

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The following handle holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation:

<http://hdl.handle.net/1887/76579>

**Author:** Mangarella, J.N.

**Title:** Politics and the longue durée of African oil communities: rentierism, hybrid governance, and anomie in Gamba (Gabon), c. 1950s - 2015 (and beyond)

**Issue Date:** 2019-09-11

## Sources and Bibliography

### Published Works

- Abbink, Jon, and Klaas van Walraven. "Rethinking Resistance in African History: An Introduction," In *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History*, edited by Jon Abbink, Mirjam de Bruijn and Klaas van Walraven. Leiden: Brill, 2003 : 1-42.
- Abrahamsen, Rita. *Disciplining democracy: development discourse and good governance in Africa*. London: Zed Books, 2000.
- Agger, Robert E., Marshall N. Goldstein, and Stanley A. Pearl. "Political cynicism: Measurement and meaning." *The Journal of Politics* 23, no. 3 (1961): 477-506.
- Ambouroue-Avaro, Joseph. *Un peuple gabonais à l'aube de la colonisation: le Bas-Ogowé au XIXe siècle*. Vol. 1. Karthala: Centre de recherches africaines, 1981.
- Apter, Andrew Herman. *The Pan-African Nation: oil and the spectacle of culture in Nigeria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Atteslander, Peter, Bettina Gransow, and John Western, eds. *Comparative anomie research: hidden barriers-hidden potential for social development*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Auty, Richard M. *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: The Resource Curse Thesis*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Avenot, Aimé Félix. "La décentralisation territoriale au Gabon: essai sur un phénomène d'institutionnalisation selon le mode mimétique." PhD diss., Cergy-Pontoise, 2007.
- Ayee, Joseph RA. *Local governance in Africa: The challenges of democratic decentralization*. Eds. Dele Olowu, and James Stevenson Wunsch. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- Badie, Bertrand. *The Imported State: The Westernization of Political Order (Mestizo Spaces/Espaces Metisses)*. Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Ballard, John. "The Development of Political Parties in French Equatorial Africa." Ph.D. dissertation, Fletcher School, 1964, pp. 289-349.
- Barbot, Jean. *A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea*. Henry Lintot and John Osborn, 1746.
- Barnes, James Franklin. *Gabon: Beyond the colonial legacy*. Westview Press, 1992.

- Bayart, Jean-François. "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion." *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 217-267.
- Bernault, Florence. *Démocraties ambiguës en Afrique centrale: Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, 1940-1965*. Karthala Editions, 1996.
- Beblawi, Hazem. "The Rentier State in the Arab World." In *The Rentier State*, edited by Hazem Beblawi and Giacomo Luciani. New York: Croom Helm, 1978.
- Behrends, Andrea, Stephen Reyna, and Gunther Schlee, eds. *Crude domination: an anthropology of oil*. Vol. 9. Berghahn books, 2013.
- Berg-Schlosser, Dirk. "Indicators of democracy and good governance as measures of the quality of democracy in Africa: A critical appraisal." *Acta Politica* 39, no. 3 (2004): 248-278.
- Berry, Sara. *No condition is permanent: The social dynamics of agrarian change in sub-Saharan Africa*. University of Wisconsin Pres, 1993.
- Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean-Pierre Olivier De Sardan. "Local powers and a distant state in rural Central African Republic." *The Journal of modern african studies* 35, no. 3 (1997): 441-468.
- Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan. *Les pouvoirs au village: le Bénin rural entre démocratisation et décentralisation*. Paris: Karthala, 1998.
- Bierschenk, Thomas. *States at work in West Africa: Sedimentation, fragmentation and normative double-binds*. Inst. für Ethnologie u. Afrikastudien, Johannes-Gutenberg-Univ. Mainz, 2010.
- Boahen, A. Adu. "Fante diplomacy in the eighteenth century." In *Foreign Relations of African States*, edited by K. Ingham. London, 1974, pp. 25-49.
- Boone, Catherine. *Political topographies of the African state: Territorial authority and institutional choice*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Booth, David. "Elites, governance and the public interest in Africa: working with the grain." Discussion Paper no. 6, Africa Power and Politics Programme. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2009.
- Bosman, Willem. *A new and accurate description of the coast of Guinea, divided into the gold, the slave, and the Ivory Coasts*. Sir Alfred Jones, 1705.
- Botte, Roger, *Esclavages et abolitions en terres d'islam*. Brussels: André Versaille, 2010.
- Bratton M. and N. van de Walle. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

