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**ADVOCACY COALITION APPROACH TO POLICYMAKING - A STUDY OF THE
CIVIL SOCIETY'S CONTRIBUTION TO GHANA'S OIL INDUSTRY**

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Dedicated to Delali

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACF - Advocacy Coalition Framework

ACEP - Africa Center for Energy Policy

AWAM - Association of West African Merchants

CEPA - Centre for Policy Analysis

CPP - Convention People's Party

CSOs - Civil Society Organizations

CSPOG - Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas

FPSO - Floating Production, Storage and Offloading

GOGIC - Gas for Inclusive Growth

GHF - Ghana Heritage Fund

GPFs - Ghana Petroleum Funds

GPRS - Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy

GSF - Ghana Stabilization Fund

IDEG - Institute for democratic Governance

IEA - Institute for Economic Affairs

ISODEC - Integrated Social Development Centre

NOC - National Oil Company

PAMSCAD - Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment

PRM – Petroleum Revenue Management

UGCC - United Gold Coast Convention

UNDP - United Nations Development Program

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Abstract

This study examines the civil society's contribution to policymaking in Ghana's oil industry. To achieve this objective, the study draws from the activism of a civil society venture called Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas (CSPOG). As a non-governmental organization, the CSPOG was established as an umbrella organization with the aim to articulate citizens' demands and promote the state's responsiveness, transparency and accountability in the governance of Ghana's oil resource. The study draws from qualitative interviews from officials and members of the organization to ascertain and understand their contribution to oil policies in the country. In the conceptual framework for analysis, concepts like the civil society and policymaking are enunciated to grasp the role of the civil society in policymaking. In addition, the Advocacy Coalition Framework(ACF) is adopted as the theoretical lens through which the civil society's contribution to oil policy is understood in the study context.

The study findings indicate that, towards achievement of the goal to prevent recurrence of past mismanagement of natural resources like gold in Ghana, the CSPOG has sought to get involved in issues of governance about the oil resource. In doing this, the organization has targeted the policy arena as a major area where they seek to influence and contribute to policies and legal frameworks governing the industry. Their activism towards policymaking within Ghana's oil industry cover all the stages of the policy cycle, from the early stage of identifying and formulating policies and legal frameworks, to monitoring their implementation. In the objective to unravel their contribution to the early stage of policy, the study reveals that the CSPOG employ the strategy of education, through persuasion and collaboration with policy makers to set agendas and contribute to policy formulation and adoption. This is achieved with tools such as research reports, policy briefs, proposals and lobbying of policy makers. Their achievement in oil policy contribution is manifested in the successful addition of important clauses to operational policies like the Petroleum Revenue Management(PRM) Act; Petroleum Exploration and Production(E&P) Act; and the Local Content and Local Participation Policy about utilization of Ghana's oil resource.

Analytically, the study brings evidence to buttress the notion of the civil society as an important realm which contributes to development of the contemporary democratic state. In the study context, the institutions' vibrancy and activism is faced with challenges related to resources (financial and information), as well as excessive politicization. Such problems among others, reflect in many developing democracies where the state and its institutions continue to fashion out ways to incorporate the civil society into its socio-political and economic fabric. Nevertheless, as shown in the study, civil society organizations, regardless existing challenges remain important development partners, with their work stretching far beyond policy input in Ghana's oil industry. Therefore, it is essential that they remain encouraged by their achievements and continue to advance their role as an avenue for citizens' participation in state affairs.

Chapter 1. Introduction

In contemporary democratic state, the civil society is regarded as an important institution that guard against the excesses of state's power, and legitimate the state's authority. As noted by Mercer (2002), it constitute an institution that contributes to good governance by promoting and ensuring legitimacy, accountability, citizen participation and transparency, through public scrutiny of the state. The idea of civil society emerged in western democracies with countries such as, the United States and the United Kingdom deploying it on their good governance agenda. It was usually adopted within wider initiatives to support the building of better managed states that provided responsive services and just laws, as well as, improving democratic institutions to deepen political participation (Lewis, 2002). The positive impact from the civil society's participation on economic and political development in such western countries, have subsequently led to its emergence in the developing world. This has been very evident especially in the period since the early 1990's where the idea has been welcomed by developing countries in the efforts to promote democratic institutions and market reforms (Obadare, 2014).

This study delves into the contribution of the civil society to the state's development. Specifically, it focuses on the developing context of Ghana, with the aim to explore and understand its contribution towards the national development with regards to policy making in the country's oil industry.

1.1 Background

The idea of the civil society gained popularity in Africa in the period between the late 1980s and early 1990s in the wake of what Samuel P. Huntington calls the "third wave of democratization"(Huntington, 1991). It was during this period that many African states witnessed the gradual replacement of autocratic one-party and military regimes with democratic regimes. Abrahamsen (2000), notes that the end of cold war and the declining legitimacy of communism ideology, were key factors that raised the civil society's popularity in Africa. In addition, the

Washington consensus¹, which took place in the 1980's was another key event which facilitated the growth of the civil society in Africa. This consensus involved a meeting between the United States government and international financial institutions, which prescribed an increased role for the civil society in state affairs. Effectively, the consensus promoted the role of the civil society as a catalyst to economic development of African countries. The outcome of the meeting informed international assistance programs, with the civil society emerging as policy prescription that aimed to improve the performance of African states (Lewis 2001). These developments renewed the prominence of civil societies in Africa with many eventually going on to play key roles in the continent's democratization(see Gyimah-Boadi, 1996).

Chazan (1992), notes that civil society groups made up of "civil servants, students, professional organizations, trade unions, churches and other groups were the main orchestrators of urban protests in the late 1980s and early 1990s that triggered the process of political reform in over 20 African countries" (pp.279-280). In Zambia for example, it was union activism led by the Congress of Trade Unions, that successfully challenged the three-decade incumbency of the then President Kenneth Kaunda, and his United Independence Party (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996). Similarly, in Kenya, middle class associations of lawyers, college professors, students, as well as, the National Association of Churches were very active in the service of democratization. Also, demonstration against economic mismanagement and autocracy by teachers, students and trader groups in West African countries such as Benin, Togo and Mali served as triggers which set the stage for democratic activism in those countries (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996).

Indeed, such important roles played by civil society organizations in the successful transition to democratic regimes in many African countries raised expectations about their contributory role to state building. Among these, was expectations about their roles in consolidating the newly achieved democracies, as well as, contributing to effective governance and economic growth. However, the vibrancy of associational life in the period following democratic struggles stalled in many African countries. As noted by Gyimah-Boadi, (1996), civil society activism in countries

¹This involved the meeting between the US government and international financial institutions prescribed a reduction of the state and an increasing role for civil society in African states' economic development. This is the set of 10 policies that the US government and the international financial institutions based in the US capital believed were necessary elements of "first stage policy reform" that all countries should adopt to increase economic growth.(Organization, accessed at : <http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story094/en/>)

such as, Kenya, Togo, Burkina Faso, among others, remained weak, and this undermined the significance of their contribution towards consolidating their political liberalization and economic growth.

Pointed to the sources of the weaknesses has been the issue of states deliberate subversion of their growth. Larry Diamond notes that, many of the political liberalization movements which emerged in 1990s were stifled by renewed trends of authoritarianism that led to corrupt, ineffective state institutions and bureaucracies in many African countries. This he labels, “the democratic rollback” (Diamond, 2008, p. 1). Furthermore, he argues that many states on the continent morphed into ‘predatory states’ with elites failing to adhere to democratic principles of good governance. The resultant effect was that; citizens retreated from the state. These developments, however re-necessitated the role of the civil society as important players who could help restore the ‘democratic’ state’s credibility. This they could do by helping bring elite rulers to order, or providing services that the state had been ineffective in providing. Evidence to this effect shows that the civil society in Africa, despite barriers, is making strides forward and they play key roles in the development of political systems. In recent times, the positive impact of associational activism in countries such as, Uganda and South Africa towards better economic and political reforms serve as evidence to support the notion that, civil societies continue to hold an important place in contemporary African states (see Hearn, 2001). Thus, despite efforts to thwart their vibrancy among deficiencies in states’ governance, African civil societies continue to perform important roles in bridging the gap between states and the citizenry.

1.2 The Ghanaian Civil Society

As many African states, civil society activism is present in Ghana. Its existence dates as far back as the 17th century when groups as the Fante Confederation² and Aborigines Protection Rights Society³ were formed with the core function to protect rights of the indigenous population(Darkwa,

² The Fante Confederacy refers to an alliance of the Fante states formed in 1868 and dissolved in 1874 which is regarded as one of the first movement which began the campaign for self-rule in the then Gold Coast (presently Ghana) and Africa.

³ The Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) was an association of traditional leaders and the educated elites, formed in 1897 in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), which became a major political organization that led organized and sustained opposition against the colonial government in the Gold Coast.

Amponsah, & Gyampoh, 2006). Such groups were the pioneers who laid the foundation for the country's independence. Consequently, Ghana's independence from British colonialism came to be hinged on associational activism. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC); the first Ghanaian political party formed in 1947 was made up of professional groups such as lawyers, academics and businessmen. This party, in the struggle for independence sought to gain wider appeal through association with other groups seeking change. They were later joined by others like the Kwame Nkrumah-led Convention People's Party (CPP), which claimed power on independence in 1957.

Despite continued civil society activism in the immediate post-colonial era, subsequent military struggles over state power thwarted their progressive growth in Ghana. As observed by Drah (1996), prior to the return to multiparty democratic governance in 1992, the civil society's participation in Ghana's political space during the periods of political instability was severely curtailed with "most associations harassed, intimidated and ridiculed on public media platforms"(p.16). However, democratic transition which began in the 1980s, saw the state embracing liberal socio-economic reforms under the World Bank led structural adjustment reforms, and this helped reinstate the civil society's position in Ghana's political sphere(Ninsin, 1998). Evidence to this effect manifest with the conference that approved the Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD), in the Structural Adjustment Program. At this conference, the World Bank and other donors called on CSOs to assist in service delivery because the Government of Ghana did not have the institutional capacity to implement the program (Darkwa et al., 2006). The redefinition of the Ghanaian political space through the program facilitated a renewed interest and prominence of the civil society in the country. Subsequently, the period following the late 1980s saw civil society's active engagement in politics and governance with strategic partnerships relating to democratization through the platform of government development policies in Ghana. Also, through the promotion by international financial institutions, the civil society have been actively engaged in programs and policies to address issues on social accountability of macroeconomic reforms and poverty reduction (Hearn 2001).

1.3 Oil Discovery in Ghana

Ghana started oil exploration in the late 19th century, with onshore exploration undertaken in the Tano Basin, today's Western Region, during British colonial rule.⁴ Over 17 wells were drilled between 1896 and 1957. While some heavy oil, light oil and gas deposits were discovered, these reserves were not deemed to be in commercially viable quantities.⁵ This regardless, successive governments over the years since independence continued the search for the 'black gold' resource with the view to diversify resources that the country can exploit to support its economy and enhance development.

Between post independent years of 1957 and 2008, 75 oil wells were drilled both onshore and offshore with most of these attempts proving futile.⁶ However, in 2007 the country's persistence paid off when it finally discovered high-quality sweet and light oil⁷ at Cape Three Points⁸. With an estimated 600 million barrels of offshore oil reserves, Ghana joined the league of oil-producing African states, with earnings projected at nearly \$20 billion between 2012–2030. Tullow Oil, one of the exploration companies responsible for the discovery, described it as one of the biggest oil finds in Africa in recent times.⁹

In 2011, Ghana earned \$347 million in oil revenues.¹⁰ The 2013 Ghana Reconciliation Report on the Petroleum Holding Fund' indicated that, in that year the country's total petroleum receipts were \$846.77 million, while those of 2012 were \$541.62 million.¹¹ This showed a significant

⁴ See GNPC (Ghana National Petroleum Corporation), 'Summaries of Recent Activities in the Oil and Gas Sector', Report, undated.

⁵ See GNPC (Ghana National Petroleum Corporation), 'Summaries of Recent Activities in the Oil and Gas Sector', Report undated.

⁶ See GNPC (Ghana National Petroleum Corporation), 'Summaries of Recent Activities in the Oil and Gas Sector', Report undated.

⁷ Refineries prefer sweet and light crude oil because they have 'valuable chemicals which are needed to produce the light distillates and high quality feed stocks ... They are easy to refine, extract and transport.' See Duissenov D, 'Production and Processing of Sour Crude and Natural Gas – Challenges due to Increasing Stringent Regulations', Department of Petroleum Engineering and Applied Geophysics, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim

⁸ Cape Three Points is located between the coastal village of Dixcove and Princes Town, Ghana.

⁹ BBC News- UK's Tullow uncovers oil in Ghana. Accessed from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6764549.stm>

¹⁰ See Daily Guide, 'Ghana loses GH¢ 583 million oil revenue', 18 May 2012, <http://www.dailyguideghana.com/?p=48644>

¹¹ 2013 Reconciliation Report on the Petroleum Holding Fund, submitted to Parliament by Seth E Terkper, Minister of Finance, Ghana, March 2014, http://www.mofep.gov.gh/sites/default/files/reports/Reconciliation-Report-PHF_2013.pdf

growth rate with further projected growth set to be attained as oil companies expanded production. Tullow Ghana Limited for example, expected to increase production from 90,000 barrels per day (bpd) by the close of 2012 to 100 000–120 000 bpd in 2013.¹² According to the company's 2013 Annual Report, it produced 100 000 bpd that year, generating \$1.3 billion in revenues.¹³ These represent encouraging figures which show that the country's oil industry is growing, and it has caught the attention of local and international companies in the industry. As at 2011, there were 19 local and international oil exploration and production companies, as well as, nine oil distributing companies operating in Ghana.¹⁴

Despite being endowed with vast natural resources such as bauxite, manganese and gold, oil has become one of the country's most valuable national assets. It is estimated that, with the current production rate, the country will earn an annual income of 1 billion dollars for the next 20 years (Annan & Edu-Afful, 2015). This development has raised the expectations of Ghanaians who view the resource as having the potential to rid the country of its developmental challenges. This expectation is shared by the Government of Ghana, which expects the development of the oil industry to stimulate economic growth, create jobs, reduce poverty and generally enhance prosperity for the Ghanaian people.¹⁵ As noted by Annan and Edu-Afful (2015), regardless the steep decline in global oil prices in recent times, the potential contribution of oil revenues to funding development programs in Ghana is still likely to remain significant.

1.4 The Ghanaian Oil Industry- A Role for the Civil Society?

Ghana's rich endowment of natural resources such as gold earned it the name, Gold Coast by colonial exploiters. Despite being gradually depleted over years of extraction; the mining sector makes a great contribution to the country's economy. Ayee, Soreide, Shukla, and Le (2011), point that the mining sector contributes 12% of government revenues, 7% of total corporate earnings

¹² See Energy Commission Ghana, '2013 Energy (Supply and Demand) Outlook for Ghana', Report, April 2013; Oxford Business Group, 'Ghana: Oil revenues starting to flow', 5 June 2012, <http://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/news/ghana-oil-revenues-starting-flow>

¹³ Tullow Oil Plc, Annual Report and Accounts 2013.

¹⁴ see Africa Oil & Gas, 'Ghana oil and gas industry directory – 2011', http://www.africa-oil-gas.com/ghana_oil_and_gas_industry_directory_-_soft_edition-1226-1-2-c.html

¹⁵ Program document: Strengthening Resource Management of the Oil and Gas Sector in Ghana 2015-2019. Accessed at: <https://www.norad.no/contentassets/f52766c211c34dee8f1561ec25af8b78/programme-document-resource-management.pdf>

and 41% of total export earnings. From the theoretical point, natural resource abundance can be utilized to enhance a country's growth as a resource boom enhances economic development through investments in infrastructure and human capital development; a scenario explained by the 'big push' theory (Sachs & Warner, 1999). An application of this theory supports the presence of natural resource as an important catalyst for rapid development of poor countries. However, in the case of Ghana, the presence and revenues generated over the years from resources such as gold, bauxite, timber etc. per expectations, have not been reflected in major development of the country (Annan & Edu-Afful, 2015). Mining communities, as well as, many parts of the country are underdeveloped in terms of infrastructure, with disease and poverty being endemic. Despite the abundance of these resources, the general development of the country is slow, which reflects the phenomenon referred to as the resource curse. The resource curse phenomenon is explained based on extensive studies that have demonstrated that countries with abundant natural resources tend to develop at a slower rate (see Sachs & Warner, 1999).

Therefore, amid high public euphoria and expectation when the country discovered oil in 2007 and subsequent commercial production in 2011, people were quick to question the capacity of governments to utilize the resource for the benefit of Ghanaians. Since the find, the critical question that has dominated the media and public discourse is 'if Ghana has not been able to translate revenues from other natural resources into economic and social development, how can oil proceeds be utilized differently to facilitate the transformation from economic deprivation and poverty to prosperity?'

Pessimists have drawn from the experiences of neighboring countries such as Nigeria, Sudan, DRC Congo, Angola and other countries on the continent where production of oil has become a curse rather than a blessing to the people.¹⁶ Gyimah-Boadi and Prempeh (2012), note that in most of these oil rich countries, there has been a steadfast tendency of elite to capture the benefits of resource extraction while confining the majority of the citizenry to a life of poverty and squalor in the midst of plenty. In Nigeria for instance, oil production over a 50year period has not affected much in the country's development. Poverty levels have been extremely high, with 61% of the population living on less than US\$1 per day as at 2014.¹⁷ The gap between the few extravagantly

¹⁶ See <https://www.africanvault.com/oil-producing-countries-in-africa/>

¹⁷ See <http://themarketmogul.com/wealth-inequality-nigeria/>

rich and majority poor in the country widens with the passing of the day.¹⁸ Projecting to the Ghanaian context, critics have been quick to assert that, such examples of poverty situation of oil rich countries like Nigeria, Gabon, Angola, among others, heightens the anxiety about the utilization of oil revenue (Mbabazi, 2013). On the other hand, in countries as Norway, Canada, Qatar, Botswana, South Africa etc. revenues from oil have proven to be utilized productively for mass development. Such countries present evidence to the point that, oil revenues if utilized efficiently can be used to unlock developmental opportunities that a country seeks in ways that are socially transformative and economically beneficial to the majority of the people (Torres, 2015).

Examples about the productive utilization of oil revenues in these countries have inspired a section of the population, to champion the campaign for the use of oil wealth to transform the lives of Ghanaians. However, after nearly five years of oil recovery and revenue receipts, there has not been real improvement in the living conditions of much of the populace. Coupled with this, is the rather poor economic growth recorded by the country, especially in the years following oil extraction. In other words, the country's development has faced a downward trend in the period following oil exploration. This is reflected in the economic growth rate which has continuously declined from a high of 14% in 2011 to 3.9% as at the end of 2015.¹⁹

The developing trend in the oil resource vis- a- vis economic growth in Ghana, seem to suggest the country's direction towards the resource curse phenomenon exemplified in neighboring countries as Nigeria, Sudan, Angola and others. As observed by Annan and Edu-Afful (2015), in these countries, proceeds have fallen into the hands of few elitist groups and private companies, with a corresponding majority alienation from resource benefits, rising corruption and economic distortions. The state's alienation from the citizens in terms of resource benefits, as Diamond (2008) advanced, brings forth the importance of the civil society in performing the function of gap bridging between the two. Therefore, the question being posed in effect is that, looking at developments in Ghana both in terms of the civil society development and the oil resource management, is there a role for the civil society in the efforts to arrest the country's resource curse direction? This has informed the objective of the study which seeks to explore their contribution to the development of the country's oil industry.

¹⁸ See <http://themarketmogul.com/wealth-inequality-nigeria/>

¹⁹ See <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/ghana/gdp-growth-annual>

1.5 Research Problem

This study examines Ghana's civil society's contribution to the country's oil industry in the specific direction of policymaking. It essentially seeks to address curiosities about why the civil society given their exploits in the country's democratization and other areas in governance are getting involved by influencing policies in the relatively new resource sector. Studies have shown that, attention to sound fiscal and monetary policies; creation of natural resource funds; transparency, accountability and public involvement, aid countries' use of resources for development, and also avoid the resource curse (Weinthal & Luong, 2006). Civil society organizations have over the years advanced various mechanisms to promote democracy and effective state of affairs in Ghana (see Abdulai, 2009; Akwetey, 2005; Gyimah-Boadi, Oquaye, & Drah, 2000). It is in a similar light that this study examines how they are working to contribute to the development of the country's oil industry specifically in the field of policymaking. In policy making, studies show that Ghanaian CSO's input is manifested in three main ways: directly as participants during the early stages of policy formulation; advocacy; and indirectly, influencing the choices made by political actors (CIVICUS, 2013). Thus, the study focus is to examine their contribution in early stages of policy formulation and adoption in the oil sector. Furthermore, it seeks to ascertain the mechanisms employed by CSOs in their efforts to ensure that, their contributions make it to final policy decisions among the interests of government and other players in the industry. To this end, the study gives priority to the views and reflections of active CSOs who are engaged as participants in the oil policy arena. This is because, as those who work with the institutions in the sector, they are the ones who are best placed to highlight the contributions that they make to policy in the oil industry.

