**OXFAM AMERICA**Project Evaluation Report

## IMPROVING PETROLEUM GOVERNANCE THROUGH INFORMED AND ENGAGED CIVIL SOCIETY IN GHANA, MOZAMBIQUE & TANZANIA

PROJECT EVALUATION REPORT – GHANA

Katinka C. van Cranenburgh April 2019



As part of our commitment to accountability and learning, Oxfam will share conclusions and recommendations from this report. Internally we will share with relevant stakeholders, ensuring that they have an opportunity to participate in discussion of those results in meaningful ways. We will also publish the evaluation reports on our website in accessible language.

As a rights-based organization, accountability, particularly to the communities we seek to serve, is of the highest importance to us. For Oxfam, accountability requires Oxfam to be regular and honest in assessing the quality of its work, share and learn from its findings with primary stakeholders, and apply that learning in future work.

This is a Project Evaluation for Oxfam America's Improving Petroleum Governance through Informed and Engaged Civil Society in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania. The program has been operating in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania since March 2017.

The major activities for producing this report took place in February and March 2019. The study was carried out by Katinka C. van Cranenburgh and reflects the findings as reported by them as validated with stakeholders. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this report are entirely those of the author(s) and should not be attributed in any manner to Oxfam America Inc. or its affiliated organizations, or to members of its Board of Executive Directors or the countries they represent.

The assessment was managed and commissioned by Kim Miller, Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning Advisor, Extractive Industries Global Program.

For additional information regarding the study Terms of Reference, please refer to the report appendices.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABFA Annual Budget Funding Amount ACEP Africa Centre for Energy Policy

CEDA Centre for Extractives and Development Africa

CEMAG Community and Environment Monitoring & Advocacy Group

CEPIL Center for Public Interest Law CSO Civil Society Organization

DAC Development Co-operation Development

DFID Department for International Development (U.K.)

E&P Exploration & Production El Extractive Industries

EIA Economic Impact Assessment

EITI Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative

FoN Friends of the Nation

GNPC Ghana National Petroleum Corporation GOGIG Ghana Oil and Gas for Inclusive Growth IFAC International Federation of Accountants

NPP New Patriotic Party

NORAD Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

NRGI Natural Resource Governance Institute

OECD Organization for Economic Co-ordination and Development

O&G Oil and Gas

PIAC Public Interest and Accountability Committee

WRCF Western Region Coastal Foundation

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

The consultant would like to express her sincere appreciation to several persons who have facilitated this report. Francis Agbere and Irene Abeekpeng from Oxfam in Ghana, for having scheduled the interviews and managed all extra work that came along with the evaluation in their daily busy schedules. Thanks also to Kim Miller and Kate Stanley for providing program management context and guiding the country team. Mostly, I would like to thank the representatives of the various private sector companies, the government officials and civil society representatives who were willing to participate in an interview. They provided the essential information that allowed me to better understand the challenges of their communities, their businesses, their governmental tasks and to connect all with the program's results.

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

NORAD aims to improve the petroleum governance in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania. Whilst the 2014-2017 NORAD grant focused on accountability of decision-makers through active citizenship, the second NORAD grant (2018-2019) focuses on having civil society informed and engaged. For this project evaluation it implies that the focus of measurement is on the processes rather than the impact. In Ghana, the grant was managed by Oxfam in Ghana, who partners with three Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), of which two operate at both national and local level and one operates at local level only. Through these CSOs, Oxfam promotes active and informed participation of CSOs, communities, the media and government representatives. In all they do, they try to integrate gender components.

The objective of the Project Evaluation (PE) is to analyze and document progress, results achieved, and barriers identified within the context of societal change and internal factors, and to make recommendations in case the program will be continued after 2019. Also, the PE assesses the program using OECD criteria<sup>1</sup>. This PE follows evaluations done by Community Wisdom Partners in 2014, 2016 and 2017 under the first NORAD grant.

Since Ghanaian president Nana Akufo-Addo was elected in 2016, the economy has grown considerably, mainly due to economic growth in the petroleum sector. The ruling NPP (New Patriotic Party) aims to invest the oil money in education, the agricultural sector and infrastructure. Oil revenues are expected to receive a significant boost with six new off-shore oilfields `on the market'. However, despite improvements in the legal system and in terms of contract transparency, challenges due to the expected growth of scale of the sector require CSOs to persist in transparency and accountability advocacy.

The PE was conducted in February and March 2019, evaluating the period of 2017 and 2018 by means of interviews and desk-research. A total of 24 people, of which 5 women (21%), were interviewed. This was accompanied by a thorough literature review encompassing academic journals, partner reports, publications, media clippings and incountry news.

Oxfam continued to engage its CSO partner, African Centre for Energy Policy (ACEP), who, despite leadership change, remains one of the three most reputable CSOs on oil and gas. CSO partner Friends of the Nation (FoN) is one of the two main reputable local CSO players in the country's coastal areas that plays a significant role in bridging communities with government on district level. Lastly, legal-oriented CSO CEPIL, the Center for Public Interest Law, a less influential small-scale organization, was supported by the program.

Whilst the role of Oxfam in Ghana is not directly visible as it operates indirectly, peers and partners alike expressed appreciation for Oxfam's persistence, brokerage and connections, reliability and knowledge. Oxfam's helicopter view enables linkages between national debates and community issues such as policy implications to community projects. This is an important contribution because there are very few other organizations with the ability to connect community level issues with national policy and at the same time, drawing global links and networks into country policy influencing.

<sup>1</sup> http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm

The findings per outcome indicator are presented hereafter:

#### Outcome 1 (CSOs engage with decision-makers) Findings:

- CSOs have knowledge and technical capacity, but understaffing is already an issue and may become a serious problem going forward.
- CSOs are sporadically coordinated: much progression can be made in this area.

#### Outcome 2 (Public engaged on critical oil and gas governance) Findings:

- Not many national and regional journalists are trained, but those that have received training are trained well and have been able to specialize.
- The OilMoneyTv online platform has not become the one-stop-shop platform anticipated and the long video-format strategy requires review.

#### Outcome 3 (Communities actively engage) Findings:

• The Shama model is a best practice of community engagement with district level government and national government and has large potential for upscaling.

#### **Program Management Findings:**

- Despite changes in staffing and usage of new systems, continuity of the program has been high due to highly motivated and knowledgeable staff.
- Local staff would have benefitted from more procedural flexibility during the transition phase in back-office management and systems support.

#### **Key PE recommendations:**

It is recommended that the program, for the remainder of 2019 and, if relevant, beyond, considers the following:

- Formalized partnerships between Oxfam supported CSOs with other NORADfunded CSOs such as NRGI.
- Persistency and upscaling of support for journalists to further specialize in O&G
- Structural partnerships/engagement agreements between community activists and district level governments in affected areas. Involvement of private sector in engagement efforts.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### **Project Objectives**

The second NORAD-funded Improving Petroleum Governance through Informed and Engaged Civil Societyin Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania is a 2-year program managed by Oxfam in 2017-2018, extended into a third year for 2019. It aims to contribute towards responsible management and governance of Oil and Gas (O&G) resources through promotion of active citizenship and the protection of community rights. As such, the program aims to achieve the following in Ghana:

- Build the capacity of CSOs to work together in supporting communities, participate in dialogue and advocate for fair O&G governance;
- Ensure the wider public is engaged in national, regional and local O&G governance by increasing the quality and quantity of the media and online platforms around O&G projects in Ghana;
- Build the capacity of communities impacted by O&G, so that they can engage in decision-making processes and O&G management.

Gender sensitivity is an important aspect in all that Oxfam does. In this program, gender sensitivity is evaluated in terms of participation of women in the interviews, the presence or absence of gender aspects in the different program indicators and the level of attention to women suffering negative effects of extractive projects. Table 1 shows the indicators that were developed as part of the results framework, linked to their respective outcomes and outputs. The Project Evaluation (PE) uses this structure to report the findings against the indicators shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Indicators used in PE in Ghana.

	Outcome & Output	Indicators
1	Outcome 1: CSOs engage with decision-makers (i.e. host country governments and extractive companies) on oil & gas governance issues. Output 1.1 CSOs have the knowledge	- Distribution of research
	and technical capacity to engage decision-makers on Oil & Gas governance and revenue issues and to access, analyze, simplify and utilize complex and technical information.	- CSO insight in contracts - CSO engagement with different GO levels - CSO engagement with private sector
2	Output 1.2 CSOs are coordinated for advocacy and information sharing.  Outcome 2: Public engaged on critical Oil & Gas	- CSOs sharing of data - CSOs cooperation examples
	governance issues to put pressure on companies and governments.	
	Output 2.1 National journalists are trained to report on critical Oil & Gas governance issues, including about community impacts of Oil & Gas activities, and relationships are built between national media houses and CSOs.	<ul> <li>Training of journalists</li> <li>Voices of active citizens and leaders captured by media</li> <li>Quality and quantity of media</li> <li>Existence and use of online platform</li> <li>Media influencing GO</li> <li>Media influencing private sector</li> </ul>

- Outcome 3: Communities impacted by petroleum governance activities actively engage and meaningfully participate in decision-making processes related to Oil & Gas management.
- Community reps trained
- Awareness raised
- Advocacy campaigning increased
- Community engagement with GO
- Community engagement with private sector

#### **Project Evaluation Purpose**

The objective of the PE is to analyze and document (i) progress against indicators; (ii) results and barriers; (iii) relevant contextual changes; (iv) program management practices and (v) put forth recommendations to support the potentials for future funding. Also, the PE assesses the program using OECD criteria. More specifically, the PE reports against outcomes and outputs based on activities detailed in the NORAD 2 Results Framework and evaluations of the first NORAD grant.