- Brenner, Robert. "The agrarian roots of European capitalism." *Past and Present*, no. 97 (1982): 16-113.
- Brinkerhoff, Derick W., and Arthur A. Goldsmith. "Promoting the sustainability of development institutions: A framework for strategy." *World Development* 20, no. 3 (1992): 369-383.
- Brown, William, and Sophie Harman, eds. *African agency in international politics*. Vol. 2. Routledge, 2013.
- Brunnschweiler, Christa & Bulte, Erwin, "The resource curse revisited and revised : a tale of paradoxes and red herrings," *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management* 55 no. 3 (2008): 248-64.
- Bryant, Raymond L. "Political ecology: An emerging research agenda in Third-World studies." *Political Geography* 11, no. 1 (January 1992): 12-36.
- Busia, Kofi Abrefa. *Report on a social survey of Sekondi-Takoradi*. Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1951.
- Business Ghana. "Govt has breached Petroleum Act—PIAC." <https://www.businessghana.com/site/news/general/167544/Govt-has-breached-Petroleum-Act-PIAC>, Accessed December 30, 2018.
- Chabal, Patrick. *Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling*. London: Zed Books, 2009.
- Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. London, International African Institute, 1999.
- Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz. *Culture troubles: politics and the interpretation of meaning*. C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 2006.
- Clapham, Christopher. *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Cohen, John M., and Stephen B. Peterson. *Administrative decentralization: Strategies for developing countries*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1999.
- Colgan, Jeff, *Petro-aggression : when oil causes war*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Collier, P., and A. Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Policy Research Working Paper 2355, Development Research Group. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2000.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *Le Congo au temps des grandes compagnies concessionnaires, 1898–1930*. Paris: Mouton, 1972.

- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. "French Congo and Gabon, 1886-1905." *The Cambridge History of Africa* 6 (1985): 298-315.
- Coronil, Fernando. *The Magical State: Nature, money, and modernity in Venezuela*. University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Dahl, Robert. *Poliarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
- De Grazia, Sebastian. *The Political Com-munity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Dickson, Kwamina B. *A Historical Geography of Ghana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Douglas, Mary. *How Institutions Think*. Syracuse University Press, 1986.
- Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy : natural resource wealth and political regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Duval, Maurice. *Un Totalitarisme sans Etat: Essai d'anthropologie politique à partir d'un village burkinabé*. Paris: l'Harmattan, 1985.
- El Hadary, Yasin Abdalla Eltayeb, and Franklin Obeng-Odoom. "Conventions, Changes, and Contradictions in Land Governance in Africa: The Story of Land Grabbing in North Sudan and Ghana." *Africa Today* 59, no. 2 (2012): 58-78.
- Ellis, Stephen, and Gerrie Ter Haar. *Worlds of power: Religious thought and political practice in Africa*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Erdmann, Gero, and Ulf Engel. "Neopatrimonialism Revisited: Beyond a Catch-All concept." GIGA Working Paper, no. 16 (June, 2006).
- Evans, Peter. "Government action, social capital and development: reviewing the evidence on synergy." *World Development* 24, no. 6 (1996): 1119-1132.
- Evans-Pritchard E.E. and Fortes, Meyer, eds. *African Political Systems*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- Falletti, Tulia G. "Theory-Guided Process-Tracing in Comparative Politics: Something Old, Something New." *American Association of Political Science Newsletter* (Fall 2006). <http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/~falleti/Falletti-CP-APSANewsletter06-TGPT.pdf>.
- Farris, Charles D. "Selected attitudes on foreign affairs as correlates of authoritarianism and political anomie." *The Journal of Politics* 22, no. 1 (1960): 50-67.

- Ferguson, James. "Seeing Like an Oil Company: Space, Security, and Global Capital in Neoliberal Africa." *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 3 (2005): 377-382.
- Fisiy, Cyprian F. "Chieftaincy in the Modern State: An institution at the crossroads of democratic change." *Paideuma* 41 (1995): 49-62.
- Foucault, Michel. *L'Ordre du Discours*. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.
- Pugliese, Francesca. "Corporate Social Responsibility and local perceptions: A case study in Western Ghana." MA Thesis. Leiden University, 2014.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. *The Development of Underdevelopment*. In *Imperialism and Underdevelopment*, edited by Robert I. Rhodes, 4-17. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970 [1966].
- Garandeau, Valéry. *La décentralisation au Gabon : une réforme inachevée*. L'Harmattan, 2010.
- Gardinier, David E., and Douglas A. Yates. *Historical dictionary of Gabon*. Scarecrow Press, 1981.
- Gaulme, François. "Le Bwiti chez les Nkomi: association cultuelles et évolution historique sur le littoral gabonais." *Journal des Africanistes* 49, no. 2 (1979): 37-87.
- Gaulme, François. *Le pays de Cama: un ancien État côtier du Gabon et ses origines*. Vol. 2. Karthala, 1981.
- Gelb, Alan et. al. *Oil Windfalls: Blessing or Curse?* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Ghazvinian, John. *Untapped: The Scramble for Africa's Oil*. New York: Harcourt, 2007.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*. Vol. 33. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970.
- Gocking, Roger. *Facing Two Ways: Ghana's coastal communities under colonial rule*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1999.
- Gray, Christopher. "Who Does Historical Research in Gabon? Obstacles to the Development of a Scholarly Tradition." *History in Africa* 21 (1994): 413-433.
- Gray, Christopher John. *Colonial rule and crisis in Equatorial Africa: Southern Gabon, c. 1850-1940*. Vol. 13. University Rochester Press, 2002.
- Haber, Stephen & Victor Menaldo, "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse," *American Political Science Review* 105 (February, 2011): 1-24.

- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The MIT Press, 1962
- Heilbrunn, John. *Oil, Democracy, and Development in Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics*, no. 4 (December, 2004): 725-740.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Hoinathy, Remadji. *Pétrole et changement social au Tchad: rente pétrolière et monétisation des relations économiques et sociales dans la zone pétrolière de Doba*. Karthala, 2013.
- Holbraad, Martin, Morten Axel Pedersen, and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. "The Politics of Ontology: Anthropological Positions." Theorizing the Contemporary, *Fieldsights* (January 13, 2014). Accessed July 21, 2019, <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/the-politics-of-ontology-anthropological-positions>.
- Hoon, Parakh. "The Verticalization of Personal-Reciprocal Relationships: Changes in the Local Political Economy of Eastern Zambia." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Boston: August, 2002.
- Hyden, Goran. "The Study of Governance." In *Governance and Politics in Africa*, edited by Michael Bratton and Michael Bratton. London: Lynne Rienner, 1992: 1-26.
- Hyden, Goran. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Jones, Ben. *Beyond the state in rural Uganda*. Vol. 39. Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- Jones, Will. "Murder and create: state reconstruction in Rwanda since 1994." PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2014.
- Joseph, Richard A. "Class, state, and prebendal politics in Nigeria." *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 21, no. 3 (1983): 21-38.
- Levi, Michael and Robert McNally. "A Crude Predicament." *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 4 (2012): 100-111.
- Lijphart, Arend. "Comparative politics and the comparative method." *American Political Science Review* 65 (1971): 682-693.
- Lonsdale, Richard E. "The decline in foreign-area specialization in geography doctoral work." *Journal of Geography* 85, no. 1 (1986): 4-6.

- Lonsdale, John, Preben Kaarsholm, and Jan Hultin. *Invention and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Roskilde: Occasional Paper, International Development Studies, 1994.
- Lund, Christian. "Twilight institutions: public authority and local politics in Africa." *Development and Change* 37, no. 4 (2006): 685-705.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. *The paradox of plenty: Oil booms and petro-states*. Vol. 26. Univ of California Press, 1997.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Pablo Zoido-Lobatón. "Governance Matters." *The World Bank*, 1999.
- Kaufmann, Daniel, and Aart Kraay. "Growth without governance." *The World Bank*, 2002.
- Kea, Ray A. *Settlements, trade, and polities in the seventeenth-century Gold Coast*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Klare, Michael and Volman, Daniel. "America, China, and the Scramble for Africa's Oil." *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (2006): 297-309.
- Klieman, Kairn A. *The pygmies were our compass: Bantu and Batwa in the history of west central Africa, early times to c. 1900 CE*. Greenwood Pub Group, 2003.
- Klieman, Kairn. "Towards A History of Pre-colonial Gabon: Farmers and Forest Specialists along the Ogooue', c. 500 B.C.-100 A.D." In *Culture, Ecology, and Politics in Gabon's Rainforest*, edited by Michael C. Reed and James F. Barnes. Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.
- Kopytoff, Igor, ed. *The African Frontier: the reproduction of traditional African societies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Le Billon, Phillippe. "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20, no. 5 (June, 2001): 561-584.
- Mahdavy, H. "The Patterns and Problems of Economic Development in Rentier States: The Case of Iran." In *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, edited by M.A. Cook. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Médard, Jean-François. "The underdeveloped state in tropical Africa: Political clientelism or neo-patrimonialism." In *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London: Frances Pinter, (1982): 192.
- Merton, Robert K. "Social structure and anomie." *American sociological review* 3, no. 5 (1938): 672-682.

- Malinowski, Bronislaw. "Practical anthropology." *Africa* 2, no. 1 (1929): 22-38.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Introductory essay on the anthropology of changing African cultures*. Seymour House, Waterloo Place, 1938.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. *The dynamics of culture change: An inquiry into race relations in Africa*. Ed. Phyllis Mary Kaberry. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Mangarella, Joseph. "To What Extend Does Multipolarity Affect the Resource Curse in African Oil States? The Impact of China and the Case for Institutions." MA thesis. AGS in Paris, 2012.
- M'Bokolo, Elikia. *Noirs et blancs en Afrique équatoriale: les sociétés côtières et la pénétration française, vers 1820-1874*. Vol. 69. École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1981.
- Médard, J-F. "The underdeveloped state in tropical Africa: Political clientelism or neo-patrimonialism." In *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London: Frances Pinter, 1982.
- Merlet, Annie. *Autour du Loango: XIVe-XIXe siècle*. Centre culturel français Saint-Exupéry-Sépia, 1991.
- Miles, William FS. *Hausaland divided: Colonialism and independence in Nigeria and Niger*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Mitchell, Timothy. *Carbon Democracy: Political Power in the Age of Oil*. London: Verso, 2013.
- Mohan, Giles, and Ben Lampert. "Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China–Africa Relations." *African Affairs* 112, no. 446 (2013): 92-110.
- Mojekwu, C. C. "Law in African Culture and Society." In *African society, culture and politics: an introduction to African studies*, edited by C.C. Mojekwu. University Press of America, 1978.
- Moore, Henrietta L. "The changing nature of anthropological knowledge." *The future of anthropological knowledge*. New York: Routledge, 1996: 1-15.
- Moore, S. F. *Law as Process*. London: Routledge, 1978.
- Mortimer, Edward. *France and the Africans, 1940–60: a political history*. London: Faber, 1969.
- Mve, Bernardin Minko. *Gabon entre tradition et post-modernité: dynamique des structures d'accueil fang*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003.