Due to the varying interests of the many Ghanaian CSOs in the general socio-political and economic setup, the activism of one civil society venture called Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas (CSPOG) is examined. This choice is informed by their activeness and interests, specifically in the oil industry. As a non-governmental organization, the CSPOG aims to see an active and engaged civil society, capable of articulating citizens' demands, and an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of oil and gas resources.²⁰ Therefore, assessing the contribution of the civil society to Ghana's oil policies from this organization's point,

²⁰ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

provides a useful insight since they are directly immersed in issues about policy and governance in the industry. Also, given that it operates outside government's influence, the opportunity is afforded to objectively explore how they directly or indirectly contribute to policies in the direction of national development.

Towards the objective of understanding the organizations contribution, coupled with the policy dynamics in the study context, the Advocacy Coalition Framework(ACF) is adopted as the theoretical lens through which the civil society's contribution to policymaking in the sector is unveiled. The framework is adopted because it presents a conceptual simplification to understand inherent complexity of issues that inform decision making strategies in the policy arena. With the aim to gain insight into the contribution of a participant (i.e. civil society) to public policy amid varying interests, beliefs and knowledge of participants within Ghana's oil policy arena, the ACF provides a useful theory and guide for achieving the research agenda. Therefore, through the ACF as a theoretical lens, the study seeks to gain insight into the contribution of the civil society to policymaking in Ghana's oil industry by exploring the activism of the CSPOG.

1.6 Research Questions

Based on the research objective of the study, I attempt to answer the central question;

What contribution does the civil society make to policy in Ghana's oil industry?

The following sub-questions have been formulated to assist in addressing the central question;

- What does it mean for the civil society to contribute to policy in the Ghanaian oil sector?
- What are the goals of the Civil Society platform for Oil and Gas and what mechanisms do they employ towards policy contribution?
- What challenges or barriers stand in the way of CSO's in their efforts to influence policy in the oil sector?

1.7 Study Significance

In an observation by Obadare (2014), the point is made that, "the most common assumption about civil society in Africa is that, it is facing varied difficulties that undermine its autonomy. What experts disagree on is its effectiveness in bringing about reforms to government structure, policies and institutions, as well as, the reasons that define their lack of autonomy" (p.9). Literature about

African Civil society such as Robinson and Friedman (2005), and Obadare (2014), have established that their contribution to state development, even though being visible during specific points in time has not been as effective as expected, not to mention comparisons to that of western countries. To understand the variance between the civil society effectiveness in the developed and developing worlds, it is important to consider issues as the context, as well as, the nature and character of civil society organizations, as these have bearings on their potential to contribute to states' development.

In Africa, civil societies assume a markedly different character from that in most western liberal contexts, which is the reflection of underlying social and economic conditions, as well as, the historical and political circumstances of countries. Prevailing factors as ethnic and kinship structures, the legacy of colonialism, the pattern of economic development, and authoritarian forms of political rule basically, gave rise to civil societies in Africa (Obadare, 2014). This pattern of development differs markedly from the voluntary associational form characterized in the western developed contexts. In addition, as much as these factors gave rise to the civil society in Africa, their continued presence or absence have implications for the extent of their effectiveness in terms of both their vibrancy and participation in states' governance. The variance in these issues across the African context alone means that, it holds on contextualized scientific studies to reveal the role of civil societies in individual African countries, which can help throw light on the overall effectiveness of civil society on the continent. In this regard, this study which focuses specifically on Ghana to examine CSO's contribution to policymaking in the oil industry represents a contextualized study that sheds light on the effectiveness of the civil society not only in Ghana but Africa as well. Therefore, it contributes to literature about the civil societies effectiveness in both contexts.

Also, there is a significance to be drawn from the sector focus in terms of the study context. As discussed earlier, oil is new to the Ghana's resource industry, and it represents the current focus of attention for both the government and citizens with regards to the country's development agenda. The inexperience of the country in the oil extraction field, means that it is still laying down requisite mechanisms to ensure the achievement of set goals with regards to resource production. In view of the civil society proving to be a significant contributor to democratic growth, as well as, helping improve policies and lives in Ghana, they could yet have a contribution to make in the

oil resource development, which the study seeks to unveil. Coupled with this, the resource curse direction, which continues to cause the state's alienation from the citizens in terms of resource benefits, has brought the important role of civil society to the fore. In this regard, their contribution may even be a necessity to help arrest the deteriorating situation in terms of contributing to policy formulation about the resource utilization that addresses the needs of Ghanaian citizens. With the objective to unravel their role, the study therefore throws light on the contribution of the civil society in the Ghanaian oil industry, which can also inform the effectiveness of CSOs on policy and governance in the Ghanaian context and beyond. With the focus on a context which constitutes a new and developing country in the oil resource industry, the study also contributes to existing knowledge on the civil society and resource governance.

1.8 Organization of Study

This dissertation is structured into six chapters. The next chapter gives further overview about the study context, outlining the landscape of Ghana's civil society activism and oil industry. Further insight about the civil society organization(CSPOG) under study is given, highlighting on the motives and goals for its emergence. Chapter 3 focuses on reflections about the methodological issues adopted for the study. In chapter 4, the conceptual approach is presented. Here, the Advocacy Coalition Framework and other relevant concepts are discussed in connection to the study. Chapter 5 deals with presentation and analysis of study findings. The final chapter, presents the summary and concluding remarks.

Chapter 2. Review of Ghana's Civil Society Activism and Interest in the Oil Industry

This chapter gives a review of civil society activism in Ghana. It further gives an overview of the country's oil and gas industry and highlights the motives and goals of the CSPOG as a civil society organization. As an avenue for citizen participation, CSOs in Ghana hold interests and contribute to issues ranging from the country's democratic consolidation to its economic development. With their interests, the emergent oil industry of which, major stakeholders include the government, private companies and the citizens, constitute an area where the civil society aim to make progressive inputs. In this regard, the CSPOG especially has emerged as an influential contributor to the development of frameworks and policies in the industry.

2.1 Civil Society Activism in Ghana

Ghana's civil society organizations that operate in the social and political sphere between individual, families, clans and ethnic groups, on the one hand, and the state and its agencies, on the other, feature prominently in affairs of governance (Gyimah-Boadi et al., 2000). Currently in existence in the country is a dense network of civil society organizations which range from voluntary, professional and charitable associations; community and faith-based groups to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and policy research think tanks. Also, included are trade unions (TUC)²¹, student groups, and traditional social groups such as chiefs and queen mothers' associations (Debrah & Graham, 2015; Gyimah-Boadi & Prempeh, 2012). These associations which operate in arenas of un-coerced collective actions around shared interests, have actively played a key role in affairs which coalesce across social, political and economic domains of the country. As indicated earlier, nationalist groups such as Aborigines' Rights Protection Society and the Fante Confederation were at the forefront in the country's struggle for independence. Together with others like the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM), they also championed for local economic interests in the face of expatriate-control over commodity markets (Debrah & Graham, 2015). Despite their activism facilitating independence, and their vibrancy being

²¹ The Trades Union Congress (TUC) is association of workers in Ghana which constitute the main umbrella organization for trade union activities in Ghana.

somewhat distorted as a result of post independent power struggles, the civil society's relevance re-emerged in the period preceding and following the transition to multiparty democracy. In the run up to democratization in 1992, their activism featured prominently in two spheres. One was pro-democracy CSOs, made up of groups such as the Ghana Bar Association, National Union of Ghana Students and the Christian Council. The other was CSOs that sought to consolidate the then existing order of military power. These CSO's comprised of what Draah (2003), terms "Governmental Non-Governmental Organizations" (cited in Darkwa et al, 2006, p. 23).

Literature about Ghanaian civil society activism in the post democratic era have pointed to the lack of access to information as a major problem which enforces the weakness of the civil society's vibrancy(Akwetey, 2005; Robinson & Friedman, 2005). This is highlighted by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report that, poor access to critical information weakens the overall capacity of the civil society to proactively engage state institutions on many important issues of concern (UNDP, 2007, p. 171). This regardless, the civil society have continued to remain relevant following the shift to democracy and legal reforms in favor of freedoms of association, speech and media.

In the period after democratic transition in 1992, support from international donors facilitated the emergence of many CSO's with a new focus on providing social services to Ghanaians. Darkwa et al. (2006), note that, the service provision focus of CSO's emerged in response to the state's limited capacity to adequately deal with the increasing socio-economic problems that came with structural adjustment reforms. Thus, in the period between the early 1990s to early 2000s, many CSOs came into existence with major focus on service delivery. As outlined in the 2013 report of Civil Society Index on Ghana (CIVICUS), CSOs provided water, education and health facilities among others, to the Ghanaian citizenry. Their work in service delivery was heavily dependent on donor funding, which grew their work especially in areas like education, gender, HIV/AIDS, human rights and poverty. For instance the UN Global Fund against HIV and AIDS in the 1990s encouraged the formation of CSOs to facilitate the delivery of its project to communities(CIVICUS, 2013). CSO's vibrancy in this respect reflected the international thinking that, citizen accountability can help improve the provision of public services like education, health, water, and international initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals and debt cancellation (Lomazzi, Borisch, & Laaser, 2014).

Despite many organizations' active involvement in the service provision sector, a few others, which were mostly based in Accra²² concentrated on policy and advocacy issues. However, in the years following 2000, civil society activism shifted from mostly service delivery to active public policy advocacy and engagement. Coupled with pressure from donors, the increased credibility of CSOs through their development contributions encouraged their engagement with government. This led to the formation of active and vocal thematic CSO coalitions/networks on decentralization, education, governance, health and water. There also emerged strong research and policy analysis CSOs that produced credible research and analysis, which were used by government and organizations concerned with public expenditure tracking (Gyimah-Boadi & Markovits, 2008).

As pointed earlier, donors have facilitated the creation of an enabling environment for associational activism. This has majorly been achieved through the provision of funds and conditionalities for civil society participation that comes with assistance programs to states.²³ Criticisms have arisen that, this has forced the hand of governments to engage the civil society in matters which they would not, thus rendering such process tokenistic and an approach aimed at appeasing donors (Darkwa et al, 2006). Nevertheless, towards the effective state development agenda, the growth of the civil society facilitated by donors have yielded positive results. The emergence of a plethora of CSO's such as faith based organizations, pressure groups, policy think tanks, research organizations among others, have worked to improve issues on human rights, democratic development and gender rights. As reported in Civil Society Index-Rapid Assessment on Ghana, the contribution of CSOs to governance in Ghana continue to grow especially in the area of influencing public policy (CIVICUS, 2013).

For instance, in the democratic era, the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) has collaborated with the oppositionists to secure amendments to several legislations that aim to protect citizens' rights and freedoms. Also, the Trade Union Congress (TUC) with the support of other groups and the media

²² Accra is the capital city of Ghana

²³ For instance the International Monetary Fund (IMF) included a requisite for active participation of CSO's in the Ghana poverty reduction strategy (GPRS) program which the government of Ghana had to adhere to if funds for the program was to progress further. Also, in education and health Donors, international CSOs, and CSO coalitions have enabled the Ministry of Education to gradually include CSO representatives in performance review processes.

have advanced civic education across the country (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996).²⁴ Furthermore, gender advocacy groups like the Coalition of Women’s Rights NGOs have contributed to gender specific policies like the ‘Domestic Violence Bill’ which was passed into law in 2007 (Abdulai, 2009). Similar advocacy programs by CSOs has also seen the addition of family planning to the National Health Insurance Bill (CIVICUS, 2013). Among these, the rise of think tanks has added credence to civil society activities and their impact. Policy think tanks such as the, Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA), Africa Center for Energy Policy (ACEP), IMANI Ghana, Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA), among others, have actively worked to promote good governance. Debrah and Graham (2015) hold that, their impact is not only manifested in setting the agenda and advocating for policies on gender and economic issues, but they have also monitored six successive and peaceful general elections.

Overall, the Civil society has, and continue to contribute to the design and implementation of several economic and social policies. As another field of interest, they continue to provide social services including humanitarian activities to help the deprived through health and poverty reduction programs(Debrah & Graham, 2015). In the wake of the country’s discovery of oil deposits and its subsequent production, the civil society’s attention has been brought to bear in the oil industry with a definitive objective to ensure that, the resource is utilized for the benefit of Ghanaians amid the existence of possible individual parochial interests.

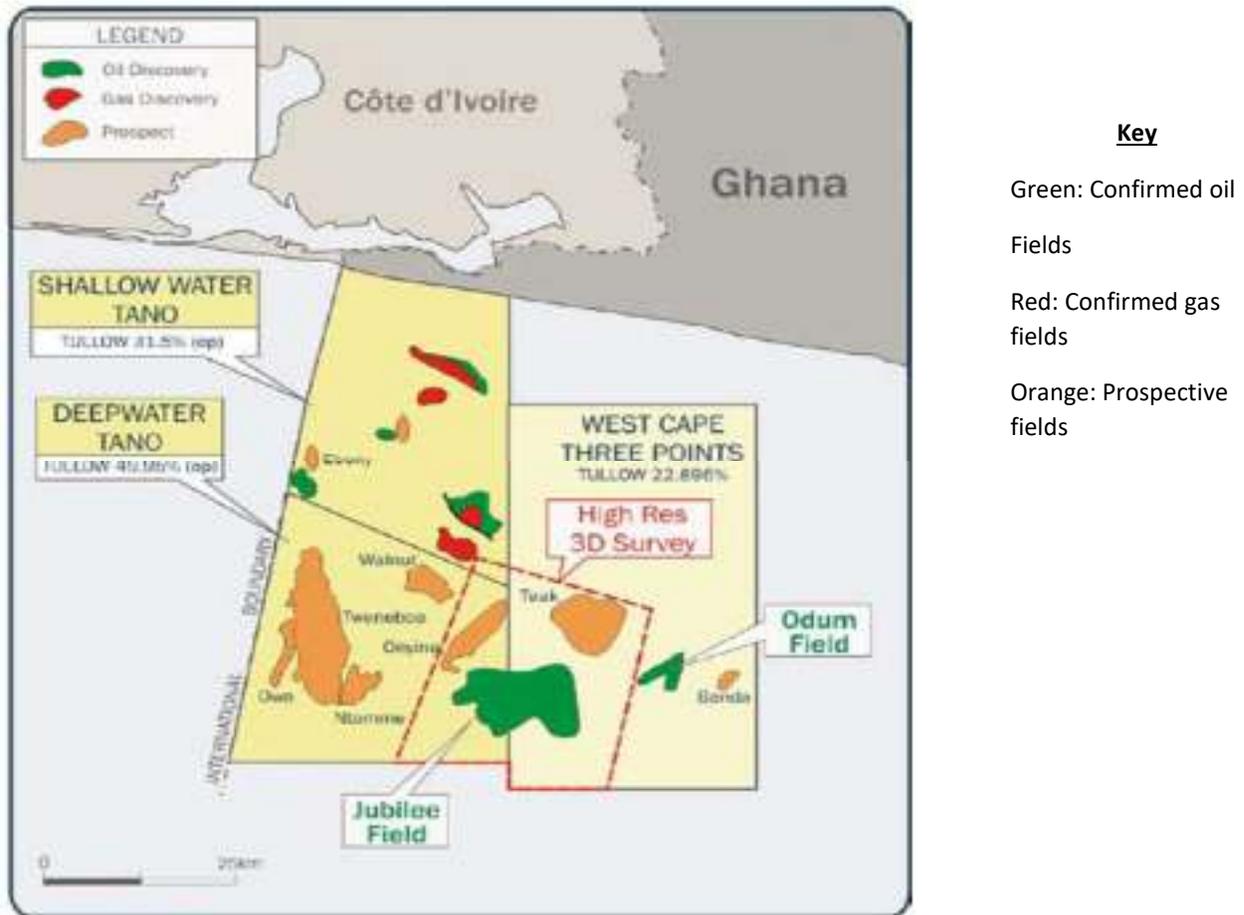
2.2 Ghana’s Oil Industry

Ghana currently owns two oil fields of production named the Jubilee field where FPSO Nkrumah (Floating Production, Storage and Offloading) is located at Saltpond.²⁵ In addition to production, there are a number of drilling activities ongoing in the country. In total, exploration companies have discovered more than 15 wells in the western region of Ghana’s sea territory with further search ongoing(Kastning, 2011).

²⁴ Also see Debrah, E., & Graham, E. (2015). Preventing the Oil Curse Situation in Ghana: The Role of Civil Society Organisations. *Insight on Africa*, 7(1), 21-41.

²⁵ The Tweneboa field (6 km east of Jubilee) was also discovered in March 2009. It has been confirmed that this field also holds a big amount of oil reserves.

Figure 1: Overview of Jubilee Field Unit Area



Source: Annan and Edu-Afful (2015)

The oil industry in Ghana is operational within three sectors; upstream, mid-stream, and downstream. The upstream sector, which is also referred to as the exploration and production (E&P) sector deals with the aspect of the value chain involved in crude oil and natural gas recovery and production. The mid-stream sector involves all activities between the oil well head and the refinery. Such activities include the transportation of oil from fields such as Jubilee to onshore refineries and the storage of petroleum. The downstream sector involves onshore operations that revolve around refining, distributing, and marketing of petroleum products. Legally, the government of Ghana through the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum; and Parliament regulate all three sectors of the industry. In fact, the state holds the primary responsibility for administering all natural resources within the boundaries of Ghana, regardless the owner of the given resource or

their location. This is enjoined in article 257, clause six of the 1992 constitution of Ghana which states that; '[e]very mineral in its natural state in, under or upon any land in Ghana, rivers, streams, water sources throughout Ghana, the exclusive economic zone and any area covered by the territorial sea or continental shelf is the property of the Republic of Ghana and shall be vested in the President on behalf of, and in trust for the people'.²⁶ Thus, the oil reserves found within the territory of Ghana, both on- and offshore, remains the exclusive preserve of the state, with the president holding it in trust for the people.

While the state holds the right of ownership of the resource, it essentially lacks the expertise to explore, and produce it. Therefore, it has partnered with foreign companies with the requisite expertise to explore and extract it. Currently, companies like Tullow oil and Gas; Kosmos Energy and Anadarko Petroleum Corporation are major foreign companies that hold rights to exploration, development and production of the country's oil reserves(Kastning, 2011). Government through Ghana National Petroleum Corporation(GNPC) and the Tema Oil Refinery, also maintain rights to exploration and production of the resource. However, the major role it has assigned itself within the sector, is the formulation and implementation, as well as, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation of laws and policies (Annan & Edu-Afful, 2015). Towards the national development agenda, the state has strategically placed itself in this position as an approach to ensuring the sustainable management and utilization of these resources for socio-economic growth and development of the country. In practical terms, the state is responsible for policy formulation, supervision of the sector (which includes co-ordination, monitoring, evaluation, and validation of policies, programs and projects) and negotiations with development partners.

Presiding over the country's natural resources, the state has a critical role to play in ensuring that oil revenues are appropriately used for national development. This it has sought to undertake since the discovery in 2007. It has played diverse roles in the governance of the oil sector, including promulgating the necessary legal frameworks, monitoring and evaluating oil exploration activities, managing revenues, developing policies and programs, building capacity and undertaking training(Annan & Edu-Afful, 2015). Furthermore, to meet the expectations of Ghanaians, the government has introduced institutional mechanisms to ensure the effective management of oil revenues. As noted by Debrah and Graham (2015) these mechanisms would not all have been

²⁶The 1992 Ghana constitution

possible without the contributions from other stakeholders such as civil society organizations, which have time and again worked to ensure that issues of transparency, accountability and effective management of resources are ensured for the benefit of the citizenry.

2.2.1 Stakeholders in the Oil Industry

The discussion above shows that, major stakeholders in the Ghanaian oil industry include the state represented by the government; and private companies which are engaged in extractive activities of the sector. This is affirmed by Cavnar (2008), who identifies three key stakeholders in the oil sector including, oil companies, government and the citizens. The government and oil companies hold direct access to, and control over oil revenues. However, the citizenry does not, but yet constitute the stakeholder which is hardest hit when resources are not managed properly. By the social contract theory, supported by the national constitution, one may point that the government as an entity represent the interest of citizens with regards to benefits accruing from the sector. Indeed, efforts by the Ghanaian government to establish institutional frameworks and policies to ensure effective governance of the industry at best, are aimed at meeting the needs of its citizens and accelerating the development of the country.

