

## Offshore Oil Industry Activities and Fishing in Ghana: Community Perceptions and Sustainable Solutions

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**Abstract:** There has been increasing concerns from various stakeholders of the fishing industry, principally fishing communities about series of impacts introduced by the oil exploration, discovery, development and extraction. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the existing and potential impacts of the oil exploration on representative fishing communities by sampling their perceptions to assess the existing and likely impacts of oil and gas industry activities on the livelihood of the people. Representative fishing communities closer to the offshore operations were selected for the study. Questionnaires were administered to obtain responses about their perceptions and expectations on the existing oil project on their lives. The results of the questionnaires were subjected to quantitative and qualitative analysis and interpreted. The findings revealed the perceptions and expectations of the coastal communities about the likely impacts of the oil and gas exploration on them; it brings the concerns of these people to the attention of policy makers and institutions to appreciate the plight of the fishermen and propose mitigation measures to minimize the negative impact of the oil and gas industry on fishing.

**Key words:** CSR, fishing, Ghana, sustainability, oil extraction

### INTRODUCTION

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is broadly conceptualized and has different meanings to different players of the business world. Bowen (1953), one of the early precursors of the concept outlined corporate social responsibility as doing business that is in line with the values, objectives and aspirations of society. He proposes that the essence of business goes beyond profit maximization and adherence to legal framework. From a purely market perspective, Friedman (1970) proposes that in a capitalist system, the executive officer of a business is an employee of the stockholders and responds solely to their interest which is to do business according to the norms of society and gain profit as much as possible. In this postulate, the social responsibility of a business entity is to execute business and make profit. This school of thought argues that the relationship between managers and shareholders is a contractual one and any disbursement of funds outside the agreement is inimical to business objectives. This is known as the agency theory. It is also explained in Bruno and Nichols (1990), Jensen and Meckling (1976) and Fontrodona and Sison,

(2006). The consequences of the agency theory are that, the totality of CSR is marginalized from core business objectives. The Brundtland Commissions Report (1987), "Our Common Future", pioneered the concept of sustainable development, which is a development that satisfies the needs of the present without compromising the needs of the future generation. Sustainable development has a strong bearing on the interaction between business, environment, economy and society (Hilson and Murck, 2001; Kumah, 2006; Hilson and Bachiringah, 2009). In 1992, as part of the outcome of the Earth's Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) was launched. Its core areas of attention were climate change, energy, business, development and the environment. In 2006, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development of Tomorrow's Leaders Group emitted a document known as 'Challenge to Opportunity-The role of Business in Tomorrow's Society.' The document which was developed from the tenets of WBCSD (1998), 'Meeting Changing Expectations; Corporate Social Responsibility; Stakeholder Dialogue on CSR,' stated that the leading global companies of 2020 will be those who

do business that addresses the challenges of mankind including globalization, environmental degradation, climate change, poverty, demographic shift and resource depletion. It stands that the actions and results of a business should be sustainable and profitable as well. However, it stresses that the contribution of a business to society should be the positive outcome of business rather than philanthropic gestures and sees stakeholder values as a factor to determine or assess how successful a business has contributed to society which is simply a means to an end and not an end in itself.

The idea of stakeholders' theory was initially suggested by Johnson (1971). In his definition of CSR, he conceives a socially responsible firm as being one that balances the interests of any group or individual that has a vital interest in the dealings of the corporation such that while striving for larger profits for its stockholders, it also takes into account several other stakeholders of the corporation. These stakeholders include employees, customers, suppliers, local community, surrounding governments, the surrounding human and natural environment and the corporation's managers. In some situations, there are other stakeholders such as competitors. In the stakeholder theory, the corporation is the centre of analysis and is visualized as surrounded by its stakeholders. This theory received extensive acceptance by modern companies and was later consolidated by Freeman (1984) and thereafter defended and expatiated by various authors Freeman (1984, 1994), Bowie (1991), Evans and Freeman (1988), Beauchamp and Bowie (2001) and Freeman and Phillips (2002).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Ghana joined the community of oil producing countries on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 2010 by commissioning the Jubilee Oil Field operations. The Jubilee Oil Field is found in Deep Water Tano and West Cape Three Points, about 60 km offshore Ghana and 130 km south-west of Takoradi, the regional capital of the Western Region. The calculated oil reserve in the Jubilee Field is estimated at 800 million barrels with a potential of 3 billion barrels.