N'Nah, Nicolas Métégué. *L'Implantation Coloniale au Gabon : Résistance d'un Peuple*, Tome 1. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1981.

NNah, Nicolas Métégué. *Histoire du Gabon: des origines à l'aube du XXIe siècle*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006.

Nang, Clotaire Messi Me. *Les chantiers forestiers au Gabon: une histoire sociale des ouvriers africains*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014.

Nukunya, Godwin Kwaku. *Tradition and change in Ghana: An introduction to sociology*. Ghana Universities Press, 2003.

Obeng-Odoom, Franklin. *Oiling the Urban Economy: land, labour, capital, and the state in Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana*. Routledge, 2014.

O'Donnell, G. "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies," In *The self-restraining state: power and accountability in new democracies*, edited by Schedler, Andreas, Larry Jay Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999: 29-52.

Olivier de Sardan, J.P. "A moral economy of corruption in Africa?." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no. 1 (1999): 25-52.

Olivier de Sardan, J.P. "The eight modes of local governance in West Africa." *IDS bulletin* 42, no. 2 (2011): 22-31.

Omeje, Kenneth, ed. *Extractive Economies and Conflicts in the Global South*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008.

Ostrom, Elinor. *Governing the Commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Paige, Jeffery M. "Land reform and agrarian revolution in El Salvador: comment on Seligson and Diskin." *Latin American Research Review* 31, no. 2 (1996): 127-139.

Pantuliano, Sara. "Oil, land and conflict: the decline of Misseriya pastoralism in Sudan 1." *Review of African Political Economy* 37, no. 123 (2010): 7-23.

Patry, Maurice, Anne Gallimard, and François Pétron. *Babiroussa: une vie jusqu'au bout du rêve: récit*. Fixot, 1990.

Patterson, David. *The Northern Gabon Coast to 1875*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

Pean, Pierre. *Affaires africaines*. Baillard, 1983.

Pels, Peter. "What Has Anthropology Learned from the Anthropology of Colonialism?" *Social Anthropology* 16, no. 3 (2008): 280-299.

Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine. "Oil curse, State instability, and violence in developing countries: theoretical lessons for Nigeria." *IFRA-Nigeria Working Paper Series 32*, November 27, 2014.

Plageman, Nate. "Colonial ambition, common sense thinking, and the making of Takoradi harbor, Gold Coast." *History in Africa* 40, no. 1 (2013): 317-352.

Pourtier, Roland. *Le Gabon: Espace, histoire, société*. Vol. 1. l'Harmattan, 1989.

Pourtier, Roland. *Le Gabon: etat et développement*. Vol. 2. l'Harmattan, 1989.

Public Relations Department. "Know your council: A brief account of the Sekondi-Tekoradi Town Council." Accra, 1950.

Raponda-Walker, André, and Roger Sillans. *Rites et croyances des peuples du Gabon: essai sur les pratiques religieuses d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui*. Présence africaine, 1983.

Ratanga-Atoz, Anges. *Histoire du Gabon des migrations historiques à la République, XVe-XXe siècle*. Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1985.

Rathbone, Richard. *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*. Ohio State University Press, 2000.

Rodney, Walter. "How europe underdeveloped africa." In *Beyond borders: Thinking critically about global issues*, edited by Paula Rothenberg. MacMillan, 2006 [1972]: 107-125.

Ross, Michael L. "The Political Economy of the Resource Curse." *World Politics* 51 (1999): 297-322.

Sachs, Jeffrey D. and Andrew M. Warner. "Natural Resource Abundance and Economic Growth." NBER Working Paper No. 5398 (1995).

Sanders, James Robert. "The political development of the Fante in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: a study of a West African merchant society." PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1980.

Sawyer, Suzana. *Crude chronicles: indigenous politics, multinational oil, and neoliberalism in Ecuador*. Duke University Press, 2004.

Schatzberg, Michael (2002) *Political Legitimacy in Middle Africa: Father, Family, Food*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Schumpeter, Joseph Alois. *Socialism, capitalism and democracy*. Harper and Brothers, 1942.

Scott, James C. "The moral economy of the peasant: Subsistence and rebellion in Southeast Asia." New Haven, Yale University Press: 1976.