It remains true that government with its institutions, policies and regulatory frameworks are essential if the resource is to be effectively managed for the benefit of the country. However, the credibility of these structures and processes is also important. Furthermore, the motivation for political elites to submit themselves to legal provisions and procedures is not automatic. It can even be possible that high revenues emanating from oil proceeds present a huge incentive for political elite to circumvent institutional frameworks and processes to channel revenues for their personal gain. This may lead to instances of corruption, economic distortions and increased popular alienation from the state. Therefore, the challenge remains, about how key stakeholders especially government representatives vested with the powers that be, can credibly be motivated, to disburse and allocate resource revenues equitably. As noted by Debrah and Graham (2015), one of the surest ways of overcoming such challenges is fostered through the activism of independent social groups, which mobilize forces to create conditions that enhance transparency and accountability in the production and management of oil wealth. In effect, there is a key role to be played by independent citizen groups in the governance of the resource, if the needs of the citizens and the country are to remain as the highest agenda. In this light, the role of civil society

organizations which constitute independent social groups is brought to bear in Ghana's oil governance landscape.

2.3 The Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas (CSPOG)

Ghana's civil society organizations have differed individually in terms of their interests and issues pursued. They have pursued and advocated about issues of concern that include the provision of services, promotion of gender issues, promotion of democratic values as good governance, influencing public policies among others. However, when the country discovered its hydrocarbons, the general consensus was for the development of the resource such that, its utilization will reflect in the accelerated development of the country and its citizens. Proven to be a formidable arena that continued to make immense contribution to the country's development process, Ghanaian CSOs sought to get aboard the development agenda of utilizing the oil resource for the benefit of Ghanaians. This they sought to do through engagements with government and other stakeholders about efficient management of the resource. This pragmatism on their part was informed by issues as the experience of neighboring countries which had been gifted with the resource, but had found themselves in the resource curse situation. With the resource constituting something anew to the country, the civil society lacked expertise and experience in oil business(Debrah & Graham, 2015). Those that possessed knowledge in the field remained few. To ensure a meaningful contribution to the sector, it was necessary for the CSOs to pool their individual expertise and resources together. Therefore, the need for partnership in order to constitute a formidable stakeholder in terms of contributing towards national development, brought different CSO together to form a coalition group. This resulted in the formation of the Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas (CSPOG) in 2009.

The organization was the product of a civil society consultative meeting organized in Mankessim, a town in the Central Region of the country in 2008, ahead of the maiden Ghana Oil for Development Conference, which was organized in the same year by the Government of Ghana and its development partners.²⁷ As a new oil rich country, the Oil for Development Conference was aimed to solicit input into the development of governance framework for the resource. However, civil society participation in this government-led conference was restricted to only a handful of

²⁷ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

organizations.²⁸ Therefore, the Mankessim forum became necessary to serve the purpose of mobilizing the input of a larger civil society for submission to the government-led conference. It made it possible for interested groups and individuals in the oil industry, to learn more about it, and make informed contribution to public discourses around oil governance. At the forum, the realization dawned that a common reference point for consulting with Ghanaian civil society on matters of petroleum policy and legislation was needed to facilitate effective engagement from government and other stakeholders. It was also recognized that, to realize the desired impact on the petroleum sector governance, it was expedient that, the civil society found a way to harmonize their positions, as well as, coordinate their voices and actions.²⁹ With support from Hewlett Foundation and Oxfam America, the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC), which was tasked by the forum to facilitate the creation of such a platform, launched the CSPOG in 2009. The CSPOG effectively became a non-governmental organization that presents a platform for knowledge sharing and conveying the voices and actions of Ghanaian CSOs in the oil and Gas sector. It was constituted by 120 individuals and 60 CSOs which included Gender, Organized Labor Groups, Faith Based, Media Representatives and Community Based Groups.

Their overarching goal is to see an active and engaged civil society capable of articulating citizens' demands, and an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of oil resources.³⁰ ISODEC which facilitated its formation hosts and serves as the fiscal agent of the CSPOG, and the affairs of the Platform are managed by a 7-member national steering committee, which approves its budgets and oversee implementation.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has given an overview of civil society activism and the oil industry in Ghana. With regard to the civil society, discussion has narrowed further to the formation of the CSPOG which is the subject of this study. Ghana currently controls an industry which is divided into three domains; upstream, middle stream and downstream. These domains together involve processes from oil exploration to its sale, which is controlled by the state. In addition to the state, other major stakeholders in the sector include private companies and the citizens. While the state exercise overall control of the sector, private companies with their expertise hold rights to exploration and

²⁸ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

²⁹ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

³⁰ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

production of the resource. The citizens on their part hold expectations for the resource to be utilized to accelerate the country's development. Inspired by the potential of the resource to be utilized for national development, civil society organizations have endeavored to contribute to the agenda of the oil resource for national development. As a measure to make meaningful contribution they have come together to form a coalition in the form of CSPOG with the goal to articulate citizens' demands and ensure that the state is effective, responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of the hydrocarbons. Overall the aim of the state with regard to oil production is to realize accelerated national development through the resource production, and citizen groups through the CSPOG also seek to contribute to the realization of this agenda.

Chapter 3. Methodological Framework

This chapter discusses methodological issues. It focuses on issues such as, the study area, choice of research methodology; informant selection and size; data collection techniques and justifications for the utilization of the specific techniques.

3.1 Study Area

Fieldwork for the study was conducted in Accra, the administrative and commercial capital of Ghana. The city has an estimated urban population of 2.27 million.³¹ Being the main administrative capital, Accra hosts most of the head offices of major public and private institutions including those in the extractive sector. Both state institutions and private companies involved in activities of the oil sector such as the Ministry of Energy and Petroleum, Petroleum Commission, Tullow Ghana, Kosmos Energy etc. have their main offices situated in the country's capital. Most importantly, many civil society organizations especially those interested in policy issues about the oil sector also have their offices in Accra. Among them is the office of CSPOG which constitute the unit of analysis for the study. Several member organizations of the CSPOG such as ACEP, ISODEC, IDEG etc. also have their head offices in the capital. As the administrative city for major stakeholders, a lot of activities and programs in oil industry including that of the CSPOG take place in Accra. Thus, the city was chosen as the study area because it provided the field for easy access to informants.

3.2 Methodology

This study was based on the qualitative research methodology. As defined by Creswell (2007), qualitative study is a process of scientific inquiry which explore issues and try to understand phenomena by finding answers to questions in more descriptive detail. The attempt to make sense of, or interpret phenomena with this approach, is drawn from the meanings people attach to them, and this is done by building a complex holistic picture formed with words, and reporting in detail, the views of informants in their natural setting. The exploratory nature of the approach fell in line with the study objective which sought to explore and understand the contribution of CSOs to policy in the Ghanaian oil industry. In exploring these issues, meaning about the civil society activism in

³¹ See <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/ghana-population/>

policymaking was drawn from perspectives of the CSOs themselves through the CSPOG. As a method that seeks to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions about a phenomenon (Yin, 2009), the qualitative method was deemed suitable for the study because, I sought to explore and understand why the CSPOG indulges in policy issues in the sector. In addition, I ascertained its contributory mechanisms/strategies to influence the decisions of policymakers within the oil policy subsystem. Therefore, the qualitative approach presented the suitable methodology that facilitated a better understanding of issues in this study.

Furthermore, the qualitative research process has variously been described as iterative, emergent, simultaneous and flexible (Holliday, 2007). Unlike the quantitative approach, the flexibility of the approach coupled with other features, I believe served my research objective in good stead. This is because, as a researcher, I was new to the chosen field of study. I was venturing into an unfamiliar territory with much uncertainty about how things would shape out in the research. Given this uncertainty, the method presented the best suited approach which defined my fieldwork. It guided my selection of informants, and also gave me the flexibility to reformulate my questions during interviews in the best ways that adequately reflected the realities in the field.

While the approach proved suitable for my research, its usefulness in studies about the civil society is also not to be underestimated. In their study about the contribution of civil society to democratization in Africa, Robinson and Friedman (2005) for example, drew their findings from empirical case studies of Ghana, Uganda and South Africa using the qualitative methods of research. The success of the study and others like Akwetey (2005) and Obadare (2014) buttress the qualitative approach as an appropriate methodology for research about the civil society in Africa, which also proved relevant for this study. Overall, in the attempt to achieve the study objective, I sought an in-depth, intensive and inter-subjective approach rather than an extensive and a numerical one. The qualitative method in this light, presented the best suited approach.

3.3 Informants

3.3.1. Informant Selection

The study targeted members of the civil society interested in policy issues in the governance of Ghana’s oil resource. With the aim to obtain the most variable data possible from such informants, the criteria for their selection was simple. Informants had to be active and abreast with issues of governance in the oil sector. In view of this, informants for the study were purposefully sampled.

As noted by Patton (1990), individuals are considered for selection with this sampling procedure because they are “information rich” (p.169). I also employed snowball sampling as a means to enhance the relevancy of informants for the study. Defined by Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), snowball sampling involves recruiting participants for a study through the information provided by other participants who have already been selected for the study. While establishing contact with members of the CSPOG, I further inquired and utilized the information they provided me to recruit other participants for the study.

3.3.2 Informant Size

I initially planned for the number of between 5-10 informants for the study. In the end, 5 informants from civil society groups including that from the selected unit of analysis (CSPOG), served as the primary source of information for the study. In terms of statistics, this size cannot provide a representative sample for a study that seeks generalization of findings. However, that is not the purpose of a qualitative study. Mason (2010) notes that, samples for qualitative studies are much smaller than those used in quantitative studies. This is because in such studies, it is not general opinions that are sought. Rather, the objective is to obtain insight which in this study, is about the civil society’s contribution towards policymaking in Ghana’s oil industry. Also, a few number of informants made it is easier to ensure that, differences between their views were not lost in generalizations. Furthermore, a small number facilitated the advantage of opening up space for analysis of the diversity and richness in the data collected.

Again, the focus of the study was on the activism of one civil society organization and its member groups. Given that the interest and goals of the organization and its members were aligned in terms of pursuing a common agenda in the given resource sector, the probability of responses being similar was high. Thus, a large sample size proved unnecessary because it would have led to wastage of precious time which would also not add to the quality of the study. This actually manifested at a progressed point of data collection in the field when data saturation became evident. As explained by Ritchie, Lewis, and Elam (2003), this is the point where additional data does not necessarily provide any added information on an issue under investigation. In the end, I deemed satisfactory, the quality and depth of information obtained from the field with the given number of informants.

Gaining Access

Data collection began from the office of the CSPOG where I planned to make contact with other informants for the study. It must be established that, few days prior to fieldwork, I contacted the organization through email and requested for research with the support of documentation from my academic institution. My request was not replied, which placed my fieldwork in a state of uncertainty. I proceeded into the field virtually as a stranger because despite being a Ghanaian, and knowing my way around, I lacked information about the organization and other potential informants. Essentially, I also lacked a contact person in the given field of study, who could be helpful in terms of locating the organization and other participants for the study.

Nevertheless, upon further enquiries when I got to the field, I was able to locate and schedule a meeting with the chairman of the organization, who was receptive and accommodating. True to my anticipation, the organization also provided me with names of 7 member organizations which I could further contact for interviews. Out of this number of organizations contacted, I was able to conduct interviews with 4 upon locating their offices. All the organizations I contacted showed their willingness to participate in my study. However, for those who did not make my informant list, their continual postponement of meeting times during the timeframe for the fieldwork accounted for their inability to partake. This proved a new experience for me because prior to fieldwork, I held the view that CSOs in Ghana were a ready source of information. However, the observation gathered from my experience was that, they are very busy organizations who are always undertaking research on their own, and this affects their availability to partake in the research of others. Nevertheless, the CSOs I interviewed, showed a great willingness to help me with the information I needed, and gave me ample time to hold discussions with them. This proved vital for my study.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

The qualitative method seek knowledge and understanding of phenomena through various means. Yin (2009), identifies six sources of qualitative data which include: archival records, documents, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artifacts. For this study, interviews and document analysis were employed as the means for collecting data.

3.4.1 Interviews

Interview is a method employed by researchers when they seek to attain deep knowledge and insightful explanations about a phenomenon, from the perspective of the subject (Corbetta, 2003). The study sought to examine with the aim to gain insightful knowledge about how civil society organizations negotiate existing structures to see their interests reflect in policies. This requires the views of participants to be verbally articulated and conveyed to be made understandable for others, which is best tapped through direct one on one interviews (Kvale, 2006). Thus, interview presented the suitable method, which constituted my primary method for data collection.

Conducting Interviews

Interviews for the study were conducted between January and February 2017. As mentioned earlier, interviews from 5 informants sampled from civil society groups served as the primary source of information. It included an interview with the chairman of the CSPOG. In addition, interviews were conducted with informants drawn from the following member groups of the organization: Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC), Africa Centre for Energy Policy(ACEP), Penplusbytes and Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). Interviews lasted between 30 and 50 minutes, and each was held once at the premises of the mentioned organizations. To capture as much detail as possible, field notes and tape recordings were also taken with the permission of all informants. The serene and conducive environment provided at the offices of these organizations enhanced the quality of interviews and subsequent analysis of data. It also provided the natural setting for informants to comfortably talk about important issues for the study. I was able to probe for additional information in instances where I considered them relevant in the serene settings. In the subsequent analysis of data, the lack of background noise and other distractions facilitated by the research settings, also contributed to the effective transcribing of interviews.

Choice of Interview Guide

There are three types of interviews which include structured, unstructured and semi structured interviews(Bryman, 2012). Due to the exploratory nature of the study, interviews were not approached with a predetermined hypothesis. The purpose was to understand the civil society's contributions to policy about the given resource from their own perspectives. Doing this, required tapping into the personal views of members of the organization about its contributions to

policymaking in the resource sector. Longhurst (2003) notes that, with such objectives, it is important to give participants the opportunity to talk freely about issues they consider important and relevant about the research topic. In this regard, the semi-structured interview presented the useful guide which was employed to generate information from informants. This type of interview is conducted in a conversational manner and participants are given the freedom to answer questions in their own words rather than a predefined 'yes' or 'no' answer (Longhurst, 2003). This approach enabled me to open up the space for my informants to talk about issues they considered relevant which contributed to enhancing the quality of my study.

Two semi-structured interview guides (see appendix 1 and 2) were used during interviews. One set contained questions for my main informant from the CSPOG, and the other for officials from member organizations. I checked and modified the interview guide, adding or deleting some questions as I moved from one discussion to the other, in order to extract the best information, I considered relevant for the study. Overall, interviews conducted were successful. I felt that my informants were comfortable and had the chance to express themselves freely and openly about the organization's goals and its work in the oil policy arena.

3.4.2 Documents

As a secondary source of data, documents from various sources were utilized to support the primary data. In this regard, documents titled '*The Pursuit of Benefit Maximization in Ghana's oil and Gas Sector*'; '*Ghana's Oil and Gas Licensing Regime*'; '*Status of Oil and Gas Governance in Ghana*'; '*Value for Money Analysis of Oil Funded Projects in Ghana*'; represent civil society publications and reports about the Ghanaian oil sector. These documents which were obtained from organizations in the field were used as a secondary source of data. In addition, information from books and relevant literature from internet sources were employed to supplement the primary data. Taken together, these sources of additional data yielded a pool of background information and the contextual understanding which was utilized to support the narratives of individual participants.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the process of "examining, categorizing, tabulating or testing" evidence to address the initial proposition or objective of a study (Yin, 2003, p. 109). As noted by King, Keohane, and Verba (2001), qualitative research, often facilitates the generation of large but rich

set of data. The difficulties which arise in identifying analytical paths from the richness in information means that, researchers must take caution to ensure that the richness in attained data, also reflect in their relevance for the chosen academic study. In the effort to carry out a true analysis of data for this study, I utilized strategies as thematic data analysis, and qualitative content analysis.

After attaining information through interview recordings, the data was transcribed manually. Here, I acknowledge difficulties in transcribing every line or word. However, in doing this, I carried out a comprehensive treatment of all pieces of relevant data that ensured the true representation of informant views. Relevant themes were identified from the transcribed data and grouped in accordance to how they relate to each other. Drawing from the categorized themes, topics were generated in relation to the research questions which were further discussed in connection with the concepts and theories utilized for the study. The data was analyzed through the use of documents and narratives of informants. Therefore, direct quotations from them were used to establish or support relevant issues as part of analysis of data. Also, the triangulation of data sources (see Yin, 2009), facilitated the close alignment of descriptions with the actual responses from informants for the study. It is however important to establish that, there may probably be other methods, which I could have employed to further enhance the quality of the study. Nevertheless, I believe that the ones chosen were sufficient in serving my research intentions to good effect.

3.6 Study Quality

It is argued that the qualitative approach, unlike the quantitative, comes with challenges in addressing essential quality requirement issues as validity and reliability in scientific research (Yin, 2003). Yet these checks are essential to achieving true scientific research, thus qualitative researchers must take measures to address. Akin to this generally held notion, this study has sought to undertake measures to enhance issues of validity and reliability which are further enunciated. According to Yin (2009), logical tests which can be used to assess the quality of any given research design include; construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability.

3.6.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity deals with establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied (Yin 2009). This study through the theoretical lens of the Advocacy Coalition Framework seeks to gain insight into the issue of the civil society's contribution to policymaking in the Ghana's oil sector. In this light, clear and concise definitions/meanings have been established with

key concepts like the advocacy coalition framework, civil society, policymaking, policy subsystem, agenda setting, policy formulation etc. These definitions have enhanced the construct validity of the study by providing general understanding of the research problem.

Furthermore, construct validity of the study has been improved with use of multiple sources of data as interviews and documents. As noted by Yin (2009), construct validity is enhanced when data for a study is generated from multiple sources including but not limited to interviews and documents.

3.6.2 External Validity

External validity relates to establishing the domain to which this study finding can be generalized beyond the immediate case study (Yin, 2009). It deals with replication of results, in terms of the reproduction of similar findings when another researcher adopts the study procedures. This study aimed to make analytical rather than statistical generalization of a selected case. The CSPOG was selected to reflect a contributory stakeholder within Ghana's oil policy subsystem. Thus, the findings from this study could be generalizable to other policy subsystems that exhibit same features as that of the oil industry in Ghana. Furthermore, the study findings can be generalized for oil policy subsystems in some developing countries to some extent since most developing countries have some common characteristics.

3.6.3 Reliability

Reliability, deals with issues of whether the results of a study are repeatable or whether the study can be copied in terms of its approaches and methods by other studies to generate similar findings (Yin, 2009). One way of enhancing the reliability of a study is making the procedures for investigation documented. In this regard, specific procedures of a study related to issues like data collection methods, analysis and interpretation should be made public (King et al., 2001). In this study, the elaborate measure in highlighting in detail these issues in discussions above thus enhance the reliability of the work. Furthermore, interview guides which reveal the pattern of questioning used in generating data from informants (see appendix 1 and 2) also enhanced the study in this light.

Combining these elaborate measures, I believe the quality of the study has been enhanced in terms of its validity and reliability regardless limitations.

3.7 Limitations

There are no perfect research designs (Patton, 1990). As part of every research, there exist inherent limitations. This study is also not immune from some limitations, which is acknowledged.

The major limitation stems from the focus of the study. The study sought to understand the civil society's policy contribution to Ghana's oil industry. There was definitely the attempt to approach the study from the comprehensive point of an umbrella organization as CSPOG- an inclusive venture which from the general point act to trigger, convey and coordinate civil society action towards systemic and transformational change in the oil sector. However, the study findings cannot be taken to reflect the perspectives, activities or programs of all Ghanaian CSOs about their role towards the oil sector. Thus, despite the study's enhanced external validity, there exist an inherent limitation in terms of the generalizability since it cannot be representative of the role of all civil societies in the governance of oil resources in Ghana.

Also, due to the exploratory nature of this study, internal validity³² issue was not addressed because the object was not explanatory or to establish causal relation. This represent a limitation to the study which affect many other qualitative studies(Merriam, 1995).

3.8 Ethical Issues- The Roles of Researcher and Participants in Affecting Quality of Study

In a qualitative study, the data-gathering instrument is frequently the researcher himself. Therefore, the researcher's position, if unchecked, may have the effect of influencing the trustworthiness of data considerably. According to Brink (1993), the position of the researcher can be that of an 'outsider' where s/he is considered not familiar with a group or setting s/he is researching or that of a participant group member (Insider). These roles depending on how the researcher adopts them, come with advantages such as gaining access and the trust of research participants, as well as, information. However, it may also affect research negatively by influencing the researcher's ability to objectively view field events which may develop into researcher biases in a study (Hellowell, 2006). Researcher bias may also be introduced by the tendency of the researchers to observe

³² Internal validity means establishing a causal relationship in a study, "whereby certain conditions are shown to lead to other conditions" (Yin, 2009. P. 40).

subjects and interpret findings in the light of their own values, and the tendency to selectively observe and record certain data at the expense of other data (Mruck & Breuer, 2003).