In its development in different phases, phase one is expected to yield a daily output of 120, 000 barrels and 120 million cubic feet of gas, however, the real production started with 58,000 barrels a day. Phase two will produce about 250,000 barrels/day and 250 million cubic feet of gas per day. During phase I, a gas pipeline would be constructed to Effasu to ship about 30-50 million cubic feet of gas to 'Osagyefo' thermal plant and the rest of the gas would be recirculated to improve reservoir pressure efficiency to improve on the oil recovery. During the second phase a pipeline would be

constructed to send gas to Takoradi to power Aboadze thermal plant and satisfy other gas needs. The Takoradi gas pipeline would be connected to the West African gas pipeline (GNPC, 2008). The government of Ghana bought a land at Bonyere on which it planned to build a gas processing plant which would be able to process 300 million cubic feet of gas close to the Osagyefo Badge. However in 2012, the operators took a new decision to relocate it at Atuabo in order to reduce the laying of pipelines of 23 km long. "The Christmas trees" (assembly of valves, spools and fittings used for oil well) would be put on the sea bed and the produced oil would be brought onto a Floating Production Storage and Offloading (FPSO). It is expected the (FPSO) vessel would provide employment to 120 individuals. A shuttle transfer ship will be periodically put in place to take the oil from the production site to Tema, an eastern port city of Ghana where the only oil refinery of the nation is located

Offshore oil and gas production involves multistage activities which can be divided into four (4) main stages based on the organization and sequence of operation:

- Geological and geophysical survey
- Exploration
- Development and production
- Decommissioning

## FIELD INVESTIGATION

**The study area:** Ahanta West District is located at the southernmost point of the country and the entire West African Sub-Region with its capital Agona Nkwanta also called Agona Ahanta (Fig. 1). The Ahanta West District has a total land area of 591 km<sup>2</sup> and it is occupied by 95,140 people according to the 2000 Population and Housing Census Report of Ghana.

The District is bounded on the East by the Sekondi Tarkoradi Metropolitan Area, on the West by the Nzema East Municipal and the North by Mpohor Wassa East District and Tarkwa Nsuaem Municipal and the Gulf of Guinea to the South.

**The main economic activities of ahanta west district:** The subsistence method of farming predominates over the economic activity of the area. The average farm size is about 3500 m<sup>2</sup> and farming methods are not mechanized. The main crops cultivated by the farmers are maize, cassava, oil palm and plantain. In the district there are two main agro-based industry/companies namely NORPALM Ghana Limited and the Ghana Rubber Estates Limited (GREL) with large stretches of plantations. These two companies employ directly and indirectly about 5000 people. These companies have contributed in the construction of schools, upgrading and resurfacing of

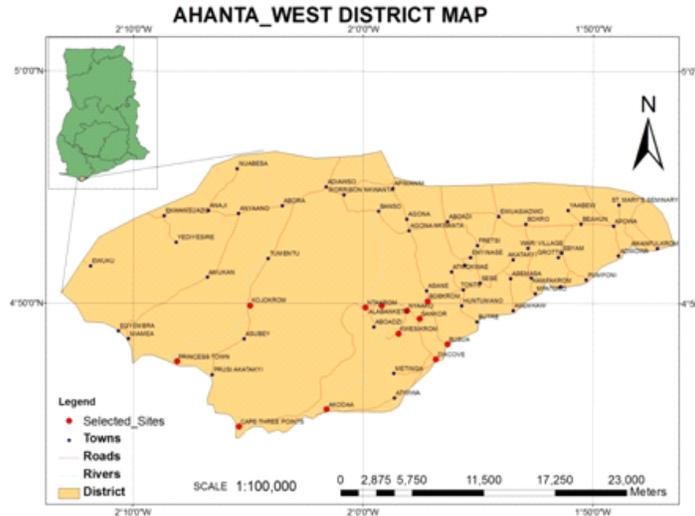


Fig. 1: Map showing study area in Agona West District of Ghana (Survey and Mapping Agency of Ghana, 2005)

rural roads and provision of potable water within the area. They have also established a symbiotic relationship by serving as ready market for the out-grower commercial rubber farmers. These companies give financial and technical assistance to these farmers to help increase their output. In the provision of services, women dominate with a participation of about 60% in the petty trading. In fishing, women constitute about 95% of the distribution chain as fishmongers and other fishing activities which are concentrated along the coastal areas of the district, namely Dixcove, Princess Aketekyi, Funko and Akwidae. The expansion of electricity has reduced post harvest losses from 25 to 20% (Anonymous, 2008).