Scott, James. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

- Shumway, Rebecca. *The Fante and the transatlantic slave trade*. Vol. 52. Boydell & Brewer, 2014.
- Smith, Benjamin, *Hard times in the lands of plenty: oil politics in Iran and Indonesia*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Tar, Usman A. "Rentier Politics, Extractive Economies and Conflict in the Global South: Emerging Ramifications and Theoretical Exploration." In *Extractive Economies and Conflicts in the Global South*, edited by Kenneth Omeje. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008: 27-49.
- Teune, Henry, and Adam Przeworski. *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York: Wiley-Interscience, 1970.
- Tilly, Charles. "Reflections on the history of European state-making." In *The formation of national states in Western Europe*, edited by Charles Tilly. Princeton University Press, 1975: 3-83.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Torcal, Mariano, and José Ramón Montero. *Political disaffection in contemporary democracies: social capital, institutions and politics*. Routledge, 2006.
- Transparency International Secretariat. "Explanation of how individual country scores of the corruption perceptions index are calculated." (January 27, 2017).  
[https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/explanation\\_of\\_how\\_individual\\_country\\_scores\\_of\\_the\\_corruption\\_perceptions](https://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/explanation_of_how_individual_country_scores_of_the_corruption_perceptions). Accessed December 30, 2018)
- Tullow Oil. "Jubilee field." <https://www.tullowoil.com/operations/west-africa/ghana/jubilee-field>, Accessed December 30, 2018.
- US Energy Information Administration. "Gabon."  
(<https://www.eia.gov/beta/international/country.php?iso=GAB>), Accessed December 27, 2018.
- Vansina, Jan. *Paths in the Rainforest: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Wagner, Alain, Richard Engoang Nguemas, and Vivian Oël. *Aspects des médecines traditionnelles du Gabon*. Editions universelles, 1986.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, ed. *The capitalist world-economy*. Vol. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1979.

- Watts, Michael J., and Ibaba Samuel Ibaba. "Turbulent Oil: Conflict and Insecurity in the Niger Delta." *African Security* 4, no. 1 (2011): 1-19.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Routledge, 2001 [1930].
- Welman, Charles Wellesley. *The Native States of the Gold Coast: Ahanta*. London: Dawson, 1969 [1925].
- White, Luise. *Speaking with vampires: Rumor and history in colonial Africa*. Vol. 37. Univ of California Press, 2000.
- Wright, James D. "Political disaffection." In *The handbook of political behavior*, pp. 1-79. Springer, Boston, MA, 1981.
- Yates, Douglas. *The Rentier State in Africa: Oil Rent Dependency and Neocolonialism in the Republic of Gabon*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1996.
- Yates, Douglas. *The Scramble for African Oil*. London: Pluto Press, 2012.
- Yates, Douglas. "Gabon." In *Africa Yearbook 2012*, edited by Mehler, Andreas, Henning Melber, Klaas Van Walraven Brill, 2013.
- Yeboah, Ian EA. "Structural adjustment and emerging urban form in Accra, Ghana." *Africa Today* 47, no. 2 (2000): 61-89.
- Yeboah, Ian EA. "Demographic and housing aspects of structural adjustment and emerging urban form in Accra, Ghana." *Africa Today* 50, no. 1 (2003): 107-119.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009.

## Interviews (Gabon)

Date collected	Source of evidence	Author/Interlocutor	Location	Important Contextual Observations
2-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Lionel Ikogou-Renamy, Galwa, Ph.D. in Anthropology	Residence Lea, Libreville, Gabon	Bar, informal, brother present
6-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Professor Mouvoungu, Loumbou, UOB Linguist	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone, lab with students working
7-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Professor Joseph Tonda, Gabonese, Anthropology, UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone, students present
7-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Dimitri Ndomi, PhD, Sociology of Work, UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone, students present
8-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Professor Ratanga-Atoz, Gabonese, Historian, UOB	His home, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone, others present
8-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	M. Kouumba, Jurist, Loumbou, relative of Ratanga-Atoz	His office, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone, Lionel present
9-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Professor John Nambo, Law, UOB	His office, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone
10-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Prof. Ndoutoungu, ex-Ministry of Hydrocarbons, Geography at UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes
13-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Prof. Cyrille Mickala, Philosophy, UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes, chance encounter
13-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Francis Bivigou, Chief of Gabon-Oregon, UOB	His office, UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes
13-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Dimitri Ndomi, PhD, Sociology of Work, UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone/Notes
14-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Georges Mpaga, ROLBG, opposition NGO	Office, Libreville, Gabon	Dictaphone/Notes
14-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Pierre Ndong Aboghe, ROLBG member, Law Ph.D.	ROLBG, Libreville, Gabon	Notes
14-Jul-15	Documentation	Stephane Le Duc Yeno, WWF, et. Al.	WWF, Libreville, Gabon	USB
14-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Stephane Le Duc Yeno, Researcher, WWF Gabon	WWF, Libreville, Gabon	Notes