On the part of research participants, a major issue of concern relates to their trustworthiness as they may seek to reveal themselves in the best possible light or withhold or distort certain information in ways that serve their interests. Brink (1993), holds that it is important for the researcher to be aware of these dynamics in research so as to ensure a trustworthy and credible research outcome. I therefore reflect on how I perceived and negotiated my path in the field as a researcher in the effort to emerge with a credible study.

Regarding the aspect of researcher's position, I considered myself as holding the positions of both the insider and outsider in my study. This is because my prior readings about the working of CSOs in the Ghanaian oil industry had equipped me with information which positioned me as an 'insider' (Hellowell, 2006). However, to the extent that I was not privy to the actual operations or a member of CSOs in the sector, I was also an 'outsider'. These roles which were assigned was not by any conscious action of mine, but by virtue of my status as a researcher. While undertaking the study, I was consciously aware of these roles and sought to negotiate my research path so as to emerge with a quality and credible research. I knew that being an outsider researcher, I had to ensure the trust of my participants in order to gain access and attain the information I required. In this light, my personal letter of intent (Appendix 3), as well as, a letter of introduction from my institution (Appendix 4) which was presented to all organizations prior to interviews proved vital in gaining the trust of informants for the study. In addition to these documents, copies of my interview guide were sent along to informants in advance before interviews, so that, they could make informed decisions about their participation. This was also done to ensure that informants were comfortable in answering questions during interview sessions. While they were at liberty to stop interviews or decline answering questions they felt not obliged to, all my informants exhibited the willingness and freedom to answer the questions presented to them.

My informed knowledge about CSOs also meant that I had to constantly evaluate myself and work with the data returns from a neutral point. To ensure that findings are truly representative of the data collected, it is important to employ rigorous analytical tools that complement the adopted methods. In this light, methods employed in transcribing and analysis of data have been aimed at ensuring that the study findings are not reflexive of my personal views, but that of informants. In

other words, I may hold personal perspectives, but in the analysis of the study data, I have done it with strict measures to ensure that my words and meanings are not put into the accounts of informants. Overall, I believe detailed and reliable data was arrived at, which was the result of the methods adopted.

In assessing the trustworthiness of informant feedback, I have majorly compared it with documentary evidence, the results of which suggest that, it is correct information(see Brink, 1993). Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the fact that as a researcher, I am not in the position to ascertain the truthfulness about the information provided by my informants. My task is to reflect upon and present the views of my informants and with appropriate methods and concepts to emerge with a quality and credible study.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has shed light on the methodological framework for the study. Fieldwork for the study was conducted in Accra, the administrative and commercial capital of Ghana, which host the offices for major stakeholders in the oil sector including that of the CSPOG. In seeking the perspectives of members of the CSPOG about their contribution to policymaking in the oil industry, the qualitative approach was adopted by which interviews served as the primary data collection method. Overall, five interviews were conducted with the aid of semi-structured interview guides. In addition, documentary evidence obtained from CSOs, books and publication from internet sources served as the source of secondary data for the study. In ensuring the quality of data collected, interviews were conducted and analyzed personally by the researcher. Furthermore, strategies such as thematic data analysis, and qualitative content analysis were employed to ensure rigorous and objective analysis of field data. The researchers position in the field manifested in ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ roles which presented both benefits and challenges. Nevertheless, the awareness of these issues by the researcher ensured that, the study was carried out using appropriate methodologies while ethical standards were followed to emerge with a quality and credible study.

Chapter 4. Conceptual Approach

In this chapter I discuss theories and concepts adopted for the study. Specific concepts discussed include the civil society and policymaking. Furthermore, the advocacy coalition framework as a theoretical approach to the study is highlighted. Taken together, these theories provide the theoretical lens through which the civil society's contribution in the oil policy arena is understood in Ghana.

4.1 Conceptualizing the Civil Society

The meaning and parameters of civil society has been a debatable issue since its emergence in the seventeenth century. A wide diversity of outlook on the subject exists with varying ambiguities and contradictions. Many definitions of civil society distinguish it as a distinct sphere from the state and market. Others see it as producing a common good defined by groups and mobilized around social visions and values, in clear contrast with the state and market. In the same vein, some definitions see civil society as the sphere that complements and caters for failures of state and market provision.³³ Among the viewpoints enunciating on the meaning of the civil society is the neoliberal view, which is of much interest to the study. This outlook highlight on the development and application of the civil society in modern political regimes. However, to serve the purpose of usefulness and understanding, it is essential to develop a working definition of the concept and understand the historical progression of the term, what it stands for and what can be expected from it.

The civil society concept began from the philosophical point when Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) first used the word 'civil' as a reference to government.³⁴ He argued that as a solution to the anarchic state, human beings surrender their natural liberty in exchange for civil liberty by means of a 'social contract. In other words, the term was used to distinguish an established society from the chaotic and unpredictable state of nature that people would otherwise live in. Thus, the term 'civil' society was closely related to 'civilized'. With time, more societies began to reflect the definition of a 'civil society', and this necessitated its redefinition to prevent it from being lost

³³ See <https://www2.bc.edu/severyn-bruyn/CivilRepublic/appendixb.pdf>

³⁴ See <https://www2.bc.edu/severyn-bruyn/CivilRepublic/appendixb.pdf>

within the definition of a 'state'(Bruyn, 2005). The emergence of capitalism in the 19th century brought modifications to the concept from Karl Marx and Friedrich Hegel who essentially defined the civil society as an "arena of ethical life between the state and the family"(see Kaldor, 2003, p. 8).

The Civil Society Index(CIVICUS), which works to protect and grow the space of civil society around the world, has cited Marx's and Hegel's conceptualization as the most accurate(Keane, 2012). However, the concept's use and understanding has over the years continued to change. Post-Marxian definitions accept the state or rule of law view by Marx and Hegel, but go on further to define the civil society as 'active citizenship' through growing self-organization outside formal political circles. This is typified in a definition by sociologist, Edward Shils, who defines the civil society as constituting an autonomous realm in which people are engaged in acts of self-determination, safeguarded against the arbitrary and oppressive pressures of both the state and the organic primordial community.³⁵ Political economist Francis Fukuyama also defines it broadly as a complex welter of intermediate institutions, including businesses, voluntary associations, educational institutions, clubs, unions, media, charities, and churches that thrives upon people's habits, customs, and ethics (Fukuyama, 1995). According to Fukuyama, these attributes of members within the civil society can be shaped only indirectly through conscious political action and must be nourished through an increased awareness and respect for culture. In such definitions, the civil society is placed in contrast to the state, but more distinctly, the term is used to emphasize an avenue through which individuals or organized groups use political pressure to create change and influence the conditions of daily life.³⁶ As noted by Kaldor (2003), such definitions of the civil society also evoke the existence of a global public sphere for communication and the growth of transnational organizations and advocacy groups outside interstate relations.

From the general point of view, theoretical definitions of civil society adhere to the post- Marxian or 'activist' definition which emphasize distinction from the state, and this has served as a

³⁵ Edward Shils, "The Virtues of Civil Society," Government and Opposition cited in Bruyn, S. T. H. (2005). A civil republic: beyond capitalism and nationalism: Kumarian Press

³⁶ See also definition of political economist Francis Fukuyama who defines the civil society as a complex welter of intermediate institutions, including businesses, voluntary associations, educational institutions, clubs, unions, media, charities, and churches that thrives upon people's habits, customs, and ethics (Fukuyama, 1995). These attributes of members within the civil society can be shaped only indirectly through conscious political action and must be nourished through an increased awareness and respect for culture.

benchmark against which other definitions or conceptualizations are measured in recent times. However, any review of literature will reveal that, no two operational definitions of civil society are identical. In this light, the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project has sort to establish some consistency by mapping the contours of civil society in its global survey. It revealed five operational features which include; 1) organized operations; 2) private or separate from the state apparatus; 3) not profit-distributing; 4) self-governing; and 5) voluntary to participants(Salomon, Anheier, List, Toepler, & Sokolowski, 1999). Other scholars such as Benjamin Barber (1995), Salamon and Anheier (1997) and Taylor Rupert (2010) affirm these features as defining attributes of the civil society.

These parameters of the civil society have however not gone without contention especially in aspects concerning the non-state and nonprofit attribute. Critics have pointed out realities that many civil society organizations do hold strong ties to business and government interests. Rupert (2010), for example, points to the emergence of ‘neo-Tocquevillian’ studies which highlight the importance of how nonprofit and voluntary organizations, “cast as ‘civil society’, contribute to good citizenship through creating social capital” (p.4). Thus, while there seem to be an agreement about the parameters of the civil society some of their functions and roles in societies remain contentious. In this light, Lewis (2002) notes that its usefulness depends on how one utilizes a viewpoint to suit his/her specific field of interest. For the purpose of this study, the civil society is understood from neo liberal view which provide a contemporary outlook of the concept in practice.

4.1.1 Neoliberal Outlook to Civil Society Growth

The definition of civil society gained prominence throughout the establishment of the neoliberal ideals which is linked with the process of globalization. This reflects in the case of developing countries as Ghana. According to the neoliberal model, the civil society is shaped and understood as a function of globalization and democratization across the world. As explained by Thorsen and Lie (2006), neoliberalism as an ideology promotes the strengthening of democracy through a minimal state in terms of size and functions. Strengthening democracy from the neoliberal point, places focus on individualism, and increased political participation. Citizen participation and ‘bottom-up’ policy constitute mainstay virtues of democracy where the people are given the freedom to agree upon the laws that guide them (Kaldor, 2003). For the global spread of

democracy to be successful, neoliberalism advances the need for civil societies to enable citizens to take control of their lives in state affairs. According to Mercer (2002), a healthy civil society is vital to the strengthening of democracy and ability of individuals to shape their own lives by participating in debates about policies and decisions that affect them. From this viewpoint, the civil society constitutes an effective institution that strengthens the state's democratic capacity by promoting and ensuring legitimacy, accountability, citizen participation and transparency, through public scrutiny of the state (Mercer, 2002).

According to Kaldor (2003), this neoliberal approach to civil society function emanated from western democratization and with globalization coming to create networks, alliances and relationships between nations, it found its way to other parts of the world. Furthermore, the conceptualization of an individual-focused civil society with outlets for political participation, molded nation-states into compatible actors to participate, trade, and interact on an international level; furthering the ideals of neoliberalism. Western countries with the civil society as a tool sought to spread democracy across the world with the effect being manifested in countries like Ghana. This created a space for civil society where organizations and actors experienced a large level of freedom and encouragement in their missions.

The civil society in Ghana as indicated earlier long existed before the country's attainment of independence. In the struggle for independence, their contribution to the country's liberation can be interpreted as a tool for institutional change that brought about the creation of the country as a democratic state (see Bruyn, 2005). Most importantly, its function and growth from the neoliberal point took much credence especially in the 1980's when the country began shifting back to democracy after years of relapse into military regimes following independence. As indicated earlier, programs such as the Washington consensus and structural adjustment which served as mechanisms through which western democracies sought to spread their neoliberal and democratic ideals, opened up space for CSOs active involvement in the affairs of the country. Through such interventionist programs that stipulated the involvement of civil society as condition for assistance, democracy was restored in Ghana (Ninsin, 1998). Also, as a major source of finance for civil society organizations, the international community empowered CSOs and NGO's in Ghana to become active participants advocating for the citizens' demands for democratic transition from a military regime (Gyimah-Boadi et al., 2000). Subsequently they became key players who

facilitated the country's transition to democracy, and they have continued to grow in the country's political sphere. Through their active participation, they continue to constitute an important avenue for citizen participation by influencing the country's democratic, developmental and good governance credentials. Critics in this regard have argued that, while neoliberalism opened the space for democratic ideals as citizen participation and responsive governance, it was muddled by other consequences of the programs like privatization and marketization of public goods that came along with it(see Kaldor, 2003). However, regarding the space for civil society activism, it is generally agreed that the spread of the ideology through the building of democratic states have facilitated their vibrancy and defined their contemporary role in many developing countries such as Ghana.

4.1.2 Functions of Civil Society

The discussion above places the civil society essentially as the 'third' sector. In this light, its strength is regarded to have a positive influence on the state and the market as a whole. The civil society has increasingly developed to become an important agent for promoting the virtues of democracy and good governance like transparency, responsiveness and accountability. This it achieves by different means. Firstly, it promotes these virtues through policy analysis and advocacy. Secondly, it regulates and monitor the state's performance, as well as, the actions and behavior of public office holders to ensure adherence and compliance to best practices of governance. Thirdly, the civil society builds social capital and empower citizens to articulate their values, civic norms and democratic practices. Fourth, it mobilizes constituencies, particularly the vulnerable and marginalized sections of masses, to participate fully in politics and public affairs. Finally the civil society develop work to improve the wellbeing of their own and other communities (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005).

4.1.3 CSOs Involvement in Policy

The increasing global trend toward democratization has opened up the political space for CSOs to be more active in influencing policies in developing contexts. According to the World Bank report on Civil Society Engagement, CSOs have become significant players in global development and are increasingly influencing the shape of global and national public policy(Mundial, 2006). This has especially been facilitated by the growing focus among policy makers and citizens about the need for good governance and greater transparency. As a result, various stakeholders such as

legislators, opinion leaders, the media among others, rely on the CSOs for information and policy advice.

On their part, CSOs also demand to be heard in policy formulation. This is borne out of the key argument about their role in implementing policies formulated by the government, especially those pertaining to sustainable development and poverty alleviation (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). In other words, CSOs' hold key interests, and their programs are affected by policies, thus their claim be considered as legitimate stakeholders in the formulation stage. This is especially true in the areas of democratic consolidation and sustainable development where their activism revolves in developing contexts like Ghana.

Their involvement in policy about such issues facilitate their proper understanding of policies, as well as, ensuring the emergence of feasible and implementable policies that address the needs of citizens. As noted by Ghaus-Pasha (2005), they can employ grassroots experiences and innovations to assist in improving policies which strengthen local capacities and structures for public participation. As watchdogs, CSOs, can also apply pressure on the government to ensure that appropriate policies are enacted for the development of countries. Furthermore, CSOs can monitor policy implementation to ensure their compatibility with community interests, as well as design programs that complement rather than contradict those of government (Ghaus-Pasha, 2005).

Their contribution to policy in this light means that, they play vital roles in strengthening democracy and the skills of citizenship essential for societal development. With the civil society seeking to gain the necessary leverage and power amidst other interests, groups either individually or through coalition-building, expand these democratic opportunities towards ensuring the success of their policy efforts. It is however worthy to note that, their inclusion in political systems usually dominated by elites depends, on the existence of institutional structures that promote virtues of democracy like good governance, citizen participation, transparency and accountability.

4.2 Public Policymaking

According to the Cambridge dictionary, policy can be understood as; an agreed set of ideas or a course of action to take in specific situations made by a group of people, a business organization,

a government etc.³⁷ Policymaking thus, can be understood as encompassing the process of creating policy. While this represents a broad definition, understanding policy in the context of the study is to be situated in the political sphere. Specifically, it seeks to understand policy within the public domain which falls within the public policy arena. According to Knill and Tosun (2012), public policies can be described as government statements of what it intends to do or not to do, which includes law, regulation, ruling or decisions. Hogwood and Gunn (1984), also interpret public policy as the product of interactions among a number of sequential decisions aimed at addressing an issue of public concern. Drawing from these definitions, public policy in essence, is viewed as the means to solving a general societal problem.

In public policymaking, decision making is key to the role of government and public actors because their actions essentially focus on an issue which they intend to solve or maintain. However, it does not only concern public actors but also involve others such as, private actors and the civil society among others(Jenkins, 1978). All actors in the public policy process influence decision making with their varying interests and beliefs. Thus, despite the aim of public policy to address a general societal issue, it can also serve as a means to serving the interest of specific groups in their design (Knill & Tosun, 2012). Its initiation however, requires the existence of an issue or problem requiring attention.

As reflected in the context of the study, oil in Ghana has emerged to present a resource which the country seeks to utilize effectively to develop its citizens with the creation of jobs, and serve as a catalyst to national development. To achieve this end, the government, as well as, other stakeholders as the civil society view the formulation and enactment of efficient policies within the oil sector as an important requirement. Thus, to realize the goal of utilizing the country's oil for national development, public policy is regarded as a means of achievement which not only serves the interest of the mass, but also private interests such as that of private companies and even members of the civil society.

³⁷ See <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/policy>

4.3 Dimensions of Public Policy

In the discussions about public policy, literature exist about types and what it entails. Examples include Lowi's (1964) typology³⁸, and Wilson's (1973, 1989, 1995) costs and benefits typology.³⁹ To understand public policies in the context of the study, the approach based on policy dimensions as illustrated by Knill and Tosun (2012) is adopted. According to this approach, policy is seen as encompassing different contents, and these include *policy outputs, outcomes and impacts*. These together, is what is referred to as policy dimension.

According to Knill and Tosun (2012), policymaking involves different stages otherwise referred to as policy cycle. The policy cycle represents the processes by which policies come into effect from the point of defining a problem as needing governmental action, to the point of assessing the impact an action taken to address the problem. It involves the stages of *Problem definition/agenda setting, policy formulation/adoption, policy implementation and policy evaluation*. As an approach to understanding public policymaking these stages in the policy cycle are classified in accordance to policy dimension.

Policy output focuses on the aspect that reflect the direct result of decision making processes of public policy. It thus, incorporates the agenda setting/problem definition and policy formulation/adoption stages of the policy cycle. **Policy outcomes**, which focus on how decisions taken in policy outputs, effect behavioral change with regard to the target population, incorporates the implementation stage of the cycle. **Policy impact** involves the stage of evaluation which focuses on measurements about the extent to which policy decisions and implementation have brought about expected results. With regards to the study, focus is placed on the policy output dimension which involves the agenda setting and policy adoption stages. Therefore, with the civil society's contribution to the policymaking in the Ghana's oil industry, it is taken to mean their input at the output stage which include the agenda setting/problem definition and policy formulation/adoption stage.

³⁸ As an approach to understanding public policy Lowi (1964) distinguishes between distributive, redistributive, regulatory and constituent policies.

³⁹ See Knill and Tosun (2012) for elaboration on these typologies

Policy Output

4.3.1 Problem Definition/Agenda Setting

Problem identification, as the name suggests involve the task of determining the existence of a problem which requires a public policy decision to address. It is often used interchangeably with agenda setting since both belong to the same dimension. However, there is a little difference in that, when a problem is identified, until it is moved onto the government agenda, it is not scrutinized for a policy solution. Therefore, agenda setting is the point where government consider policy solutions for problems on its agenda.

According to Knill and Tosun (2012), problem definition follows a causal link of identifying harm, describing the specific cause of harm, and assigning to government the responsibility of stopping it. The mention of government here, points to it as the main stakeholder usually empowered with the task to formulate public policies to address a problem identified. Thus, problem definition and agenda setting can be initiated by a specific government officials or other arms of government such as the legislature of judiciary. In addition, Knill and Tosun (2012), identify actors at this stage to include the civil society, bureaucracy, mass media, interest groups and international organizations. All these actors play important roles and any of them can initiate the policy process based on their orientations and interests.

4.3.2 Policy Formulation/Adoption

The problem definition and agenda setting stages of the policy cycle is followed by policy formulation and adoption stage. This is where specific policy or course of action is determined to address a problem at hand. It follows the process by which a policy is drafted by the executive arm of government and presented in parliament for debates for it to be either adopted and come into effect or rejected(Knill & Tosun, 2012). All these procedures for the policy process is however defined by the due process for formulating policies relative to specific countries.

4.4 Civil Society Relation to Policy Output in Ghana

Throughout preceding discussions, I have sought to establish that, the civil society in Ghana has continually grown over the years, and it constitute a major actor that contributes to policymaking. Their work manifest in all major policy sectors as well as the different stages of the policy process (see Ohemeng, 2015). Regarding the policy output stage, theory manifest in practice in Ghana, where government and its apparatus takes the center stage with regards to the formulation of

policies and laws in many sectors including the oil sector. However, as stakeholders in the industry, other actors as citizens through civil CSOs make input into the problem definition/agenda setting stage of policy cycle in the country. Also, in terms of policy formulation and adoption, the Ghanaian process follows the aforementioned procedure where the executive arm of government drafts policies relative to specific sectors and submits it before the seat of parliament for approval and further steps of implementation and evaluation to proceed. Government apparatus again, in the shape of Parliament takes center stage as final decisions about legislation come from them. However, other actors like the civil society, exert influence on the stages of the policy process based on their policy preferences.

4.5 Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

This study as stated earlier seeks to examine the contributory role of the civil society to policymaking in Ghana's oil industry. It focuses on issues concerning public policy.

