength identified is not embedded in the laws and policies per se, although it came in late, but the fact is that civil society organisations in Ghana have a government engagement that continues to shape the oil and gas sector. In this engagement, the civil society becomes the mouthpiece for the masses:

> *even at a time when there was no funding for the oil and gas sector activities the CSOs were very active. You cannot wave civil society away. The fact that Ghana evolved from military dictatorship to democratic country is largely on account of the activities of civil society. There are various projects where people lost their lives but the CSOs fought for democratic rule in this country. And after gaining democracy, we have never relented on the frontier of pushing for the*

> *freedom to engage in decision making processes in this country. (Male, IDI, CSO, Accra March 2017).*

The CSOs mentioned that they will continue to engage with government and not turn a blind eye to the vulnerable in society whom these development activities will impact. As far as it is important to have strategic development, it is not right for government to sacrifice the lives of people for that,

> *You cannot make them live unfulfilling lives. Based on these gaps some of the respondents recommended that the legal frameworks needs ordering and coherence to guide the oil and gas industry (Male, IDI, CSO, Accra March 2017).*

Within the laws and policies, there is the need for a provision that requires a holistic impact assessment.

5.5.1.5 Influx Management

From an interview with Ghana Gas on its influx management strategy, it was clear that currently there is no influx management strategy in place, except in instances where individual companies indicate a section on influx management on their project documents.

Numbers in the Western Region of Ghana has increased since the discovery of oil and gas including in Ellembelle District. A lot of people have flooded the area with their families. This needs a systematic, holistic influx management strategy to be put in place. Currently there is no such strategy to guide expansion or facilitation of the health facilities, schools, and water points among others to cope with and reduce the pressure on the existing infrastructure. Accordingly it brings so much strain on the Assembly budget.

5.5.2 Institutional Review and Analysis of the Project Process and Implementation for Uganda

5.5.2.1 Consent

The oil refinery communities in Uganda reported lack of consultation and that their consent was not sought prior to ear marking their land for the project, the project implementation took a top-down approach. Once you do not engage the people and have their consent, you lose the people's support when they discover the enormity of the project. They will, more often than not, become agitated and complain about inadequate compensation. This has led to the mistrust and dissatisfaction of the affected people as earlier discussed in this section.

This was one of government's largest displacements in recent times and government needed to take the consultation process more seriously,

> *The project implementation process was over centralised to the extent that even the district did not have a role to play. They used consultants to do the mobilisation. Even the District Valuer was not used and the traditional authority were excluded. Government rather exclusively used their own rates. This brought many challenges in the process with even the consultants (Male, IDI, Hoima District Land office, Uganda 3rd January 2017)*

5.5.2.2 Valuation

In Uganda, the compensation rate is generated yearly from the districts and submitted to the Government Chief Valuer who then harmonises the rates. This process is usually slow and forces government to use available rates (mostly of a previous year), which was the case for the oil refinery affected communities. Government should therefore consider putting in place a plan that enables the computation of projections for compensation in such a way that it takes care of a number of years ahead. This will enable the farmers to establish a new livelihood to cater for the

years the crops or plants would have catered for their family's needs. This becomes a fairer compensation to consider for both countries rather than being paid what is less than a year`s harvest of that crop.

5.5.2.3 Compensation

For the case of Uganda, CSOs reported difficulties in executing their roles and they were viewed more as anti-government. This limited their access to information and engagement with government and the communities as well. It is equally important for both governments to undertake meaningful consultative meetings and negotiation where the people are made to understand what they are giving up and what is being provided in return. This is to solicit mutual understanding, and communal support for the projects.

The lapses reported in Uganda included lack of transparency shrouded in the compensation valuation and payment and no consultation with the communities to ascertain their views, fears and prospects. The valuators took advantage of the fact that the majority of the affected people were illiterates and so did not explain what they are entitled to in clear terms, which included the processes and procedures. The people were made to sign for amounts that they did not understand how they were calculated.

While the GRM for the Uganda oil refinery was similarly not clearly laid out, the cases that arose were selectively dealt with. Although the communities in Uganda had planned demonstrations that were only contained via heavy deployment of security officers; they did, however, attend meetings with placards showing their dissatisfaction.

The case is not any different in Uganda. The resettlement, which started on 13th June 2013 and was expected to end by 13th February 2014, was delayed for over 4 years and only had the final resettlement completed in February 2018. Those who opted for cash were paid off with delays in payments. MEMD conducted trainings though these trainings were inadequate and did not yield many positive results as most of the PAPs who took cash wasted away their money as prices had gone up by the time they got paid and their money became inadequate to buy land in the nearby areas, which they had desired. The schools at the resettlement area had some defects and are still under repairs and being re-designed. The health centre was completed by the end of 2017.

The compensation rates varied among communities. The Chief Government Valuer approved the valuation method SFI submitted, outlining clear procedures to be used for the valuation of property that was permanent in nature: this was guided by the international best practices of the World Bank (OP.4.12), African Development Bank among others. However, the value rates of customary land were applied differently and not followed in five villages of Nyamasoga, Nyahaira, Bukoona A, Katooke and Kyera, with two villages being under-valued and three villages over-valued. According to the Auditor General's report, these anomalies caused government a loss of Uganda Shillings 295,750,800 (approximately USD 82,153) and Uganda Shillings 16,172,100 (approximately USD 4,492) to the PAPs respectively. According to the Hoima District Lands Board, unapproved rates were used for compensation of the oil refinery affected persons, yet the District Land Board submitted rates for 2013/14 and 2015/16 were not approved on time. The CGV used rates of 2011/2012 that were unapproved and obsolete. This angered the PAPs and some of the dissatisfied PAPs have since taken the government to court.

According to the CSOs, government was not ready to compensate and resettle the affected people. This has rendered the already poor farming community destitute as they were not allowed to farm on the land anymore; neither were they resettled immediately. For those who did opt for resettlement and had to wait from 2012 to 2018 when they were eventually resettled. From the field findings, the community members who did opt for relocation from the oil refinery land also complained that the house plans for the new site were not according to their desires as they had proposed to government that their houses be built on their individual lands that had been allocated to them in the new siteThis made adjustment difficult and it took much longer for the people to get used to the place; and demonstrates a clear case of total disregard for the views of affected individuals regardless of the consultations that went on.

Government however, defended their decision by saying the new relocation site falls within the oil region, which has a master plan of urbanisation, therefore they needed to fit the relocation plan to the area plan. Figure 5.1 shows the new resettlement homes.

Figure 5.1: Photo of the New Resettlement Homes

Source: Field Research Assistant (2017)

The CSOs also recommended that government should review the valuation and compensation processes to suit the needs of the people and engage in research into the environmental hazards of the project and then educate the inhabitants of the affected communities on sustainable use of available resources so as to protect the environment. The various environmental, social and economic assessments should be made available to the affected people in order to inform their decision-making. This needs to be availed to the communities in simplified versions and preferably in local languages. Most of the Ghana Gas environmental reports are so bulky that the communities are likely to struggle to make good use of it even if it is made available to them. As a result the CSOs engaged with environmental protection agencies (EPA) who have agreed to limit the volume of the environmental impact report and ensure that there is a popular version with a reduction in the technical language for the people. Again there is a need to develop guidelines for the conduct of onshore environmental impact assessment.

In Uganda, the feasibility study report and the assessment report, including the RAP and key project documents for the oil refinery, was kept away from the public. The CSOs, academic institutions and all key stakeholders were denied access to these key documents, which included bidding documents and processes. The information that was shared out was mostly from unofficial sources. Although the bidding process for the construction of the refinery has been ongoing for a long time, a contractor has not yet been recruited and the land is yet unutilised to date.

One of the biggest challenges that remains is the lack of the livelihood reconstruction programmes among the Ghana Gas affected communities. There has been insufficient and inadequate provisions for the oil refinery communities who were given only a one off assortment package of food items in over five years. As at the time of the data collection, there was no evidence of the

livelihood reconstruction programmes ongoing in any of the communities. The CSOs emphasised that taking away ones coconut farm, in the case of Ghana, and giving them a year's compensation, makes no impact on the survival needs of the people and their future means of livelihood. These are some of the issues they have been pushing government to reconsider so that there could be alternative livelihoods for the affected local people. Where possible, government should have acquired alternative land elsewhere for those not willing to take cash compensation as most of those affected rely heavily on land for their livelihood.

Besides the lack of resources and below market price valuations, compensation was determined only based on the market value of the crops or properties on the land. The valuation does not take into consideration socio-economic impacts of the acquisition and intended project on the people in the community in either countries. A few areas that need to be considered are loss of employment, competition for available employment opportunities, increased population, and the associated pressure of social services, such as schools, health facilities and sanitation. In addition, the law and policy on the compensation valuation should consider inter-generational interests.

5.5.2.4 Impact Assessment

For the case of Uganda, another challenge that institutions put forward is that no sound impact assessment was conducted. There was no holistic environmental, social and economic impact assessment conducted to reveal the possible impact on the people and those in the neighbourhood. Preliminary feasibility studies were conducted to inform the decision on whether to construct a refinery or rather build a pipeline. However, this report has never been shared in the public domain. This all affects how compensation is computed and paid out.

Government promised to process and give land titles to the PAPs who are to be resettled. Unfortunately PAPs have visited the new site and as yet they have not received their lands' land titles. The new resettlement site, according to them, is not as fertile and good for farming as their own original place, which is just slightly more than ten kilometres from their original lands.

This scenario is the same for Ghana and Uganda. Governments both in Ghana and in Uganda have not put in place a policy and strategy for influx management in the oil and gas fields. Considering the negative adverse impacts of extractive industry in most parts of the world, especially low developing countries, there is the likelihood that it will bring in its way socio-economic impacts; e.g., influx with more people moving into the area in search of jobs and better opportunities. This leads to increased population, brings pressure to bear on the delivery of social services and much more.

The 2017 Uganda Auditor General's Report on the oil refinery land acquisition process gives a summary of the irregularities identified above by the institutions interviewed. The report indicates that:

i. There were delays in payment of compensation from 20 months to over 4 years, with only 104, representing 4% paid within the approved timeframe;
ii. No monitoring and evaluation of the process was done, as no NGO was contracted to monitor the process as was approved in the RAP;
iii. Delayed implementation caused a loss of Uganda Shillings 1,239,760,000 (approximately USD 344,378);
iv. Variances in the number of PAPs identified and how they were identified since there is no clear method of how this was done and no clear list of all the 7,118 PAPs' claims;.
v. CGV did not use the RAP approved valuation methodology and did not approve the compensation rates submitted by Hoima Land Board for 2012/13 and 2013/2014 and rather used rates of 2011/2012 to pay for compensation over the years;

vi. Valuation and Compensation rates were not applied uniformly;
vii. Although compensation was made over many years the MEMD did not adjust the rates to fit the current year of compensation;
viii. Delays in construction of the PAPs resettlement houses, and bad workmanship, especially the school that already had cracks before it had even been commissioned for use;
ix. Although the PAPs were consulted, their views were not considered during implementation by SFI; and
x. No Grievance Redress Mechanism (GRM) was put in place and there are no records to this effect (Auditor General's Report, 2017).

5.6 Conclusion

The chapter presents the institutions that were involved during the acquisition processes for both Ghana and Uganda. All were identified through bottom-up and up-down approaches. These included the Government agencies involved in the process, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and the Traditional Authority of the areas who have directly been part of the process and played different roles including policy, advocacy, trainings and sensitizations, research and implementation among others.

This was closely followed by the institutions' review of the process, which included seeking PAPs consent, valuation, compensation, influx management and an Auditor General's report on the process in the case of Uganda. It has been made quite clear that the acquisition process comprised of a number of gaps and lapses at different levels.

i. In Ghana, this ranged from inadequate consultation leading to a lack of mutual agreement and consent by the PAPs, unclear valuation procedure and rates, and

inadequate consultation - even where it was said to have been done the PAPs' views were not taken into consideration.

ii. Low and delayed compensation for both the Ghana Gas Plant PAPs and Uganda's Oil Refinery PAPs.

iii. Minimal involvement of women in the process was also cited in Uganda. Uniform application of SRID generated rates applied across the country in Ghana.

iv. Lack of transparency in the process for both Ghana and Uganda. The environmental impact assessment for both countries had not been shared with the public especially for PAPs to be aware of the benefits versus the dangers they are exposed to as their human right requirement and as an international best practice, which both countries claim to adhere too.

v. In the case of Uganda, most of the transactions remains more or less a top government secret.

vi. The CSOs blame the secrecy and lack of transparency of the Ugandan Government on its high corruption tendencies shown in the unwillingness to join the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). While Ghana has been a member of EITI since 2010, this could be the reason why there is relative transparency in the sector compared to Uganda coupled with its known democratic state.

vii. Furthermore, access and discussion on the refinery related activities in Uganda has been more agitated than a transparent dialogue.

viii. CSOs have had difficulties getting information from government regarding the project. Project related documents are not easily shared in the public domain, including that RAP that has not been openly disclosed.

ix. The process has been intimidating to the media and other non-government agencies. CSO have been threatened with withdrawal of their permits if they kept monitoring the process and advocating for the PAPs, which was viewed as fighting government agenda. Movement into the PAPs community needed clearance by government with clear purposes otherwise one could be arrested and questioned: this included researchers, journalist and CSOs.

CHAPTER SIX

EFFECTS OF OIL AND GAS INDUCED DISPLACEMENT ON COMMUNITIES IN ELLEMBELLE DISTRICT, GHANA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the effects of the gas plant project on the communities in Ellembelle District. The results here are based on the survey results of the 244 households from the 11 communities discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The chapter has been informed and structured based on the livelihood assets presented in the conceptual framework as: Human Capital – where effects related to education, employment and health are discusses, Natural Capital – here the effect of land crops and the environment are presented; Financial Capital – where the effect on income is discussed and, Social and Physical Capital is presented at the last section of this chapter.