#### **Context**

Since Ghanaian president Nana Akufo-Addo was elected in 2016, the economy has grown considerably. The growth continues: Ghana is expected to be one of the fastest growing economies in the world in 2019, with an increase of around 8.5 percent, according to the World Bank. The export of higher-priced cocoa and gold have boosted the economy, but Ghana owes most of its recent economic growth to the petroleum sector. In 2017, production increased to almost 60 million barrels and more growth is yet to come. As a result, oil revenues of 2017 were 124 percent higher than in previous years. Currently, production figures are set at about 180,000 bopd with potential for increases to about 200,000 bopd to up to 500,000 bopd in 2024<sup>2</sup>.

Foreign investment in Ghana has increased by 56% over the period 2013-2017<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately, the rise of the oil industry does not automatically translate into employment (unlike the industrial or agricultural sectors). Unemployment has actually risen from 4 percent in 2011 to 5.8 percent in 2018, according to the World Bank. Among youth, the percentage is up to 11.5<sup>4</sup>.

The risk of overdependence on oil is valid, because as soon as the oil price falls sharply, the chance of a crisis increases. The ruling NPP (New Patriotic Party) under President Akufo-Addo promised to invest the oil money in education, the agricultural sector and manufacturing industry. For the last area campaigns such as 'Made in Ghana', 'One district, one factory' and 'Plants for food and jobs' are expected to lead to less unemployment and less donor dependency. In the area of education, the President has, in 2018, made secondary education free for all. Agricultural and infrastructural programs are partly funded from oil revenues.

The new government has been significantly boosting the petroleum sector: in 2018, six new off-shore oilfields were `released'. One oil block was assigned to the national oil company GNPC, two deep-sea blocks are currently being negotiated behind closed doors between government and oil companies, and three blocks have been put out for competitive bidding. Whilst the scale of the potential revenues derived from these new oil blocks is significant and promising in terms of economic growth, it comes at a time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See for exemple https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/business/Ghana-s-oil-production-to-go-up-to-500k-barrels-per-day-by-2024-723453, visited 20 April, 2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ghana Investment Promotion Centre https://www.gipcghana.com, visited 20 April 2019

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Worldbank indicators of unemployment:

https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS?locations=GH&view=chart, visited 20 April 2019.

when the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) almost suspended the Ghana EITI for lack of transparency (no reports were submitted to EITI for 2015-2017 but all of which were submitted soon after the threat) and the IMF is investigating if Ghana is meeting conditionalities in its bail-out plan (review expected in April 2019).

Good governance of oil and gas in Ghana is not a given, and CSOs are working hard to improve transparency and accountability in the sector. The massive increase of expected oil production requires CSOs to grow in terms of capacity and knowledgeable staff. At the same time, CSOs are facing a decrease of funding as many western donors are moving "from aid to trade". To remain and expand their influence over O&G decision-makers, CSOs will have to develop innovative impactful strategies and programs.

#### 2. METHODOLOGY

#### **Approach**

The PE has a qualitative approach based on a thorough literature review encompassing academic journals, partner reports, publications, media clippings and in-country news and interviews with a total of 24 key informants, of which 11 participated in the NORAD 1 evaluations. Five of the key informants in the PE are female (21%) (see Table 2). This reflects the ongoing predominant male participation in issues related to O&G in Ghana.

Evaluation	Number of interviewees (m / f)	Female Participation						
2014	18 (15 / 3)	17%						
2016	29 (23 / 6)	21%						
2017	27 (21 / 6)	22%						
2019	24 (19 / 5)	21%						

Table 2: Interviewees by gender

Oxfam organized most interviews, mostly from the public and non-for-profit sector. Informants came from a total of 17 organizations, ranging from CSOs, government, the private sector (organized by the consultant) and media houses (see Table 3). Unfortunately, no representative from the national oil company GNPC nor the Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC) could be interviewed. Besides two interviewees who were interviewed over Skype, all were done live at the office / community site of the interviewees. Two out of four interviewees indicated as Oxfam Country Staff in Table 3 had left Oxfam, one at the end of 2018 and one mid 2017. From the 24 interviewees, 11 participated in NORAD 1 evaluations. They are indicated in Table 3 as 'repeat respondents'.

Table 3: Interviewees by stakeholder type

Stakeholder Category	N. of people Interviewed in PE (repeat respondents Norad 1)
Oxfam (former) Country Staff	4 (3)
Oxfam Partner Organizations	4 (2)
(Other) Civil Society Organizations	1 (1)
Government Institutions	6 (2)
Media representatives	2 (1)
Donors	1 (0)
Community Activists	3 (0)
Private sector	3 (2)
Total	24 (11)

As with the NORAD 1 evaluations, the PE did not include household or citizen-based surveying. However, for the first time for the program in Ghana, community activists were also interviewed. This was important at this stage in the life of the project following the years of capacity building efforts at subnational level. Perceptions of interviewees were measured using non-statistical quantifiable indicators. For those indicators measured in NORAD 1 the interviewer indicated the 2017 average and asked interviewees to indicate whether this average, in his/her perception, had remained similar, increased or decreased. The scoring scale used ranged from 1 – 5; one (1) corresponding to no / very low capacity or knowledge and five (5) corresponding to high level of understanding / competence. Some new rating questions based on the NORAD 2 results framework were added to the interview guidelines (see Annex 4). The guidelines were customized to each stakeholder category.

Evaluation activities were carried out in close coordination with members from Oxfam America and the Oxfam staff in Ghana. Preliminary findings were shared with Oxfam staff in Ghana prior to leaving the country and with Oxfam America upon return from the field, allowing integration of Oxfam staff responses in this report.

#### **Ethical Considerations**

The consultant shared the key information on the Oxfam program and the scope and objectives of the PE with each interviewee before starting the interviews. Interviewees were informed of confidentiality measures considered under the PE including: (i) no direct references to informants in the PE report or any other communication produced in the context of the study; (ii) presentation of information avoiding indirect attributability of information to informants; (iii) the exception to the above being public information shared by organizations during the interviews on past or on-going interventions or plans or information publicly disseminated in reports, internet, the media, or other public communication channels. Verbal informed consent was obtained from all participants.

#### **Study Limitations**

As with all studies, this study has its limitations. Selection of the interviewees was done based on network availability, from both Oxfam as well as the researcher. Participation to the interviews was done on a voluntary basis, resulting in only those seeing the relevance of CSO / community / media capacity building to participate in this study.

National oil company GNPC was going through serious governance issues and GNPC contacts indicated they were not permitted to communicate. Unfortunately, PIAC members were not interviewed.

Since other donors such as DFID, DANIDA, the EU and UKAID also fund O&G related CSOs working on good governance, it was challenging to attribute impacts to NORAD funded work only. During the interviews, it became clear that other donors also claim similar successes made by CSOs.

#### 3. FINDINGS

This section presents findings for each program outcome, including tables which indicate the perceptions of interviewees. Where the respondents have participated in one of the NORAD 1 evaluations (done in 2014, 2016 and 2017), this is mentioned by showing the number of repeat respondents. For some items the number of organizations is mentioned rather than the number of interviewees, following the NORAD 2 results framework of 2017.

In Ghana, intensifying cooperation between CSOs would be of the interest of government and the private sector as an organized group of CSOs eases engagement. In general, the CSOs working on O&G in Ghana have a relatively high level of knowledge and capacity, but it is in the hands of a limited number of individuals. A similar situation is found amongst journalists reporting on oil and gas: the media is providing quality and quantity of stories on O&G, but relies on a limited number of journalists specialized on the topic of O&G. Communities are capable of engaging with relevant stakeholders, but engagement is not structured nor regular and its influence is not highly rated by all stakeholders. All in all, the space for government to misuse power is increasingly diminishing, but the lack of holding decision-makers accountable in case they misuse power remains to be an issue.

## 3.1 Outcome 1 CSOs engage with decision-makers (i.e. host country governments and extractive companies) on petroleum governance issues.

Before and during the national election year of 2016, Oxfam and partners persistently engaged with decision-makers to ensure new laws around transparent and competitive bidding for O&G blocks and transparency of beneficiary ownership would be implemented. In 2017 and 2018, CSOs continued putting pressure on government officials to implement promises made and execute the new laws. With the help of international funding (such as from NORAD and DFID), CSOs remained strong and unavoidable voices in the O&G sector. This holds true in the capital Accra as well as, on a limited scale, the district level. CSOs engagement with the private sector is (with some exeptions) limited to, on national level, interactions during the annual Africa Oil Governance Summit and, on subnational level, to the level of engaging with the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) process.

With the new political regime in the country (from early 2017), all political positions in government are in the hands of new civil servants. Although some are known to the CSO-world as they came from civil society, most government officials have changed

and CSOs need to build new relationships and trust. This naturally takes time. The training of MPs has to be repeated and collaboration has to be re-created.

Output 1.1 CSOs have the knowledge and technical capacity to engage decision-makers on Oil & Gas governance and revenue issues and to access, analyze, simplify and utilize complex and technical information.