As noted by Weible, Sabatier, and McQueen (2009), public policy is an inherently complex procedure which involve issues of learning, belief, policy change, and the role of scientific and technical information in policymaking. The issues operate in "complex, interdependent political environments where hundreds of participants interact in the context of nested institutional arrangements, uneven power relations, and uncertain scientific and technical information about problems and alternatives" (Weible et. al 2009, p.121). This study represents an effort to simplify the complexity of public policy in Ghana's oil sector by examining the contribution of actors in the shape of the civil society. Thus, the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is employed as the theoretical framework to facilitate understanding.

The ACF was developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) as a theoretical framework to analyze the policymaking process and policy change. It was developed in response to what the scholars saw as essential limitations in the policy process literature. Among these limitations was the interpretation of the stages heuristic as an inadequate causal theory of the policy process (Sabatier, 1998). The ACF was thus created as a system-based model which address these issues by integrating the stages of the policy cycle, incorporating aspects of both the top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation studies, as well as, emphasizing the role of scientific and technical knowledge in the policy process. As a framework for explaining policy, the ACF has been widely utilized by scholars to explain policymaking and change. Examples include

Freudenburg and Gramling (2002), United States-oil policy; Litfin (2000), Canada- climate change policy; and Elliott and Schlaepfer (2001), Sweden- forest and environmental policy.

The ACF operates with an underlining assumption which identifies the policy subsystem as the most useful unit of analysis for understanding overall policy process. The *policy subsystem* is defined as a group of formal and informal actors who are actively concerned with, and seek to influence a policy problem or issue like natural resources for example (Sabatier, 1998). As advanced by the framework, actors within the subsystem do not only include direct policy makers, but also government officials, bureaucratic agencies, journalists, researchers, civil society groups, as well as, other interested informal organizations within the state. Furthermore, the ACF holds the perspective of policies and programs to be best thought of as the translations of the beliefs of actors within a policy subsystem. In relation to this, it specifies a model of the individual who is rationally bounded with limited abilities to process stimuli; relies on beliefs as the principal heuristic to simplify, filter, and sometimes distort stimuli; and remembers losses more than gains(Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999, pp. 118-120).

According to the ACF, political behavior is driven by the beliefs of actors (Weible et al., 2009). Regarded as a major subject area in political science, public policy can therefore also be regarded as driven by the beliefs of actors. Placing emphasis on the policy subsystem and the beliefs of actors, the ACF argues that, policies emerge from the interactions or competition between actors in the policy subsystem. The ACF advances that within a policy subsystem, actors form alliances/coalitions around three main belief systems; *deep core beliefs, policy core beliefs and secondary beliefs*. They then compete with each other about the outcome of substantive policy of preference, informed by their beliefs. It is from this interaction/competition between coalitions in the policy subsystem that policies emerge. Therefore, policy outcomes by extension reflect the competition between coalitions in the policy subsystem (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999) .

The ACF argues that the competition between coalitions in a policy subsystem is influenced by resources and constraints like legal, financial resources and public opinion etc. Such externalities exert influence on the beliefs of coalitions which may lead to a change or adjustment in a coalition's beliefs with consequent implications for a specific policy preference or change. As advanced by the framework, the influence of such externalities can either be out of the reach of coalitions control or, they may depend on specific guidance instruments or strategies that a

coalition adopts in the efforts to see a policy reflect their preference. In this light, Sabatier (1998), notes that, policy change is not simply the result of competition among different interests in which financial resources and institutional rules are critical, but also ‘policy-oriented learning’ between coalitions is an important effector of policy change.

Policy-oriented learning refers to “relatively enduring alternations of thought or behavioral intentions that result from experience and/or new information and that are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objectives” (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p. 123). This argument as an effector of change, can be seen to derive directly from the ACF’s assumption that the rational individual: given the assumption that new experience is filtered through existing beliefs, tend to accept information confirming existing beliefs and to screen out unsuitable information.

As discussed earlier, stakeholders within the Ghana oil sector include the government, private companies and citizens. Sabatier, (1998), advances that for a policy subsystem to be regarded as mature, participants must regard themselves as a semi-autonomous community who share a domain of expertise. Also, they must seek to influence public policy within the domain over a fairly long period of time, i.e. seven to ten years. Following this criteria, the study has identified the coalition of government and its agencies, private companies and citizen groups in the form of CSOs as major participants in the country’s oil policy subsystem. In the context of the study, the government and its institutions represent the dominant force when it comes to issues of policymaking in the industry since they are essentially tasked legally to perform that function as discussed earlier. Thus, in terms of coalition, they represent the dominant coalition within the subsystem. This means that for any other actor who seek to influence or contribute to policy within the subsystem, it must target and pursue its interests with that of the government apparatus. Therefore, in relation to policy, competition can be seen to emerge` between two competitors with government being a constant coalition. It is within this context of understanding that the study identifies the civil society as one coalition which pursues its interest with government coalition in conformity to the ACF. There may also be other coalitions within the subsystem with their interests like for instance, that of private companies, and they may also endeavor to take it up with government. However, it must be stated that the interest of such other actors does not constitute the focus of this study but rather, that of the civil society coalition against that of government.

Most importantly, the study has identified the civil society as a coalition pursuing its interests within the policy subsystem and situates their interests and goals within the belief systems of the ACF. Further, the ACF reflects in how the civil society contributes to policy making by ensuring that its interests are reflected in final policy outcomes in light of coalition competition and policy oriented learning.

CSPOG as a Coalition by the ACF

Coalition as defined by Sabatier (1998), refers to “people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers), who [1] share a particular belief system - i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who [2] show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time” (p.115). In this understanding of coalition by the framework, the CSPOG represents a coalition which is made up of diverse groups like Gender, Organized Labor Groups, Faith Based, Media Representatives and Community Based Groups who have come together to constitute a unified body with a common interest. The common interest reflects in their goal which is to articulate citizens’ demands and promote an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of oil resources. In the effort to achieve this, there is agreement on the course of action which is to influence government policies and governance of the oil industry. In doing this, they compete with government coalition whose interests reflect the philosophy of government of the day (Gyimah-Boadi, 1996), to ensure that issues essentially addressing the needs of citizens reflect in policies emerging from the subsystem.

This is done especially through policy oriented learning. Due to the fact of government coalition holding the utmost power to formulate policies in the Ghanaian oil sector, other coalitions of interest seek to realize their goals by influencing government beliefs towards their interests. Regarding civil society interests, they rely heavily on the provision of new information, knowledge and experience through research and lessons from other contexts. They present these to government with the view to inform, enlighten and influence their initial views or beliefs about substantive policies and laws. Their contribution, to this effect mirrors policy oriented learning as advanced by ACF since the information and experiences provided which government officials were not privy to, can inform them and effectively facilitate altering their initial objectives and ideas about substantive policy. Such dynamics of policy oriented learning occurs in the study context which makes the ACF an applicable theory for understanding the civil society’s

contribution to oil policy. Also, their goals reflecting in policies, as advanced by the ACF relies heavily on their belief systems categorized by the framework into Deep Core Beliefs, Policy Core Beliefs and Secondary Beliefs.

Belief System of Actors by ACF

4.5.1 Deep Core Beliefs

The ACF distinguishes between the belief systems of actors, which is organized into a hierarchical, tripartite structure. At the top is Deep Core Beliefs of actors which are broad, predominantly normative and stable. Examples include liberal and conservative beliefs, and relative concern for the welfare of present versus future generations that are applicable across many subsystems(Weible et al., 2009). In this light the core beliefs of actors within the study context reflects in neoliberal principles of democracy, good governance and citizen participation which has facilitated the creation of environment for civil society activism.

4.5.2 Policy Core Beliefs

At the next level lies Policy Core Beliefs which represent actors' basic normative commitments and causal perceptions across an entire policy domain or subsystem(Sabatier 1998). Policy core beliefs are also resistant to change but are more likely to adjust in response to verification and refutation from new experiences and information than deep core beliefs. According to Sabatier (1998), policy core beliefs facilitates the formation and coordination of coalitions because of the specificity of subsystems. The ACF assumes that policy core beliefs constitute fundamental attraction for the formation of coalitions and they also serve as a principal factor that holds a coalition together. In relation to the study this belief system clearly reflects in the intent of different civil society organizations which have come together to constitute a unified force in the form of the CSPOG. In the goals of the CSPOG such as ensuring transparency, accountability, responsiveness on the part of government and companies, the basic attraction is presented which holds member groups together in pursuing a common objective despite their rather different specialties and interests. In other words, the policy core beliefs as advanced by the ACF manifests in the goals and objectives of the CSPOG in the context of the study.

4.5.3 Secondary Beliefs

Secondary beliefs comprise a large set of narrower beliefs which usually does not cover the entire subsystem. As noted by Sabatier (1998), it relates to the seriousness of a problem or “the relative

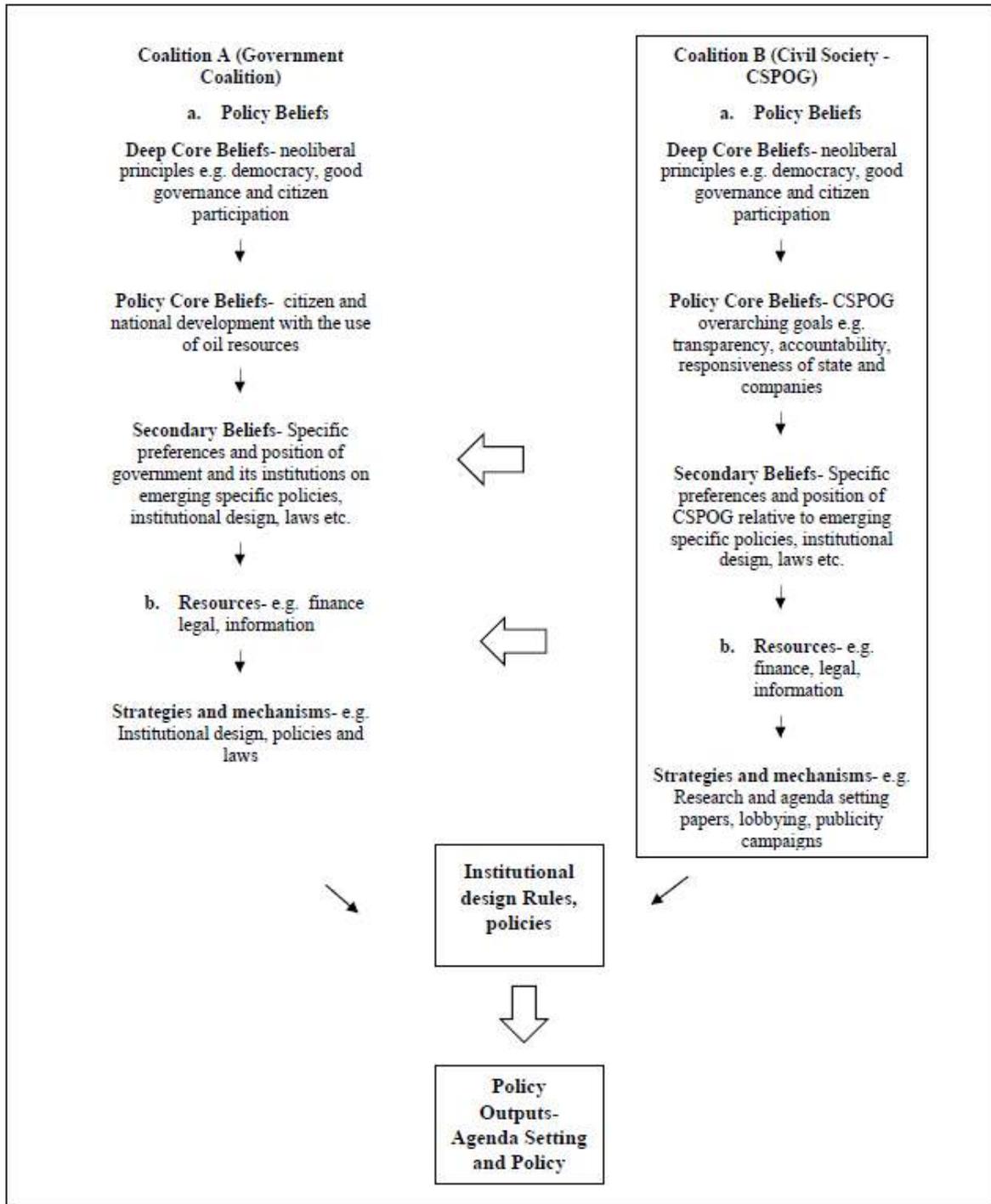
importance of various causal factors in specific locales, policy preferences regarding desirable regulations or budgetary allocations, the design of specific institutions, and the evaluations of various actors' performance" (p.104). In other words, secondary beliefs can be understood as the interests or preferences of coalitions with regards to specific issues or policies within a policy subsystem. A typical example in the context of the study is the civil society's position with regards to funds disbursement in government's oil revenue management policy or the percentage of indigenous ownership of the country's natural resource. Secondary beliefs are assumed to be more readily adjustable in light of new data, experience, or changing strategic considerations. Thus, in subsystems such as that of this study, coalitions most at times target the secondary beliefs of the dominant coalition (government) in the forms specific policies and institutional arrangement with the view to alter their beliefs and realize their goals in emerging policies.

In doing this, coalitions rely on guidance instruments in terms of strategies and mechanisms to exert influence. This is affirmed by Sabatier (1998), who notes that at any point in time, coalitions within a subsystem adopt one or more strategies with the use of 'guidance instruments' (changes in rules, budgets, personnel, or information) as a means to change the behavior of various governmental institutions in an effort to realize their policy objectives. This belief system also manifest relative to the study context as the civil society as a coalition in Ghana adopts a wide array of strategies and mechanisms ranging from information streams as research and position papers to publicity campaigns and lobbying of policymakers in their effort to contribute to policy (Ohemeng, 2015).

The diagram below summarizes the adaptation of the ACF for the study in with focus on the contribution of the civil society to policymaking

Figure 2: Diagram showing ACF theory for the study which focuses on the civil society as a coalition, their beliefs and activities towards contribution to Ghana’s oil policy subsystem

Oil Policy Subsystem



From the above discussions the study's direction points towards the dynamics of a coalition within the ACF since much focus is placed on one coalition(CSO) within the oil policy subsystem. Indeed studies have shown that the ACF comes with the advantage of being applied in various ways to study dynamics of policymaking and change in different subsystems. For example studies by Thomas (1996) and Zafonte and Sabatier (1997): have focused on conditions that lead to the emergence of subsystems. Other studies as Eberg (1997) and Ainuson (2009) focus on the dynamics of policy learning across and between coalitions. More important, Jenkins-Smith, St. Clair, and Woods (1991), in their work that analyses coalition stability, and Andersson (2012), who reveal how dominant coalitions function in relation to policy beliefs also demonstrate that, the ACF can be applied to study coalition behavior. These studies among others show that, the ACF can be applied to study a variety of issues relevant to policy process (Weible et al., 2009). The ACF can also be applied across any policy domain with a strong association to environmental and natural resource policies(Weible et al., 2009). This affirms its applicability and suitability for this study as well.

4.6 Summary

This chapter discussed conceptual issues about the civil society and policymaking relevant for this study. Also, the Advocacy coalition as the theoretical framework was discussed. The concept of the civil society since the time of inception has portrayed different meaning to different people. In relation to the study its understanding from the neoliberal point was advanced in which it is regarded as an important agent for the promotion of democratic values as good governance, and as an avenue for citizen freedom and participation in issues affecting them. This view was projected to the context of Ghana where the civil society has excelled as a development partner in issues of good governance and policymaking. Through the Advocacy coalition framework the chapter further discussed the contribution of the Ghanaian civil society to policymaking in the country's oil sector with the identification of their goals and mechanism of input. In sum, these concepts have provided the theoretical lens through which the civil society's contribution to the oil policy is understood in Ghana.

Chapter 5. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this chapter, I present and discuss the data returns from the field. Information from civil society groups focusing on the organization and the position of interviewees from which, information was attained is presented. In addition, the goals of the study subject (CSPOG) are revealed with elaboration from member organizations. I also highlight on the mechanisms utilized by the CSO to contribute to policymaking in the oil sector which per the ACF, impact the attainment of the organization's goals. Furthermore, I highlight on some existing policy structures with the aim to reveal their contribution to the oil policy arena. Taken together, these issues will reveal the contribution that the civil society through the CSPOG contribute to policymaking within the Ghanaian oil policy arena.

5.1 Background of Informants

As stated in chapter three, informants for the study were attained from a total of 5 civil society organizations. This included a representative from the main study subject, that is, the CSPOG. The other informants were sampled from representatives of 4 other CSOs which are all member groups of the CSPOG. These organizations are; Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC), Africa Centre for Energy Policy(ACEP), Penplussbytes and Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). Table 3 below gives a summary of the CSOs and the position of their representatives interviewed. To serve the purpose of protecting the identities and privacy of informants, in the use of information, names are not mentioned. As noted by Serva and Pearlson (1998), the obligation to protect the anonymity of research participants, and keep research data confidential is all-inclusive. This should be fulfilled at all costs unless arrangements to the contrary are made with participants in advance.

Table 3. Summary of Informant CSOs

Organization	Position of Interviewee
Civil Society Platform for oil and Gas	Chairman of National Steering Committee
Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC)	Policy Analyst
Africa Centre for Energy Policy(ACEP)	Head of Policy Unit
Penplusbytes	Head of Extractive Department
Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA)	Research Fellow at Governance Unit

5.2 Goals of the CSPOG

Earlier discussions underlined the point that Ghanaian CSOs in light of their effective contribution to different sectors towards the country's development agenda have sought to continue in the same vein in the development of the oil sector. Their interest to get involved in the governance of the new resource is informed by the need to prevent the recurrence of past mismanagement of other resources such as gold, diamond etc. by the state apparatus, and ensure that the resource is utilized for the development of the country and its citizenry(Debrah & Graham, 2015). Their involvement in the oil resource is linked to the notion that, attention to sound fiscal and monetary policies; creation of natural resource funds; transparency, accountability and public involvement aid countries' use of resources for development, and also avoid the resource curse(Weinthal & Luong, 2006). Informant views reflected this notion with one sharing that:

When you are endowed with a natural resource and you are not careful, the resource which should be a blessing will rather turn into a curse. Ghana has been endowed with gold and I should say that because of mismanagement, the country has not been able to get as much as we should have gotten from it in terms of benefits. So, when the oil was discovered this time, the civil society identified the need to ensure that, Ghanaians benefit from it. It is not for only the political class or the experts alone, we as citizen groups also need to get involved in issues and let Ghanaians understand that elsewhere in the world, countries that extract oil utilize it for the benefit of all and therefore this should also happen in Ghana. (Penplussbytes official, 10/02/2017)

Indeed, it is in light of such narrative above that, the CSPOG was constituted as a civil society organization to promote Ghana's national development agenda with regards to the utilization of the oil resource. As an organization, their overarching goal is to see an active and engaged civil society that is capable of articulating citizens' demands, and an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens, in the governance of oil and gas resources.⁴⁰ In further breakdown, it aims to ensure that there is transparency in oil legislations. In addition, they aim to ensure that government and oil companies are held accountable in their dealings about the resource. These objectives are mirrored in the view of the chairman who said that:

Our main goal is to ensure that the management and utilization of revenues and other benefits from the oil and gas extraction translates into lasting benefits for Ghana and contributes positively to the eradication of poverty in our country. (CSPOG official,16/01/2017)

This view was buttressed by member organizations with the following comments:

Citizens hold an interest in the management of Ghana's oil, therefore the CSPOG aims to ensure the efficient management of the resource. The goal is to ensure that government and oil companies are transparent and accountable in the governance of the sector so that citizens can maximize benefits from the resource. (ACEP official,2/02/2017)

As a coalition, we aim to ensure that government create the best and necessary governance framework which place the national interest as the highest agenda (ISODEC official,18/01/2017)

While these narratives reveal the goals of the organization, it is important to point that individual member CSOs have their far reaching goals which stretch beyond the objectives of CSPOG. For example, in addition to holding an interest in governance issues about the oil sector, ACEP aim to influence energy sector policies in Africa by providing professional analysis of energy policy, training, advisory services, and policy advocacy for the efficient and transparent management of Africa's energy resources.⁴¹ Also, Penplusbytes with interests in media development, good

⁴⁰ See <http://cspogghana.com/about-cspog/>

⁴¹ See <http://www.acepghana.com/about/>

governance and transparency in the extractive sector, have the overarching goal of enhancing governance by deepening citizen's participation through information, communication and technology.⁴² Many other member organizations have individual goals and interests which essentially stretch beyond that of the coalition. However, in the CSPOG as a coalition, CSOs recognize the need and effect of pooling resources together as a measure to constitute an effective stakeholder, advocating for the interests of citizens. Members hold that they would be better strengthened in their ability to have meaningful impact in the governance of the sector. This is revealed in a comment by an informant who expressed that:

As citizen groups, we recognized that isolated action by individual groups, would not be able to confront the forces of government and oil companies whose interests oftentimes do not align with those of the citizenry. Therefore, the CSPOG's purpose is to strengthen the capacity of individual CSO action with a unified force in order to effectively address the complex social, environmental and economic issues that the oil production has brought to governance. (CSPOG official,16/01/2017)

This is indicative that, in the CSPOG having a unified voice and action in a coalition, the civil society can be presented as a powerful and effective body which can confront the forces whose overriding motive may be dominated by profit with little or no regard to the interest of the ordinary Ghanaian citizen.