6.1.1 Social Economic Demographic of the communities in Ellembelle District.

Ellembelle district is largely rural (79.4 %) with just 20.6 % of the people resident in urban centres. The district experiences a considerable degree of movement of people (migration) to and fro. This could be largely attributed to seasonal fishing activities that attracts migrant farm labourers, and an influx of people coming in to secure jobs in oil and gas sector activities and refugees in the district (GSS, 2014). Demographic of the study community revealed that out of the total sample size 51.33% of the respondents are males and 48.67% females. In Table 6.1 below, the study revealed that the majority of those affected within the Ghana Gas Plant community in Ellembelle district are within the age group of 21 – 30 years, with males at 33.25% and females 24.93%.

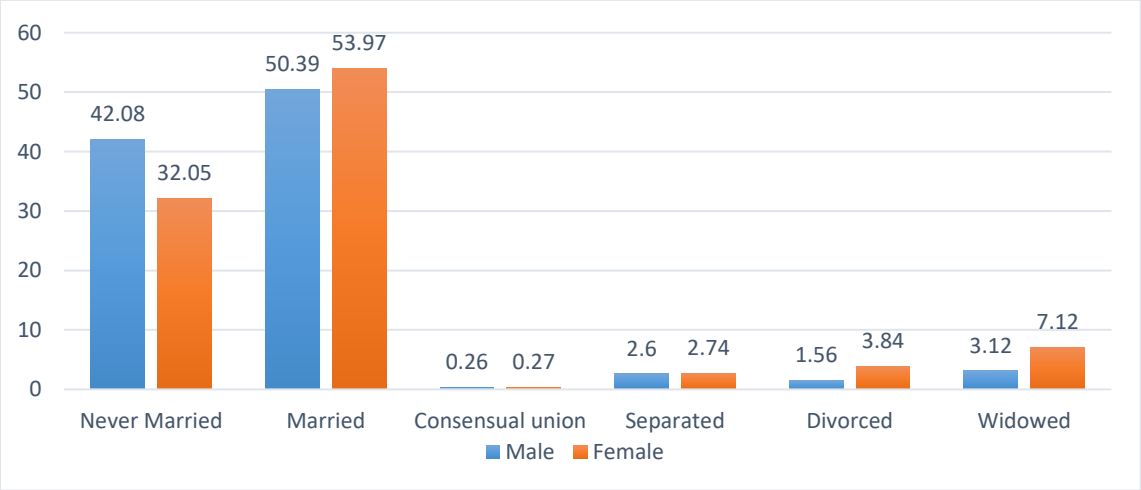
Table 6.1: Age Distribution of Affected Individuals in the Study Area by Gender (in %)

Age Group	Male	Female
20 years or less	12.47	16.16
21 - 30 years	33.25	24.93
31 - 40 years	12.47	14.52
41 - 50 years	16.88	22.74
51 years and above	24.94	21.64

Source: Field Research 2017

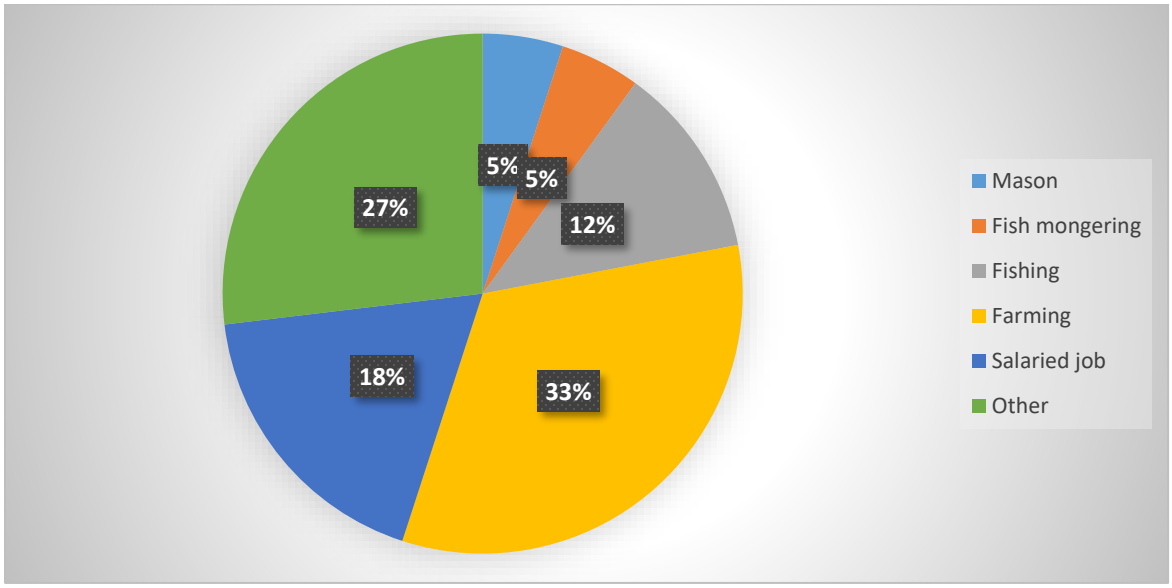
Of those affected in the community, the majority are married, figure 6.1 below indicates that up to 50.39% of the males as well as 53.97% of the affected females are also married. This percentage was followed by those who were never married at 42.8% for males and 32.5% for their female counterparts. More females are widowed at 7% compared to males at 3.12%, more females are divorced at 3.8% compared to males at 1.54%, and those separated have just a slight difference with males at 2.6% and females at 2.74. Consensual union is the least of the marital status at 0.26% for males and 0.27 for females.

Figure 6.1: Distribution of Marital Status of Affected Individuals in the Study Area by Gender (in %)



Source: Field Research 2017

Figure 6.2: Occupation of Household Heads in the Sampled Communities in Ellembelle District



Source: Field Research 2017

Based on field findings, the community is mostly involved in subsistence farming as presented in figure 6.2 above. Thus while 33% are farmers, 18% have salaried jobs, 12% are into fishing with 5% as fish mongers, 5% are masons while 27% are involved in other works like food vending, petty trade among others.

6.2 Human Capital

6.2.1 Education

As discussed in Chapter 2, 4 and 5, it is anticipated that projects in the calibre of the Ghana Gas can have both negative and positive outcomes on the education of individuals (that is, children of school-going age) in the project affected communities and likewise on parents and guardians in terms of increased cost of education related materials and school fees. Table 6.2 provides details of the challenges affecting the education of individuals in the project affected communities.

Table 6.2: The Challenging Effects of the Gas Project on the Education of Individuals in the Affected Households in the Study Area

Individuals who suffered educational setbacks due to challenges of	Percentages
High prices of goods and services due to increase population in the area	29.6
Distance	22
High rates of school dropout	19
Excessive noise due to the increase in population and business activities	11
Schooling interruptions due to prevailing business opportunities	18.4

Source: Field Survey (2017)

Table 6.2 indicates that the percentage of children of school going age whose education was affected by the project through high prices of goods and services due to the increase in population in the area was 29.6%. Considering distance, the study revealed about 22% of individuals were affected due to distance created as a result of the project establishment.

The study revealed that excessive noise due to the increase in population and business activities in the area recorded about 11%. Schooling interruptions due to prevailing business opportunities accounted for 18% while school drop-out rate was found to be 19%.

Overall, it was evident that schooling interruptions due to prevailing business opportunities and high prices of goods and services due to increase in population were having effects on education, as they recorded about 29.6 % and 19 % of dropouts respectively.

An example of the adverse impact of the project on education is how it has affected Maako Future Leaders Preparatory School located in Esiama on the Nkroful road, which has been given time to leave its location due to the project. The school was established in 2008 and currently has 250 pupils, 15 teachers and 3 non-teaching staff. They were paid compensation for structures (Ghc 51,000 approximately USD 14,500) at the time which the Head teacher and founder claimed to be

very low and not commensurate to their loss. The school has not yet been compensated for the land they have lost and have since not yet moved and continues to operate from its temporary structures as shown in figure 6.3 below.

Figure 6.3: Light International School

Photo Credit: Field Research assistant (2018)

As a result of this and uncertainty of where and when the school shall be closed down, some of the parents have moved their children to other schools which are relatively farther away and this account for the effects in terms of distance to school created by the project activity. This interrupts the student's school schedule and causes a delay or even drop out for some students once the school eventually relocates. Once the school moves, teachers might lose jobs because they might not be able move with the school to its new location, which is yet to be identified.

Despite the negative effect of the project on education, there has been some benefits with regards to education. The project made a donation of scholastic materials to a few primary schools in the area. Ghana Gas is moreover constructing a teachers' quarters for Anochie Primary School, which at the time of the interview, was almost at the roofing level. They constructed a kindergarten school

at Asemda community, and plans are underway to construct one at Atuabo as part of their Corporate Social Responsibilities; and scholarships are yet to start with a focus on sciences.

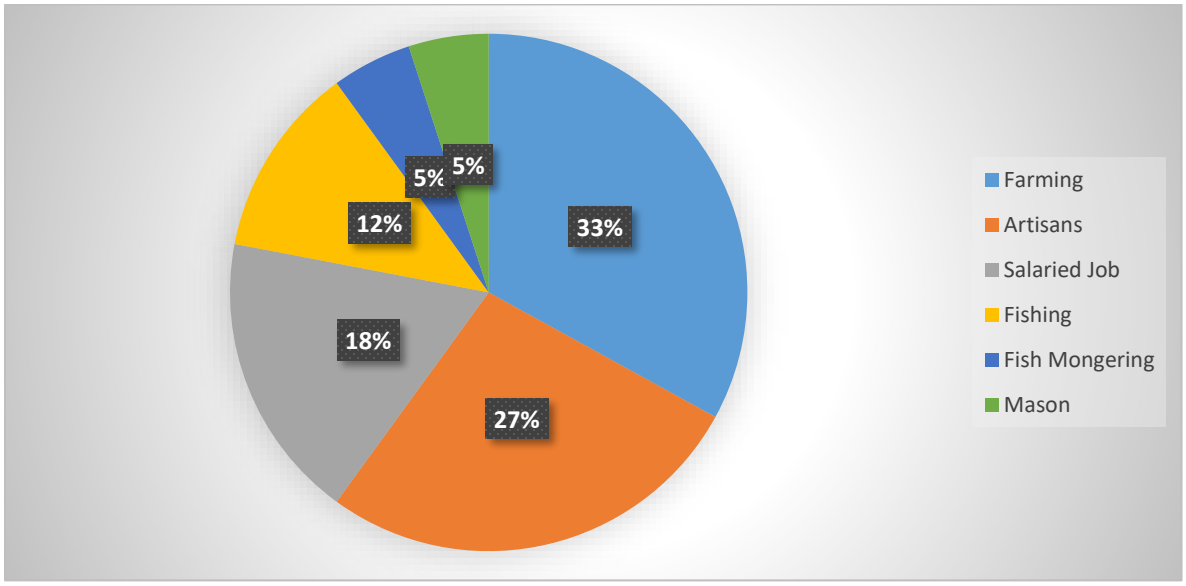
6.2.2 Employment

The study also sought to assess how the project has affected the primary economic activities (basic livelihoods) of the individuals in the affected communities whilst assessing the employment opportunities created by the project in these areas.

6.2.2.1 Major Livelihood Occupation of the Community

Figure 6.4 provides details on the major economic activities of individuals within the project affected communities before the commencement of the project.

Figure 6.4: Occupation of Household Heads in Ellembelle District



Source: Field Research (2017)

The community is mostly involved in subsistence farming; 33% are farmers, 18% have salaried jobs, 12% are into fishing with 5% as fish mongers, 5% are masons while 27% are involved in artisanal works like welding, sewing cloths, mechanical works, electricians among others.

Figure 6.4 revealed that masonry work contributed and fish mongering contributed about 5 % of the primary economic activities for the individuals in the communities. Fishing activities amounted to about 12 %; and farming was about 33 %. This shows that farming served as the major primary economic activity for individuals in the economically active age group in the affected community in Ellembelle District. Salaried jobs contributed about 18%. People have been employed by the different companies and businesses that have sprung up in the area ranging from hotels, schools, and with other oil and gas companies. The area hosts one of the biggest private hospitals in the Western Region belonging to the Catholic Church located at Eikwe community. Other jobs such as petty trading, artisan works like seamstress, hairdressing, mechanics, welding, carpentry, etc., altogether contributed about 27%. Overall, the study showed that other jobs such as petty trading and artisanship contributed greatly as an economic activity for the economically active individuals in the project affected communities. Currently, the majority of the employees are Ghanaians and out of over 240 staff employed by Ghana Gas, 64 of them are Nzemas at different ranks of the company. Ghana Gas made a conscious effort to employ people from the affected communities. Overall as a company, it spent over three year to train local on the job who have now taken over from expatriates.

6.2.2.2 Livelihood occupations lost by individuals in affected households as a result of the gas project

About 98% of the total population interviewed had lost their farming occupation as a result of the Ghana Gas Plant land acquisition; of this, 97% of the male and 99% of the female individuals who depended on farming for their livelihood lost their economic source of livelihood. This is evident because the project took over most of the lands in the communities that the indigene of the project affected communities primarily used for farming. According to the findings it is evident that about 8% of the male indigenes in the project affected communities who depended on either permanent skilled labour jobs or short contract skilled labour jobs lost their livelihoods. Most of these indigenes could not compete with outsiders who came into these project affected communities as a result of the Ghana Gas project and yet their farms where they previously worked had been acquired especially other construction sites. Finally, the study revealed that about 1% of the males interviewed in the community said they had lost their livelihood as permanent unskilled labourers, who were those who had permanent employment as unskilled labourers.