14-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Professor Wilson Ndombet, Historian, UOB	Bar outside UOB, Libreville, Gabon	assistants present
14-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Gilchrist and Dieu(), Assistants to Ndombet	Bar outside UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes, Ndombet present
15-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Marc Ona Essangui, chief of Brainforest, opposition member	Office, Libreville, Gabon	Notes
16-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Shana Sherry, Political and Economic Advisor, US Embassy	US Embassy, Libreville, Gabon	Notes, other advisor present (Regina Manga)
16-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	History department faculty, UOB	UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes, plenty present
16-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	M. Wanceslas, Ministry of Hydrocarbons	Ministry, UOB, Libreville, Gabon	Notes
20-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Ghislain Pither, Shell	Gamba, Gabon	Notes
21-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Mireille Johnson, elephant expert, Smithsonian	Office, Gamba, Gabon Smithsonian Institute, Gamba, Gabon	Dictaphone, notes
22-Jul-15	Documentation	Pierre Brice, WWF, et. Al.	Smithsonian Institute, Gamba, Gabon	USB
22-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Pierre Brice, Sociologist, WWF	Smithsonian Institute, Gamba, Gabon	notes
22-Jul-05	Open-ended interview	M. Ossendo, Secretary-General of departmental council of ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
22-Jul-05	Open-ended interview	Igor, Gamba local radio	Soundbooth, Gamba, Gabon	notes
23-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Armelle Zabatier, Social Performance, Shell	Shell Terminal Gamba, Gabon	notes
23-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Jean Churley, Ibonga, conservationist	Home, Gamba, Gabon	notes
24-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Jean Churley, Ibonga, conservationist	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	notes
24-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	"Mousse," Marine Marchand	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	notes
27-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Prefect of Ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
27-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	ex-VP of departmental council, 2008-2013 (name in dictaphone)	see notebook	notes

28-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Dr. Sisso, Medecin at Gamba Hospital, 1st Mayor of Gamba	Hospital, Gamba, Gabon	dictaphone and notes
29-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	Chef de canton de Ndougou	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
29-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	Brother of chef de canton de ndougou	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
30-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	Chef de village de Soungha	Soungha, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
30-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	Chef de regroupement de Sette-Cama	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
30-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	Chef de village 1 de sette cama	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
30-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Herve Ngoma, boat captain, Vili	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, cantonal secretary present
31-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	chef de village 2 de sette cama	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, assistant present
31-Jul-15	Semi-structured interview	"Notable" of Mougambi	Mougambi, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
31-Jul-15	Open-ended interview	Head of Ibonga	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
3-Aug-15	Semi-structured interview	Villagers, chef de canton, chef de regroupement de Ingoueka	Ingoueka, Nougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
3-Aug-15	Semi-structured interview	Chef de village de Vara	Vara, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, teachers/villagers present
4-Aug-15	Documentation	Armelle Zabatier, Social Performance, Shell	Shell Terminal Gamba, Gabon	Paper
4-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Armelle Zabatier, Social Performance, Shell	Shell Terminal Gamba, Gabon	notes
5-Aug-15	Semi-structured interview	Alain Mougamba, "notable" de village de Mayonami	Mayonami, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
5-Aug-15	Semi-structured interview	chef de village de mougagara	Mougagara, Ndougou, Gabon	dictaphone, notes, villagers present and contributing
6-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Treasurer (percepteur) of Ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes

7-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Middle-school teachers, college de Gamba	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	dictaphone, notes
9-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	M. Chambrier, ex-functionary at City Hall	His home, Gamba, Gabon	notes
10-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Guy Kassa Koumba, head of social performance, Shell	Skype meeting at Shell terminal, Gamba, Gabon	notes, Armelle Zague present
10-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Pierre Brice, Sociologist, WWF	in transit, Gamba, Gabon	notes
12-Aug-15	Structured interview	Chef de village de Soungha	Soungha, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
12-Aug-15	Structured interview	Soungha chief's little sister	Soungha, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
12-Aug-15	Structured interview	Fisherman, temporarily in Soungha	Soungha, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
12-Aug-15	Structured interview	Jean-Louis Louemba, Sette Cama villager	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
12-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Chef de regroupement de Sette-Cama	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
12-Aug-15	Structured interview	Gracia Tchibinda	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-15	Structured interview	Stephane Fouity	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes, villagers present
13-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Jean-Alain Pamba	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Jean-Marie Ndombe, guide to famous hunter Maurice Patry	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-15	Structured interview	Jean-Alain Pamba	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-15	Structured interview	Glen Mbouity	Sette Cama, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-13	Open-ended interview	Chef de canton de Ndougou	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
13-Aug-15	Structured interview	Etienne Pouebou	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
14-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	M. Chambrier, ex-functionary at City Hall	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	notes
14-Aug-15	Structured interview	Francis Yaba's sister in Plaine 4, Gamba	Her house, Gamba, Gabon	notes
14-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Francis Yaba, builder	His house, Gamba, Gabon	notes
14-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	ANPN agents, Yaba's house	Yaba house, Gamba, Gabon	notes