In these goals, the functions of the organization reflect the notion of the civil society as presenting an avenue for the promotion of citizens interests and participation in issues that affect them as discussed in the conceptual chapter (Mercer, 2002). Furthermore, the alignment of interests and action by different groups reflected in the common goal of the coalition, reflects the ACF from the theoretical viewpoint. As highlighted in earlier discussions, the ACF advances that within a policy subsystem actors form alliances/coalitions around two main belief systems; core beliefs and secondary beliefs upon which they compete with each other to realize their interests (Sabatier 1998). The formation of alliance by interested actors reflect in the formation of the CSPOG where diverse CSOs have come together to constitute a coalition, to advance citizens interests relative to that of government and other stakeholders in the governance of oil resource. Regarding the belief

⁴² <http://penplusbytes.org/site/index.php/about-us/>

system of coalitions, the study identifies core beliefs, in the study context as encompassing the overall political system of Ghana which revolve around neoliberal principles of democracy, good governance etc. It is this system that has facilitated an environment for citizen participation. The goals of the CSPOG as discussed here reflect in the policy core beliefs, which per the ACF facilitates the formation and coordination of coalitions. Also, according to the ACF, policy core beliefs constitute the principal factor that holds a coalition together (Sabatier 1998). This is manifest in the intent of different civil society organizations to come together to constitute a unified force (CSPOG). In the goals of the CSPOG such as ensuring transparency, accountability, responsiveness and efficient management of the resource from government and oil companies, the basic attraction is presented which holds member groups together in pursuing a common objective. This is regardless the existence of their different/paralleled specialties and interests.

The policy core beliefs identified as the goals of the CSPOG serve as guide for their action and pursuit of interests in policies and other measures concerning the oil governance, which reflect in secondary beliefs by the ACF. In a nutshell, the CSPOG as a citizen front has been constituted to check and avoid the recurrence of past inefficiencies in the exploitation of other natural resources like gold, diamond etc. With the new oil resource, they aim to work to ensure that citizens are the foremost benefactors or receive their fair share in the production of the resource.

5.3 Goal Achieving Mechanisms/Strategies of the CSPOG

In this section I highlight mechanisms the CSPOG employ to attain their highlighted goals concerning Ghana's oil industry. In the extractive sector, Ekhaton (2014) advance that CSOs employ a wide range of strategies and mechanisms to ensure the realization of their goals. These include strategies such as;

5.3.1 Identification and Agenda Setting

This is the function of CSO's to achieve their aims or by ensuring that major issues of public interest are brought to the attention of government and other stakeholders, so that, they are rectified through policies and laws(Ekhaton, 2014). To do this, they ascertain issues pertaining to agencies and institutions mandated with functions and use them as premises for national and international engagement with oil corporations and the government, as a means to improve the resource governance.

5.3.2 Monitoring and Oversight

This involve CSOs overseeing, tracking policies and events in the extractive sector, which they report correctly with facts in order to improve governance or management of the sector(Ekhator, 2014).

5.3.3 Public Education and Enlightenment

CSOs engage in many outreach programs or activities such as workshops, conferences, road shows, and town hall meetings to inform the public on the issues of transparency in oil revenue payment and utilization.⁴³ This is especially paramount in developing contexts such as Ghana because of low literacy levels and suspicious government activities.

5.3.4 Advisory Function and Whistle-Blowing

CSOs provide impartial advice to government about effective governance practices, revenue utilization and environmental issues relating to the oil resource. Further, they expose issues relating to transparency and accountability in payments in the oil and gas sector which can serve as a means to highlight the ineffectiveness of government and other actors in the sector (Ekhaton, 2014).

In Ghana, evidence shows that CSOs generally employ these mechanisms to influence issues on governance and development of the country(see CIVICUS, 2013). The data returns reveal that the CSPOG in their efforts to attain their set goals also employ these strategies to influence governance of the Ghanaian oil industry. They engage with government to create the necessary institutional framework and policies in the sector and monitor the implementation of such frameworks to ensure that the country adheres to best practices in the governance of the oil resource. They also monitor oil production, government spending, as well as, environmental impact on the citizens. This is evidenced in the following narratives of informants:

CSOs monitor and present additional public oversight over the government. This begins with policy formulation where we identify important issues and channel them into the arena and development of legislation framework for the sector. When all these are put into place, we then make a transition to monitoring implementation

⁴³ "Ghana Eiti, http://www.gheiti.gov.gh/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=83&Itemid=60. Accessed on 28th September 2016")

of the policies and laws. We track these implementations and bring to public attention issues where we think the laws are being violated or where we think there is the need for some adjustment to make implementation smooth (CSPOG official,16/01/2017).

The CSPOG is interested in the efficient management of our oil resource, so we track oil production, government spending and environmental impact on the population. We release this information into the public domain to ensure transparency. This put government and other actors on their toes because they know that when they do not conform to right practices in managing the resource, they will be exposed and face the wrath of citizens (ISODEC official,18/01/2017)

We have an online platform (www.oilmatters.info), where we publish all the policy positions of the political parties. One reason for doing this is to encourage/empower these parties to develop and formulate policies around the oil and gas sector. This also serve as an information source to inform citizens about the policy preferences of political parties which are used as reference point based on which citizens hold them accountable when they come into government. (PENPLUSBYTES official,10/02/2017)

5.4 Policy Contribution as a Goal of the CSPOG

The narratives above, while highlighting the strategies for CSOs action, essentially reveal that, the policy arena constitute a major target area for the CSPOG in the efforts to realize their goals. To attain the aim of ensuring effective management of the resource, the organization seek to influence policy from the early stage of identifying and formulating policies and legal frameworks emanating from the sector. They go further to monitor the implementation of policies and laws based on which, they advise and make recommendations to government for further developments. Unlike other stakeholders, their work is done in the eyes of the public which effectively serves to inform and educate citizens about the state of affairs regarding the oil resource.

From the theoretical point, this work of the CSPOG mirrors their position as a ‘third’ sector, with the aim to empower citizens to articulate their values, civic norms and democratic practices through policy contribution(Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). Their activities about policy contribution also cover the dimensions of policy, discussed in the theoretical chapter. In this regard, they can be seen as being

involved in all the stages of the policy cycle from the output stage (Problem definition/Agenda setting, Policy Formulation/Adoption) to outcome stage(implementation), and the impact stage (Evaluation)(Knill & Tosun, 2012). Their feedback, advices and recommendation back to government also serve as triggers, which begin the whole policy cycle again for the further development of other policies and laws. The CSPOG's involvement in all stages of the policy cycle here, affirm the findings by Civil Society Index report which identifies the policy arena as a major area of focus for Ghanaian CSOs (CIVICUS, 2013).

Given that the study's interest lies in the output stage of the cycle, I further proceed to focus on this stage and identify the mechanisms the CSPOG utilize to contribute to setting the agenda and making inputs in the formulation and adoption of policies in the industry.

5.5 Policy Contribution Mechanisms/ Strategies of the CSPOG

The CSPOG holds a key interest in contributing to policy as a measure to realize their goals of ensuring transparency, accountability and effective governance of Ghana's oil resource. In the words of an informant;

If you are developing a national vision, it makes sense that the citizens who are the ultimate targets of that vision should be part of its formulation. Therefore, policymaking is actually a major area of interest for us, because policy is an articulation of the vision that we have as a people in terms of what role we expect the resource to play in our development process. So it is a fundamental area of focus for our work. (ISODEC official, 18/01/2017)

This suggest that, the organization in its work pays attention to policy contribution which include but not limited to the agenda setting and formulation stage. Given their key interest in policy, it is important to highlight the mechanisms they employ towards their contribution. In this regard, Covey (1994) identifies strategies used by CSOs to influence national policy formulation. These include education, persuasion, collaboration, litigation and confrontation.

5.5.1 Education

This constitute the strategy by which the CSOs attempt to give government a lot of information, analysis and policy alternatives. CSOs also educate the government by creating and testing innovative development approaches that could be adopted by the state. It is done through workshops, conferences, and initiation of pilot projects(Covey, 1994). This strategy may also target other groups other than government such as the public, the media, and CSOs or community members.

5.5.2 Persuasion

Persuasion as a strategy involve the process by which CSOs act as pressure groups to advocate and press for policy changes with the show of public support. The motive is to convince government or policy makers of the need to consider or enact a CSO supported policy position into legislation(Covey, 1994). This is done through means, which cover meetings, workshops, conferences, lobbying, among others.

5.5.3 Collaboration

This strategy involves CSOs harmonious work with government and policymakers to create policy. With this strategy, relations between the actors are usually considered as being amicable, and this forms the basis for building trust in relationships(Covey, 1994).

5.5.4 Litigation

In litigation, CSOs use the courts to press for policy change. This usually happens when they believe that the law is being broken and thus, seek for redress and correction of misapplication in court.

5.5.5 Confrontation

This involves CSOs protesting in various forms for policy issues. Protests involve radical tactics such as violent demonstrations, destroying property, etc. The use of this strategy is characterized by an environment where, there exist a lot of animosity between parties.

The field returns reveal that the CSPOG at various points in time, utilize the strategies of education, persuasion and collaboration, with some combinations to realize their input to policy output. Litigation is not evident, which can be explained by the point that, it probably requires the element of misapplication of policy which is not evident at the early stages of agenda setting, formulation

and adoption. Issues of litigation are more likely to arise at later stage of policy implementation which is not a focus of this study. Confrontation strategies on the other hand are not evident due to the fact that, the oil policy subsystem is characterized by cordial relations between stakeholders.

5.6 Education Persuasion and Collaboration by CSPOG

In their contribution to problem definition and setting the agenda for policies and laws in the oil sector, the CSPOG rely on Agenda setting research to push their positions and interests onto policies. This involve keynote reports about specific policy position of the organization which are usually launched at events in the presence of key policymakers and government officials. In addition, the organization rely on policy development programs which is also based on research programs about particular aspects of national development to contribute to policy formulation. Furthermore, the CSPOG use position papers to inform and influence debates, that are intended to send policy signals and give directions about forthcoming policy strategies of the government. This is employed much at the policy adoption level in the study context where CSOs seek to inform and influence the decisions of legislators tasked to pass draft policies. Other ways the CSPOG are able to influence policy output stages are through publicity campaigns and lobbying members of government apparatus to take decisions that reflect with their objectives. These mechanisms are captured in the narrative of an informant who said that:

We first and foremost do research and analysis, we develop policy briefs, organize technical round tables on the content of our policy briefs so we can explain further, why we see issues in a certain way. Then we do follow ups, public advocacy in terms of mobilizing the broader citizenry to support our policy recommendations, and we work with government to incorporate these recommendations into policies and laws. (CSPOG official,16/01/2017)

This was buttressed by the views of other informants:

When laws are being made, we undertake what we call analysis of potential implementation challenges and we share these issues of policy with government and engage the necessary agencies. We invite them to debate and articulate our convictions. Sometimes after sharing our views, we go further to call some of the key members on the parliamentary select committees expected to vote on the

policy and talk to them convincing them to take our comments aboard. We convince them about why we think some issue should be part of the law and they take our views aboard (ISODEC official,18/01/2017)

We have connections with parliamentarians some of who we train and others serve as our resource personnel in our training programs. In our interactions with them we ask them questions and indirectly try to feed them with information which they also take to the floor of parliament to debate. So in this respect, we influence their thoughts leading up to their policy preferences which they vote in parliament. We also have media alerts by which we put out issues of interest into the public domain through the media. The emerging debates influence the decisions of government on policy preferences, so indirectly we set the agenda and contribute for certain issues of our interest to reflect in policies. (PENPLUSBYTES official,10/02/2017)

In addition to these narratives, documents titled ‘*The Pursuit of benefit Maximization in Ghana’s oil and Sector*’⁴⁴; ‘*Ghana’s Oil and Gas Licensing Regime*’⁴⁵; ‘*Status of Oil and gas Governance in Ghana*’⁴⁶; ‘*Value for Money Analysis of Oil Funded Projects in Ghana*’⁴⁷ constitute publications obtained from the organizations. These documents, some of which represent policy briefs, position papers, as well as, agenda setting research provide evidence to support the strategies by which the organization and its members employ in educating, persuading and collaborating to contribute to policy output. According to the ACF, these represent strategies or guidance instruments which the CSPOG employ to effect change or influence the core policy beliefs of the dominant government coalition (Sabatier, 1998).

Overall, the strategies of persuading and collaboration in the study context can all be viewed as a form of education by the organization. This is because, the majority of CSO’s efforts at contributing to policy output present the form of education in which, information about best and

⁴⁴ Document was attained from ISODEC(18/01/2017)

⁴⁵ Document was attained from CSPOG(16/01/2017)

⁴⁶ Document was attained from CSPOG(16/01/2017)

⁴⁷ Document was attained from ACEP (2/02/2017)

efficient policies of their interests are channeled through a variety of mediums to inform and influence the decisions of policymakers. Essentially, the coalition does not constitute a direct policymaker in the sector, a function which rests in the realm of government. However, to get its interests realized in policies, it relies on feeding the policymakers in government with information which are meant to enlighten them and sway their decisions towards the direction of citizens' interest.

It is important to establish here that, the policy preferences and positions of the organization relative to that of government, represent the secondary beliefs of actors according to ACF. Secondary beliefs as explained in chapter 4, represent the interests or preferences of coalitions with regards to specific issues or policies within a policy subsystem. As noted by Sabatier (1998), this belief system of actors is readily adjustable in light of new data, experience, or changing strategic considerations. Thus, coalitions most at times target the secondary beliefs of the dominant coalition (government) in the forms specific policies and institutional arrangements. This can be linked to the CSPOG's effort to contribute to policy formulation in the oil policy subsystem in Ghana. An example of this scenario is clearly typified in the narrative of the informant who cited the coalition's interests about the Exploration and Production policy in the sector. Regarding this policy, the CSPOG wanted to see a competitive bidding process as a provision in the law, and through the strategy of educating legislators which represent a guiding instrument by the ACF, they were able to attain their interests emerging in the final policy (Interview ACEP official, 2/02/2017).

Drawing from the ACF, this is also very much linked to policy oriented learning. With reference to the specific policy interest just mentioned, the organization collaborated with parliamentarians and through that, they were able to educate and effectively persuade them to adopt their interest of competitive bidding process as part of the exploration and production policy. This can be interpreted as policy oriented learning where the coalition's supply of new or further information through their reports and briefs successfully influenced the preferences and interests of policy makers towards adopting that of the civil society (Sabatier, 1998). Overall, the study findings show that, through the mechanisms of education through persuasion and collaboration, the CSPOG define problems and set the agenda for policies, as well as make contribution to policy formulation/adoption within Ghana's oil policy subsystem. They achieve this with tools such as

research reports, briefs, proposals, as well as, lobbying of policy makers. Hence, I proceed to highlight on some of these contributions that the organization has made to policy.

5.7 Policy Contributions by the CSPOG

CSOs are increasingly demanding involvement in the policy formulation process. They argue that they play a major role in the overall process of policymaking, especially those that deal with sustainable development and poverty alleviation (see Ghaus-Pasha, 2005). In the oil industry, Gyimah-Boadi and Prempeh (2012), affirm the important role of CSOs with the assertion that, they promote sound management of oil revenues and help curb the negative social, economic and environmental consequences of oil production on the lives of people.

The CSPOG since its emergence has contributed to policy by helping government to formulate policies that protect the national interest as against the pursuit of individual parochial interests. For the purpose of the resource to serve national interest, the organization has forged convergence of opinions with other stakeholders to ensure that in the management of Ghana's hydrocarbons, the people's welfare is upheld.

From the view of an informant, the organization believes that, the formulation of a national development framework that prioritizes the deployment of oil revenues can be the catalyst for transforming Ghana's weak economy to a strong one that enhances citizens' ability to create wealth for good living (Interview ISODEC official, 18/1/2017). As elaborated by the chairman of the organization, it is in this regard that the organization hold keen interest and participates in policy, which is viewed as an articulation of the vision about the role of the resource in Ghana's development process (Interview CSPOG official, 16/1/2017). As revealed in the data returns, the organization has made immense contribution to policy formulation in the oil sector from input in policies and laws such as, Petroleum Revenue Management (PRM) law, Petroleum Exploration and Production Bill, and the Local Content and Participation Policy.

5.7.1 Petroleum Revenue Management (PRM) Act

Following the commercial production of oil, the Ghanaian Parliament passed the Petroleum Revenue Management Act 2011 (Act 815) to govern the management of petroleum revenues. The Act defines the framework for accounting for crude oil production, petroleum receipts and expenditure from petroleum revenues. It also provides investment and saving rules. In particular, the Act made provisions for financing the National Oil Company (NOC), for transfers to the

Budget annually and for savings. The Savings Fund, called the Ghana Petroleum Funds (GPFs) consists of the Ghana Stabilization Fund (GSF) and the Ghana Heritage Fund (GHF), which are used respectively for the purpose of cushioning the Budget against oil price and production volatilities and for intergenerational equity objective(Adam, 2014).

According to informants, during the development of this act, the CSPOG presented inputs in the form of proposals to be considered as part of this Act. This is affirmed by Debrah and Graham (2015), who reveal that, the CSPOG submitted 15 proposals for the consideration of Parliament as part of the bill. Out of this number, only 1 was rejected with the other 14 being passed into law. Therefore, in the PRM Act 815, important clauses have originated from CSPOG which are geared towards enforcing government transparency and accountability to citizens. These clauses include:

- **Clause 8** requires publication of records of petroleum receipts on the Ministry of Finance’s website and at least, in two state-owned newspapers.
- **Clause 10** creates a Heritage Fund (into which a percentage of oil profit is paid) to support investments of oil revenue for use by future generations.
- **Clause 16** mandates Minister of Finance to reconcile quarterly petroleum receipts and expenditures, report and submit it to Parliament and publish same in the newspapers.
- **Clauses 46, 47 and 48** establish four different types of audits of petroleum accounts, namely internal audits, external audits, annual audits and special audits.
- **Clause 48** requires Minister of Finance to provide a detailed report on Petroleum Account and Ghana Petroleum Fund in the presentation of government annual budget and economic policies to Parliament.
- **Clause 49** outlines fundamental principles of transparent management for international best practices in oil governance.
- **Clauses 51 and 52** create a Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC) to monitor and evaluate compliance with Act 815, and offers the platform for public debates and independent assessments of the management and use of oil revenue.

• **Clause 53** details the composition of PIAC⁴⁸, which has civil society dominance. They include Trades Union Congress, National House of Chiefs, Association of Queen Mothers, Association of Ghana Industries and Chamber of Commerce, Ghana Journalist Association, GBA, Institute of Chartered Accountants, Ghana Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, the CCG, the Federation of Muslim Council and Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences.

All the above mentioned laws represent contributions that the CSPOG has made to policy in the form of Petroleum Revenue Management (PRM) Act. In relation to the ACF these clauses are categorized in the secondary beliefs of the CSPOG with regards to their interests or preferences in the PRM. The realization of their interests in these laws was carried out with the use of education or knowledge sharing, through policy proposals which effectively enlightened and persuaded policymakers about the relevance of these clauses as part of the policy. This effort by the CSPOG captured by the ACF as policy oriented learning facilitated their passage into the final revenue management policy.