Overall, it is evident that the major source of livelihood lost by indigenes of the project-affected communities was farming as it constituted about 98% of the individuals who lost their source of livelihood as a result of the Ghana Gas project. This has rendered a number of people jobless as a result with no clear employment opportunities and with no alternative sources of livelihood rendering them poorer and at a high risk of impoverishment. In the case of Akosombo, according to Raschid-Sally, Akoto-Danso, Kalitsi, Ofori and Koranteng (2008), the project affected persons lost their livelihood, which was reported to be derived mainly from farming, fishing and petty trading as key. The alternative livelihood approaches implemented (including mechanisation of

agriculture where large farms were opened up using improved technology) all failed either because the farmers were not familiar with the technology, or not enough consultation had been done. This should form a learning basis for resettlement projects in Ghana and Africa.

6.2.2.3 Employment Opportunities Obtained from Ghana Gas Project

The analysis includes all individuals of active working age, which, according to International Labour Organisation (ILO), is 15 years. In regard to obtaining any form of employment opportunities with the Gas Plant Project, the respondents were asked if they had ever had any employment opportunity with the Gas plant project.

Table 6.3: Employment Opportunities Obtained From the Project by Individuals in Affected Households by Gender

Type of Employment	Male	Females
	Percentage	Percentage
Permanent skilled labour	25	0.000
Short contract skilled labour	8.3	0.000
Short contract unskilled labour	50	0.000
Permanent unskilled labour	16.7	0.000

Source: Field Survey (2017)

The results indicates that female individuals within the economically active age group did not have any employment opportunity from the Ghana Gas project. It is evident from the study that their male counterpart had some employment opportunities ranging from permanent skilled labour jobs, which constituted about 25% amongst the economically active male individuals in the communities: these are those who were given longer contracts of more than a year mostly during

the project construction. While short contract skilled labour employment was found to contribute about 8 % of the employment opportunities from the project for economically active male individuals in the community, it is clear from the study that 50% of males got short contract jobs as unskilled labourers and about 17% worked as permanent unskilled labourers with Ghana Gas.

Overall, findings from the study show that short term contract unskilled labour jobs was the major employment opportunity provided by the Ghana Gas project as it constituted about 50% of the opportunities for the economically active male individuals.

6.2.3 Health

The study attempted to explore how the Ghana Gas Project can affect the health situation of individuals in the project community. Two indicators were considered in this regard: an outbreak of any strange diseases due to the project; and an increase in the incidence of other commonly known disease such as malaria, respiratory diseases, among others. Table 6.4 provides a summary of findings of the effect of the project on health.

Table 6.4: Effect of the Project on Household Health Situation

Type of Disease	After 2014	Before 2014
Strange disease outbreak	36.36	20.00
Other diseases	60.00	45.45

Source: Field Survey (2017)

The effect of the project on the health situations of households after 2014 and the household health situation before 2014 as reported by respondents of the household interviews shows that the outbreak of strange disease increased by 36% in households after the gas plant establishment compared to about 20% that was recorded prior to the establishment. This implies that households

became more exposed and vulnerable to infections of strange diseases after the gas plant establishment than before the project was established. From the qualitative interviews the respondents ascertained that they now face frequent attacks of strange skin diseases that they never had before; and this has been on the rise. They associate this with the project, which flares gases into the air causing a lot of heat for the neighbouring communities.

With regards to the exposure and vulnerability of households to other common diseases such as malaria, typhoid, respiratory diseases, etc., the study showed that there was about 60% and 45% more exposure and vulnerability after the establishment of the gas plant than before 2014, as reported by the respondents based on their medical reports from health centre visits over the period. This further implies that households were more exposed and vulnerable to other common diseases after the plant establishment than before. Overall, it is evident from the study that the Ghana Gas project had a significant negative effect on the health situations of households in the project affected communities.

6.2.3.1 Health Issues and Cases of Diseases

Table 6.5 presents the distribution of the number of cases of health issues in the project affected communities. It is observed from the results that a majority of about 60% of male-headed households compared to a majority of about 50% of female-headed households in project affected communities have experienced about 1 to 2 cases of malaria and no cases of malaria respectively in their families whilst a majority of about 100% of male-headed households compared to a majority of about 80% of female-headed households had experienced about 3 or more cases of some strange diseases in their families. Finally, of about 20% compared to about 17% of female-

headed households reported about 1 to 2 cases of heat related diseases in their families over the project period.

Table 6.5: Distribution of Major Health Issues and Number of Cases in Households in the Affected Communities

Health Issues and No. of Cases	Pooled (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Malaria outbreak			
No case	36.36	20.00	50.00
1 - 2 cases	45.45	60.00	33.33
3 or more cases	16.67	0.00	20.00
Strange diseases			
No case	63.64	80.00	50.00
1 - 2 cases	36.36	20.00	50.00
3 or more cases	**83.33**	100.00	80.00
Heat related disease outbreak			
No case	0.00	0.00	0.00
1 - 2 cases	18.18	20.00	16.67
3 or more cases	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source: Field Survey (2017)

Overall, it is evident from the study that 83% of households in the project affected communities experienced about 3 or more cases of strange diseases in their families. The communities interviewed complained of extreme heat and strange skin disease since Ghana Gas became operational with flairs of gas in the air. According to Ghana Gas based on complains from the affected communities in relation to extreme heat a study was conducted to determine the level of heat generated by the Plant through flaring and the results proved that the flaring was within the acceptable level. Ghana Gas also confirmed that the flaring Gas in the air will soon be no more as a company has been contracted to tap gas from it.

6.2.3.2 Awareness of Risks Associated with the Gas Plant Project

As related to the risk and dangers related to the gas project, the PAPs were asked their level of awareness with regard to the project risk and possible hazards that they know of. The findings on the awareness of possible hazards that may arise as a result of the inception of the Ghana gas project indicates that about 75% of male-headed households compared to about 50% of female-headed households were aware that the project can cause environmental hazards in their communities.

Table 6.6: Distribution of Awareness by Households about the Possible Hazards the Project can Cause

Hazards	Pooled (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Health	9.091	8.333	10.000
Complications	18.182	16.667	20.000
Environmental hazards	63.636	75.000	50.000

Source: Field Survey

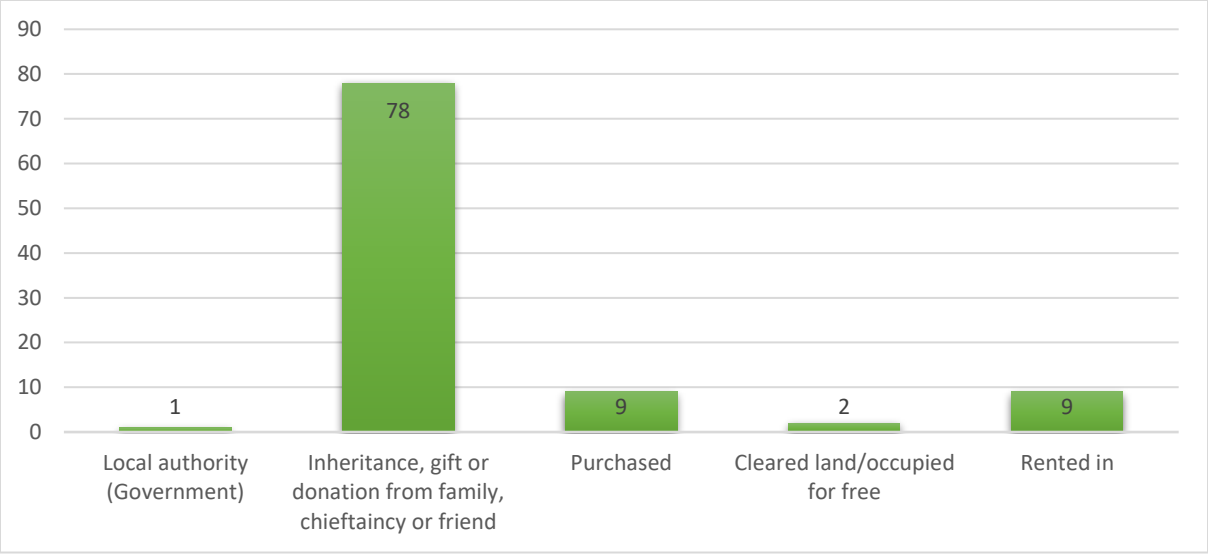
Overall, the study revealed that about 64%of all households in the project affected communities were aware that the project can cause environmental hazards in their communities and very little was known about the health related risks and other complications that the project may cause. Environmental challenges and likely risk that has been captured in the Environmental Impact Statement was completed in 2013. As the chief noted, the dissemination of the report was a one day event and this could not enable the people, the majority of whom are illiterate to understand what dangers the project exposes them to.

6.3 Natural Capital

6.3.1 Land

The study assessed how the Ghana gas project has affected land related issues in the projected affected communities in the region.

Figure 6.5: Means of Acquisition of Lands Owned by Individuals in Project Affected Households



Source: Field Survey (2017)

Figure 6.5 reveals that about 1 % of the land owned by individuals in the project affected households were from the local authority – in this case, government owned lands that they cultivated. Ownership through inheritance, gift or donation from family or friends or the chieftaincy constituted about 78%, the highest tenure that exists. It is evident from the study that about 9% of the lands owned by individuals in the project-affected households were from outright purchase whilst about 2% were cleared or idle lands occupied freely by the project affected households. Finally, it is observed that about 9% and another 1% of lands owned by project-

affected households were from rented and other means of acquisition respectively. Ablo and Asamoah (2018) in their study confirms that the land tenure system in Atuabo are stool lands, mostly in the custody of the chiefs on behalf of its people. This includes the land where the gas plant was established. In an in-depth discussion with the East Nzema paramount chief he confirmed this and said,

> *when Ghana Gas needed land the chiefs agreed to give them land and they went out with other sub chiefs to check and pick the best suited option for the project and they chose the piece at Atuabo, the chiefs consented and a libation was poured and they took over the land and started the processes (In-depth Interview with the Paramount Chief, 2nd June 2018).*

Table 6.7 shows that individuals who owned land before 2014 accounted for about 71**%** whilst individuals who owned land after 2014 was about 68**%**. This indicates a reduction of about 3**%** in land ownership since the project commenced in these communities.

Table 6.7: The Effect of the Project on Land Tenure Status (before and after 2014)

Tenure status	**After 2014**	**Before 2014**
	Percentage	Percentage
Owned	68	71
Own (Rented out)	8	10
Tenant (Rented in)	4	3
Free access	11	9
Sharecropping	8	6
Contract farming	1	1

Source: Field Survey 2017. Chi-square value = 30.70; p-value = 0.000

The study sought to examine the relationship between tenure status of project affected households before and after 2014. Results from Table 6.7 showed that households with their own tenure, rented

out about 10% before 2014 whilst after 2014, for households with the same tenure arrangement it was about 4**%.** Households with free access to land made up about 9**%** before 2014, according to the study, whilst after 2014, for households with the same tenure arrangement it was about 11%. Finally, the study observed that households with a sharecropping arrangement before 2014 was about 6% compared to about 8% of individuals with the same tenure arrangement after 2014. Finally, the test showed a chi-square of 30.70, which is statistically significant at 1%. This implies that there is a significant relationship between tenure status of project-affected households in the period before and after the project.

6.3.1.2 Quantity of Land Owned and Under Cultivation

The study further compared the average quantities of land owned, and cultivated by individuals in project-affected communities before and after 2014.

Table 6.8: Average Land Size Owned, and Average Sizes of Land Cultivated

Land Measured (acres)	Before 2014	After 2014	Diff.	t-value	p-value
	Mean	Mean			
Size of land owned	4.53	2.45	2.08***	3.56	0.000
Size of land cultivated	1.95	3.77	-1.82**	2.16	0.037

Source: Field Survey (2017). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The study sought to test the difference in size of land owned and cultivated by project affected household before and after 2014. From Table 6.8 it is found that the size of land owned by project affected household were 4.53 and 2.45 respectively, with the difference of 2.08. From the result, it is evident that the difference is statistically significant at 1% level of testing. This implies that

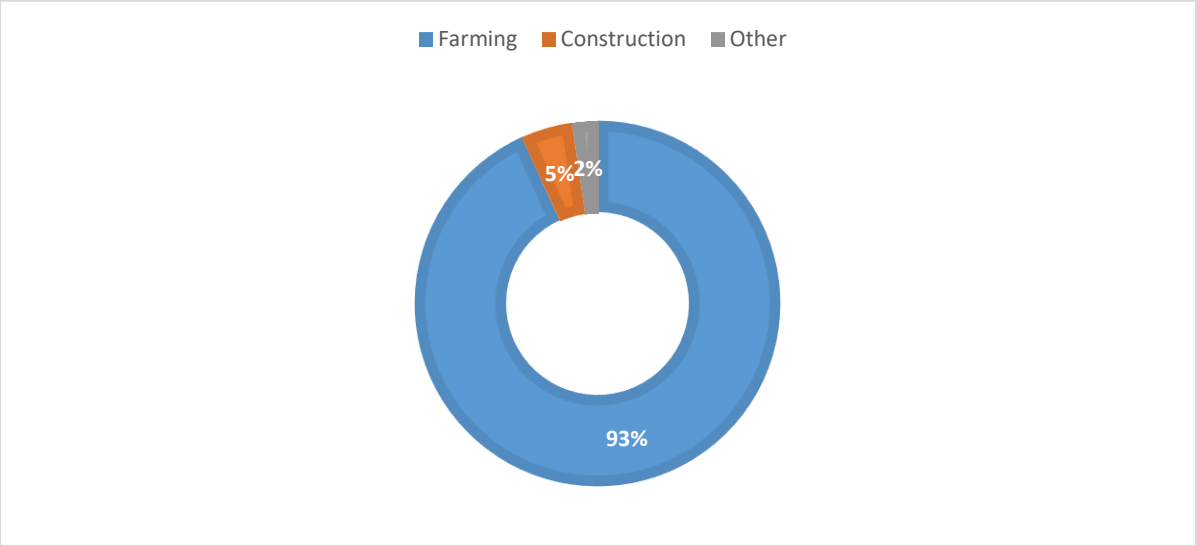
the establishment of the project has resulted in a significant reduction in the size of lands owned by individuals in the project-affected communities.