#### **CSOs in Ghana**

Already before 2017, the level of engagement of CSOs with the Ministry of Energy and the Ministry of Finance was high and had resulted in new legislation, increased transparency and CSOs being regarded by government as a key stakeholder in the O&G debates. The knowledge and technical capacity of CSOs, such as ACEP and NRGI, remains high and their presence in stakeholder dialogues is structural and obvious. At sub-national and local levels, CSOs such as Friends of the Nation (FoN) and the Western Region Coastal Foundation (WRCF) are largely equipped for their work and capable of engaging decision-makers. Whilst before 2017 CSOs focused on capacity building and recognition as credible stakeholders in the O&G governance, the focus of 2018 and beyond has been to maintain pressure and ensure follow-up and implementation of the results achieved. Slack attention by CSOs would imply a high risk of undermining of results accomplished.

Contrary to 2017, CSOs now have access to oil contracts as implementation of the new E&P bill included making contracts available on the website of the Petroleum Commission. Based on that transparency CSOs, including Oxfam, have done reviews, made gap analyses of contracts against government budgets and corporate taxes. Increasingly, CSOs also have access to contracts prior to parliamentary approval. Currently, several CSOs are reviewing the contract, prior to parliamentary approval, between the government and ExxonnMobil (Table 4).

Table 4: CSOs insights in contracts and research distribution.

	NORAD 1 AVERAGE			NORAD 2 AVERAGE	N. Interviewees				
	2014	2016	2017	2019	2014 respo n- dents	2016 (Repeat respon- dents)	2017 (Repeat respon- dents 14/16)	2019 (Repeat respondents 14/16/17)	
To what level are details of oil contracts content, process related information and analysis available (online)?	2.5	1.9	1.9	4,4	12	20 (8)	24	18	
In how far are <b>oil contracts reviewed</b> by CSOs/agents and/or public prior to parliamentary approval?	1.5	1.6	1.5	2,4	12	19 (8)	22	16	
What is the <b>level of outreach</b> of distributing oil & gas research findings?	3.5	3.1	3.5	3,9	10	22 (6)	24	18	
In how far are <b>gender dimensions</b> part of oil & gas research?	1.9	2.3	2.7	2,5	11	20 (7)	24	17	

As this table indicates, knowledge distribution around O&G is growing, but within O&G research, gender dimensions are still scoring very poorly.

#### **CSOs supported through NORAD funding**

Oxfam and its CSO partners did not weaken their attention, despite change in terms of staffing and reduced momentum after the election year 2016. After the E&P law passed in 2016, CSOs continued to press for having regulations in place and enabling monitoring of compliance and impact of those regulations.

#### **ACEP**

ACEP and others, with funding from the project, used the 2018 Annual Oil Governance Summit, with the presence of the Minister of Energy and several oil companies, to obtain commitment for implementation and monitoring of the laws in terms of properly conducting competitive tendering and transparency of beneficiary ownership. As an example, during meetings at the Ministry of Energy, ACEP raised concerns about the 2 new oilfields allocated by direct negotiation and questioned why ultra-deep-sea blocks that require specialized companies cannot be awarded by means of tender. Since the 3 blocks that were put out to tender received dozens of applications, it justifies the CSO efforts to push for transparency and open competition for contract awards. Also, it prevented blocks being allocated to companies that are not capable of living up to their contracts.

Other activities by ACEP under NORAD funding were in the area of monitoring oilmoney funded community projects, monitoring of oil revenues, signaling gaps in accounts, mismanagement of oil-funded projects and coordination with media to disseminate findings. One of the significant results that demonstrates how CSOs are taken seriously by national government is that the Ministry of Finance shares information on revenue distribution for community projects ahead of projects rather than afterwards, allowing CSO tracking and influencing at an early stage. As an example of what this resulted in: ACEP involved the ministry in its tracking-work by joint visits to provinces and projects. The Ministry confirmed the visits were eye-openers in terms of what actually resulted (or not!) from the revenue expenditures.

Lesser success is obtained by ACEPs OilMoneyTV platform, a website that shows, through means of film documentaries, oil-funded community projects. Currently daily patronage stands at average of 10,000 daily views up from under 700 at the baseline in 2016. Films have helped to advocate increases in budgetary commitments to PIAC, which provides oversight on petroleum resources. However, the scale of reach is a challenge given the inaccessibility to internet via computers for rural communities. The OilMoneyTV initiative forms part of the follow-the-money initiative (value-for-money + media fellowship) and the video documentaries are used in O&G conferences. Extending the OilMoneyTV web application to mobile phone applications would help to reposition and strengthen citizen engagement. The relatively lengthy videos are however less suitable for leveraging Ghana's increasing mobile phone penetration (almost 95%). Short films would better target the interest amongst youth. Evidence from interviewees and statistics show the videos are not reaching the wider population, do not live up to the modern short attention-span of the wider public and, whilst significant funds have been put into the making of the films, there is no budget left to promote the platform. ACEP now considers a different approach whereby community members shoot their own film material with their smartphones.

#### Friends of the Nation (FoN)

FoN is a CSO that operates at sub-national and community level. It empowers both community members as well as district assembly members to participate in the process of how national oil revenue expenditures are distributed and in implementation of the local content regulations. FoN is valued by local governments, as demonstrated, among

other things, through its fixed position as a structural participant and equal voting member at assembly meetings in the coastal districts where it operates. FoN is also valued by companies operating locally, with the example of companies asking FoN to review their EIAs on a regular basis.

FoN provides trainings for local governments and communities. In 2017 the focus areas were transparency and engagement of EIAs conducted by companies and community participation in oil-funded community projects. Prior to 2017 it had trained district assembly members on inclusion of community needs in the assembly plans, following the local governments 4-year development cycles (2014-2017 and 2018-2021). The development plans include oil and gas sector specific policy planning. During execution of these development plans, FoN monitors implementation of the plans, provides support and helps disseminate findings. This is done through means of publications, notice boards and weekly radio shows where district assembly members are held accountable for their actions.

For FoN to engage more Ghanaians in the sector, it is key to get more grip on local content regulations, funds and implementation of legislation as well as intensify efforts to monitor oil revenue management from national to sub-national and local levels. Proactive bottom-up work from local districts may persuade national government to specify which projects and what budgets are allocated within the allocated oil-money themes of agriculture, health, education and infrastructure. Also, given the expected scale of growth of the O&G industry, the scale of potential environmental pollution and social impact will grow. For CSOs such as FoN to be prepared, more senior experienced and trained staff must be retained.

#### **Center for Public Interest Law (CEPIL)**

Relatively small CSO partner CEPIL aims to support O&G affected communities in legal terms. CEPIL has 2 staff members working on the project and engages with external lawyers for the acces-to-justice work. In 2017 and 2018 CEPIL also supported specific gender-from-the-legal-perspective trainings in coastal districts and environmental/legal aspects at community level. Whilst it has not been involved in defending community rights in court in 2017 and 2018, it has contributed to a community training curriculum used by sub-national level CSO partner FoN to explain to local communities about their rights and local content. The manual is also used for training local district assembly members about how the legal framework can work for them and how to work with the Petroleum Commission on local content matters.

No NORAD funding was allocated to litigation: CEPIL focusses on dialogue rather than litigation. It argues that a single court action could serve as an example of what hangs over one's head if one does not operate in line with the law. At the same time, the law is ambiguous: whilst the law states that communities can get compensated when affected by O&G operations, there is no governmental system or entity in place for communities to actually raise their grievances. As an example: the Petroleum Commission (PC) negotiates with communities that have to resettle and the company has to compensate for resettlement. But the law also states that in the case the private sector faces community hindrance (if communities disagree) the Commission can take the land from the people. That leaves the people with little to no rights to protect their interests.

Whilst the legal approach of CEPIL addresses the need for closing the loop of increasing transparency and accountability at sub-national level, the challenge is to strategize legal action such that those who abuse power will reconsider their approach due to the high risk of penalties. At this moment, CEPIL is not in position to influence decision-makers in that sense. Despite its lack of influence, CEPIL is currently not

modifying its strategy.

#### **CSOs level of engagement with decision-makers**

Whilst CSO knowledge and technical capacity is high amongst CSOs such as ACEP, NRGI and few others, it must be noted that this capacity is concentrated in a few individuals. Several other knowledgeable CSO representatives have recently left to work for government or the private sector.

Also, CSO engagement with national O&G decision-makers is very much focused on governmental decision-makers. Limited attention is spent on engaging with the private sector and the private sector does generally not feel the need to engage with CSOs. This is despite the importance of civil society being aware of the difference of how much oil is to be exported according to oil contracts and the actual liftings. It may avoid for example illegal export of oil reserves.

Using the adapted form of the USAID-Winrock International Civil Society Assessment<sup>5</sup>, CSOs were reviewed on their ability to engage with decision-makers. In general, CSOs engage with national and sub-national/local government as well as with the private sector on the level of information sharing. This means CSOs provide the decision-makers with the research they conduct (revenue and expenditure plans versus actuals, theoretic and practical figures of tax income, service design versus delivery activities on oil-funded projects, and/or contracts versus implementation of contracts). Likewise, the decision-makers share information with the CSOs (budgets, annual plans, fees, projects). All is done on a voluntary basis, rather than required by law or by procedural arrangements. Information is not shared on a regular basis, but ad-hoc.