## METHODOLOGY

The methodology applied in this research is described next.

In pursuit of the perceptions and expectations about the oil discovery, response to the following three research questions which had dominated public debate on the issue were required

- Has the oil find has any impact on all facets of life?
- How has the oil find affected the people?
- What has contributed to the present reduction in fish catch?

**Hypothesis:** The F-distribution test i.e., variance (ANOVA) statistical test was adopted to ascertain the validity of the formulated hypotheses:

**H<sub>0</sub> (null hypothesis):** There are no differences considering the town one lives in and the expectations and

perceptions on these two issues related to the impact of oil discovery on fishing.

**H<sub>1</sub> (alternative hypothesis):** There are differences considering the town one lives in and the expectations and perceptions on these two issues related to the impact of oil discovery on fishing.

They were randomly administered orally to stratified individuals in the selected communities. They included fishermen, farmers, traditional leaders, bureaucrats and others. Demographic information gathered from the unit committees, the lowest government structure of Ghana, gave a population estimate of 2500 for the study area. The cross sectional survey covered Cape Three Points, Dixcove, Akwidae Newtown, Princess Town, Boekrom, Ellobankanta, Nsemaba, Kwesikrom, Sankor and Busua. The sampled villages and towns were purposely selected because they constituted an important reference point for the Jubilee Oil Field Operations where the impact of the oil activities was expected to be greatest. Due to the relatively low educational levels in the villages, the questions were either formulated in the local languages or in English; they were tailored to suit the interviewees' conception and understanding of the issues. Again, they were selected on the basis of their desire to express legitimate views on the oil discourse. Formal discussions were held with obvious focal groups like the traditional leaders and some officers of the district assembly. The questions covered the same theoretical dimensions for all the interviewees. Interviews lasted between 25 to 45 min. Reports of newspapers, companies and NGO's were used to supplement the field data. Physical observations were also used to confirm some of the information provided by the interviewees. However, the basis for this research is to seek the perceptions of the community of Cape Three

Points on the impact of oil find on fishing. Such an approach was important given the controversial nature of the issues discussed and the existence of several conceptions and understandings of the issues discussed.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

**Presentation of the findings-analysis and discussion of the expectations and perceptions of the communities:** In all the communities the female respondents constituted 20% while males represented 80% of the respondents.

Sampled reports clearly showed that even though the majority of the people had access to basic education the percentage recorded for tertiary education was approximately 4%. This shows that human capital in terms of skilled labour as required by the oil companies is very low. They can only be a source of cheap labour which will not be essentially required by the companies. Their level of education can only satisfy their current occupations (fishing and farming) which relatively do not require too much educational pursuance. Therefore the companies in their community engagement programs should devise special training and education for the youth who would be employed into this sector.

About 56 % of the respondents were wholly engaged in fishing with the male percentage being fishermen and the female section as fishmongers. About 25% of the respondents were engaged in farming. This situation supports the fact that ceding agricultural farmlands to onshore downstream activities and any adverse effect of oil production on fishing can negatively affect the livelihood of the majority of the people. Small scale artisanal canoe fishermen activities constitute the main livelihood of the coastal communities of the region contributing about 90 % of the region’s catch (Ministry of Agriculture, 2003).

**Some perceptions about the impact of the oil extraction activities:** On the question of whether they had perceived any impact of the oil find on their lives, the survey data in Table 1 indicates that approximately 30% of the respondents expressed they had not experienced any significant change in their living standards since the

announcement of the oil find in commercial quantities (Table 1).

A one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the data did not produce significant differences in the various communities. According to the test  $F = 0.36$  and the critical  $F = 3.02$ . Therefore we accept the null hypothesis. It means that there is no statistically significant relationship between the town one lives and the expected impact of oil discovery and extraction on his or her life.

About 60% of the respondents expressed optimism that the oil will help improve their standard of living. Despite the operations being offshore, visitors’ records at the Light House of the Ghana Ports and Harbours Authority at Cape Three Points showed an increase of about 100% in the number of national tourists since July 2007 as compared to the same period in 2006. The increase may be attributed to the announcement of the discovery of oil in commercial quantities. This has generated a lot of curiosity from national and international tourists leading to a high influx of people into the area due to a wrong perception in the mass media that the oil was in Cape Three Points. The presence of visitors was also attributed to people seeking to purchase land for various reasons. Reports from the Western Regional Lands Commission indicated it had received a total of 200 1 and transactions from Cape Three Points area of the Ahanta West district representing 600% increase in 2 years (Anonymous, 2010a). Interaction with operators of tourist sites at Busua Beach, Princess Town Beach, Cape Three Points Light House, Trinity Yard and Alaska Beach revealed that the number of visitors to their facilities have increased between 10 to 50% from July 2007 to April 2009 as compared to similar periods in the previous year which may also be attributed to visitors exploring the area for acquisition of land for investments.