Considering the quantity of land cultivated before and after 2014 by project-affected household, the study revealed that quantities cultivated before 2014 was 1.95 acres and that cultivated after 2014 was 3.77.

This increase in the size of land under cultivation post project establishment is attributed to the loss of other sources of livelihood as indicated in Table 6.7, of household's loss to common property and section 6.2.2.2 that clearly indicates the project affected persons loss of livelihood sources. As a result, the affected community members are highly dependent on cultivation as a key source of livelihood.

Figure 6.6 provides findings on the major economic activities of individuals in project-affected households put their lands into use.

Figure 6.6: Major Economic Activities on Lands Owned by Individuals in Project Affected Households



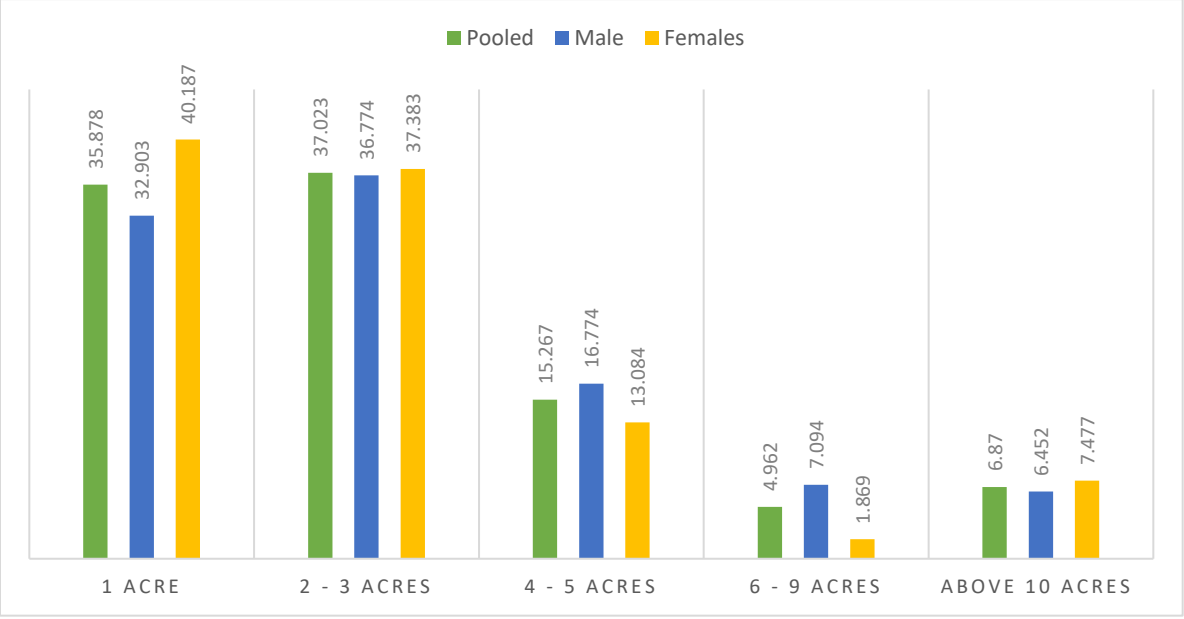
Source: Field Survey 2017

About 93% of households in the affected communities used their lands predominantly for farming before it was taken away from them. It also found that only about 5.2% of the households had mainly used their lands for property construction before it was taken away from them. Whilst about 2% used it for other economic activities and those who did not have any activities ongoing on their lands at the time it was acquired by Ghana gas.

6.3.1.3 Quantity of Land Lost by Individuals in Project Affected Households by Gender

Figure 6.7 presents details on the quantities of land lost by individuals in project-affected households. Figure 6.7 shows that about 32.9% of male individuals compared to about 40.2% of female individuals lost about an acre of land whilst about 36.8% of male and 37.4% of female individuals lost about 2 to 3 acres of land due to the Ghana gas project.

Figure 6.7: The Quantity of Land Lost by Individuals in Project-affected Households by Gender



Source: Field Survey 2017

It is observed from the findings in Figure 6.7 that about 16.8% of male individuals compared to about 13.1% of female individuals in project-affected households lost between 4 to 5 acres of land to the Ghana gas project whilst about 7.1% of male individuals compared to about 1.9% of female individuals in project affected households lost about 6 to 9 acres of land to the Ghana gas project. Females who lost 10 acres and above stood at 7.477% compared to 6.452% and this can be explained by the matrilineal system of the Nzema people who are from the bigger Akan group, which by default, increases women's land holding as women inherit land and the children belong to their mothers (Ablo and Asamoah, 2018). Land compensation has not yet been paid, according to Land Valuation Division, of the Lands Commission only 45 claims has so far been received for compensation.

6.3.1.4 Proportion of Individuals in Affected Households who lost Some Crops and Properties on Lands

Table 6.8 shows the findings pertaining to properties lost by individuals in project-affected households as a result of lands taken over by the Ghana gas project. From the results, it was found that about 66.2% of male individuals compared to about 81.5% of female individuals lost their food crops. It was also found that about 11.5% of male individuals compared to about 11% of female individuals lost their cocoa plantations due to the project, leaving a difference of only 0.4% between male and female individuals who lost their cocoa plantations.

Table 6.9: The Proportion of Individuals in Affected Households who Lost Properties on Lands Taken from Them by Gender

Property lost	Percentages	Percentage	Percentage
	Pooled	Males	Female
Food crops	**72.5**	**66.2**	**81.5**
Cocoa plantation	11.3	11.5	11
House	1.1	**1.9**	**0**
Fruits and vegetable	11.7	15.3	6.5
Other	3.4	5.1	1

Source: Field Survey 2017

About 1.9% of male individuals lost some houses while none of the female individuals in project-affected households lost any house due to the project whilst about 11.7% of male individuals and 6.5% of female individuals lost their fruit and vegetable crops. Finally, the results show that about 5.1% of male individuals compared to about 1 % of male individuals in project-affected households lost other properties due to the project.

Overall, the majority (i.e., about 72.5%) of individuals in project-affected households lost their food crops due to the project whilst the least (i.e., only about 1.1%) of individuals in project-affected households lost their housing (commercial buildings under construction mostly at Esiama) properties due to the Ghana gas project. From the in-depth interviews and FGD it was clear that most of the people only lost their farms and farm lands.

However, some communities, like Esiama where the valve station is located, had buildings under construction, and the affected community said they were given two weeks' notice before the demolition would be done to enable them to take what they could from the land although they were not told how much they would be paid for their structures at the time of demolition. They remarked

that they were only informed that officers will come around to value the buildings. However, the value rate was not disclosed to the owners of the building after the valuation process has been done. This made them irritated and dissatisfied with little trust in the process or even to the supposedly impending land payments, which is yet to be done.

The affected communities are struggling to rebuild what was lost because the main compensation package was money paid for the crops and property, which has been highly inadequate compared to the loss, as explained by the respondents. Post displacement reconstruction has remained a big challenge for Ghana. The Ghana Gas communities wait in anticipation, and likewise the Akosombo Dam affected communities in the Volta Region are still struggling with the realities of rebuilding livelihoods. According to Tsikata (2012), the Mepe and Sokope community women who were so dependent on clam picking from the Volta River basin, have had to engage in multiple livelihood activities post the submergence of the area and not all have found alternative livelihoods that matched their previous livelihood activity and many are engaged in activities considered to be of low status, which is a sign of marginalisation. In a male FGD in Esiama one of the respondents relates;

> *They destroyed my fishpond, my pineapple farm, coconut trees, oil palm and other things. I lost all this and I was given only small money. (Male FGD, Esiama, 4th April 2017)*

6.3.2 Food Security

The study sought to assess the effect of the Ghana Gas Project on the household food security situations in the project affected areas. Indicators of household food security situations was proved by adult food security (which includes whether any adult in the household lost weight because

there was not enough money to buy more food and adults who do not eat for a whole day because there is not enough money for food); and child food security (which consisted of whether the size of children's meals were cut because there was not enough money for food; child skips meals because there is not enough money for food; child always hungry but just could not afford more food; and child did not eat for a whole day because not enough money for food). Table 6.10 provides a summary of results on the effect of the project on household food security.

Table 6.10: Effect of Displacement on Household Food Security

	After 2014	Before 2014	Effect	% Change	Std. Error
Lost weight because didn't have enough money for food	0.52	0.23	0.29***	29	0.04
Adults not eat for a whole day because no enough money for food	0.61	0.24	0.37***	37	0.03
Cut size of children meals because no enough money for food	0.35	0.17	0.18***	18	0.02
Child skips meals because no enough money for food	0.31	0.12	0.19***	19	0.03
Child always hungry but just couldn't afford more food	0.39	0.23	0.16***	16	0.04
Child does not eat for a whole day because no enough money for food	0.29	0.12	0.17***	17	0.04
Overall Food Security Status	**0.07**	**0.11**	**-0.04****	**-4**	**0.02**

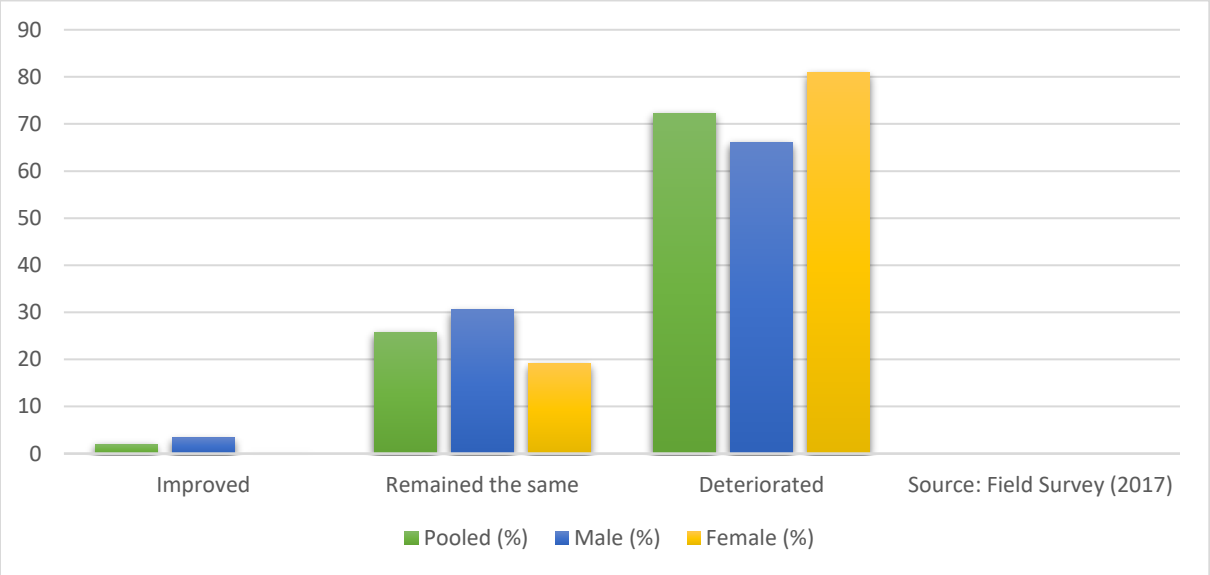
Source: Field Survey (2017). *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

It is evident that the incidence of adult members in the households losing weight due to inadequate food, and adults not eating a whole day due to lack of money for food increased by 29% and 37% due to displacement through the Ghana gas project and this was statistically significant at 1%. In terms of the child food security situation in the household, the study revealed that the incidence of cutting the size of children's meal due to inadequate food for the household; the child skipping meals due to lack of money for food; the child going hungry but just could not afford more food;

and the child not ever eating for a whole day due to lack of money for more food significantly increased by 18%; 19%; 16% and 17% respectively, due to the Ghana gas project and these were statistically significant at 1%. These findings are evidence that displacement as a result of the Ghana Gas Project has negatively affected not just adult food security situation in the household of the affected areas but that of children as well. This has resulted in a significant reduction in the overall food security situation of households by 4%; thus reducing the overall food security situation of households in the project-affected communities.

From the field results, over 80% of female respondents' wellbeing deteriorated after the land acquisition compared to their male counterparts at about 66%. While 3.4% of the males said their lives had improved, none of the females' wellbeing improved after the acquisition as indicated in figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8: Distribution of State of Wellbeing of Households in Ghana Gas Project-affected Communities



Source: Field Survey 2017

6.4 Financial Capital

The effect of the Gas plant project on financial capital was reported on, mostly concerning undervaluation of the crops and property and inadequate compensation paid for their loss. Most of the respondents complained that the compensation received was inadequate and not commensurate with their loss. They were only compensated for the crops on their land and the future value of the tree crops like coconut and oil palm were not taken into consideration: this has greatly affected their income and a source of livelihood through which they raised income.