There is no structural plan-feedback loop between citizens and decision-makers and information sharing is done through town meetings, public hearings, newsletters, websites, and local/municipal information centers. In some cases, CSOs have managed to create an engagement agreement whereby the government consults the CSO on a regular basis. An example at subnational/local level is FoN, that has an equal vote at the district assembly table in Shama (see the text box "Shama model"). At national level ACEP is often consulted, although not in a formal structure (see Table 5).

Table 5: CSOs influence over governments and private sector.

Table 5. CSOs inilidence over governments and private sector								
Interviewer perception based on answers interviewees: (1=info sharing,	RESULTS FRAMEWORK 2017	2019						
2=consultation, 3=negotiation, 4=delegation)	N. Organizations answered=4		N. Organizations answered=10					
On what level do CSOs engage with local/regional government on petroleum governance?	1,7		1,8					
On what level do CSOs engage with national government on petroleum governance?	1,8		2,0					
On what level do CSOs engage with private sector on petroleum governance?	1,6		1,8					

### Output 1.2 CSOs are coordinated for advocacy and information sharing.

<sup>5</sup> USAID-Winrock International Civil Society Assessment Report FY2012

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CSOs working in the O&G sector in Ghana generally have high knowledge and technical capacity to engage with other O&G stakeholders (see Table 6). Whether this actually leads to communities being able to participate in dialogue and advocate for fair O&G governance very much depends on how the knowledge and capacity is used. As CSOs depend on donor funding, they have an inherent need to prove the impact of their activities in comparison to other CSO efforts. Whilst the culture of claiming results also exists in the CSO landscape in Ghana, it does not seem to constrain efforts of working together.

Table 6: CSO Knowledge and capacity.

How would you rate the level of	RESULTS FRAMEWORK 2017	2019
CSOsNOTE: Rate from 1 to 4!!	N. Organizations answered=4	N. Organizations answered=15
CSO knowledge & technical capacity	2,9	2,9

Several CSOs, NORAD funded and those funded by for example DFID, work towards engaging the wider public in national, regional and local O&G governance. These CSOs have not divided their efforts by type of support, but rather most focus on similar topics such as increasing the quality and quantity of the media and building capacity of affected communities and governmental oil-revenue managers. Whilst one would expect it to be more efficient if different CSOs have different niches, as there is much work to do in the areas of attention, this CSO overlap of work is not necessarily harmful, and to date it seems merely positive to have overlapping CSO efforts.

An example of CSO cooperation is the Africa Oil Governance Summit, a regional summit initiated by the project. It brings together CSOs, companies and Government from across Ghana and countries like Tanzania, Mozambique, Senegal, Angola, USA, UK etc. The conference takes place on an annual basis and is co-sponsored by Norad, NRGI and GOGIG. Coordinated financing ensures cost efficiency, this event would not be possible without cooperation. In 2018, the focus was on local content and the issues of gender (supported specifically by Oxfam) and other equity issues were raised and a communique produced<sup>6</sup>.

What other O&G stakeholders, as well as CSOs themselves, would benefit from is to have a spokesperson representing the group of CSOs. This could ease relations with government and the private sector. As an example, since October 2018, a *licensing monitoring group* of CSOs exists, including PIAC, ACEP, NRGI, GOGIG (Ghana Oil and Gas for Inclusive Growth) and media houses Penplusbite and Joy. It is set up to track the process of licensing and comment on it. The group aims to have "one single voice" to approach the Ministry of Energy. This group is chaired by NRGI and communicates though its WhatsApp group.

Another example of cooperation was found in the CSO review of oil contracts (e.g. the ExxonMobil contract) prior to parliamentary approval. Before 2018, it was only ACEP that sometimes received informal requests from members of parliament to comment upon draft contracts, now ACEP, NRGI, GOGIG have indicated that they have received the draft oil contract for their review. The CSOs have connected and will ensure parliament receives an aggregated response, involving comments of all CSOs consulted.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://s3.amazonaws.com/new-acep-static1/publications/communique+4th+summit.pdf

The Ministry of Finance has closest connection with PIAC, but also cooperates with ACEP and GOGIC, German cooperation agency (GIZ), and others. It believes the level of cooperation between CSOs is limited and that all come to the ministry with similar questions.

An example of CSO coordination at local level is the training provided by FoN: FoN utilizes findings, reports and videos developed by ACEP, has consulted specialized CSOs such as Wacam and CEPIL on specific parts of the training program (legal). Furthermore, an outcome of the training was for CEPIL to create a trainer manual together with other CSOs for use by FoN and other CSOs.

The recipients of CSO trainings indicate that overlap does exist in terms of training topics and trainers hired to conduct CSO training. However, at this moment in time it is not regarded as a problem as repeat trainings do allow student journalists to reach more depth in their learning.

Although CSOs make attempts to be inclusive by making information available for blind or disabled people and inviting them to seminars and conferences, the effects of these efforts remain opaque in the short-term. Also, previous recommendations on making programs gender sensitive by connecting with more traditional women-focused initiatives (women's organizations focused on for example women's rights or reproductive & sexual health) have not been taken up by Oxfam and partners.

CSOs hardly engage with the private sector. The recently (2019) created Ghana Upstream Petroleum Chamber represents Tullow Ghana, Kosmos Energy, Anadarko, ENI, Vitol and Aker Energy and has been formed to promote, protect and enhance the common interests of international O&G companies. It also aims to ensure that high standards, best practices, supportive legislation, policies and protocols are adopted while collaborating with the government on industry policies.

Table 7: CSOs working together

How would you rate the level of	RESULTS FRAMEWORK 2017	2019
CSOsNOTE: Rate from 1 to 4!!	N. Organizations answered=4	N. Organizations answered=10
coordinating for advocacy?	3,1	2,5

According to most stakeholders, CSOs are increasingly coordinating their advocacy efforts, but the perception of CSOs working together is low (see Table 7). CSOs are expected to have to continue to increase cooperation as donor money is decreasing due to developed countries aiming for trade to replace parts of their aid. Other O&G stakeholders are likely to welcome joint CSO efforts and platforms with a shared spokesperson.

## 3.2 Outcome 2 Public engaged on critical Oil & Gas governance issues to put pressure on companies and governments.

Following the analysis of CSO efforts to engage and influence O&G decision-makers, a logical next question is to understand whether these efforts have led to the public at large being more or better informed on O&G governance. Despite the growth of television, internet and social media, radio remains the most popular news source in Ghana. Nearly two-thirds of the population listens to the radio every day. An obvious route to engage the wider population is through the media. Relatively speaking, press

freedom is high in Ghana, being classified 27<sup>th</sup> in the 2019 World Press Freedom Index<sup>7</sup> and ranked as the highest placed African country, higher than countries like Spain (31), France (33) and the United Kingdom (40).

But in Ghana it is not always transparent who is in charge of a media company; many stations and newspapers are in the hands of businessmen (like Citi FM) or politicians. One third of the media channels in Ghana are state owned or have shareholders with political ties. This results in the risk that journalists cannot be completely independent. During this PE there was no evidence found of this though and even the recent murder of a Ghanaian journalist was only mentioned by one journalist as having a potentially restricting effect on future reporting.

Output 2.1 National journalists are trained to report on critical Oil & Gas governance issues, including about community impacts of Oil & Gas activities, and relationships are built between national media houses and CSOs.

"Before I just quoted what politicians said. I didn't have an idea of what they were talking about. Now I can be more critical and speak to all stakeholders. I am equipped due to the trainings.

TV journalist operating in Accra and among affected communities, Feb. 2019.

Already between 2016 and 2017 much progress was made in terms of journalists' level of knowledge, motivation and interest to report on O&G. The 2016 elections created a significant level of political reporting by the media, but it also resulted in more awareness amongst the public in terms of the (potential) value of O&G to the nation. At the time, Oxfam and partners focused on ACEP's journalist training and fellowship program which resulted in a solid group of specialized O&G journalists. They largely contributed to the re-entering of the Exploration and Production Bill on the agenda of parliament when it was close to withdrawal. The fellows also had the resources to visit and shoot Value4Money documentaries at district level and investigate gaps in revenue management. Whilst the fellowship program finished at the end in 2017, close collaboration still exists between ACEP and several of the trained journalists.

Other actors have followed up on the media training by providing more specialized O&G training. The Centre for Extractives and Development Africa (CEDA), funded by DFID through GOGIG, has provided journalists technical training on understanding the legal framework and governance in extractives as well as provided leadership training. The NRGI holds its famous summer school where journalists are invited to participate and the private sector to present. IFAC, the International Federation of Accountants, provides training twice a year in relation to accounting, and Ghana EITI and Penplusbites organize journalist training on several O&G topics. Training efforts by the several donors are not coordinated at donor-level, nor at CSO-level.

Furthermore, Oxfam partners FoN and ACEP, but also others such as PIAC, NRGI and GOGIG invited journalists on a regular basis to stakeholder events and research

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> World Press Freedom Index, https://rsf.org/en/ranking, visited 20 April 2019.

dissemination gatherings. Presentations were given by specialists, for example a researcher who studied how to prevent abuse of discretionary powers under Act 9198.

Despite the various training providers, the number of journalists with a high level of knowledge is limited. In the western region for example, there are just two trained journalists, but also at national level the number of specialized research journalists is limited. Some of those trained by ACEP have taken up the role of becoming a specialized O&G reporter, but others have not committed and/or remain as widely oriented journalists.