Though there is no scientific evidence, the existing shortage and scarcity of fish in the area was blamed on the oil drilling activities. This is a perception the stakeholders have to manage well for peaceful co-existence. They complained that they had to travel to towns like Agona, Tarkoradi where cold stores and fishponds were available

Table 1: Communities’ response to impact of oil find on their lives

Impact on living points	Villages										
	Cape three N = 16	Akwidae N = 29	Princess N = 17	Boekrom N = 21	Ellobankata N = 10	Nsemaba N = 19	Dixcove N = 40	Kwesikrom N = 13	Sankor N = 15	Busua N = 20	Total 200
Yes	12 (75%)	20 (69%)	9 (52%)	10 (48%)	6 (60%)	10 (52%)	20 (50%)	8 (61%)	10 (68%)	15 (75%)	120 (60%)
No	3 (19%)	6 (21%)	7 (41%)	8 (38%)	4 (30%)	8 (42%)	9 (23%)	4 (31%)	5 (33%)	5 (25%)	59 (30%)
Do not know	1 (6%)	3 (10%)	1 (6%)	3 (14%)	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	11 (28%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	22 (11%)

Table 2: Respondents' justification to the reduction of fish catch

Reason for reduction in fish catch	Villages										Total
	Cape three N = 16	Akwidae N = 29	Princess N = 17	Boekrom N = 21	Ellobankata N = 10	Nsemaba N = 19	Dixcove N = 40	Kwesikrom N = 13	Sankor N = 15	Busua N = 20	
The rig	10 (63%)	6 (21%)	3 (18%)	5 (24%)	3 (30%)	1 (5%)	14 (35%)	3 (23%)	1 (7%)	4 (20%)	50 (25%)
Seasonality	5 (31%)	15 (52%)	8 (47%)	11 (52%)	5 (50%)	8 (42%)	24 (60%)	6 (46%)	7 (47%)	11 (55%)	100 (50%)
Pair trawling	1 (6.3%)	8 (27.6%)	6 (35%)	5 (24%)	2 (20%)	10 (53%)	2 (5%)	4 (30%)	7 (46.7%)	5 (25%)	50 (25%)

for their fish requirements. Some of the senior citizens expressed dislike about the consumption of fish from the aquaculture source terming it as unwholesome. The reality is the fishing industry has suffered setback in recent years. The general picture is that Ghana suffers from inappropriate trade policies; globalization of the fishing industry, competition with Europe's distant water fleets and adoption of exclusive economic zones by other West African nations and lack of good governance has contributed to the decline of fishing and has limited the ability of the nation to satisfy its growing domestic demand (Mills *et al.*, 2004).

The analyses of data gathered from fishermen showed that about 25% alleged the 500 m security radius zone for the oil rig and 1000 m for the FPSO had caused reduction of fish catch, though there is no official data to support that claim. However, 50% of the respondents described the phenomenon as seasonal, whilst another 25% accused the Chinese fishing pair trawling for their woes (Table 2). The presence of tar-balls in River Ankobra estuary traced to oil operations was a concern to the fishermen. Kosmos Energy resisted compensation to spills and the disposal of other pollutants into the sea (Anonymous, 2011). The safety measure is normal in offshore operations; however, the necessary communication channels must be put in place to engage the communities for their acceptance.

Dixcove had a distinct scenario on this issue; there were divergent opinions about the cause of the reduction in fish catch: 35% of sampled views blamed it on the presence of the rig which supplied waste food and light, attracting more fish to it in the night. However, about 60% of them said it was seasonal phenomenon and when fishes moved away from the local waters they also sailed further to places like the Cote D'Ivoire and other areas along the Gulf of Guinea for fishing. About 5% blamed it on the illegal pair trawling activities of Chinese fishermen and urged the government to enforce the law on this banned fishing practice by foreign fishermen in Ghanaian territorial waters.