> *They didn't pay us what was due us. I lost over 9 acres of land which had oil palm and coconut on it and they gave me 300 cedis (80 USD). That is very bad. We are really disappointed by what they did (Male FGD, Esiama 4 April 2017)*

Cases, such as this, of inadequate compensation were common in all the study sites. In a study of the Atuabo communities affected by the Gas Plant project by Asamoah (2013) the respondents complained of inadequate compensation, example, a farmer who owned 13 acres of coconut and earned 1,000 cedis (USD 500 in 2013) monthly was paid compensation of 15,500 cedis (USD 7500 in 2013) for the loss. This equates to a payment of about a year and three months' income and he will never earn this again. Compensation did not take into consideration the long-term future cash value of the crops.

Despite the negative impact of the project on incomes, especially farm incomes, there are areas that have seen an increase in economic and other business activities due to the increased population attracted by work and business opportunities. An increase in housing prices, which means more income for landlords/landladies who own rentable property in the communities.

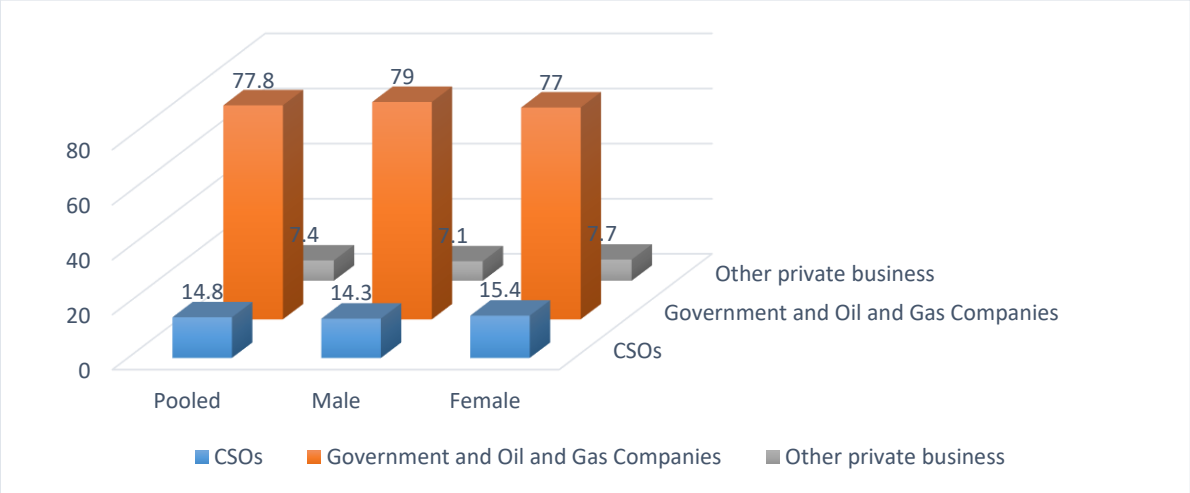
6.5 Social and Physical Capital

6.5.1 Institutional Presences and Challenges

The study further attempted to assess the institutional presence and activities to ascertain household's awareness of the CSOs within the community by assessing their awareness of the existence of the organisations and their activities including Government, oil and gas companies, among others. These relations are key in terms of community rebuilding, connectedness through individual efforts and institutional support through CSOs, and the Gas plant activities to strengthen both social and physical capital through community relations.

About 79% of male-headed households compared to about 77% of female-headed households in project-affected communities were aware of the presence of oil companies in their communities as indicated in figure 6.9. Overall, it is evident from the study that a majority of about 78% of all households in the project-affected communities are aware of the presence of oil companies in their communities.

Figure 6.9: Distribution of Awareness by Households about the Existence of Institutions in their Communities



Source Field Survey (2017)

6.5.1.1 Community Institutions' Presence Awareness Levels

Table 6.10 shows the findings on the awareness of activities of organisations or CSOs in the project-affected communities. About 54% of male-headed households compared with a majority of about 58% of female-headed households are aware of other oil and gas institutions in their areas (including Ghana Gas) who are into other businesses other than training and advocacy works like the CSOs.

Table 6.11: Distribution of Awareness by Households about the Activities of Institutions and Organisations in their Communities

Activities	Pooled (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Civil Society Organisations			
Training	24.0	38.462	8.333
Advocacy	20.0	7.692	33.333
Other Institutions			
Government, oil and gas companies and private business	56.0	53.846	58.333

Source: Field Survey 2017

Overall, about 56% of all households in the project-affected communities were aware that institutions in their communities were into other business activities other than training and advocacy. This includes the oil and gas companies who were engaged in community road rehabilitations, construction works in the Ellembelle district.

6.5.2 Loss of Access to Common Property

The study also sought to examine how the establishment of the Ghana Gas project has affected households' access to common properties in the project-affected communities. The affected communities in Ellembelle previously benefited from the vast free common property that was

accessible to everyone for the gathering of wild fruits, building materials, and wild game: part of the lands were even accessed for farming. The gas plant establishment alone surrounded by Atuabo, Asemda Suazo and Anokye directly affected 120 farmers, who prior to the gas plant project utilised this land for farming. The vast forested were also accessed by many in the community as it was stool land in the custody of the chief on behalf of the people.

The study also revealed that about 32% of earnings of male-headed households came from community common properties (common property here refer to the open community land, forest where the affected community utilised ad accessed to gather fruits, construction materials like reeds for sale). Whilst about 29.5% of earnings of female-headed households in project-affected communities came from community common properties. Furthermore, the study found that about 56% of earnings for male-headed households came from community common properties that were affected by the project whilst about 70.5% of earnings for female-headed households came from community common properties that were affected by the Ghana gas project.

Table 6.11 provides findings on common properties that households in project-affected communities lost. The study revealed that about 83.3% of male-headed households compared to about 66.2% of female-headed households lost access to common farmlands in the project-affected communities. About 5.1% of male-headed households compared to about 5.9% of female-headed households lost access to common wild fruits in their communities due to the Ghana gas project.

Table 6.12: Proportion of Common Properties Lost by Households in Project-affected Communities

Common property	Pooled	Male	Female
	Proportion	Proportion	Proportion
Farm land	0.753	0.833	0.662
Wild fruits	0.055	0.051	0.059
Wild game	0.007	0.013	0.000
Building materials	0.034	0.051	0.015
Firewood	0.123	0.026	0.235
Forest reserve	0.021	0.013	0.029
Other	0.007	0.013	0.000

Source: Field Survey 2017

About 1.3% of male-headed households lost access to common wild game in their communities due to the project whilst 5.1% of male-headed households compared to about 1.5% of female-headed households lost access to common local building materials in their communities due to the project.

It was further observed from the study that less male-headed households (2.6%) compared to 23.5% of female-headed households have lost access to common firewood or wood fuel sources in their communities due to the project. About 1.3% of male-headed households compared to 2.9% of female-headed households lost access to common forest reserves in their communities due to the project. Finally, 1.3% of male-headed households lost access to other community common properties like playing grounds due to the establishment of the Ghana gas project in their communities. Overall, the majority 75.3% households in project-affected communities lost access to common sources of farmlands in their communities due to the establishment of the Ghana Gas project.

6.6 Mitigation and Coping Strategy

The study revealed the mitigation strategies adopted by individuals in project-affected households who lost land to the Ghana Gas project. It was observed from the study that 37.5% of male individuals compared to 23.1% of female individuals in projected-affected households put their remaining lands into more intensive use in order to make up for losses they made from their portions of lands taken away from them. It was also found that 12.5% of males compared to 42.3% of female individuals acquired extra land to replace their lost lands.

Furthermore, 47.9% of male individuals compared to about 34.6% of female individuals in project-affected households migrated permanently or embarked on seasonal migration to seek alternative livelihoods. 2.1% of male individuals in project affected households diversified their economic activities in order to engage other economic activities as a source of livelihood. Thus, the majority 43.2% of individuals in project-affected households migrated permanently or were engaged in seasonal migration to seek means of livelihood elsewhere in the region or the country.

Table 6.12 presents the results on how individuals who lost lands sought redress for lands taken away from them without proper consultations by the authorities. Findings from the study indicates that only female individuals 2.6% in project-affected households sought redress through the law court whilst 23.1% of males compared to 15.8% of female individuals in project-affected households sought redress through their community chiefs or authorities.

Table 6.13: The Proportion of Individuals in Affected Households who had to Seek Redress for Lost Lands and Properties to the Project

Means of seeking redress	Pooled	Male	Female
In the law court	0.013	0.000	0.026
Through the community chief	0.195	0.231	0.158
Ghana Gas	0.792	0.769	0.816

Source: Field Survey (2017)

About 77% of male individuals compared to about 82% of female individuals in project affected households contacted the Ghana Gas Committee for redress. It is evident from the study that the majority, about 79.2% of individuals in project affected households contacted the Ghana Gas grievances redress committee for redress on lands taken from them by the Ghana Gas company.

6.7 Ghana Gas Relationship with the Community

Ghana Gas's relationship with the community is assessed on the promises made to the community members and what has so far been fulfilled. More than 53% of the respondents agreed that there has been access to improved roads constructed and renovated by Ghana Gas in collaboration with Quantum Gas. Other benefits include increased income especially for property owners and businesses within the community that serve the gas staff.

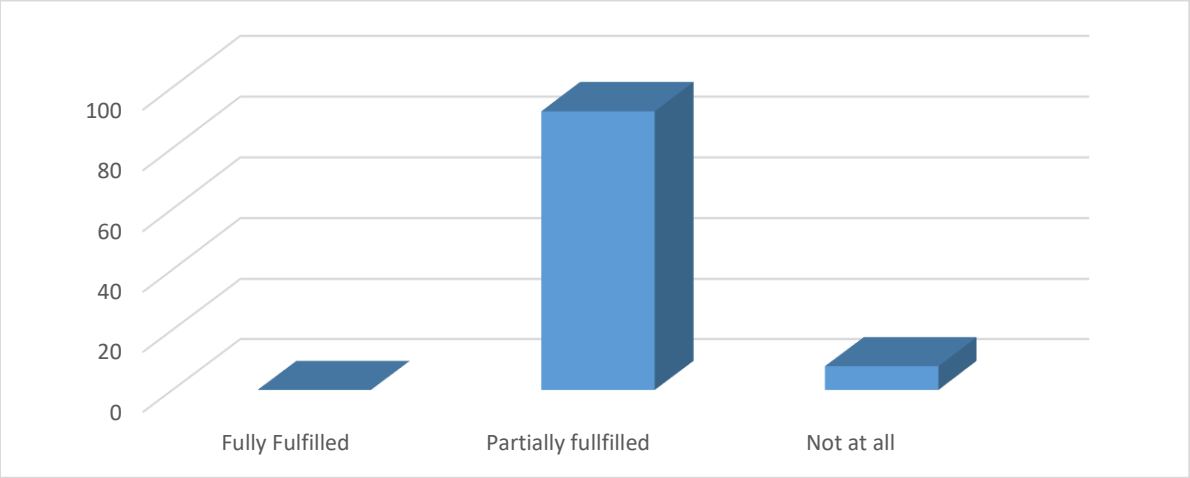
Figure 6.10 shows pictorial examples of Ghana Gas's positive effects on the communities. In implementing its corporate social responsibility, Ghana Gas has worked in collaboration with Quantum Gas, a private Gas company to deliver the services such as roads and community bus among others.

Figure 6.10: Ghana Gas Company Community Benefits

Source: Field Research (2017)

Over 33% of households complained of high rates of unemployment. According to the household heads, Ghana Gas made promises of cash compensation, improved roads, provision of gas, scholarships, employment, improved health facilities and health insurance. The findings indicate that 92.1% of households in project-affected communities indicated that promises made to them and their communities had only been partially fulfilled as indicated in figure 6.11.

Figure 6.11: Distribution of Status of Promises made by Ghana Gas



Source: Field Survey (2017)

6.8 Conclusion

It is evident from the study the effect of the Ghana Gas Plant project on the communities and the study revealed both positive and negative effects. The project has impacted negatively on the community and its occupants through the loss of land leaving people landless, loss of jobs, housing and created a negative effect on education. With regards to health, issues of increase heat levels, skin diseases and malaria were reported. Food insecurity has increased as lands for agriculture were lost, farms and cash crops such as coconut and palm trees. Considering the existence of high communal access and use of land in all the study sites with chiefs as custodians. Restricted and lost access to common places has affected people's income and food security negatively.

Compensation for land lost has not yet been paid. As at April 2018 the LVD had only received about 45 claims for compensation and the total number of the affected could go up to 1000 people. One major challenges the people are facing is land documentation. Most of the lands are customary or family lands without documentation. Meaning no one can submit a claim to that effect. The

affected persons also do not have information on what is required of them to be able to put in a claim. Land Valuation Division officials said; *'the people have slept over their rights'.* Since they have not come out to demand and get to know processes and requirements for them to claim for compensation.

Besides the observed and purported hardships that the gas projects have had on the communities in Ellembelle District, there are some concrete gains and losses associated with the implementation of the projects. Some of the respondents in Ellembelle mentioned that their communities are now receiving social interventions from the government and non-governmental organisations. There is also a boost in the local housing and other goods and service market along the coastal areas, including the Ellembelle stretch. This is because highly skilled migrant workers that are often attracted to these kinds of communities have contributed to the housing demand and thus causing an increase in prices. In as much as this is positive for property owners, it is detrimental to the local people who also depend on rented housing in the area. Housing cost has gone up meaning higher returns for the property owners in the community. The employees of Ghana Gas from the community have become a source of motivation and role models for the younger ones in the community to work hard.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of Findings

The two cross-country (Ghana and Uganda) analysis focused on the displacement effect resulting from government land acquisitions in Ghana Gas Plant Project and in Uganda the Oil Refinery Project. The two countries, being among Africa's recent oil findings, have been keen to turn the black gold into a development engine and to learn from other nations on the continent and beyond in order to try and avoid a resource curse scenario.