Increased CSO coordination in terms of training of journalists would benefit the CSO and media sector. In 2018 NRGI organized training for political party representatives as well as for journalists. They selected 12 journalists of three media houses, provided the training sessions and connected journalists to mentors in the industry. This model is similar to the journalist-fellowship training and coaching program provided by ACEP in 2016, but NRGI was not aware of that. NRGI selects journalists based on categories (digital/print and private/state-owned), signing a memorandum of understanding with each media house. NRGI's mass training is for anybody interested in the sector, whilst its strategic training is for specialized journalists. This was not coordinated with other CSOs, even though for the NRGI summer school NRGI works with other CSOs such as ACEP.

Output 2.2 Information and technology platforms are supported to help monitor and disseminate key information on petroleum sector development and governance including community level impacts from Oil & Gas activities.

Targeted distribution of O&G information, whether from governmental, non-governmental, civil society or business origin, happens, mainly through the websites of the respective stakeholders and through multi-stakeholder fora. Increasingly social media is used, especially various WhatsApp groups for different initiatives, video materials through YouTube and, to a limited extent, Twitter. Journalists have access and are aware of the individual websites, participate in multi-stakeholder gatherings and are part of WhatsApp groups. Some journalists have their own YouTube channel and/or website.

Due to the increasing amount of data available (contracts, oil-money expenditures, beneficiary ownership info, and – to a limited extent – local content info), voices of active citizens and leaders are very well captured by the media, continuing even after the exciting election year 2016 (see Table 8).

Changes are noted in relation to the one-stop-shop online platform for all stakeholders to share that Oxfam and partners anticipated in early 2014 and 2016. The need and feasibility of having one shared platform where all O&G stakeholders share their research outcomes is close to zero as stakeholders prefer their own set of sources on the worldwide web as well as communicating easily and jointly through WhatsApp

http://www.petrocom.gov.gh/L&C\_folder/Pet\_register/laws/PETROLEUM%20(EXPLORATION%2 0AND%20PRODUCTION)%20ACT,%202016%20(ACT%20919).pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> This is the Petroleum Exploration and Production Act of 2016. Act 919 is considered to represent a major milestone in the legislative history of the upstream oil and gas industry in Ghana. The main objective of this article is to assess the new statute's fitness for purpose through a critical examination of its regulatory aspirations, together with its underlying legislative ambitions and presumptions. Visited 20 April, 2019

groups. Each organization values having an online platform (see Table 8) but not a shared online platform.

Table 8: Role of the media and online platforms

Table 6. Note of the media and offline platforms									
	NORAD 1 AVERAGE			NORAD 2 AVERAGE			5		
	2014	2016	2017	2019		2014	2016	2017 (Repeat respon- dents 14/16)	2019 (Repeat respondents 14/16/17)
To what extent are the voices of active citizens and leaders captured by media?	2.3	3.3	3.9	3,9		7	23 (9)	23	21
To what level do you feel there is a need for having an <b>online platform</b> ?	4.6	4.9	4.3	4,2		12	17 (5)	22	19

# 3.3 Outcome 3 Communities impacted by petroleum governance activities actively engage and meaningfully participate in decision-making processes related to Oil & Gas management.

For the public to be engaged on critical O&G governance issues and put pressure on companies and governments to manage the country's precious natural resources with care, the stabilization of the original over-excitement is beneficial. Legislation is in place and people's expectations can be managed better now that the sector has steadied. At the same time, people must remain engaged to maintain their rights to benefit from current and expected increase of oil revenues.

Efforts of communities to influence companies and local governments have led to increased engagement, however, more structured settings are required to move from ad-hoc and short-term engagement to continuous and long-term commitments.

The community activists interviewed for this PE were a queen mother of a coastal village representing 1500 villagers. (She was asked to be queen by the village community). Also, 2 community volunteers and the CSO Friends of the Nation (FoN) that, under Norad funding, works to empower coastal communities were interviewed. Besides the work of FoN, the Western Region Coastal Foundation (WRCF), through DFID funding, is also actively supporting coastal communities.

Long before oil and gas were taken to production in Ghana, Community and Environment Monitoring & Advocacy Groups (CEMAGs) were created for general community advocacy purposes (healthcare, infrastructure, disputes). They exist as volunteers who, aside of their daily activities, act as community capacity developers. The main CEMAGs are found across the 6 coastal districts / administrative regions of Ghana. One CEMAG comprises of around 10 to 14 members and 1 to 4 CEMAGs are found per region. In the coastal region of Takoradi there are 3 to 4 active CEMAGs.

Whilst the CEMAGs have been created for general community advocacy purposes, they increasingly have taken up the role of engaging with the oil and gas sector to increase community influence over, and engagement with, the oil and gas decision-makers. Under the NORAD-funded program, Oxfam-partner FoN empowers CEMAGs, mainly from fishing communities, to manage the high community expectations that

came with oil and gas, (promises of better life, increased wealth and economic prosperity) and defend rights of affected communities.

Amongst other things, in 2017 and 2018, CEMAG members and queen mothers have been trained by FoN with the support of CEPIL, to use a tool (Hazards Tool) to recognize or identify indicators of environmental pollution. Oxfam partner CEPIL has supported the training manual by providing the legal education section. As an outcome example, community activists can now ask for insight into the environmental and social impact assessments conducted by companies. Besides training, FoN organizes for CEMAG members to visit radio stations and connects them with print-journalists to get their voices heard through the media. Since the program, CEMAG members have also received direct access to district assembly members, something they never had before. FoN further provided training in how to mobilize community members, how to ensure inclusiveness and gender sensitive investigation skills.

CEMAG members indicate it remains difficult to organize meetings with company community liaison officers or to engage with the companies in general, whilst reaching out to subnational government and media is now part of their regular operations.

Besides communities, FoN, with NORAD funding, also builds the capacity of local government officials on themes such as basic laws, community engagement and media access. Topics such as property rights, land documentation, using social accountability to demand better governance and environmental aspects are taught to both community members and government representatives. During the trainings, mining sector activists provide best practices and lessons learned from the mining industry. FoN organized stakeholder forums with a focus on environmental impact, demonstrating gaps between reality and the oil spill contingency plan of 2015 and recommending to government on solutions. FoN also worked with district assemblies to ensure inclusion of community needs in the development plans and to advocate for transparency and accountability around the use of public resources. In the region of Sekondi Takoradi, the district assembly shares information through the radio on a weekly basis.

In 2017 and 2018 specific topics were addressed in the training such as ensuring community participation in the follow up EIAs. In its planning, FoN follows the 4-year cycle of governmental development plans: 2014-2017 and 2018-2021. An example of what is still missing amongst communities is access to contracts between local governments and local companies.

The Petroleum Commission also trained District Assembly officers/planning officers, community leaders and media. Topics were the fiscal regime, revenues and community-based issues. The Commission also has an annual engagement where community leaders are brought up to date on the Commission's activities.

It should be noted that this PE only looked at the processes and activities related to if and how communities engage with decision-makers, not what the actual results were.

The perception rating of stakeholders (see table 9) is that communities have a relatively high level of capacity to influence local government, national government and the private sector. However, much improvement can be made in this area: structural or even institutionalized forms of engagement may benefit both communities, local government officials and companies going forward. One may think of regular gettogethers between representatives of CSOs, government and private sector, independent of whether there are issues, but focusing on what the next steps in the districts' societal development should be and agreeing upon execution.

Table 9: Capacity of communities from 1(very low) to 5(very high).

1			,	. ,	, ,			
		D 1 AVE	NORAD 2 AVERAGE	N. Interviewees				
What is the level of capacity of community activists' of	2014	2016	2017	2019	2014	2016	2017	2019 (Repeat respondents 2017)
demanding accountability from local government?	NA	NA	NA	2,8				19
demanding accountability from national government?	NA	NA	2.8	2,6			24	19
influencing petroleum governance?	NA	NA	2.8	2,8			23	18
demanding accountability from the private sector?	NA	NA	NA	3,0				19
influencing private sector community engagement programs?	NA	NA	NA	2,8				18

Community activists themselves regard their capacity to influence local government relatively higher than other interviewees do (4,0 and 2,7 respectively). Also, community activists are more positive about their capacity to influence petroleum governance and private sector engagement programs than general O&G stakeholders (see Table 10).

Table 10: Difference in perception on level of capacity of community activists from 1 very low) to 5(very high).

What is the level of capacity of community activists' of	COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS	OTHER INTERVIE- WEES
demanding accountability from local government?	4,0	2,7
demanding accountability from national government?	2,5	2,6
influencing petroleum governance?	3,5	2,7
demanding accountability from the private sector?	3,0	3,0
influencing private sector community engagement programs?	3,5	2,7

With NORAD funds, FoN has ensured that communities affected by the off-shore oil and gas industry have increased their capacity to engage with O&G stakeholders. The efforts would benefit from continuity and focus on structured and fixed continuous engagement platforms where community leaders such as CEMAG members, traditional chiefs or queen mothers have weekly/monthly meetings with district assembly members (development officers) as well as company community liaison officers.

#### The "Shama Model"

An example of a district supported under the program by FoN is Shama, a district on the coast of the offshore O&G operations at the West Cape Three Points oil field. The Shama multi-stakeholder "model" is regarded as best practice by many: its district assembly aims to have a citizen-centered, participative, transparent, accountable, professional innovative and result-oriented approach where integrity and high motivation are the basis of governmental district operations. The Shama development planning unit is responsible for a district with 54 communities.

