

# Contents

|                                                                 |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Acknowledgements</b> .....                                   | 9  |
| <b>1 Introduction</b> .....                                     | 13 |
| <b>2 The Conceptual and Methodological Framework</b> .....      | 23 |
| 2.1 Oil, Risk and Uncertainty .....                             | 25 |
| Oil .....                                                       | 25 |
| Risk .....                                                      | 33 |
| Uncertainty .....                                               | 39 |
| Profiting from Risk and Uncertainty .....                       | 42 |
| 2.2 Waiting for the Oil: Research at the Interstices .....      | 46 |
| Research Sites .....                                            | 47 |
| Research Methodology .....                                      | 52 |
| Reflections on Positionality .....                              | 56 |
| Accessing the Oil Region: Researchers as Risks .....            | 58 |
| 2.3 Chapter Conclusion .....                                    | 61 |
| <b>3 The Risks and Uncertainties of Exploring for Oil</b> ..... | 63 |
| 3.1 History of Oil in Uganda .....                              | 64 |
| The Early Phase: Uganda, a Wildcat .....                        | 64 |
| Making First Discoveries – De-Risking the Wildcat .....         | 67 |
| Setting the Legislative Framework .....                         | 71 |
| Busts and Other Recent Activities .....                         | 74 |
| 3.2 Risky Delays .....                                          | 77 |
| The Risk of a Bad Investment Climate .....                      | 79 |
| The Argument for Fast Development .....                         | 80 |
| Negotiating a Memorandum of Understanding .....                 | 82 |
| 3.3 Corruption Scandals .....                                   | 85 |
| 3.4 Chapter Conclusion .....                                    | 89 |

|          |                                                     |     |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>4</b> | <b>Oil as Risk: Anticipating the Resource Curse</b> | 91  |
| 4.1      | Civil Society in Uganda                             | 92  |
|          | Civil Society and Oil Matters                       | 96  |
|          | “Sensitisation” Events on Oil                       | 99  |
| 4.2      | The Resource Curse: A Risk as Travelling Model      | 102 |
|          | The “Original” Resource Curse                       | 103 |
|          | The “Translated” Resource Curse                     | 107 |
|          | A Successful Risk Narrative                         | 117 |
| 4.3      | Crude Brokering: Profiting from the Resource Curse  | 124 |
|          | Creating Space for Brokerage                        | 125 |
|          | Manoeuvring within Oil Coalitions                   | 127 |
| 4.4      | Chapter Conclusion                                  | 130 |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Living with Uncertainty in the Oil Region</b>    | 133 |
| 5.1      | Uncertain Past                                      | 135 |
| 5.2      | Expectations and Changes in the Oil Region          | 137 |
|          | Reflecting the Resource Curse                       | 138 |
|          | Employment Opportunities                            | 141 |
|          | Rising Immorality                                   | 144 |
|          | Security Concerns                                   | 146 |
| 5.3      | Uncertain Grounds                                   | 148 |
|          | The Uncertainty of a Refinery                       | 151 |
|          | Land Grabbing                                       | 153 |
|          | Road Construction and Vampires                      | 156 |
|          | Relations of Mistrust                               | 159 |
| 5.4      | The Cultural Sites Controversy                      | 166 |
|          | Cultural Sites as Risks                             | 166 |
|          | Reactions from Oil Companies and Government         | 171 |
|          | Negotiating with Cultural Sites and Risks           | 173 |
|          | Epilogue to the Controversy                         | 175 |
| 5.5      | Chapter Conclusion                                  | 176 |

|          |                                                                         |            |
|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>6</b> | <b>Challenging Standards: The Intricacies of National Content .....</b> | <b>179</b> |
| 6.1      | National Participation and CSR .....                                    | 181        |
| 6.2      | National Content in Uganda .....                                        | 183        |
|          | Government's National Content Policy .....                              | 183        |
|          | National Content Initiatives of the Oil Industry .....                  | 186        |
| 6.3      | A Conference on National Content .....                                  | 189        |
|          | The Position of the Government .....                                    | 193        |
|          | The Position of the Oil Companies .....                                 | 195        |
|          | The Position of Ugandan Companies .....                                 | 206        |
|          | Positions from the Extractive Communities .....                         | 211        |
|          | Analysis: Establishing a Technological Zone .....                       | 215        |
| 6.4      | Chapter Conclusion .....                                                | 220        |
| <b>7</b> | <b>Conclusion .....</b>                                                 | <b>223</b> |
| <b>8</b> | <b>References .....</b>                                                 | <b>229</b> |
| <b>9</b> | <b>Appendix .....</b>                                                   | <b>259</b> |
| 9.1      | Table on History of Oil in Uganda .....                                 | 260        |
| 9.2      | Transcript of the Documentary "Blessing or Curse?" .....                | 265        |
| 9.3      | Acronyms .....                                                          | 273        |
| 9.4      | List of Figures .....                                                   | 275        |