5.7.2 Petroleum Exploration and Production(E&P) Act

The Petroleum Exploration and Production(E&P) law applies to petroleum activities within the jurisdiction of the Republic of Ghana, and it regulates upstream petroleum exploration and production activities. This law re-echoes Ghana's constitutional provision, Article 257, which vests the rights of ownership of Ghana's Petroleum resources in the president who holds it in trust of the Ghanaian people.⁴⁹ It also establish the conditions that provide for and ensure safe, secure, sustainable and efficient petroleum activities, in order to achieve optimal long-term petroleum resource exploitation and utilization for the benefit and welfare of the people of Ghana.⁵⁰

The E&P law has actually been existent for some time with the current one passed in the year 2016, representing an amendment of the old version passed in 1983.⁵¹ Indeed, it is the civil society who championed the campaign for redevelopment of law to reflect the vision of the country. Over a period of 20 years and more, the old law had laid idle without further amendments to reflect current developments. However, with the commencement of oil production, CSOs sought to

⁴⁸ For a detailed structure, functions and activities of PIAC, see www.piacghana.org

⁴⁹ See section 3 of Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016

⁵⁰ Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016 Act 919. Accessed at [http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/assets/Petroleum\(Exploration%20and%20Production\)Act2016.pdf](http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/assets/Petroleum(Exploration%20and%20Production)Act2016.pdf) (2/5/2017)

⁵¹ Petroleum Exploration and Production law 1983(PNDC Law 84)

identify flaws in the old law and pushed for its redevelopment in ways that address the needs of the country, while at the same time, aligning it with international practices. The CSOs led by CSPOG, raised concerns about the old law of 1983, one of which was- the lack of a clear roadmap that ‘incorporate the oil and gas sector into long term socio-economic planning and vision to maximize full employment, industrial and development in a transparent manner’.⁵² They also identified in the old law, a weak governance structure that did not have a competitive license awarding process of oil blocs, nor information of beneficial ownership disclosure. Furthermore, concerns were raised about the lack of safety, social and environmental impact provisions in the old law.⁵³

These issues raised by the civil society through the CSPOG, essentially identified inherent problems in the old law and set the agenda for the development of the new law. Subsequently, the new E&P law of 2016 has been developed to incorporate a strong governance structure that clearly outlines the country’s vision of developing the petroleum sector with legal instruments that place Ghana’s interests first in its oil dealings. In the area of contracting, an issue raised by CSOs, the law has incorporated an open, competitive public tender process under section 10(3) for the award of contracts and licensing for operation in the industry. This provision is to serve as a means to ensure that the country attains value for money and attain the best deals in its oil contracts.⁵⁴ The earlier narrative from an informant about the inclusion of the competitive bidding process affirms the enactment of this instrument in the law.

Furthermore, Section 4 (Management of Petroleum Resources) provides that, the management of Ghana’s petroleum resources ‘be conducted in accordance with the principles of good governance, transparency and the object of this Act’.⁵⁵ To this effect, the law has made important provisions, to address issues about disclosure of documents and information related to contracts and beneficial ownership. In this light, Section 56 of the law requires the maintenance of a register of petroleum agreements, licenses, permits and authorizations that is made public. This clearly serves the

⁵² Ghana’s New Petroleum (E& P) Act is Progressive Panelists Proclaim. Accessed at: <http://goxi.org/profiles/blogs/ghana-s-new-petroleum-e-p-act-is-progressive-panelists-proclaim>

⁵³ Ghana’s New Petroleum (E& P) Act is Progressive Panelists Proclaim. Accessed at: <http://goxi.org/profiles/blogs/ghana-s-new-petroleum-e-p-act-is-progressive-panelists-proclaim>

⁵⁴ Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016 see section 10

⁵⁵ Section 4, Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016

purpose of ensuring transparency and accountability from both government institutions and private companies operating in the industry.⁵⁶

The law also clearly outlines the rules of conduct in conformity to environmental and safety standards which were not existent previously, but through the civil society input, has seen incorporation into the new law. This is captured in section 73 which stipulate for petroleum activities to be carried out in a manner that ensures that a high level of safety is achieved, maintained and further developed in accordance with technological developments, best international practice and applicable enactments relating to health, safety and labor.⁵⁷ Subsequent provisions from sections 74-84 elaborate on rules of conformity relating to environmental standards, safety, impact issues, which essentially provides an important degree of transparency for stakeholders on the full costs of exploitation activities and how these costs are managed.⁵⁸ Such information is especially crucial for communities who may be directly affected by exploitation activities.

These provisions in the E&P law, while they represent contributions of the CSPOG to policy in Ghana's oil industry, however does not suggest that, their efforts towards policy contribution is always taken aboard by policy makers. The data returns show that while the highlighted provisions in the E&P law emanated from the civil society, other recommendations by the organization towards the said law did not make it onto the final outcome. In an article on modern Ghana,⁵⁹ a news publication platform, published on 19th August 2016, the chairman of the CSPOG pointed to the provision that gives the Minister of Energy, discretionary power in the award of oil block contracts.⁶⁰ This provision, according to him (CSPOG official), provides room for abuse of transparency and accountability in the award of oil blocks. The CSPOG in this regard, recommended for much more transparency in the conduct of the minister, but such further transparency measures were not present in the final policy. Similarly, an important provision relating to penalty for conflict of interest by public officers was not incorporated in the Act despite

⁵⁶ Section 56, Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016

⁵⁷ Section 73, Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016

⁵⁸ See Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016 Act 919. Accessed at [http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/assets/Petroleum\(Exploration%20and%20Production\)Act2016.pdf](http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/assets/Petroleum(Exploration%20and%20Production)Act2016.pdf)

⁵⁹ See <https://www.modernghana.com/news/713188/ghana-passes-petroleum-ep-law-what-next.html>

⁶⁰ See Section 10, Petroleum (Exploration and Production) Act, 2016

their recommendation for its inclusion.⁶¹ These issues among others, ignored by policy makers regarding the E&P Act, perhaps can be best interpreted by the comment of an informant who said that:

Policy makers will invite you to make contributions, but as to whether they will take your input aboard is not always the case, because that aspect of final decision on policies is actually in their hands. CSOs do not make policies for government. Even though many times we make a lot of policy recommendations, it is up to the government to take them aboard or otherwise. In many cases when a recommendation suits the interest of government they take it, if not, they do not. (IEA official, 27/01/2017)

In relation to the above narrative, the assumption of the ACF of the rational individual springs up. As advanced by the framework, the rational individual in the face of new experience filters it through existing beliefs, and tend to accept information confirming existing beliefs while screening out unsuitable information (Sabatier, 1998). CSOs contributions are likely to be taken aboard as part of final policy outcome by government and policymakers, mostly when their (CSOs) inputs align with the interests of officials. This underlines the reason why to get their interests on the policy agenda, CSOs through the process of policy oriented learning aim to alter the secondary beliefs of policymakers in relation to specific policies. While some input in the E&P law by the CSPOG were accepted, others were rejected. Nevertheless, they are encouraged and maintain that their contributions constitute very strong governance provisions, which make the Act very progressive, and an important milestone in Ghana's history of oil resource management.⁶² Moving forward, they held that, they will continue to work and ensure that stakeholders in their activities work with primary consideration for the interest of Ghanaians.

5.7.3 Local Content and Local Participation Policy

The Petroleum Local Content and Local Participation Regulations, 2013 (LI 2204) was put before Parliament for legislation, by the executive cabinet in July 2013.⁶³ By November, the same year,

⁶¹ <https://www.modernghana.com/news/713188/ghana-passes-petroleum-ep-law-what-next.html>

⁶² <https://www.modernghana.com/news/713188/ghana-passes-petroleum-ep-law-what-next.html>

⁶³ <http://www.gsmi-ijgb.com/Documents/JEnergyED%20V1%20N1%20P03%20Jenifer%20Emefa%20Senoo%20Policy%20in%20the%20Oil%20and%20Gas%20Industry.pdf>

it was passed into law and became effective in February 2014.⁶⁴ The local content and local participation policy represents Ghana's guiding document about inclusion of indigenous businesses in the petroleum sector. According to the Ministry of Energy, the policy represents the most reliable instrument which advance the stake of Ghanaians in the oil industry in a sustainable manner.⁶⁵ It outlines strategies on how government intends to develop the oil industry with optimal local content and local participation by enhancing national development, creating jobs and effectively managing the potential revenue from oil production.⁶⁶ Specific purpose for the policy include:

- maximize value-addition and job creation through the use of local expertise, goods and services, businesses and financing in the petroleum industry value chain and their retention in the country;
- develop local capacities in the petroleum industry value chain through education, skills transfer and expertise development, transfer of technology and know-how and active research and development programs;
- achieve the minimum local employment level and in-country spend for the provision of the goods and services in the petroleum industry value chain as specified in the First Schedule;
- increase the capability and international competitiveness of domestic businesses;
- creates petroleum and related supportive industries that will sustain economic development;
- achieves and maintain a degree of control for Ghanaians over development initiatives for local stakeholders;
- provides for a robust and transparent monitoring and reporting system to ensure delivery of local content policy objectives;

⁶⁴ See <http://www.gsmiijgb.com/Documents/JEnergyED%20V1%20N1%20P03%20Jenifer%20Emefa%20Senoo%20Policy%20in%20the%20Oil%20and%20Gas%20Industry.pdf>

⁶⁵ See <http://www.gsmiijgb.com/Documents/JEnergyED%20V1%20N1%20P03%20Jenifer%20Emefa%20Senoo%20Policy%20in%20the%20Oil%20and%20Gas%20Industry.pdf>

⁶⁶<http://www.mondaq.com/x/317602/Oil+Gas+Electricity/Local+Content+And+Local+Participation+In+Ghanas+Petroleum+Industry+An+Overview+Of+The+Petroleum+Local+Content+And+Local+Participation+Regulations+2013+LI2204>

- provides for the submission of the local content plan and related sub-plans by contractors, subcontractors, licensees and any other allied entities involved in the petroleum industry including
 - (i) the provision of goods and services;
 - (ii) the transfer to the Corporation or the Commission and Ghanaians of advanced technology and skills related to petroleum activities;
 - (iii) recruitment and training programs; and
 - (iv) supervision, coordination, implementation and monitoring of local content.⁶⁷

Like the other policies, and with confirmation from the CSPOG, the civil society was very instrumental in terms of evolving the regulatory framework for local content and local participation. In this light, one major issue the organization recommended as part of the policy relates to standardization. The issue of standardization essentially deals with certification for workers within the oil industry. According to the chairman of the CSPOG, prior to the development of the policy, the certification for workers within the sector relied on the American and British standards, which presented a hindrance to increasing indigenous participation in the industry. This is because when extraction companies required labor, they went for those with international certification. Ghanaians acquiring such certification required huge fees coupled with external examination, and this not only presented a hindrance to indigenous qualification, but also constituted a drain on the country's foreign exchange. In this light, the CSPOG recommended for the creation of a local standardization framework as part of the policy in order to curb the problems posed to local participation through international certification (Interview CSPOG official, 16/01/2017). This is captured in section 37 of the local content and local participation regulations, 2013.⁶⁸ Also, the organization recommended for the creation of a dedicated fund to support local Ghanaian participation in the industry. In this regard, the establishment of the venture capital fund meant to equip and empower indigenous participation in the oil sector through the policy is one that emanated from the CSPOG.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ See PETROLEUM (LOCAL CONTENT AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION) REGULATIONS, 2013 (L.I 2204): Accessed at: http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/pdfs/13-Local-Content-and-Local-Participation-Regulations-L_I-2204.pdf

⁶⁸ See Section 37, PETROLEUM (LOCAL CONTENT AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION) REGULATIONS, 2013 (L.I 2204)

⁶⁹ PETROLEUM (LOCAL CONTENT AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION) REGULATIONS, 2013 (L.I 2204): Accessed at: http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/pdfs/13-Local-Content-and-Local-Participation-Regulations-L_I-2204.pdf

The adoption of these clauses as part of the local content and local participation policy has been based on clear and constructive research and arguments for these measures by the CSPOG, that effectively convinced policymakers to take them aboard the final policy outcome. This process again depicts policy oriented learning by the ACF (Sabatier, 1998).

5.8 Beyond the Strategy of Educating Policymakers

Overall the data returns show that the civil society through the CSPOG constitute a major stakeholder in the oil policy subsystem of Ghana, which advocates for the pursuit of national interest in the exploitation of the resource. In pursuing the primary interest of oil for development of the citizenry, they have targeted the policy arena, where they seek to advance their interests to policy makers. The study findings in policies and laws emanating from their end suggest that, they are not only effective in the creation of policies, but they are also advancing the needs of citizens through the policies. As noted by an informant, when it comes to the full complement of the policies and laws currently in place, the civil society has been very instrumental in ensuring that they all have provisions which helps to engender a regime of transparency, accountability and development for the citizenry (ISODEC official,18/1/2017). Their actions towards policy contribution are majorly perpetuated through education by collaboration and persuading policymakers to incorporate their interests.

In a contributory clause (Clause 53) of the Petroleum Revenue Management Act, there are details about the composition of the Public Interest Accountability Committee (PIAC). The PIAC is a state institution tasked with the oversight responsibility of monitoring and evaluating the management of Ghana's petroleum resources by the government and relevant stakeholder institutions.⁷⁰ The composition of the committee enacted into law include, Trade Union Congress, National House of Chiefs, Association of Queen Mothers, Association of Ghana Industries and Chamber of Commerce, Ghana Journalist Association, GBA, Institute of Chartered Accountants, Ghana Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative, the CCG, the Federation of Muslim Council and Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences. Regarded as a state institution, a careful look at the composition of the PIAC points to dominance by civil society groups. Given that the membership composition of the committee was based on the recommendation of the CSPOG, it can be seen as a deliberate and a direct action by the organization to strengthen civil society's oversight

⁷⁰ See <http://piacghana.org/>

responsibility over the state in the governance of oil resource. The civil society presence in this institution also draw them closer to policymakers which can facilitate the projection of their interests onto policy agendas. As noted by Debrah and Graham (2015), CSOs' dominance of the PIAC has effectively established it as a force in the decision-making process of Ghana's oil industry. The PIAC issue of annual reports identify and expose issues in government's management of oil revenues and expenditures which causes it to constantly re-examine how the industry is managed.⁷¹

Also, the CSPOG has successfully pushed for a representative of the civil society on the Petroleum Commission of Ghana. The Petroleum Commission like the PIAC, is a state institution charged to regulate, manage and co-ordinate all activities in the Upstream Petroleum Industry for the overall benefit and welfare of Ghanaians.⁷² This represent a very powerful policy institution in the oil industry, and thus presents a strong avenue for the civil society contribution to Ghana's oil policy frameworks.

The point being established with these revelations is that, aside mechanisms adopted by the CSPOG to educate and change the policy positions of officials towards serving theirs, they actively seek to effect changes in institutional designs in order to strengthen their interests in emerging policies. By ensuring their representation in state institutions, they draw closer to policy makers and influence their decisions about policy. This is also captured by the ACF which identifies changes in institutional designs and rules as part of the dynamic for coalition's influence of other coalition's beliefs. As affirmed by Sabatier (1998), the ACF assumes that coalitions seek to alter the behavior of governmental institutions in order to achieve the policy objectives in their respective policy cores. It must however be noted that, doing this does not suggest that the civil society are direct policy makers but rather, they seek to contribute to or influence the decisions by those designated, so that, their interests are reflected. This as interpreted from the ACF reflect policy oriented learning.

The discussions also suggest that the environment between the CSPOG and policy makers is one characterized by cordial relations and collaboration as mentioned earlier. While this may be the dominant case, it is however important to establish that, there is no total absence of conflicts in the

⁷¹ See <http://piacghana.org/>

⁷² <http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/>

oil policy subsystem. Conflicts sometimes arise in the civil society's efforts to push their interests onto policy agendas. However, confrontations in such isolated cases have remained mild. This is revealed in the narrative of one informant who said that:

In the particular case of the petroleum revenue management Act, there were confrontations but the major one had to do with the discussion about how much of the oil revenues we should spend and save for the time being in terms of percentages. Government's position on one hand was that, we spend everything and invest for the future generation. CSOs position on the other, was that we split the proceeds, spend part in the present and save the other part which should be invested for the future generation. We had dialogues and arrived at a compromised position which was for the country to spend 70% in the present and save 30% for the future generation (ISODEC official, 18/01/2017).

This shows that in the pursuit of their interests in policies, conflicts have arisen, which according to the ACF represents an element for the emergence of policies. However, the dominant collaborative efforts between the civil society and government have ensured that for the most times, coalitions interests in the subsystem emerge in policies through policy oriented learning. This supports findings by Sabatier (1998), who reveal that subsystems that emerge out of a relatively new issue see coalition conflict develop only over time. He advances that subsystems arising because of concern with a relatively new issue - in this case, the oil resource - may initially be characterized by fluid situations in which almost everyone espouses some 'motherhood' ideal, such as utilization of the resource for national development. It is overtime, when information emerges about the seriousness of problems, the causes, and the costs of remedying them, that coalitions develop conflict tendencies. Given that the Ghanaian oil policy subsystem has actively been developing since the year 2010, when oil production began, issues emerging in the subsystem can be considered as relatively new, which explains the cordial relations between actors in the subsystem including government and the civil society. In terms of the CSPOG contribution to policy thus far, the study support findings by Kpessa (2011), and Ohemeng (2015), who assert that the civil society in Ghana constitute domestic policy entrepreneurs that facilitate the setting up of the agenda and formulation of policies. Nevertheless, there exist challenges in carrying out their responsibility in this respect.

5.9 Constraints of the CSPOG's Contribution to Policy

The above discussions have highlighted how the civil society through the CSPOG has facilitated the creation of sustainable frameworks for governing Ghana's hydrocarbons. This regardless, they face several challenges in their efforts towards policy contribution which constitute resources and constraints for coalition influence by the ACF. Among these are challenges related to information access, finance and organizational capacity issues.

5.9.1 Information Access

Democracy as a political system depends on a "knowledgeable citizenry whose access to a broad range of information enables them to actively participate in public life, determine priorities for public spending and hold public officials accountable"(Neuman, 2002, p. 5). As noted by Debrah and Graham (2015), Ghana over years has exhibited a tendency to deny citizens access to vital information that would keep them informed about governance issues. In the view of Neuman (2002), this breeds corruption because poor public access to information and secrecy allows concealed deals to determine public spending that serve the interests of a few rather than that of the masses. Indeed, access to information constitute a major concern for CSOs seeking to see the development of better governance structures and frameworks in Ghana's oil industry. As revealed in the views of informants, CSOs face brick walls in the efforts to access important information about certain decisions of government, especially when it comes to issues of revenue flow and how it is utilized (Interview ISODEC official, 18/1/2017). Such behavior from government is usually interpreted as an orchestrated strategy to keep CSOs and the public from knowing the actual revenues that are generated from oil and gas production(Debrah & Graham, 2015). Of course, members of the civil society admit that, the development of policies and laws to govern the industry have fostered an environment of transparency. However, they also maintain that the current environment can be better, because many deals and actions of players in the industry continue to be shrouded in secrecy. In the view of an informant, this has meant that in some cases CSOs rely on information obtained through the 'back door' in order to keep up and effectively carry out their watchdog function (Interview IEA official, 27/01/2017). In the view of another informant;

Even though there are transparency clauses in most existing frameworks, government holds the ultimate power and exercise the discretion of adhering to it

or not. We try as much as possible to access and expose discrepancies on the part of government and other actors so that, they can be transparent and accountable to the citizens in their dealings. However, I believe we can do much better with improved access to information about the industry. (ACEP official, 2/02/2017)

5.9.2 Funding and Effects on Organizational Capacity

Funding is also a challenge for civil society organizations. In general, this is a major problem for the civil society in developing countries. According to Pollard and Court (2005), in many countries, CSOs supply the kind of information that policymakers require to formulate effective policies. However, in most developing countries, they often lack the reliable funding and support required to develop and sustain strong and innovative research programs that inform policy makers. CSOs are not immune to this in Ghana. In the words of Ohemeng (2015), Ghanaian CSOs are “beggars with bowls in hand held out to government, as well as, to external funders”(p.678). This view reflects in the activities of the CSPOG which has hugely been reliant on a wide range of local and external funders such as Oxfam America, World Bank Revenue Watch Institute, Star Ghana, Ghana Oil and Gas for Inclusive Growth (GOGIC), as well as, Publish What You Pay Initiative (Norway) (Interview CSPOG official, 16/01/2017). Despite being associated with a plethora of funders, informants were quick to establish that, the organization lacked core funding (Interview ACEP official, 2/02/2017). In other words, donors support usually come in the form of providing funds for specific projects, thus the end of a project comes with the cessation of funds. This, according to informants, presented a hindrance to the organization’s work because ultimately, incoming funds for specific projects are limited and therefore cannot be used to support other works outside the funded projects. Their narratives outlined that, in the early years of its formation, the CSPOG received adequate funding to build its capacity to contribute to the design and formulation of oil policies. However, financial support has dwindled over the years with current support being irregular, particularly in the years after the passage of the PRM Act (Interview ISODEC official, 18/1/2017). This lack of funds has also affected the organization’s capacity, since it is not able to hire and keep competent staff with the requisite skills, needed to carry out research and advocacy in the oil industry. The other alternative of hiring and training personnel also relies on money. Therefore, while they continue to pursue their objectives, the lack of adequate funding presents a major challenge to their efforts to contribute to policy.