To ensure societal development that serves all, the Shama district has conducted community needs assessments in all 54 communities, ensuring an inclusive process and properly analyzing requests in relation to feasibility, priority and sustainability aspects. Once collected the outcomes are transformed into local district development plans. These are shared within the communities, and companies are invited to "subscribe" for where they are best fit to contribute in terms of financial and in-kind means. Together with the district, the companies then execute the projects.

Moreover, the local district development plans fit the criteria of the national government and shared with the national government. This has resulted into the government, since 2018, providing the district money from the annual national budget (ABFA) to execute its development plans.

The assembly's development planning unit is now also in charge of information dissemination from central government to local authority for which it has set up an accountability notice board and organizes, with the help of FoN, public hearings.

This was a huge change from how things were organized in the past. As a local government official mentioned:

"The national government wasn't informing us about oil money funded projects in our district. Now things are turning around: we submit our development plan to the national development officer."

The Shama district assembly has benefitted from various support activities and trainings, mostly provided for by FoN. They have been taught the legal framework, how to monitor oil revenues spent for local projects, the risks of oil companies' presence (oil spillage, gas flarings) and the role of business (core oil operations, CSR, community engagement). Also the GNPC and WRCF provide related trainings: the WRCF conducts stakeholder engagement at regional level, bringing GNPC, Petroleum Commission and CSOs together to strengthen accountability and CSR.

The challenges of the Shama model are in reaching all 54 communities. Whilst all have community representation (approximately 3 persons per community), it is not measured in how far these community representatives disseminate the information to their communities. Also, get-togethers for 150 people requires financial support which is currently lacking. The Shama model should also be supported by a national CSR policy to ensure that companies respect the local authorities. The Petroleum Commission (PC) has agreed for the need but till date this is absent. Lastly, the Ministry of Finance trained district planning officers to monitor project implementation and report back to the ministry. Ministry budgets for district planning officers to do this work are far below needs though. As an example: only two cars have been made available for district planners to travel to their communities...

#### 3.4 Program Management

Oxfam in Ghana has managed to maintain the program at a high-intensity level despite the context of reduced public O&G attention after the heat of the 2016 national elections when O&G was high on the agenda of the public and politicians. Also, despite the change of the Oxfam EI program manager and the implementation of new systems following the reorganization across the Oxfam Confederation the program partners are positive about the behind-the-scenes work conducted by Oxfam in Ghana in 2017 and 2018.

The main aspects influencing program management have been:

- Some staff members of Oxfam America and Oxfam in Ghana left.
- Global Oxfam reorganization has taken up much of the time from local remaining staff.
- Country staff is gaining from Oxfam systems in terms of knowledge and development.
- The transition phase from Oxfam America to Oxfam Great Britain reporting might have been more flexible or better organized (an interim-arrangement) so that grant-making could continue.
- These **funding delays** have caused partners to rush into finishing actions with deadlines whilst quality would have benefitted from timely starting of activities.

One Oxfam in Ghana CSO partner gave an example in which the delay of funds had led to planning issues and ultimately to loss of quality as when the funds were received there was limited time to use them. The activity concerned the production of a training manual. It was planned to start in January and finish in November. However, the funds only arrived in August leaving the CSO with little time to do proper feedback and testing rounds.

Whilst Oxfam took several initiatives in the O&G area such as translating the EITI report into braille language and supporting the study around corporate tax, these initiatives were not integrated with the work done and with the CSO partners funded under NORAD.

Whilst Oxfam in Ghana is supporting CSOs by boosting capacities to engage with O&G decision-makers, the country office would like to better understand its actual influence, the major end result of its interventions. In other words, what does information sharing, consultation and negotiation lead to? The influencing power of Oxfam might be difficult to research as there are so many other organizations operating in the same field.

#### 3.5 OECD Development Criteria

The following table assesses, in summary form, program performance against the standard criteria used by DAC/OECD for evaluating development assistance<sup>9</sup>:

Table: Assessment of Program Performance against OECD Criteria

No.	Criteria	Assessment
1	Relevance	With the expected significant growth of the oil and gas industry in Ghana the relevance of (growing) the program is undoubtable. Six new offshore blocks are in the process of being assigned to an oil exploration and production company. Unconfirmed information mentions another large area of onshore oilfields to be expected on the market in the year or years to come. As onshore O&G requires an additional set of skills from CSOs, the media, the government and civil society, this will require additional programs on top of the offshore-related capacity building work.
2	Effectiveness	The program has been effective in terms of obtaining governmental transparency on oil contracts and ensuring information on oil-revenue expenditures are made available to CSOs early on in the process rather than after spending.
3	Efficiency	Efficiency is difficult to measure as outputs cannot be directly related to inputs because other grant makers are active in the same area of work. However, the program management issues of reorganization and adaptation to a different Oxfam monitoring & reporting system has not been good for the program's efficiency.
4	Impact	As the project was not finalized at the time of this PE it is difficult to assess how far it has impacted or even influenced government decision-making.
5	Sustainability	If donors continue funding O&G programs such as this program for at least another five years (when laws and regulations are implemented, CSO monitoring and civil society engagement is continuous and structural) then a sustainable role for civil society is foreseen. Recent new laws have to first be translated into regulations and implemented accordingly.

#### 3.6 Program Related Topics

The PE identified several areas within the O&G debate that require attention from civil society, but are currently underexposed by CSOs and the media:

#### **Local Content**

Local content expenditures have increased by 46% in 2018, according to the Ministry of Finance. The Petroleum Commission who is responsible for monitoring local content

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/daccriteriaforevaluatingdevelopmentassistance.htm

expenditures requires, since January 2019, evidence of private sector investments in local content. The impact of local content policies and the potential role for CSOs and civil society around local content are opaque. CSO IMANI has researched Ghana's local content policy<sup>10</sup>, and emphasizes that adequate capacity is a prerequisite for it to be feasible and impactful. This goes for both local content (O&G products and services provided by Ghanaian businesses), and local participation (ownership by Ghanaians).

However, the pool of local suppliers for O&G is limited. Industrial capacity building and equity participation of local suppliers is required to ensure foreign companies procure goods and services locally and employ and train locals. To date the topic is merely debated in terms of "content levels" or required percentages for businesses to engage with local service providers (10% for exploration and production) and ensure Ghanaian ownership (minimum 10%). What is lacking are the skills and expertise (financial, technical and to a certain level infrastructural) amongst Ghanaian service providers to responsibly take up a role in the O&G sector. Also, the local content policy focuses more on ownership than impact on society. The policy puts pressure on the private sector but without the proper capacity, companies are merely squeezed into complying. In combination with inadequate monitoring and evaluation of local content and the Local Content Fund, the risks of companies to find work-around structures and for government to mis-manage revenues or corruption is significant.

<u>Potentials for CSOs:</u> CSOs could further press for the local content regulations being reviewed: questions such as benefits and risks of the regulations, types of capacity required and how to develop capacity, as well as what realistic local content targets are.

#### **CSR**

Besides local content regulations, companies are also supposed to provide CSR projects under the umbrella of the Petroleum Commission (PC). The lack of transparency and the (perceived) underperformance of oil-money reaching O&G affected communities with positive impact has led to companies conducting social investments directly to communities. Whilst this is applaudable, alignment with national and local development plans must be secured to ensure there is no waste of investments.

<u>Potentials for CSOs:</u> To engage with the PC and the companies on CSR projects, monitoring compliance and impact. To support the Shama model in other regions.

#### **Upstream and Downstream**

The call for connecting upstream to downstream policy, as expressed in the NORAD 1 evaluation is even more valid today. The overcapacity of gas in the upstream market, the uncertainties around stocks (produced but not exported), the lack of gas-infrastructure and rise of the price for local energy are to date not researched and hardly debated in connection with the upstream oil and gas industry, despite the close linkages. This is bad for businesses as they cannot commercialize (export) gases found as by-product of their crude oil and bad for the people as they continue to pay a high energy bill and continue to face power cuts. With the growth of oil producers coming to the market in Ghana, the need for gas infrastructure (gas plants, pipelines to export) will only increase.

<u>Potentials for CSOs:</u> For CSOs this is an opportunity to align with businesses as shared objectives benefit both businesses and civil society.

 $^{10}\ https://imaniafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Final-Final-Presentation-Is-Ghana-Ready-for-More-Local-Content.pdf$ 

#### **Tax Collection**

In 2018 Oxfam commissioned a study on tax collection,<sup>11</sup> which highlighted the potentials of missed tax incomes of the O&G sector if not well audited. Tax avoidance by companies is far from simple for developing-country governments to adequately identify. As the report emphasized, tax authorities may lack the necessary legal and regulatory tools, expertise, or information. Furthermore, conflicting incentives or political pressures may complicate the government's mandate to maximize revenue collection. Inflated company expenditures are a major threat to government revenues from oil and gas. The more costs that companies report, the less profits there are to tax, which means less revenue for government. Developing countries stand to lose the most from cost overstatement given their outsized reliance on corporate income tax.<sup>12</sup>

#### **Revenue Collection**

In February 2019, PIAC signed an MoU with the Economic and Organized Crime Office (EOCO) seeking to combat crimes relating to the management of petroleum revenues in the country. Over the years, experts in the petroleum sector have complained about the misappropriation of the country's oil revenue. Last year, PAIC noted that it was yet to receive any form of correspondence from the Ministry of Finance explaining the whereabouts of over ¢400 million unutilized oil revenues allocated to the annual budget funding amount in 2017.