The main objective of the study was to assess the nature and effect of oil and gas induced displacements and its effects on communities in Ghana and Uganda. Specifically, it focused on the following - identifying oil and gas displacement context and dynamics for communities in Ghana and Uganda; analyse institutional involvement and participation during the compensation and resettlement process for both Ghana and Uganda; and lastly, to assess the effects of oil and gas induced displacement on the community using the Atuabo Gas project in Ghana as a case study. Informed by literature, the study adopted an actor-oriented approach and the livelihood framework alongside Micheal Cerneas Impoverishment and Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) framework, from which the conceptual framework was developed. The study employed a mixed method approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

The Gas plant construction for Ghana has since been completed and is fully operational. The land acquisition was made for the Gas establishment, pipeline, valve and service stations. This affected people directly and indirectly and caused displacement where people lost their sources of

livelihood, which has been farming for 97.8% of the project affected persons. They virtually lost all their crops, land and access to common places like the forest where they picked and gathered fire wood, wild fruits and building materials.

In Uganda's context, the government acquired a 29.35km^2 piece of land that was home to 7,118 people of which 2,473 lost their lands and 1,221 households were affected. They were directly displaced to pave the way for the refinery construction. The compensation package had two options, namely cash or resettlement, for the farmers to choose from. The majority chose cash and 72 were resettled with 46 receiving houses and 26 land.

The dynamics surrounding the acquisition process ranged from consultation, survey and demarcation, valuation, compensation rates and compensation itself, which has delayed. The study established that there was minimal consultation of the affected communities for both countries.

The PAPs complained of the low compensation rates from the crops and property that had been valued by government in both Ghana and Uganda. In Ghana this was because crop rates paid were far below the market price and did not take into consideration the future benefits of durable tree crops like coconut, which would have lasted and given them much more income. In Uganda, apart from the low rates they further complained of having been compensated at rates pertaining to a year before the valuation was done.

For PAPs in Ghana, this process led to much more than the loss of their lands and crops, they have since been further impoverished as not many of them had other farming plots so with increased prices over the years it has been very difficult for them to cope. In the case of Uganda, this threw a high number of PAPs into absolute poverty. For those who received cash the delayed payment

made it difficult and in some cases impossible to buy land, since prices had gone up while the resettlement group stayed back waiting for over four years in uncertainty. To make things worse, they were also not allowed to farm any crop that would take more than three months to mature and harvest causing food insecurity for most households. The families have, since February 2018, been resettled and are trying to rebuild their lives. The resettlement came with a package of one cow and two goats and a planned life skill training in tailoring or beauty salon management for at least one person in each household, however this is yet to be implemented as part of the livelihood restoration plan.

A number of institutions who were identified and sampled for the study are those that were involved in the land acquisition process. They include government agencies in Ghana Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources, Lands Commission, Ghana Gas Limited - the user institution, and Ministry of Petroleum. In Uganda; Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Uganda Lands Commission and Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development - the user ministry were all key in the implementation process. Both local and international Civil Society Organisations were involved and played roles including advocacy, trainings and sensitisation, research and even conflict resolution in some instances. The traditional authority of the areas played key roles that included informing their affected subjects about the consultation sessions in which they took part in as well. The institutions confirmed that the process was not well managed after reviewing it. These field findings were concluded via a case study of Ghana using the quantitative data collected from 244 houses to analyse the effect of the Gas Plant project on the communities. The education sector, for instance, indicated an increase in school dropout rates, food insecurity was high due to

loss of land and crops while they also reported increase in strange diseases include skin rashes and extreme heat.

7.2 Conclusions

With the quest for accelerated development, governments are forced to use their available resources like gas and oil discoveries in Ghana and Uganda respectively to develop their economies through creation of jobs and overall contributing to GDP. This means that displacement induced by development becomes inevitable in the case of these two countries. How well it is managed while learning from other resource rich nations is very important in trying to avoid a resource curse scenario. From the study findings in terms of the effect of these projects on the communities, it is evident that both Ghana and Uganda have laws and policies in place and what remains a challenge is however the implementation process. The constitution of both countries gives citizens the right to own property and, in the case of acquisition in government interest, a prompt, fair and adequate compensation is paid.

Although in Uganda the Constitution provides for a prior payment, nevertheless, the fact remains that the rates paid have been inadequate and delayed in both countries. This affected a number of PAPs and rendered them landless, jobless, homeless, and marginalised; and negatively affected household education. In addition to this, a good number of children dropped out since their school at the refinery site was closed down and the other functioning schools were far away. Further, since the majority of the community had left, the fewer affected could not access the very bushy area with frequent attacks from wild animals which led to loss of some lives. In due course they became marginalised and, thus, became poorer.

In Ghana, parents could not raise enough money to sustain the family accommodation, feeding, education and other basic amenities. Even their children were interrupted and distracted from school by the numerous business opportunities in the area. They too had restricted access to the nearby forest where there would have access to wild fruits and building materials.

The institutions, although well placed, struggled with under-staffing. This included Ghana Gas at the inception and the Lands Commission as well. In Uganda, the CSOs were harassed while getting involved in the acquisition process. No CSO was procured during the process as was approved in the RAP by MEMD. The advocacy strategies employed did yield good results and got government to act. They CSOs in Uganda also organised a national dialogue on the implementation of the RAP, carried out research, provided trainings to the PAPs and CBOs and assisted with the procurement of legal services for the aggrieved PAPs and the case is still in court.

These negative impacts are often prominent in communities within or near which the actual oil and gas exploration and transportation is done (see Cernea, 1997; Bartolome et al., 2000; Boahene and Peprah, 2011; Chindo, 2011; Planitz and Kuzu, 2015). The most prominent are in the areas of education, employment or livelihood, health, housing, land and crop loss, access to communal property, migration, cost of living and standard of living. This was not different in the case of the Ghana Gas project and the Ugandan oil refinery project. The data gathered and further analysed, significantly pointed to the mostly negative impacts the projects had on the communities involved/affected in both countries. It is, however, imperative to mention that there are variations in the degree of impact that each project had on the respective countries and even the different communities involved.

7.3 Recommendations

The recommendations are based on findings of the study and how the two projects were implemented. They have been categorised into different sectors to aid direct attention:

(i) General recommendations for both countries

(ii) Country specific recommendations which duels on the policy and law issues, role of actors, both government and non-government

7.3.1 General Recommendations

- **Compliance with legal requirements**

Government should ensure they comply by the constitution and other laws and policy guiding government land acquisition and ensure payments are prompt, fair and adequate. The fairness and adequacy needs to be clearly defined in simple and understandable terms to all parties. Payment duration after the cut-off date should be clearly defined and adhered to.

- **Effective and meaningful consultation**

Consultation should be made effective, efficient and meaningful, giving opportunity and adequate time to the PAPs to understand, ask questions and give responses on issues raised. Such agreements need to be put in writing as part of the procedure and evidence that the PAPs' responses and agreed conditions will be implemented. This calls for proper and formal engagement of key institutions in the process. CSOs involvement is key in monitoring the process and providing support on other aspects where they have expertise; for example, their livelihood restoration and grievance redress system among others to ensure a smooth implementation of the process for both Ghana and

Uganda. This will not only hasten the process but will earn the support of the community for the project.

- **Land documentation processes**

Although efforts have been made to document and register lands in both Ghana and Uganda, there are still a sizable number of lands still unregistered and undocumented. This led to delays in the Ghana Gas Plant's land compensation. Government should double its effort and ensure lands are registered as quickly as possible.

- **Sustainable development approach to displacement**

The governments will have to treat displacement caused by national projects as a unique opportunity to transform the project affected persons' lives through a holistic rehabilitation programme beyond just livelihood restoration programmes. This will minimise the risk of impoverishment. For example, cash compensation could be tied to well-defined and agreed individual development projects like farm and residential land purchase or income generating business among others, as it is clear that cash compensation does very little in assisting the recipients to maintain their standard of living neither does it improve it.

- **Land tribunals**

Both Ghana and Uganda Governments should consider setting up land tribunals to deal with land matters related to acquisition. This could be made a law with specific procedures and guidelines on how it operates including a defined timeline to deal with all land issues. There has been attempts on this by both governments in the past with minimal success due to unclear and multi-layered

procedures. Further, this tribunal should be staffed with qualified individuals who can make final judgement.

- **Establish functional Grievance Redress Mechanism**

Both governments need to put in place grievance redress mechanism and ensure it has clear timelines for responses and resolving issues. This must be shared with the PAPs to ensure issues are resolved in a timely manner to avoid agitations and legal battles between communities and government as has happened in both countries.

7.3.1.1 Recommendations for Ghana

- Land Compensation

To facilitate and speed up the verification of landowners in readiness for land compensation, government should use the local communities, chiefs and neighbours who know where the boundaries are and clear them for compensation. This approach was used in Uganda for the oil refinery acquisition where less than 30% of the landowners had documentation and the rest was demarcated and verified using the local structures, elders and neighbours within a given time, which helped in speeding up the process. This approach could be done in phases: determining land ownership in one district at a time would help to speed up the process for the Ghana Gas affected communities. Secondly government should make payments to landowners that have no issues and to those with proper documentation while the few remaining cases can be resolved through negotiations or via a tribunal as suggested above.

- **Crop Valuation**

Although currently crop values are generated and applied uniformly across the 10 regions of Ghana, government should consider decentralizing the crop values. Different crops attract different rates across regions and districts based on the value attached to it or even cultural values that in turn affect its economic value.

- **Prior Compensation**

The current law empowers government to compulsorily acquire land even before payments are made. I would recommend that the Ghana government should consider enacting a law that ensures prior compensation. This will reduce the delays in payment of compensation that are currently encountered in the process.

The chiefs need to fairly re-allocate land to the affected, especially for farming, and directly assist in border demarcation among the affected to ensure complete compensation for all acquired land. And in future consult its subjects on issues related to land donations for projects such as his.

CSOs need to get more engaged and involved with communities affected by the oil and gas sector. They should be engaged in laws and policies, land search and acquisition and ensuring increased and adequate engagement of affected communities to avoid most of the current challenges.

7.3.1.2 Recommendations for Uganda

- **Efficiency during Land Acquisition**

Government should ensure that the law and policies guiding the land acquisition is adhered to. This includes valuation processes and rates. There is a need for government to share information approved in the RAP with the key stakeholders with the RAP being followed as approved. In case

of a deviation, this must be put in writing and relevant stakeholders properly informed in order to promote transparency during the process: this will help avoid delays that becomes costly for government at the end and brews mistrust due to secrecy and inconsistencies in the process.

- **Timely Approval of District Rates**

District land values should be approved on time to facilitate its application during valuation and compensation in a particular year. In the case of delayed payments, Government should adjust the rates and make payments using the current year rates generated. In addition to this, there should also be interest accruing from the already calculated rates on a yearly basis to take into consideration an increase in inflation among others.

- **Engage Private Valuers for PAPs**

Government should consider allowing the PAPs to engage the services of renowned private valuers who are registered and licensed to calculate the cost as a percentage of the individual total value. Cost generated by the valuer is then compared with government values and adjustments can be negotiated if there are huge discrepancies.

7.4 Areas for Further Research

Noted earlier in chapter 3 as a limitation, the lack of a control group for this study creates an opportunity for another study to be conducted using a control group to establish the deeper effects of displacements especially in the case of Ghana. Furthermore, there is an opportunity to conduct research comparing government acquisition processes; government and private oil/gas companies adhering to laws and policies on land acquisition in both Ghana and Uganda. For Uganda there is

the need for a tracer study of PAPs who received cash compensation compared to their resettled counterparts in order to establish how this affected their livelihoods positively or/and negatively.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O.BOX LG74

LEGON-ACCRA

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

Good morning/afternoon, my name is Maliam Acio, a PhD student at ISSER University of Ghana. I am conducting a study on 'Oil and Gas Induced Displacement and its Effects on Communities' Livelihoods: Experiences from Ghana and Uganda' as a requirement for the award of a doctorate degree in Development Studies. The main aim of the study is to assess the nature of displacement and its context, effects of displacement livelihoods and institutional involvement and engagement in the project implementation process with the communities affected.

The interview is estimated to last a minimum of one hour. In case it takes more than an hour the interview shall be stopped and another date and time rescheduled. I would like to seek your permission to take part in the study. But I can assure you that all information gathered including the recording shall be used as a general part of the interview feedback and not mentioning your name, I want to assure you that your privacy shall be ensured all through the process. Feel free to stop the interview at any time when you do not wish to continue and if you do not wish to respond to some questions you are free not to do so.

Do you agree to take part in the interview?	**Yes**		**No**	

INTERVIEW

1. Demographic information

Can you tell me a bit about yourself? Probe for name, age, education, marital status, household composition, migration status, economic activities

2. Production and livelihood activities

i. What kinds of economic activities are you engaged in?

ii. If farming- probe for land ownership status, size of land used and cultivated, type of tenure, how land was acquired, adequacy of farm size for economic farming, what s/he cultivates, any changes, what accounted for the changes?
iii. If non-farming activities…….
iv. Probe for type, income, time spent doing it
v. What livelihood outcome do you derive from these economic activities?
vi. Do/did you have any relation with the land the company acquired? Describe the type of relationship.

3. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING ABOUT THE GAS PROJECT AND ABOUT THE PIPELINE LAND ACQUISITON

i. What do you know about the project? Do you know why the gas pipeline is being built?
ii. When did you get to know about the plans for the project?
iii. Who told you about the project? Who told you that your portion of your land would be taken?
iv. What do you think of the project?
v. What are your general feelings about being displaced.
vi. Does someone see anything good in this? Do you see any advantages in it?
vii. Are you discussing what will happen with your family/community as a result now and in the future?

4. IF LOST LAND TO ACQUISITION, ASK THE FOLLOWING:

i. Do/did you have land? Probing…
ii. Where is/was the land? Probe for size of various plots and why, if any, there are changes in size.
iii. How did you acquire these/those lands?
iv. What are/were you using the land for?
v. Why are you no longer using the land?
vi. Has the acquisition process changed?
vii. How do people acquire land in this community? Is it for different social groups? How?
viii. How have you experienced it?

ix. Has the acquisition process changed?
x. What about access? Availability? Affordability? Cost?
xi. How has it changed and why?
xii. How have these affected your household?
xiii. What crops were/are you cultivating? Probe for purpose for production
xiv. Probe for changes in the production system- cropping systems
xv. What is a typical day like for you?
xvi. Map out/ probe for the times spent on own production, market production, work in the company etc.
xvii. Can you describe to me the following: what crops do/did you cultivated on the land, the size of the land you cultivated, the farming system you were using and the production output of the crops?
xviii. How has this changed after the acquisition?
xix. Probe for the type of land currently used, the fertility of the land, size, distance from the dwelling, how acquired (Probe for all plots)
xx. If lost land during the land acquisition for this project, how did you adjust or cope?
xxi. Do you currently have any relationship with the gas project?

5. IF WORKING (FAMILY MEMBER) WITH COMPANY ASK THE FOLLOWING:

i. Can you describe your work at the company to me?
ii. How much are you paid?
iii. When do you start work and when do you close?
iv. How does work in the company affect you? Probe- income, time for other economic activities, food.

6. HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY AND COPING STRATEGIES

i. Has the household experienced any economic hardship this year? Or in the past? Probe for the particular issue that occasioned the hardship, is it in any way related to the gas project?
ii. What coping strategies did you use during that time?

iii. What about food? Has your household ever experienced food insecurity during the past 3/5 years? 10 years? How did you cope with the situation?

iv. Can you tell me about how the household food is produced? Probe who produces what type of food crop?

v. How is the household food procured? Probe for own production and purchase in the market.

vi. Who buys the food? Which kinds of food is bought?

vii. What economic activities does the procurer(s) do (es)?

viii. What is the food security situation in your household?

ix. Probe for availability, affordability, access, sustainability.

x. Has it changed over time? What has changed and what has occasioned the change? And if in any way it's attributed to the gas project.

APPENDIX 2: COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O.BOX LG74

LEGON-ACCRA

COMMUNITY FOCUS GROUP DSCUSSION INTERVIEW GUIDE

Good morning/afternoon, my name is Maliam Acio, a PhD student at ISSER University of Ghana. I am conducting a study on 'Oil and Gas Induced Displacement and its Effects on Communities' Livelihoods: Experiences from Ghana and Uganda' as a requirement for the award of a doctorate degree in Development Studies. The main aim of the study is to assess the nature of displacement and its context, effects of displacement livelihoods and institutional involvement and engagement in the project implementation process with the communities affected.

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Do you agree to take part in the interview?	**Yes**		**No**	

INTERVIEW

1. **OPENING (introduction/ice-breaking)**
2. **INTRODUCTION OF THE TOPIC**
3. **DISCUSSION TOPICS AND KEY QUESTIONS**
4. **THE AREA AND PEOPLE**

i. What is the name of the area, who are their leaders, which ethnic groups live in this community and what are their main activities?

ii. Are there new people in their community, when did they come? Has the rate of visitors/new settlers increased in their community? If so, why and how are they living together and how do they feel about it?

5. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING ABOUT THE GAS PROJECT AND

ABOUT THE PIPELINE LAND ACQUISITON

i. What do you know about the project? Do you know why the gas pipeline is being built?
ii. When did you get to know about the plans for the project?
iii. Who told you about the project and land acquisition?
iv. What do you think of the project?
v. What are your general feelings about being displaced (Indirect)/having to lose a portion of your land? Are you worried/afraid/happy?
vi. Does someone see anything good in this? Do you see any advantages in it?
vii. Are you discussing what will happen with your family/community as a result now and in the future?

5. ESTIMATION OF THE LOSSES

I will now ask some questions more specifically on the losses that you have experienced as a result of the acquisition.

Resource mapping (Let the participants take lead in identifying and drawing)

Can we now draw what the community land was before and after? Participants will use a card to draw the resources they had on the land before and what they have now.

i. How much land did you lose as a community (communal)?
ii. What was the land being used for?
iii. How much of it was lost? (Probe if crops, fishponds, parks, forests etc.)
iv. Can you make a distinction between material and non-material losses? (list them)
v. How are the roles different now from before? For both men and women.

6. PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

i. Were you talked to about the process as a community?
ii. How was it done? Did someone from the government come to tell you? If yes, who? When? What were you told exactly?
iii. Have you been consulted about the compensation package?
iv. Is there any NGOs/Organisation working in this community?

v. What are their roles in regard to the project and outside the project?

7. COMPENSATION PACKAGE

We would like to discuss with you issues related to compensation.

i. What do you think a fair compensation for your losses is or would have been?

ii. What do you think the government should give you to compensate for your losses, if you have to make a choice, what would you prefer as compensation:

- Own piece of land,
- Cash
- Benefits from the project (proceeds) etc.

iii. Imagine cash compensation is the only kind of compensation that you are given. How much do you think a fair cash compensation would be?

iv. How would you use this money?

8. HOUSING

i. Has any member of your community lost houses as a result of the project?

ii. If yes, how many? What type of house (mud, semi-permanent or permanent concrete houses)

iii. If the government were to provide you a new house, how would you like it to be?

iv. Would you prefer to be relocated in a village/in a small town?

9. EMPLOYMENT

i. Were there work opportunities in the project?

ii. Did members of your community take part?

iii. If yes? What type of work?

iv. How long did it take?

v. How were they paid?

vi. Would you like the government to teach you new skills? If yes, which one?

10. Are there members of your community whose health has been affected by the project?

11. Did any of your community members migrate as a result of the project?

12. Are there people who have come to your community as a result of the project?

13. How is the cost of living in your community compared to before the project started?

APPENDIX 3: INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION GUIDE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O.BOX LG74

LEGON-ACCRA

INSTITUTIONAL QUESTION GUIDE

Good morning/afternoon, my name is Maliam Acio, a PhD student at ISSER University of Ghana. I am conducting a study on 'Oil and Gas Induced Displacement and its Effects on Communities' Livelihoods: Experiences from Ghana and Uganda' as a requirement for the award of a doctorate degree in Development Studies. The main aim of the study is to assess the nature of displacement and its context, effects of displacement livelihoods and institutional involvement and engagement in the project implementation process with the communities affected.

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Do you agree to take part in the interview?	**Yes**		**No**	

INTERVIEW

1. Can you tell me about your organisation?
2. When was it established?
3. What are your goals, objectives, vision, mission and mandate?
4. What is your coverage?
5. Government engagement
6. Are you engaged with government on any projects, list them
7. If with the gas project/oil refinery project? When did you start working with the project?
8. Are you working with the community/government?

9. What informed your decision to work on them
10. If community what roles are you playing?
11. And if with government what roles are you playing?
12. (Policy, Community engagement, Traditional leaders, Women, Youth)
13. Are you working in collaboration with other organisations? If yes, which one, when did you start and what are you working on
14. What is your general view on how the project has been implemented
15. What would you count as an achievement in the role you are playing in this project and with the community
16. What are the challenges you have faced/still facing?
17. How have you dealt with it
18. What would be your recommendation (to government in regard to the project and community, community livelihood, engagement and future plans to mitigate unforeseen/seen challenges)

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION GATHERING GUIDE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O.BOX LG74

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Do you agree to take part in the interview?	**Yes**		**No**	

INTERVIEW

1. **Historical Perspective**

i. How has compensation evolved over the years?

ii. What was it like before and what is it like now? (Strategic changes in policies, laws and implementation)

iii. Guideline for the process

2. Gas plant background

i. When did the gas plant project start?

ii. What informed the decision?

iii. Under which government unit did it originate?

iv. What was the main aim and objectives?

v. What informed the choice for the first location?

vi. Why did the location eventually change to Atuabo?

vii. Map of the gas plant and pipeline.

viii. Process of land acquisition, how was the Atuabo acquisition done?

ix. Who initiated it?

x. Who constitutes its committee?

xi. Who does the payment? (Who is funding it?)

3. People

i. What is the demographic composition of the people in the area?

- Ethnicity
- Livelihood source (If it's farming, what type of farming and crops? – dynamics between the care taker and the owner of the crops – (due to the layers of ownership who gets compensated?)
- Migration status

ii. Who are the people affected directly by the project?

iii. Probe the demography-ethnicities, migration status, etc.

iv. What economic activities are the people involved in? (Probe – men and women, etc.)

4. Type of displacement

i. Has there been any direct displacement in the pipeline corridor, like home destructions?

ii. If so, how many?

iii. What has been destroyed in the pipeline corridor? Like

- Schools
- Hospitals
- Religious places
- Traditional places
- Water points
- Roads
- Crops (Variety), short term crops and long term crops (Coconut)

iv. How many people have been affected in total?

v. Land ownership (those eligible for land compensation)

vi. Type of land ownership

5. Land valuation

i. Processes for;

- Land acquisition
- Land valuation and
- Compensation

ii. What determines the prices for valuation?

- Crops (level of maturity of crops, does it affect the price? Is it multiplied by years?)
- Land
- Fish ponds
- Trees

- Water points

iii. At what level was the community consulted?

iv. Were there any contestations in regard to the compensation?

v. How has it been/being resolved?

6. Legal framework used

- The constitution
- States Land ACT 125
- Land administration Acts 123
- Statutory way leaves
- Mineral and Mining Law (Compensation must be done before displacement if this delays then they have to pay 10% every year)

7. Key aspects

- Executive Instrument (EI) – request for a copy
- What is the composition of the committee and why?

What is their role in the acquisition?

APPENDIX 5: HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONAIRE

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O.BOX LG74

LEGON-ACCRA

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONAIRE

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Do you agree to take part in the interview?	**Yes**		**No**	

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

D	D	M	M	2	0	1	7

Date:

1. Community _____

2. Head of Household (name): _____ Phone No

3. Household No:

4. Location of household: _____

---

5. Interviewers ID

6. **Supervisors ID**

7. Main Language Spoken at Home:

Asante	11	Guan	41
Fanti	12	Buli	51
Akuapem	13	Mamprusi	52
Sefwi	14	Frafra/Gruni	53
Brong	15	Kassen`	54
Nzema	16	Dagbani	55
Ga	21	Wali/Dagaari	56
Dangme	22	English	57
Ewe	31	Other (Specify)	96.....

8. What is your Ethnic group? ……

9. Type of Housing

1. Separate House (Bungalow)
2. Semi-Detached House
3. Flat (Apartment)
4. Rooms (Compound)
5. Room(s)
6. Room(s) Several Huts/Buildings (Same Compound)
7. Room(s) Several Huts/Buildings (Different Compound)
8. Tents/Improvised Home
9. Other (Specify)

10. How Many sleeping Rooms are in this Dwelling (*Dwelling here refers to Housing Unit*)?

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Does another household share this dwelling?