5.9.3 Political Tagging

According to the Chairman of the organization, another issue that is increasingly becoming a challenge to CSOs work is related to political tagging. He held that, sometimes when they hit hard on issues which are usually not favorable to government, they are tagged as anti-government or offshoots of opposition political parties. This he believes has become a big deterrent on the part of many CSOs because in situations where they are convinced that something is not right, they are not bold enough to bring to the public domain (Interview CSPOG official, 16/01/2017). In some instances, this tagging by politicians can be seen as a ready alibi for government to ridicule and ignore issues raised by CSOs, especially in situations where there exist opposing views. At other times, such political accusations are true because, leading civil society figures demonstrate allegiance and loyalty to leading political parties in the country, to the extent that, largely, parochial rather than national interests are projected (Debrah & Graham, 2015).

While such issues of political tagging among others, present challenges to civil society activism in Ghana, the CSPOG is encouraged by its achievements so far in facilitating governance framework and policies that advance the interest of citizens. Thus, regardless the challenges, they continue to work to keep government on its toes in the management of Ghana's oil resource with continuous contribution to the policy arena.

5.10 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed the field data. The findings indicate that; the civil society is a major stakeholder in Ghana's oil industry which represent a voice for pursuing the interest of Ghanaians. In this regard, the CSPOG which is made up of different citizen groups has emerged as an important organization, which lead the pursuit of national development agenda with regards to the utilization of the oil resource. As an organization, its overarching objective is to see an active and engaged civil society, capable of articulating citizens' demands, and an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of oil resources. To achieve this goal, it performs the function of oversight and monitoring of policy implementation in order to improve governance of the industry. They employ strategies such as public education, whistle blowing and advising stakeholders to achieve their goals. They also identify problems, set the agenda and contribute to the formulation of policies within the industry.

Toward their contribution to agenda setting and policy formulation/adoption, the study findings show that, the CSPOG relies on the strategy of educating policymakers through persuasion and collaborating mechanisms. This is achieved with tools such as research reports, briefs, proposals, as well as, lobbying of policy makers within the Ghanaian oil policy subsystem. The study findings show that the CSPOG through such mechanisms have successfully seen their interests reflect in emergent policies such as the Petroleum Revenue Management (PRM) Act; Petroleum Exploration and Production(E&P); as well as, the Local Content and Local Participation Policy. Their contribution to this effect is interpreted by the ACF as policy oriented learning. Aside the strategy of educating policymakers as a means to their policy contribution, findings also show that the CSPOG actively seek to effect institutional designs in order to strengthen their interests in emerging policies. This is also captured by the ACF which identifies changes in institutional designs and rules as part of the dynamic for the organization's contribution. In carrying out their watchdog function to ensure the effective management of the country's oil resource, the CSPOG face challenges related to access to information, funding, organizational capacity and political tagging. However, the organization is encouraged by its achievements in their contribution to policy, and thus continue to work to keep government and companies on their toes in the management of Ghana's oil resource.

Chapter 6. Summary and Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents a summary of the main study findings and analytical contributions about the civil society's contribution to policymaking in Ghana's oil industry.

The study has attempted to reveal the civil society's contribution in this light, by examining the activism of one civil society venture called Civil Society Platform for Oil and Gas (CSPOG) in the industry. As an organization which serves as a platform for knowledge sharing and conveying the voices and actions of Ghanaian civil society in the oil sector, the CSPOG aim to see an active and engaged civil society capable of articulating citizens' demands and an effective state that is responsive and accountable to its citizens in the governance of oil and gas resources. The study sought to understand the civil society's contribution to policymaking by drawing from the views and reflections from the CSPOG and its member organizations. This emanates from the reason that, as an active organization in the sector, it engages with institutions and other stakeholders in the sector to ensure the realization of citizens' interests with regard to the oil resource governance. The data collected, pertained to addressing curiosities about why the civil society given their successive exploits in the country's democratization and other areas in governance have taken interest in contributing to policies in the relatively new oil industry. It also ascertained mechanisms and strategies employed by CSOs in their efforts to ensure that, their contributions make it to final policy outcomes among the interests of government and other players in the industry.

6.1 Approaches

The study objective was to explore and understand the contribution of CSOs to policy in the Ghanaian oil industry from their own perspectives. In this light, the qualitative method presented a suitable approach and was employed to achieve this end. Emphasis was placed on recounting the views from the CSPOG and its member organizations about their policy input efforts. This was achieved through semi-structured interviews. Informants were purposefully sampled with the snowballing technique particularly employed to enhance the relevancy of informants for the study. In addition, information attained from different sources like documents from CSOs, books and relevant literature from internet sources were utilized in the study. These sources of secondary data yielded a pool of background information and the contextual understanding which was utilized to support the narratives of individual participants. In all, the flexibility of the chosen methodology

facilitated coherence between the chosen theories, and analysis of the field data. It also facilitated attention to much detail whereby the narratives of informants were as much as possible, presented in their own words.

The concepts of policymaking and its dimensions, coupled with the civil society and its understanding as an avenue for citizen participation in public affairs, were discussed to understand the functions of the Ghanaian civil society and their efforts to influence policymaking in the oil industry. In addition, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was expounded as the theoretical lens through which the study identified and understood the goals of the CSPOG, as well as, their 'modus operandi' for effecting policies in the study context.

6.2 Findings

The analysis of the field data showed that, the CSPOG interest to get involved in the governance of Ghana's oil resource is informed by the need to prevent the recurrence of past mismanagement of other natural resources such as gold, diamond etc. by the state apparatus. This involvement in issues about the oil resource governance is linked to the notion that, attention to sound fiscal and monetary policies; creation of natural resource funds; transparency, accountability and public involvement aid countries' use of resources for development, and also avoid the resource curse (Weinthal & Luong, 2006). Constituted by 120 individuals and 60 CSOs, members of the organization believe that with a unified voice and action in a coalition, the civil society can be presented as a powerful and effective body that can effectively advocate for citizen interests against forces whose overriding motive may be profit. The formation of the coalition(CSPOG), coupled with unified objectives, aligned with beliefs systems of coalitions as advanced by the ACF. In this regard, the goals of the organization identified as policy core beliefs by the framework, presented the basic attraction for holding member groups together to pursue a common objective despite the existence of different/paralleled specialties and interests among members (Sabatier, 1998).

As an avenue for citizen participation in governance of the country's oil resource, the CSPOG's goals were identified to involve articulating citizens' demands to ensure transparency and accountability from government and oil companies in oil legislations and other dealings in the industry. Towards the achievement of these objectives, the organization actively indulged in activities such as monitoring oil production, government spending, as well as, environmental impact on the citizens. It also engaged with government to create the necessary institutional

frameworks and policies in the sector and monitored the implementation of such frameworks to ensure that, the country adheres to best practices in the governance of the oil resource. Therefore, the oil policy subsystem constituted a major area of interest for the organization in their efforts to ensure effective governance of the resource. The study findings revealed that, the civil society sought to influence or contribute to policy from the early stage of identifying and formulating policies and legal frameworks, to monitoring their implementation in the industry. They went further to make advice and recommendations based on their monitoring to government upon which, new policies or amendments emerged. Thus, their activism towards policymaking covered all the stages of the policy cycle which include output stage (Agenda setting/ Policy Adoption), outcome stage(implementation) and the impact stage (Evaluation) (Knill & Tosun, 2012).

With the study interest lying in the output stage (Agenda setting/ Policy Adoption) of the policy cycle, the data returns revealed that the CSPOG mainly employed the strategy of education through persuasion and collaboration with policy makers to contribute to agenda setting and policy formulation/adoption. They achieved this with tools such as research reports, policy briefs, proposals, as well as lobbying, to contribute to policy within the Ghanaian oil policy subsystem. These tools employed by the civil society is captured by the ACF as strategies or guidance instruments, which the CSPOG employed to effect change or influence core policy beliefs of the dominant(government) coalition (Sabatier, 1998). Through such tools, the organization managed to effect changes in the policy positions of policymakers towards their interests by feeding them with new or in-depth information about issues within the industry. This process of influencing the decisions of policy makers through education, persuasion and collaboration, also reflected in the ACF as policy oriented learning.

In terms of achievements to policy contribution by the civil society, the study revealed that, the CSPOG had made giant strides in adding to some important policies within Ghana's oil policy subsystem. Their achievements to this effect included the contribution of 14 clauses to the existent Petroleum Revenue Management(PRM) Act in Ghana, as well as setting the agenda for the redevelopment of the new Petroleum Exploration and Production(E&P) Act. They also made immense contributions to the development of the Local Content and Local Participation Policy about utilization of the country's oil resource. Aside their direct contribution to the evolvement of policies in the industry, findings also revealed that, the CSPOG sought to effect changes in

institutional design as a measure to strengthen their interests in emerging policies. This they did by advocating and ensuring civil society representation in public institutions like the Public Interest Accountability Committee (PIAC), and the Petroleum Commission of Ghana. These represent powerful policy institutions, which are charged with oversight and monitoring responsibility, as well as, regulating and managing all activities in the oil industry. Thus, the civil society representation in these institutions facilitated their proximity to policy makers and decisions which effectively enhanced the advancement of their policy interests.

Their achievements, however did not suggest the absence of barriers in efforts towards policy contribution. The study revealed that, despite the CSPOG successfully advancing for the inclusion of various progressive clauses into policies and regulatory frameworks governing the industry, not all their contributions had been met with open arms by policy makers. In addition, the organization, in carrying out their work to ensure the representation of citizens interests in the governance of the oil industry, faced operational challenges related to finance, information access, and political tagging. All of these presented hindrances to their capacity to organize and effectively carry out their tasks. Nevertheless, they remained encouraged by their achievements in contributing to the emergence of some policies, and thus, continued their work to keep government and companies on their toes, in the governance of Ghana's oil resource.

6.3 Analytical Contributions

The revelations of the study, projecting to the broader point go to support notion of the civil society as an important realm which contributes to development of the contemporary democratic state by promoting and ensuring legitimacy, accountability, citizen participation and transparency, through public scrutiny of the state (Mercer, 2002). Akin to the case of the CSPOG, Ghanaian CSOs continue to make immense contribution to the country's development through various means that stretch beyond contribution to policymaking. The challenges faced in accessing financial and information resources among others, merely reflect the situation in many developing democracies where the state and its institutions continue to fashion out the best ways to incorporate the civil society into its socio-political and economic makeup (e.g. see Obadare, 2014; Robinson & Friedman, 2005). Nevertheless, it is clear that in developing democracies like Ghana, the civil society has come to stay, and they remain important development partners who, given much resources, can grow to enhance the development and democratic credentials of states. Moving

forward, it is important that they remain encouraged by their achievements, and continue to advance their role as an avenue for citizens' participation in state affairs. The following contributions hold relevance for enhancing the work of the civil society and theory application within and beyond the study context.

6.3.1 Passage of Right to Information Bill

The study has revealed access to information as constituting a major barrier for CSOs who seek to see the development of better governance structures and frameworks in Ghana's oil industry. Despite the development of policies and laws that foster an environment of transparency and accountability, there remains room for improvement in terms of citizens' access to information about governance of the industry. In this regard, an important measure that can facilitate information access in the sector, as well as others, is the enactment of Citizens Right to Information law. This law has been a contentious issue since the 2000's with a seeming lack of political will to see its effect. This is probably due to the compelling effect the law will have on government officials to provide governance-related information upon citizens' demand, which may expose their shady conducts. The civil society, as a measure to enhance their work have advocated and continue to do so for its enactment.⁷³ It remains a vital law to enhancing government transparency because, it will better empower citizens to demand for information from government about issues in the oil industry, like actual and correct revenues being generated from the resource, and how the revenues are utilized. The law will also make it possible for the publishing of contracts and agreements which in many cases are shrouded in secrecy so that, citizens will know, understand and appreciate the impact of the resource on development. Disclosure of information about dealings in the industry will go a long way to ensure that, there is transparency, and citizens will know whether the resource is truly being utilized for their benefit. As noted by Neuman (2002), knowledge is power, and transparency is the remedy to the darkness under which corruption and abuse thrives. Thus, disclosure of information about dealings in the industry will go a long way to ensure transparency and citizens will know whether the resource is truly being used for their benefit, as well as the country.

⁷³ See <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/Civil-Society-Faults-Ghana-s-Right-To-Information-Bill-216163>

6.3.2 Alternative Sources of Funding and Organizational Development

Funding is extremely important for institutions that seek to influence policy outcomes. As noted by Burstein (1991), group's issues of interest are more likely to gain a hearing if they have the resources to make their cases credibly, persistently, and in ways seen as potentially useful by those in power. Also, they are more likely to gain a hearing if those in, or close to government are accessible and are open to new ideas. Such new ideas can only come through rigorous research based on which, as shown in the study, the CSPOG's work is heavily hinged. Unfortunately, research does not come cheap, as researchers have to be well paid, and funds are needed to carry out the collection and the publication of data. Also, other activities such as workshops and press conferences, all involve substantial amount of financing. In Ghana and many developing countries, the overdependence of CSOs on donors means that, financial issues about their activism will continually remain out of their control. While they continue to seek for external funding for their activities, the CSPOG can perhaps undertake alternative measures to cushion their financial problems. This they can do by introducing paid consultancy and education courses from which, they can generate additional funds to support their activities. These functions may question their non-profit making status. However, to the extent that such additional funds are utilized to support their public interest activities, their function to advance the interests of citizens in policies and laws will remain unquestioned.

Beyond financial issues, the CSPOG should continually work to improve its internal disposition since cohesion among members, as well as, their competencies and skills in the coalition remain critical to the organization's survival and efficiency. In this light, the organization's internal procedures must promote transparency and accountability which can serve as a strong foundation for engagement with wider government structures. Also, there should be continuity in skills building and its transfer from top management to middle and junior level officials so that, the organization's capacity can endure and be strengthened to contribute to ensuring prudent management of Ghana's oil industry.

While improving its internal capacity, the organization should also continue to develop strategic relationship with government, based on continued collaboration rather than adversarial, as a means to enhancing its stakeholder role in issues about the industry. As the study has shown, it is through this strategy that they are presented with the opportunity to gain access to state institutions, policy

makers and ultimately influence decision making. This however, does not mean CSOs political alignment with government. Rather it is essential to maintain political neutrality. As noted by Debrah and Graham (2015), interests that stand in conflict with democratic exchanges of opposing ideas and consensus building is counterproductive to achieving efficient oil governance.

6.3.3 Advocacy Coalition Framework's Applicability to Research in Developing Contexts

The ACF by virtue of its advantage to be applied in various ways to study dynamics of policymaking and change in different subsystems, has been widely utilized by scholars. Nevertheless, it has been criticized for its rigidity and bias toward pluralistic and developed political systems, such as the United States and Europe (see Weible et al., 2009). Its applicability in these contexts points to the existence of well developed policy subsystems which facilitate the framework's adoption for policy analysis. In the application of the framework to the study of coalition dynamics in the oil policy subsystem in the developing context of Ghana, this study affirms the ACF as a versatile theory, that can be utilized in almost any political setting (Weible et al., 2009). Thus, together, with studies by Ainuson (2009), this study encourages the application of the theory for policy studies beyond developed contexts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Semi- Structured Interview Guide for CSPOG

Name:

Position in Organization:

About CSPOG

1. How do you characterize the role of CSOs in Ghana's oil and gas governance?
2. Does government recognize this role given that it is the dominant actor in the sector?
3. What is the goal of the CSPOG?
4. How do you assess the effectiveness of the organization in achieving these goals?
5. What are the sources of funds for the organizations activities? (who are the donors)
6. Being funders, does independent goals of donors' influence those of the organization in any way?
7. What are the strategies the organization employ to achieve its goals?

About Policymaking in the Oil Sector

8. Is the CSPOG involved in policy making in the oil sector
9. Do you think it is important for civil society to be part of policy issues in the oil sector in the first place? why do you say so...
10. Is the contribution to policymaking manifested through active participation in the policy subsystem (including government and other actors) or through other mechanisms outside the subsystem?
11. Being a coalition is the organization recognized by government as a formal or informal actor in the policy subsystem?
12. What are the mechanisms that the CSPOG employ to influence policymaking in the sector with examples of such policies?
13. Can you give me some examples of policies that the CSPOG has actively contributed to its formulation?

About Specific Policies

14. Are there any specific aspects of the policies that the organization's contribution is very visible?

Elaboration needed in contributory aspects of the policy....

15. During the process were there any instances that the civil society had different positions with regards to specific aspects of the policy? Examples...
16. Were there also instances where the different position of CSO's was adopted in the final policy outcomes? Examples...
17. What mechanisms did the CSO employ in getting their preferences onto the final policy outcome?
18. Have any other issues emerged after the passage of the policy that is making the policy bad or that can improve the policy?
19. Are there also roles being played by CSO's towards the successful implementation of policy outcomes?
If yes, how is this done?
20. Any emerging issues with regard to the problematic or successful implementation of the policies?
21. Are there any challenges that CSOs face in the performance of their functions in relation to the mentioned policies? Examples...

About general challenges and way forward

22. Are there also challenges that the organization face towards the achievement of the overarching goals of the organization?
23. What can be done to overturn such problems and ensure the achievement of the organization's goals?
24. What can also be done to improve civil society activism in Ghana.

Thank You.

Appendix 2. Semi- Structured Interview Guide for Member Organizations.

Name of CSO Organization:

Name of Interviewee:

Position in Organization:

About organization and relation to CSPOG

1. Is your organization(CSO) a member of the CSPOG?
2. What is the goal of your organization and how is it linked to that of the CSPOG?
3. How do you characterize the role of CSOs in Ghana's oil governance?
4. How do you assess the effectiveness of the CSPOG in achieving its goals?
5. Aside the platform does your organization make any independent efforts to contribute to the development of the oil sector? Examples...

About Policymaking in the sector

6. Do you think it is important for civil society to be part of policy issues in the oil sector in the first place?
7. What are the mechanisms that the CSO's employ to influence policymaking in the sector with examples of such policies?
8. What has been the contribution of your organization in the efforts to contribute to influence policymaking in the oil sector?
9. Can you give me some examples of policies that the civil society has actively contributed to its formulation?

If informal

About Specific Policies

10. Are there any specific aspects of policies that the organization's contribution is very visible? Elaboration needed in contributory aspects of the policy
11. Were there any significant and isolated contribution of your organization in this respect?
12. During the process were there any instances that the civil society had different positions with regards to specific aspects of the policy? Examples...
13. Were there also instances where the different position of CSO's was adopted in the final policy outcomes? Examples...
14. What mechanisms did the CSO employ in getting their preferences onto the final policy outcome?

15. Are there any challenges that CSOs face in the performance of their functions with regards to policy contribution? Examples...

About general challenges and way forward

16. Are there also challenges that CSOs face towards the achievement of their goals in Ghana?

17. What can be done to overturn such problems and ensure the achievement of organization's goals?

18. Overall what can also be done to improve civil society activism in Ghana?

Thank You.

Appendix 3. Letter of Intent

Anthony Acheampong
Fantoft Studentboliger
P.O. Box, 284
5075
Bergen, Norway

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a student with the University of Bergen, Norway and I am currently in Ghana undertaking a study about civil society activism in Ghana's oil policy sector. My work is titled- "Advocacy Coalition Approach to Policymaking: A study of the Civil Society's contribution to Ghana's Oil Industry." In this study, I essentially seek to unravel and highlight the Ghanaian civil society's contribution to policymaking in the country's oil resource governance with specific focus on policymaking.

Being an organization that takes interest in natural resource governance issues in the country, I hope that your outfit can offer some help in presenting some insightful knowledge about dynamics in the oil policy arena, and the Ghanaian CSO's contribution to policymaking in the sector. I therefore request for your assistance in the form of granting me an interview session, as well as, documentary proof that highlight CSO's contribution to Ghana's oil sector. Please find attached a letter of introduction from my institution affirming my status, as well as, a sample of my interview guide for your consideration. I will appreciate any form of assistance you can offer towards the success of my study and look forward to your cooperation.

Sincerely,
Anthony Acheampong.

Appendix 4: Introduction Letter



UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
Department of Administration and Organization Theory

To whom it may concern

Date
03.01.2017

Letter of introduction

This letter is to introduce Mr. Anthony A. Acheampong b. 16.07.1986. He is currently pursuing a MPhil degree in Public Administration at the Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway.

Mr. Anthony A. Acheampong has completed one year of course work and is now doing research for his thesis on the topic:

“Advocacy Coalition Approach to
Policymaking: A study of the Civil Society's contribution to Ghana's Oil Industry.”

He is conducting interviews in the time period January 5th 2017 - 7th of February 2017.

As an important part of this exercise he has to interview various persons and collect relevant documents. I hope you may assist him in the research. The information provided to him is for academic purposes only.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidentiality. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Any assistance given to him is highly appreciated

The thesis is supervised by Professor Steinar Askvik.

Yours sincerely,

Denise Fewtrell Flatmark
Higher Executive Officer

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