<u>Potentials for CSOs:</u> To train government officials on tax collection and revenue management.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **CONCLUSIONS**

Ghana currently produces around 200,000 barrels of oil per day from three fields<sup>13</sup>. With the new fields up for tender and directly negotiated and another potential of several onshore blocks to be developed starting 2020, the scale of oil revenue management is set to grow exponentially.

Oxfam's partners ACEP and FoN have become authorities on respectively national and subnational/local levels. The last year of the program and potentials for follow up after the program ends have the potential for increased engagement with O&G decision-makers. Several "new" O&G aspects can be considered to further deepen and strengthen (see 3.6). "Old" program aspects have to remain on the agenda however, as persistent and ongoing attention is critical for decision-makers not to return to business as before (absence of transparency and accountability).

at  $https://www.oxfamamerica.org/static/media/files/Examining\_the\_Crude\_Details\_Ghana\_Case\_Study.pdf$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Examining the Crude Details Full Report.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> UNCTAD, World Investment Report 2015: Reforming International Investment Governance (Geneva, 2015), p. 182, https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/wir2015 en.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> https://uk.reuters.com/article/ghana-oil/update-1-ghana-approves-state-oil-company-aspartner-in-exxon-deepwater-field-idUKL8N1XI3WE

The internal organizational situation has been challenging and, in some cases, has led to lower quality and performance of Oxfam's CSO partners. However, the general perception of O&G stakeholders on the work conducted under NORAD 2 is positive: CSOs, media and civil society are increasingly on the radar of government, both on national and subnational level. The private sector does not have high regard for the influence of civil society, neither in terms of risk nor opportunity. O&G companies find the barriers in the sector related to government capacity and decision-making.

#### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

There are so many avenues going forward for Oxfam through NORAD funding that recommendations would best be customized to the global Oxfam strategy as well as the direction outlined by Oxfam in Ghana. Oil liftings and revenues are expected to increase significantly and rapidly due to the offshore and the likely onshore expected O&G exploration and production. Strategically, Oxfam can decide to either focus on depth of influence on specific aspects of O&G governance, or on upscaling existing practices. Scalable strategies ensure CSOs, media and the wider public continue to be empowered to influence the O&G governance system at large. In-depth strategies would mean to focus on one or several specific areas as mentioned in chapter 3.6, such as:

- To press for the local content regulations being reviewed: questions such as benefits and risks of the regulations, types of capacity required and how to develop capacity, as well as what realistic local content targets.
- To engage with the PC and the companies on CSR projects, monitoring compliance and impact.
- To support the Shama model in other regions.
- Align with the private sector on connecting upstream and downstream infrastructure for national energy.
- To train government officials on tax collection and revenue management.

#### Outcome 1 (CSOs engage with decision-makers) Recommendations:

- CSO engagement with national and subnational/local governments will benefit from more regular and continuous gatherings.
- CSO engagement with private sector is still at its infancy and CSOs may
  demonstrate better how companies can benefit from cooperation with CSOs in
  upstream and downstream strategies. Even though the Chamber does not
  mention CSOs as potential collaborators, it might be more than willing to talk to
  CSOs, especially if they were more united.

#### Outcome 2 (Media engagement) Recommendations:

- Keep close connections and motivate specialized O&G journalists to continue and increase their efforts.
- Broaden the pool of trained journalists by training more journalists.
- Align with other CSOs on training efforts.

#### **Outcome 3 (Communities engagement) Recommendations:**

- Reshape ad-hoc engagements into regular, continuous and long-term commitments.
- Support CEMAG members to get hold of company community liaison officers, for example on the topic of access to contracts between local governments and local companies.

• Use the `Shama Model' as a best practice elsewhere: by making a proper analysis of the model and turning it into a toolkit / guideline to be used in other areas where communities are affected by O&G.

#### **Program Management Recommendations:**

- Scale up and prepare for increased O&G, also for onshore impacts.
- Co-operate with gender-experts on how to further integrate gender.
- To evaluate influence by CSOs in O&G governance and the impact it has on civil society.

#### **ANNEX 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE**

Oxfam - Improving Petroleum Governance through Informed and Engaged Civil Society in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania

Project Evaluation - Request for Proposals

#### I. Background

Oxfam is the recipient of a two-year grant from the Oil for Development program of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) over 2017-2018 with a 1-year renewal to the end of 2019. The *Improving Petroleum Governance through Informed and Engaged Civil Society in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania* project (also referred to as NORAD 2) aims to contribute towards responsible management and governance of Oil and Gas (O&G) resources through promotion of active citizenship in transparency, accountability, and the protection of community rights. The NORAD grant involves three Oxfam affiliates, led by Oxfam America (OUS).

The NORAD 2 grant follows the three-year NORAD 1 grant, *Accountability through Active Citizenship Project: Improving Petroleum Governance in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania*, which was implemented July 2014 – March 2017. A cumulative end line evaluation was conducted during January-March 2017 across the three project countries to review achievements made and lessons learned from grant implementation, and a learning event was held at the end of March 2017. The learning event served as an opportunity for country and global staff to review the NORAD 1 end line evaluation findings, to reflect on lessons and challenges, and to apply the lessons in the planning of the NORAD 2 grant implementation.

Based on the lessons of the implementation of NORAD 1, the project team revised the grant's Results Framework (RF) for NORAD 2 to better capture the connection of the NORAD grant to the ultimate Oxfam program goal and broaden the grant's project outcome and intermediate outcomes to link the results across the three project countries. Due to the revisions of the NORAD 2 RF, the project team collected baseline data against its indicators over June-August 2017. The NORAD 2 baseline focused on the country CSO and partner organizations' perceptions around engagement with duty bearers, and went deep in Tanzania with an externally commissioned community-level survey of voice and influence related to social accountability mechanisms.

This project evaluation will be conducted over January-April 2019 in Ghana, Tanzania and Mozambique. It is a formative evaluation that will build upon the NORAD 1 evaluation and the NORAD 2 baseline methodologies and findings. The final report will capture progress over the past 2 years and inform the next phase of the project.

#### II. Purpose and Audience

<u>Purpose</u>: The project evaluation will compare the current state of the program against baseline values, assess effectiveness of strategies and tactics, and identify key lessons learned for teams to incorporate into future work.

<u>Audiences</u>: The primary audience for this evaluation is NORAD, the back donor of the grant, and Oxfam staff and partners involved in the implementation of the grant. The project evaluation should help inform ongoing strategy to increase the effectiveness of community training and policy influencing efforts in the next phase of the grant. Wider audiences include interested units/teams within Oxfam America's Global Programs and Campaigns Divisions and Extractive Industries and Policy & Advocacy teams across the Oxfam confederation. Additionally, Oxfam will publish the evaluation report on its Policy & Practice website.

#### III. Scope and Objectives

#### Scope

This project evaluation is meant to evaluate the current status of interventions to support and strengthen civil society and to target policy and practice change from government agencies and companies to promote economically, environmentally and socially responsible management of petroleum resources in Ghana, Mozambique and Tanzania. Progress will be measured quantitatively and qualitatively against baseline values determined in 2017 and against the first phase evaluation conducted in early 2017. The objectives of the evaluation are:

- To assess the program's progress against the program baseline and intended outcomes
- To surface any unintended consequences (positive or negative) of Oxfam's program work
- To evaluate the effectiveness of Oxfam's program strategies in-country and identify key lessons
- To identify areas of improvement in program delivery and effectiveness
- To address country team's specific learning questions
- To make recommendations for the next phase of the project

#### IV. Process

The consultant will work with Oxfam America's EI Global Program Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning (MEL) Advisor in consultation with the grant's Project Officer and evaluation steering committee to agree on a final methodology within the budget constraints provided, finalize the set of key informants and stakeholders to interview and/or survey, the questionnaire or survey instrument questions, as appropriate, and to ensure the evaluation team has adequate access to relevant documentation. Additionally, the consultant will work with the consultant who will administer the second round of the community-level survey in Tanzania to incorporate the quantitative data into the final evaluation report.

The consultant will carry out the project evaluation, presenting early findings, and draft a final report to the Project Officer and MEL Advisor, on a schedule to be agreed, for review and deliberation with the evaluation steering committee. This iterative review of preliminary and draft findings is intended to ensure that the final report fully meets the needs of the program staff and their teams, and that any methodological adjustments that may be warranted are identified early on in the data collection process. The final report will be delivered after the draft findings have been reviewed and commented on, responding to any remaining questions or data analysis needs

identified, and that can be accommodated within the established timeframes and budget.

Periodic project management meetings with the Oxfam MEL Advisor will be held, as appropriate.

#### V. Indicative Timeline

Timeframe	Activity
Early January	Select Consultant(s)
End of January	Finalize methodological approach; sign MOU based on
	agreed scope, approach and schedule
January	Oxfam field staff work with consultants to identify key
	informants, review any questionnaire &/or survey
	instruments & provide documentation
Beginning of	Consultant submits inception report
February	
February –	Consultant conducts field research and data collection;
March	consultant shares initial findings with country teams while
	still in the field for validation
Beginning of	Consultant submits first draft of evaluation; Oxfam submits
April	comments
End of April	Consultant submits final evaluation report.