Though there were apparent conflicting views on matters of interest like the oil find and reduction in fish catch, a one way analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the survey data in Table 2 yielded no significant differences. According to the test  $F = 0.17$  with  $F_{crit} = 3.02$ . We accept the null hypothesis. This means that there is no

statistically significant influence on the town one lives and the perception about the reduction in fish catch. The respondents expressed worry over the offshore petroleum activities which have threatened their source of income. Confrontation between state security apparatus in charge of the protection of the oil extraction installations and fishermen are well documented (Anonymous, 2010b). At Akwidae, a fisherman said, "These companies have taken control of the sea, how can we take care of our families?" They claimed they should have been in the bumper season; however, at the time of sampling, production was relatively low as compared to previous harvests. Many fishermen expressed the desire to fish closer to the rig, but the platform is heavily guarded by the navy within a 500 m security zone. The imposition of this restriction has not gone down well with the fishermen. 'The Movements of giant oil tankers and other vessels impede free and safe movements on the sea,' expressed George Arthur, warden of the Light House at Cape Three Points. Though it seemed exaggerated, they said they had to travel to Agona Nkwanta and other areas where cold stores were found for their domestic consumption. When the research crew reached the village of Cape Three Points and other coastal villages, fishermen were seen in their boats busily fishing.

'Due to rise in fuel price as a result of poor management of subsidized premix fuel, low harvest and other restrictions, fishing is no more lucrative and most of the fishing folks have abandoned their only jobs and are now jobless, This action has also affected the fishmongers very much as well as the entire community.' says a fisherman at Dixcove.

There is really the need for the government and other stakeholders to come with a clear policy to save the fishing industry from collapse.

Most of the fishermen revealed that the rig area had been strongly fenced such that no boat can move closer than 500 m to the rig and 1000 m for the FPSO. It is affecting their business. Their problem is that the rig and the FPSO use very high lightening system which crowds most of the fishes around it leaving the fishable areas almost empty of fishes. This measure they say is the principal cause of their low catch or harvest making the fishing activity no more lucrative.

However, the people believed that the effect of these changes would be translated into improvements in access to infrastructural development such as better road networks, classrooms, hospitals, clean drinkable water supply in these communities. They said there were apparent increased prices for food as compared to the previous year attributed to the oil extraction, however there was no evidence to correlate the oil find and the soaring of food prices in the area. 'With numerous people potentially emerging from different cultural backgrounds coming to settle in these communities for the purpose of transacting business, the original cultural heritage in these communities is at risk of extinction or dilution. There are several impacts these activities can cause to the environment of the fishing communities. These may exist as air pollution, land pollution and water pollution' said a traditional leader at Funko.

Unlike Nigeria and other African countries, gas flaring will be avoided. However, release of harmful gases such as methane, CO<sub>2</sub>, include nitrogen dioxides, sulphur dioxide, volatile organic compounds like benzene, toluene, xylene and hydrogen sulfide, as well as carcinogens like benzopyrene and dioxin into the atmosphere must be checked.

They also entreated the government to force the oil drilling companies to build other lightening systems outside the rig coverage to help concentrate the fishes in specific areas where they can fish and thereby aid their harvest. They also suggested that they would be allowed to engage in light fishing which at least can alleviate them from their present state even though light fishing is prohibited in Ghana.

**Sustainable solutions:** The practice and theory of a good corporate citizenship is contested in the western coast of Ghana. The fundamental reason for bringing forth these concerns is not to discredit the Jubilee Oil Field operators, but to bring the concerns of these people to the attention of policy makers and institutions to appreciate the plight of the fishermen and offer mitigation measures.

The people in the host communities are currently confined to their sources of livelihood which are mainly farming and fishing. A mutual benefitting relationship can exist between the oil companies, like those fostered between NORPALM and GREL and the out growers of the rubber and oil palm plantations in the district. Therefore, even if many of them would not work directly in the oil companies, efforts should be made by the companies and the Government of Ghana to preserve and promote their sources of livelihood side by side with the oil industry by providing sustainable coexistence and coordination between the fishing industry, farming and other economic activities that the communities depend on.

Corporate social responsibility is an 'empty' concept difficult to describe by business managers and their stakeholders and academics due to a variety of divergent

interpretations that has led to a broad spectrum of practices (Crane and Matten, 2004; Habish and Jonker, 2005). There are diverse conceptions, theories and models of the term which imply different approaches as to how it should be implemented.