18-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Professor Djoumata, high school teacher	High School, Gamba, Gabon	notes
18-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Nazaire Boussouba Yaba, Francis' father, former Shell employee	His home, Gamba, Gabon	notes, many friends present
19-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	M. Ossendo, Secretary-General of departmental council of ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
19-Aug-15	Documentation	Censeur and Proviseur, High School	Office, Gamba, Gabon	USB
19-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Censeur and Proviseur, High School	High School, Gamba, Gabon	notes
19-Aug-15	Documentation	Treasurer (percepteur) of Ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	Paper
19-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Treasurer (percepteur) of Ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
19-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Sitting senator from Gamba	His home, Gamba, Gabon	notes
21-Aug-15	Structured interview	"Notable" of Mougambi	Mougambi, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
21-Aug-15	Structured interview	Robert Moundanga	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
21-Aug-15	Structured interview	Jeanne-Marie Mboumba, femme de menage of case de passage	Pitonga, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
22-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Stephane Moussavu	Mougambi, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
22-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Villagers of Ibouka	Ibouka, Ndougou, Gabon	notes
23-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Pastor Daniel Boudika, Alliance Chretienne	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
24-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Prefect of Ndougou	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
24-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Chargee de mission to mayor of Gamba	conference room, City hall, gamba, gabon	notes
24-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Sitting senator from Gamba	His home, Gamba, Gabon	notes
26-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Radio chief Marc Boulondo	Office at Radio Gabon, Gamba, Gabon	notes
26-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Dieudonne, plays news at radio	Radio, Gamba, Gabon	notes

27-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Ex-mayor and sitting 2nd adjoint Pang	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
27-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	secretary general of city hall	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
28-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	cabinet director for mayor	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
31-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	secretary general of city hall	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
31-Aug-15	Open-ended interview	Taxi union boss, Cedric Mangala	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	notes
1-Sep-15	Semi-structured interview	Poroty, market stand owner	Market, Gamba, Gabon	notes
1-Sep-15	Semi-structured interview	Commercial fisher Pegiza	Market, Gamba, Gabon	notes
1-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	"Serge", from village of Mbouda	Market, Gamba, Gabon	notes
1-Sep-15	Semi-structured interview	Woman at manioc factory	Market, Gamba, Gabon	notes
1-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	M. Chambrier, ex-functionary at City Hall	My apartment, Gamba, Gabon	notes
2-Sep-15	Documentation	Obtained from radio chief, written by city hall and departmental council	Radio, Gamba, Gabon	USB
2-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	Radio chief Marc Boulondo	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
2-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	secretary general of city hall	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
5-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	Ingoueka villagers, funeral rites	Ingoueka, Nougou, Gabon	notes
7-Sep-15	Open-ended interview	secretary general of city hall	Office, Gamba, Gabon	notes
10-Sep-15	Presentation & Focus Group	Elected officials, NGOs, administrators, etc.	City Hall, Gamba, Gabon	Dictaphone

## Interviews (Ghana)

<b>Date collected</b>	<b>Source of evidence</b>	<b>Author/Interlocutor</b>	<b>Location</b>
7-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Dorcas Ansah Mark Evans & Samuel Behoe	Offices in Accra NRGI, Accra
8-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Nana Ama	COLANDEF, Accra
8-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Richard Acheampong, Labour Organizer	Labour College / TUC, Accra
10-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Orei-Akoto	COLANDEF, Takoradi
13-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Bob Gardinier Mores, "The Daily Graphic"	Empire Radio, Takoradi
18-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Kweku, Joy FM	Coffee shop, Takoradi
18-Jan-16	open-ended int.	John Blay	Coffee shop, Takoradi
18-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Chief, member of PIAC	Bollore, Takoradi
19-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Joseph, ExIm Tullow Osabarima, Kwaw Entsie II	Coffee shop, Takoradi
19-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Matthew, Oswald, Bernice	Coffee shop, Takoradi
20-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Nana Kwasi Ogyema	WRCF, Takoradi
22-Jan-16	open-ended int.	Korkor	Shipper's Council, Takoradi
22-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Domnic, Taxi Driver	Taxi, Takoradi
22-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Mabel, WRCF Stephen Blighton, Regional Co-	WRCF, Takoradi
23-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Regional Co- Coordination Councillor	Coordinating Council, Sekondi
23-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Emmanuel Papa Assan, Regional Youth Elizabeth Arthur,	Western Regional Youth Authority, Sekondi
23-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Presiding Member, Policy Planner	STMA District, Takoradi
24-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Solomon Ampofo, Conversation Manager	FON, Takoradi

25-Aug-16	Participation	WCRF Assembly	Dixcove COLANDEF,
26-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Osei Akoto, COLANDEF Nana Akosua Gyamfiaba	Takoradi Palace/Residence,
26-Aug-16	open-ended int.	II, Queen Mother; Elders FON/Peace Corps Community	Shama
28-Aug-16	Participation	Engagement/Conference Joseph Kudjo, Presiding Member, Nzema East?	Nyankrom Ghana Gas Workshop,
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	District Assembly	Esiama Ghana Gas
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Ruth Anwuboh, Unit Community Member	Workshop, Esiama Ghana Gas
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Maxwell Essien, National Assemblyman	Workshop, Esiama Ghana Gas
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Wisdom, Community Development Officer, Ellembelle	Workshop, Esiama
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Elders	Atuabo
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Chief and elders representing fishermen	Baku
30-Aug-16	open-ended int.	Larry, Fisherman and Student	Baku

## NGO, Private-Sector, and Unpublished Material

Bilo'o B'Ondo, Anastasie. "Problématique du zonage dans la partie sud du Parc National de Loango : Délimitation physique et validation concertée du terroir villageois de Sounga." Internship report for the Ecole Nationale des Eaux et Forêts. WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2010.