#### Phase I: Familiarization Phase – January – Beginning of February 2019 (7-10 days)

- Initial project overview documents
- Interviews with key staff for preliminary orientation to the program
   At the end of this phase, the consultant will deliver a short synopsis of program
   understanding (5-10 pages) to demonstrate and harmonize program understanding.
   The consultant should attempt to articulate back to Oxfam the goals and trajectory of
   the project/program under evaluation, including scope, actors involved and major
   activities, so that any gaps in knowledge can be caught early.

In addition, the consultant will submit a refined research design for the remainder of the research, including preliminary research instruments for comment by evaluation steering committee.

The commencement of the subsequent phase is contingent on an approved research design.

#### Phase 2: Research Phase – February – Early March 2019 (20 days)

List of key people to interview, and a list of additional documents and literature will be provided.

Research Sites include:

Ghana, Tanzania, and Mozambique

The initial findings will be presented by the consultant in a validation meeting with Oxfam staff before leaving the field.

#### Phase 3: Data Analysis/Write up - April 2019

As writing quality is extremely important to Oxfam, adequate time must be cleared in the consultant's calendar. We estimate at least 10 days of dedicated analysis and writing to arrive at a first draft.

In the initial proposal, the consultant should outline their approach to data analysis and write-up, including research assistant support available, and primary roles and responsibilities related to the quality of the write up. It is expected that the principle research coordinator has final accountability to the quality of the writing, not research assistants.

Oxfam's evaluation review committee will turnaround comments to the consultant within 5-7 business days of receipt of the draft.

The consultant should spend no more than 2 working days to finalize the evaluation based on feedback.

#### VI. Deliverables

- 1. Signed MOU, including key evaluation questions, methodology, interviewees, timeline, deliverables and payment schedule. 1/25/19
- 2. Inception report 2/15/19
- 3. Draft evaluation report 4/5/19
- 4. Final report 4/30/19

#### VII. Profile of the ideal evaluator

- 1. Experience conducting evaluations of complex social and political change processes, ideally in the extractives sector with a gender lens
- 2. Very strong qualitative analysis skills, particularly with analysis of textual sources and public statements (documents, media coverage interviews, speeches, testimony, etc.)
- 3. Strong quantitative analysis, particularly in media, including ability to examine multiple national contexts
- 4. Experience either working on or managing an NGO-led campaign with a particular focus on public policy around poverty alleviation
- 5. Experience in Ghana, Tanzania or Mozambique (Portuguese proficiency is required for the Mozambique consultant)
- 6. Experience and knowledge in extractive industries, strongly preferred.
- 7. Excellent analytical, writing and synthesis skills
- 8. Excellent group facilitation skills around evaluation findings validation and utilization.

#### VIII. Proposal Submission Process

Consultants/Evaluators are invited to submit an expression of interest and evaluation proposal (max 5 pages) in response to this RFP. Submissions should be sent to Oxfam's Extractive Industries Program MEL Advisor, Kimberly Miller (kimberly.miller@oxfam.org) no later than Friday, January 18, 2019.

Following components must be included in the proposal:

- 1. Evaluation plan & estimated budget (including travel and expenses)
- 2. List of available enumerators and assistants for field study
- 3. Curriculum vitae of lead consultant/s
- 4. 1 or 2 samples of past evaluations, and/or references

#### **ANNEX 2: BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES**

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Ministry of Finance (2017). Sowing the seeds for growth and jobs. The budget statement and economic policy of the Government of Ghana.

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Shiakwah, P., 2017. Actor Network Theory, globalized assemblages and the impact of oil on agriculture and industry in Ghana., The Extractive Industries and Society.

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#### **ANNEX 3: INSTITUTIONS INTERVIEWED**

Institutions Interviewed by Stakeholder Catagory
Communities
Queen Mother
CEMAG Shama
CEMAG Champon
Civil Society Organisations (CSO)
Center for Public Interest Law (CEPIL)
Africa Center for Energy Policy (ACEP)
Oxfam Ghana
Oxfam EX Ghana (IBIS, USAID)
Ghana Council of Churches
Natural Resource Governance Institute
Friends of the Nation (FoN)
Donors
DFID
Media
Citi 97.3fm
GHOne TV
GHOne TV  Private Sector (PS)
Private Sector (PS)
Private Sector (PS) International Oil & Gas company
Private Sector (PS) International Oil & Gas company International Oil & Gas company
Private Sector (PS) International Oil & Gas company International Oil & Gas company Government Organizations (GOs)
Private Sector (PS) International Oil & Gas company International Oil & Gas company Government Organizations (GOs) Petroleum Commission

#### **ANNEX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDELINES**

#### **National CSOs & General Questions for all**

Could you give me an **overview** of the O&G activities that you implemented / collaborated on up since mid 2017 with the support of Oxfam program? Was everything completed and expected results achieved?

With regards to **trainings** in the O&G sector:

Did you take part in any trainings or workshops supported by Oxfam? How were topics identified?

How relevant were they?

What other trainings have been given in the last 1.5 year in relation to these or similar topics?

0) How would you rate the level of CSO knowledge & technical capacity...NOTE: Rate from 1 to 4!!

In earlier evaluations, we asked for ratings on a scale from 1-5.

- 1) To what level are details of oil contracts content, process related information and analysis available (online)? (1.9 in 2017)
- 2) In how far are oil contracts reviewed by CSOs/agents and/or public prior to parliamentary approval? (1.5 in 2017)
- 3) What is the level of outreach of distributing oil & gas research findings? (3.5 in 2017)
- 4) In how far are gender dimensions part of oil & gas research? (2.7 in 2017)

Some of our new rating questions (on a scale from 1-5) are

- 5) On what level do **CSOs engage with local/regional government** on O&G governance? Based on the answer, the interviewer chooses between:
- 4 Delegation (citizens decide)
- 3 Negotiation and collaboration (citizens & governments partner)
- 2 Consultation (citizens express needs and comments, e.g. implementation, budget, pricing)
- 1 Information sharing (citizens receive info from government)
- 6) On what level do **CSOs engage with national government** on O&G governance? Based on the answer, the interviewer chooses between:
- 4 Delegation (citizens decide)
- 3 Negotiation and collaboration (citizens & governments partner)
- 2 Consultation (citizens express needs and comments, e.g. implementation, budget, pricing)
- 1 Information sharing (citizens receive info from government)
- 7) On what level do **CSOs engage with private sector** on O&G governance? Based on the answer, the interviewer chooses between:
- 4 Delegation (citizens decide)
- 3 Negotiation and collaboration (citizens & governments partner)
- 2 Consultation (citizens express needs and comments, e.g. implementation, budget, pricing)
- 1 Information sharing (citizens receive info from government)

How do CSOs active on O&G work together to achieve common goals?

8) How would you rate the level of CSOs...NOTE: Rate from 1 to 4!!

What do you see as the **main achievements** of the Oxfam work in Oil and Gas over the last 1,5 years?

- 9) To what extent are the voices of active citizens and leaders captured by media? (3.9 in 2017)
- 10) To what level do you feel there is a need for having an online platform? (4.3 in 2017)
- 11) How do you rate the **accuracy of information** on O&G governance provided by the media? Please choose between: Low(3), Medium(2) or High(1)
- 12) How do you rate the **degree of bias** of information on O&G governance provided by the media? Please choose between: Low(3), Medium(2) or High(1)
- In your view what are the priority actions now (2019) for Ghana to get the most advantage from O&G?

What is the level of capacity of community activists' of

- 13) demanding accountability from local/regional government?
- 14) demanding accountability from national government?
- 15) monitoring and influencing O&G governance?
- 16) demanding accountability from the private sector?
- 17) influencing private sector community engagement programs?
- 18)

#### **Private Sector specific questions**

What do you see as the main achievements of the Oxfam work in Oil and Gas over the last 1,5 vears?

How do CSOs active on O&G work together to achieve common goals?

#### Takoradi CSOs specific questions

Could you give me a brief overview of what your organization does?

How have you collaborated in the last year on any issues related to O&G governance? Specifically on the training that you participated in on O&G, could you indicate what were the most important points that you learned?

Have you participated in training on the O&G topic? By Oxfam?

#### Communities specific questions

Has there been a shift or lack of it, in terms of your relationship with village/ward government leaders?

What are the main challenges that you face in the course of performing your duties? (for women: what difference does your gender make?)

What are your main priorities as community engagement reps?

What are the different ways through which you have been able to put to use the oil and gas knowledge gained from the project i.e. has it benefited you personally, say in terms of identifying further training by different organization, jobs, local content (supply) opportunities? In what ways was gender incorporated in your work since mid 2017?

How can the program assist the government to make the O&G companies more accountable/responsible?

#### **Donor specific questions**

What "new" issues in the Ghana context need to be taken into account in the program? How has the broader Oxfam's O&G program in Ghana evolved in the last year and a half? What constraints has it faced?

How does the donor community regard accountability issues today in Ghana? Has the situation improved, worsened or remained stable?

Forty percent of the people on our planet—more than 2.5 billion—now live in poverty, struggling to survive on less than \$2 a day. Oxfam America is an international relief and development organization working to change that. Together with individuals and local groups in more than 90 countries, Oxfam saves lives, helps people overcome poverty, and fights for social justice.

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