After a thorough evaluation of the survey, the results show clearly that the fishing communities have been impacted by the activities of the oil industry. It is most probable that the fishing industry would be dislocated if the present conditions do not change. Considering all the existing implications suffered by the fishing communities. There have been skirmishes between security forces and fishermen on fishing rights and there is a high probability for the creation of severe unrest in the future. As a cornerstone of fulfilling CSR goals, the oil firms are expected to be in collaboration with its stakeholders based on a relationship termed as stakeholders' dialogue.

The diverse nature of stakeholder interest groups is a major hurdle for managers who want to engage a viable stakeholder dialogue. The difficulty is a source of conflict between businesses and stakeholders (Brammer and Pavelin, 2004). The harmonization of stakeholder relation is usually compounded by the diversity in socio-cultural contexts and the difficulty in finding the appropriate stakeholder dialogue strategy (Weiss, 1998; Deresky, 2000). The oil find should not be a curse as experienced in other countries in the region. The companies should quickly devise efficient and effective alternative livelihood programs for affected peoples in these communities. They should not view their CSR offering as a simple exchange and expect to receive the social license from key individuals to operate. They should revisit the socio-cultural aspects and the historical relationship between the people and their land and determine how these play a vital role in their expectations.

The respondents justified their expectations for development on a number of socio cultural and historical reasons. They considered the offshore oil extracted by the Jubilee Oil Field operators as their property. Therefore the operators are their temporal tenants who would eventually leave when the oil is exhausted. They usually referred to the experience of mineral extraction in Tarkwa and Prestea where gold mining has left environmental degradation and poverty.

The traditional leaders and their subjects were the owners of the land until the British gained control of them in 1844. After independence, successive governments followed the colonial order. Laws governing natural resources in Ghana vested all the authority to the central government without giving any right to the traditional authorities (Mining and Minerals Act, 2006). However, in the conscience of the people, nothing has changed. Any dialogue with the people should be based on this principle. This context makes them legitimate owners and stakeholders and it is consistent with the view of Freeman (1984); these groups can affect or can be affected by the

achievements of the jubilee field operation and dedicating time and resources to solve stakeholders problems is a justifiable business activity.

Presently the position of the government of Ghana on the demands of the fishermen is not clear. These challenges should be managed on time to save the livelihood of these people. The oil industry has become an important component of the economy of Ghana and ought to contribute to solving societal problems. From our experience, the general public whether rightly or wrongly has a negative perception about big companies involved in extractive industries in Ghana. Some of the likely causes of the negative image are the repeated cyanide spills by large transnational mining companies in the region and frequent disputes between these firms and host communities. These events labeled by environmentalist as 'scandals' have involved highly reputed companies like Newmont cyanide spills at its Ahafo mine in 2010, cyanide spillage at Bogoso Gold Limited in June 2006, just to mention a few. Oil drilling companies should barricade (or demarcate) the operating areas (rigs) with fortified nets or other materials to prevent fishes from migrating close to rigs. The youth should be given the necessary tuition and training by the companies.

A proper medium for dissemination of information should be adopted and implemented to be able to adequately update the communities about information concerning the oil drilling project. The diversity of actors in the communities is a major challenge to the managers of the jubilee oil field in finding an appropriate working strategy and stakeholder dialogue. In rural communities of Ghana it is often difficult to get precise settlement and demographic data. This will bring difficulty in identifying to whom and for who the companies are responsible to, demarcation of the catchments areas and how far the CSR objectives extend.

A very serious hurdle to overcome is the divergent and sometimes contradictory expectations between stakeholders (Deresky, 2000; Greenfield, 2004). The Companies should promote fishing by entering into business with the fishermen, providing them with the necessary fishing equipment and tools. There is no dependency mentality among the fishermen; they need a friendly environment to operate in collaboration with the oil companies.

### **CONCLUSION**

Artisanal and commercial fishing generate employment to the coastal communities of the Western Region. Information about the perceptions and reactions of the fishermen revealed that they were deeply worried about the negative effects of offshore oil and gas operations on their livelihoods. According to them, incomes derived from their fishing activities have been

decreasing gradually since the inception of the operations of gas and oil companies in the area. However, insight in sustainability and CSR issues are now well addressed. There are certain inadequacies and ambiguities about approaches by the oil companies to coordinate fishing activities in the area with their oil extraction operations.

The inhabitants including the fishermen were of the opinion that the operations and other activities of the oil companies should by no means negatively affect their fishing activities since that is their main source of income. They had very high expectations that the oil find was going to improve the quality of lives of the people instead of making them worse off.

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