1. Yes
2. No ☐

Part 2: Household Roster

1. Name of Respondent	**2.Member ID**	**3. Sex** **CODES** 1- Male, 2 - Female	**4. Age** **(If age less <1, record 0)**	**5. Relationship to Current HH Head** **CODES** 1 – Household Head 2 – Spouse 3 – Child 4 - Grandchild 5 – Parent/ Parent-in-law 6 – Son/Daughter-in-law 7 – Other relative 8 – Adopted/Foster/ Stepchild 9 – House help 10 – Non-relative 11- Brother 12- Sister	**6. Marital Status** **CODES** 1– Never Married 2—Married 3 – Betrothed 4 – consensual union 5 - Separated 6 – Divorced 7 –Widowed 8-Other specify	**7. Migration Status.** **CODES** 1.Native 2.Migrant 3.In-migrant	**8. When did you migrate here?** (Year)	**9. Why did you migrate to this area?** **CODES** 1.Employment 2.Join family 3.Refuge from conflict 4.Better infrastructures 5.Religious Purposes 6. Cultural 7.purpose 8. Economic Political 9.Other specify	**10. What is names Religion** **CODES** 1-Anglican 2-Presbyterian 3-Catholic 4-Pentecostal 5-Muslim 6-Jehova Witness 6-Traditionalist 7-Atheist Other specify	**11. Was name living in this community before 2013** **CODES** **1. Yes** **2. No**
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B. EDUCATION BACKGROUND

GENERAL FORMAL EDUCATION–ANSWER FOR ALL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS 3 YEARS AND OLDER

1. Member ID	**2. Has (Name) ever attended school?** **CODES** **1. Yes,** **2. No >>next person** ***(If no, skip to section C)***	**3. What was the highest grade successfully completed?** **Grade level CODES** 0… NONE; 01…PRE-SCHOOL; 11…P1 12…P2 13…P3 14…P4 15…P5 16…P6 17…JSS1 18…JSS2 19…JSS3 20…SSS1 21…SSS2 22…SSS3 23…OTHER (SPECIFY)	**4. What was the highest educational qualification attained?** ***Qualification Codes*** 1. None 2. MSLC 3. BECE 4. Voc/Commercial 5. Teacher Training 6. Teacher Post-Secondary 7. GCE O Level 8. SSCE 9. GCE A Level 10. Tech/ Prof. Cert. 11. Tech/Prof. Dip. 12. HND 13. Bachelor's 14. Master's 15. Other (specify)	**5. Is (Name) still in school?** **CODES** 1. Yes 2. No>>13	**6. Is the school (Name) attending Public or Private?** **CODES** 1. Public Religious 2. Public Non-religious 3. Private Religious 4. Private Non-religious	**7. What is the current grade?** **CODES** See *Grade Level Codes* Above in qn 3.
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C. EDUCATION

ID	8. Is there any child in your H/H who has dropped out of school? 1. Yes 2. No	9. When did name drop out of school? (Year)	10. What class was (name) in? *CODES* **(See GRADE LEVEL CODES above)** 0… NONE; 01…PRE-SCHOOL; 11…P1 12…P2 13…P3 14…P4 15…P5 16…P6 17…JSS1 18…JSS2 19…JSS3 20…SSS1 21…SSS2 22…SSS3	11. Why did name drop out of school? CODES 1. No fees 2. Sickness 3. Domestic work 4. Fishing 5. Business 6. Employment 7. Distance 8. Others Specify	12. Is any of the reasons in Qn 5 associated by Ghana Gas? 1. Yes 2. No	13. What are some of the challenges that Ghana Gas has caused to your children's education? **CODES** 1.High prices 2.Distance 3.High drop out 4.Noise 5.Interruptions because of business opportunity	14. What are some of the benefits you have received for your children's education from Ghana Gas. **CODES** 1.Scholastic material 2.Scholarship 3.Exchange visit trip 4.Refubrished school 5.Meals at school 6. New teachers – improved quality of education
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D. EMPLOYMENT

ID	1. Is/was name employed? CODES 1.Yes 2. No	2. If yes, what economic activity? CODES 1. Mason 2. Fish monger 3. Fisher man 4.crop Farmer 5. Animal husbandry 6.Paultry 7. Employee or wage worker 8. Other specify	3. Has name ever been employed on any Ghana Gas project? CODES 1. Yes 2. No	4. If yes, which year was name employed with the project?	5. What kind of employment was it? CODES 1.Permanent skilled lbr 2.Short contract skilled lbr 3.Short contract unskilled lbr 4. permanent unskilled lbr	6. How long did name work with the project? (In months)	7. Would you take another work opportunity with the project if available CODES 1. Yes 2. No	8. Did name lose work as a result of land acquisition? CODES 1.Yes 2. No	9. When? (Year)	10. What type of work? CODES 1.Farming 1.Permanent skilled lbr 2.Short contract skilled lbr 3.Short contract unskilled lbr 4. permanent unskilled lbr
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11										

E. LAND

Plots	**1. Do you own land?** CODES 1.Yes 2. No	**2. How many pieces?** **CODES** 1. 1 piece 2.2 pieces 3.3-5 pieces 4.5-10 pieces	**3.If yes, where is this land located?** **CODES** 1.Enembelle 2.Shama 3.Nzema 4.Ellembelle 5.Wassa Eat 6.Ahanta West 7.Sekondi – Takoradi 8.Western Region 9.Outside Western Region	**4. When did you acquire this land? (Year)**	**5. How did you acquire the land?** **CODES** 1Given by government or local authority 2. Inheritance, gift, donation from family, friend 3. Purchased 4. Cleared land/ occupied for free 5. Rented in 6. Bartered 7. Other (specify)	**6. What is your land tenure status?** **CODES** 1. Owned 2. Own, Rent out 3. Tenant (Rented in) 4. Free access 5. Sharecropping 6. Contract farming 7. Other (specify)	**7. How big is your piece of land?** **In acres** **CODES** (For each piece of land – refer to codes in qn 2)	**8. What activities are ongoing on your land?** **CODES** **1- Farming** **2-Construction** **3-Other specify**
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10								

F. LAND ACQUISITION

Plots	1. Did you lose land in the last four years? CODES 1.Yes 2. No	2. If yes, how? CODES 1. Taken by government 2.Ghana Gas 3. Other oil and Gas companies 4. Sold 5. Rented out 6. Bartered 7. Other specify	3. Was it your own decision to sell? CODES 1. Yes 2. No	4. Was your land taken by Ghana Gas? CODES 1.Yes 2. No	5. If yes, when was it taken? (year)	6. How much of your land was taken? (acres) CODES In acres 1- 1:Acre 2- 2-3Acres 3- 4-5 Acres 5- 5-10 6- 10+	7. Have you been compensated for the land? CODES 1.yes 2. No	8. What did you lose on your land? CODES 1.Crops 2. Coco Plantation 3. Fish pond 4. House 5. Pinaple 5. Other specify	9.How much of it did you lose? Refer to q.8 (Estimate)
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D.1. Let's compare your land owned before (2014) and after acquisition (2014)

Indicators	Year before (2014)	Year after (2014)
Size of land owned		
Size of land used/cultivated		
Type of land tenure		
How was the land taken (refer to Q.2 codes)		

G. LAND ACQUISITION CONSULTATION

Plots	1. Were you consulted prior to taking of your land? 1. Yes 2. No	2. If yes, who consulted you with? Codes 1. Ghana Gas 2. Traditional leaders 3. Community leaders 4. District officials 5. I don't know the people 6. Others specify?	3. How was the consultation done? Codes 1. Individually 2. In a group meeting 3. Other specify	4.Were you given an opportunity to say your view/price/opinion? 1. Yes 2. No	5. Did you reach an agreement that you were happy with? 1.yes 2. No	6. If no, how have you addressed your dissatisfaction? Codes 1.Court 2.Through the chief 4.Ghana Gas grievance redress	7. How long has the issue been ongoing since you first reported? (Months)	8. Has your issue been resolved now? 1.Yes 2.No	9. How satisfied are you with the resolution Codes 1. Very Satisfied 2.Satisfied 3.Not satisfied 4.Indiferent	10. If not satisfied, how are you coping? Codes 1.Court 2.Through the chief 4.Ghana Gas grievance redress 4.Planning to go to court 5. Other Specify	11.Is the land you have now adequate for your farming and other activities 1. Yes 2. No
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H. LOSSES AS A RESULT OF THE ACQUISITION

ID	**1. Did the acquisition cause any substantial loss to you/your h/h?** 1.Yes 2.No	**2. If yes, how?** CODES 1.Crops 2. Coco plantation 3. Fish pond 4.Poultry 5. House 6.Coconut 7.Oil Palm 8. Pineapple 6. Other specify	**3. What adjustments did you make after losing part of your land?** CODES 1.More intensive use of land 2. Taken more land to replace what was lost Migrated/seasonal migration 3. Changed economic activity	**4. If you acquired new land to replace what you lost, is the fertility of the new land as good as the old land?** CODES 1.New land is more fertile than old land 2. New land is less fertile 3. Fertility of new land is same as old land 4. Don't know	**5. What was the characteristic of your taken land?** CODES 1. Valley 2. Upland 3. Swamp 4. Rocky 5. Other specify	**5.What is the characteristic of your newly acquired land?** CODES 1. Valley 2. Upland 3. Swamp 4. Rocky 5.Others specify
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7. Has the land acquisition created any conflicts in your household?
1. Yes 2. No

8. **If yes, explain (**Regulate characters to be entered)
……
……

H. FOOD SECURITY

FOOD SECURITY: WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS BEST DESCRIBES THE FOOD SITUATION IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD

				The next questions are about children living in the household who are under 18 years old.					
ID	**2. Did you lose weight because you didn't have enough money for food before 2014?** [1] Yes [2] No [3] DK or Refused	**3a.Did (you/ or other adults in your household) ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food before 2014?** [1] Yes [2] No (>> 4) [3] DK or Refused (>> 4)	**3b. [IF YES ABOVE, ASK] How often did this happen before 2014?** **CODES** [1] Almost every month [2] Some months but not every month [3] Only 1 or 2 months [4] DK or Refused	**4. Before 2014, did you ever cut the size of (your child's/any of the children's) meals because there wasn't food/enough money for food?** [1] Yes [2] No [3] DK or Refused	**5. Before 2104, did (CHILD'S NAME/any of the children) ever skip meals because there wasn't food/ enough money for food?** [1] Yes [2] No (SKIP 6a) [3] DK or Refused (SKIP 6a)	**6. [IF YES ABOVE ASK] How often did this happen before 2014?** CODES [1] Almost every month [2] Some months but not every month [3] Only 1 or 2 months [4] DK or Refused	**7. Before 2014 (was your child/ were the children) ever hungry but you just couldn't afford more food?** [1] Yes [2] No [3] DK or Refused	**8. In the last 6 months, did (your child/any of the children) ever not eat for a whole day because there wasn't enough money for food?** [1] Yes [2] No [3] DK or Refused	9**. Would you say that after the land acquisition overall the wellbeing of your household has** CODES 1. Improved 2. Remained the same 3. Deteriorated
	After 2014	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**	**After 2014**
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I. COMMON PROPERTY ACCESS

ID	**1. Are there any common property resources that have been lost as a result of the acquisition?** CODES 1.Farm land 2.Medicinal plants 3.Wild fruits 4.Wild game 5.Building materials 6.Firewood 7.Parks and gardens 8.Sea/river 9.Thatch 10.Forest reserve Other (Specify)	2**. Do you still have all these livelihood resources in adequate amounts for all inhabitants to harvest?** 1. Yes 2. No	**3. What percentage of your earnings came from the affected common resource?** (estimate)	**4. At present what percentage of your earnings come from the common resource?** (Estimate)	**5. Has anything changed in terms of the common property since your land was taken?** 1. Yes 2. No	6**. Indicate below whether your household accessibility to the following resources (listed in in Qn.1 codes) has improved or declined after acquisition.** 1. Improved 2. Declined 3. Remained the same
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J. RELATION WITH GHANA GAS

ID	1. **Has the Ghana gas activities benefited your house hold/community?** 1. Yes 2. No	**2. If yes, how?** CODES 1.Money 2.New Road 3.Hospital/Clinic 4.Education 5.Business opportunity 6.Electricity 7.Gas 8.Employment 9.School 10.Fishing equipment 11.Health sensitization 12. Other Specify	**3. What are the negative things in your society that you would associate with Ghana Gas project?** CODES 1.Noise 2.Unemployment 3.Dust 4.Influx of in-migrants 5. Environmental pollution 6. Increased cost of living 7.Loss of land 8.Health challenges 9.Increased crime rates 10.Other Specify	**4.Are there any promises that were made to your household by Ghana Gas (Government)** 1. Yes 2. No	**5. If yes, what promises were made by the Ghana Gas/Government?** CODES 1-Money 2.New Road 3.Hospital/Clinic 4.Education 5.Business opportunity 6.Electricity 7.Gas 8.Employment 9.School 10.Fishing equipment 11.Health sensitization 12.Training 13. Other specify	**6. Has the promises been fulfilled?** (Indicate codes from Qn 5. As appropriate. Multiple response) 1. Fully - - 2. Partially - - 3. Not at all -	**8. Any reasons given for the delay in fulfilling the promise?** CODES 1.No Money 2.Pending Court case 3.Conflict in the family 4.Conflict in the community 5.No clarity of land/property ownership 6.No explanation given 7.Others specify
01							
02							
03							
04							
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K. HEALTH

ID	**1. Has there been any health challenges in your house hold since 2014?** 1. Yes 2. No	**2. What are the health issues?** CODES 1.Accidents 2.Malaria 3.Strange disease 4.Cough	**3. How many people in your household were affected by it?**	**4. Are there any of the above that you can directly associate to the gas project?** 1. No 2.yes	**5. If yes, which ones?** CODES 1.Accidents 2.Malaria 3.Strange disease 4.Cough	**6. Has there been any death in your h/h / society related to the gas project?** 1.Yes 2.No	**7. Are there any health facilities or assistance your community has received from Ghana gas?** CODES 1.Health centers constructed 3.Rehabilitationof the health center	**8. Are there any health assistances given to your household/community by Ghana Gas?** CODES 1.Health centers 2.Medicines 3.Rehabilitation of the health center 4. Mosquito nets 5. Health camp 6.Health Insurance 7.No assistance provided
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L. INSTITUTIONAL PRESENCE AND CHALLENGES ASSOCIATED TO THE PROJCT

ID	1. Are/were there some NGOs or Organisations and companies working in your community related to the project? [1] Yes [2] No [3] Don't Know	2. Which institutions were involved? **Codes** 1.Ghana Gas 2.Government 3.NGOs 4.Oil Companies 5.Other specify	3. If yes, what is/was the project about? **Codes** [1] Training [2] Advocacy [3] Scholarships 4 .Giving handouts 5. Other Specify	4. How long have they been working here? **Codes** [1] Weeks [2] Months [3] Years 4. Other Specify	5. Do you know of any dangers related to the Ghana gas project? [1] Yes [2] No	6. Outline some of the perceived dangers? Codes 1.Noise 2.Dust 3.Health complications 4.Environmental risks 5.Accidents	7. How did you learn about these dangers? **Codes** 1.Ghana Gas 2.Radio 3.District 4.Assembly 5.NGOs 6.Community members	8. Has anyone in your household been affected by the Gas project? **Codes** **1.Health** **2. Accident** **3.Other specify**	9. Are there some emerging issues related to Ghana gas project that you would like to share with me that we have not talked about? (List them)
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Thank you so much for your time