Bissielo, Anaclé and Jean Pierre Ndong Owono. "Enquête sur les besoins et préoccupations des populations de Gamba." Study conducted by Conjoncture – Observatoire des Organisations ( C-O2 ) of the Département de Sociologie, UOB and Shell-Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: April, 2003.

Blaney, S., S. Mbouity, J-M Nkombé and M. Thibault. "Caractéristiques socio-économiques des populations des départements de Ndougou et de la Basse-Banio." WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 1997.

Blaney, S., S. Mbouity, P. Moussounda Nzamba, J-M Nkombé, M. Thibault, O. Mboumba Mavoungou, and J.P. Bayé. "Caractéristiques socio-économiques de la ville de Gamba, département de Ndougou." WWF-Programme Régional pour l'Afrique Centrale, Libreville, Gabon: 1998.

"Budget Primitif Exercice". Commune de Gamba, Département de Ndougou, Province de l'Ogooué Maritime. République Gabonaise, 2015.

COLANDEF. "Annual Progress Report: Community Conversations." Submitted to the WRCF, November, 2015.

Friends of the Nation. "Annual Progress Report: Community Conversations." Submitted to the WRCF, November, 2015.

Kouumba, Jean Silvio. "Esquisse de l'histoire de Sette Cama." Tourist-Art Consulting: Libreville, 2015.

Kovic. "Zonage Participatif des activités traditionnelles du village Dighoudou (PNMD)." Mémoire de fin de cycle, Mofoumat JDD, Elève Ingénieur des techniques des Eaux et Forets 3ème année. WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2008.

Mboulou Mve, C. and Simplice Mbouitsi. "Raport Mission: Caracteristiques socio-économiques et culturelles du village Mayonami (département de Ndougou)." WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Gamba, Gabon: 2004.

- Mvé Mebia, Emmanuel. "Suivi des caractéristiques socioéconomiques des communautés rurales des villages Sounga et Setté-Cama dans le sud du parc national de Loango." WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2004.
- Mvé Mebia, Emmanuel, Stéphane Le Duc Yeno, and Simplice Mbouity. "Caractéristiques socioéconomiques et culturelles dans les villages Pitonga et Mougambe (Département de Ndougou)." WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2004.
- Mvé Mebia, Emmanuel, Stéphane Le Duc Yeno, and Simplice Mbouity. "Caractéristiques socioéconomiques et culturelles sur la haute lagune et le Rembo Bongo (Département de Ndougou)." (WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2004).
- Caractéristiques socioéconomiques et culturelles sur la haute lagune et le Rembo Bongo (Département de Ndougou).
- NDOÏDE Louis-Paulin. Evaluation du système de surveillance et protection dans le complexe d'aires protégées de Gamba : Cas spécifique du Parc National de Loango (Secteur Sud). Internship report for the Ecole Nationale des Eaux et Forêts. WWF-Programme pour le Gabon. Libreville, Gabon: 2009-2010.
- Public Interest and Accountability Committee (PIAC). "Simplified Guide to the Petroleum Revenue Management Law in Ghana." Accra, June 2017. [http://www.piacghana.org/portal/files/downloads/simplified\\_guide\\_to\\_ghana's\\_petroleum.pdf](http://www.piacghana.org/portal/files/downloads/simplified_guide_to_ghana's_petroleum.pdf), Accessed December 31, 2018.
- Secretariat des missions d'urbanisme et d'habitat (SMUH). "Villes Nouvelles au Site Obligé : Monographie sur la création de Gamba." Secretariat des missions d'urbanisme et d'habitat. Paris: May 1970.
- Shell-Gabon. "Social Performance Plan." Shell-Upstream, Libreville, 2012.
- Sodexo Gabon/Gamba. "Rapport de Mission." Projets de Développement Durable Sodexo Madagascar. Gamba: November, 2009.
- "Plan de développement local du département de Ndougou et de la Commune de Gamba : 2013-2017" Comité de réflexion sur l'après-pétrole, UNDP, Conseil du Commune de Gamba, Conseil départemental de Ndougou. Released in 2012.
- United Civil Society Organisations for National Development – UCSOND. "Annual Progress Report: Community Conversations." Submitted to the WRCF, November, 2015.

## Public Archives

Rapports Mensuels, Circonscription de Bongo. 1922. Carton D 21. 51MIOM/44(1-2). Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Rapports Trimestriels, Circonscription de Bongo. 1923. Carton D 24. 51MIOM/47(1-2). Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Revignet-Ingueza, Le Sous-Préfet du District Autonome de Sette Cama-Gamba. "Fiche d'Activités du Mois de Décembre, 1969, District Autonome de Sette-Cama/Gamba." January 1, 1970. Carton 2385. Région de l'Ogooué-Maritime, Fiches mensuelles d'activités du mois de Décembre, 1969. Archives Nationales du Gabon, Libreville, Gabon.

Saulnerond, J. Bernard, Le Préfet de l'Ogooué-Maritime. "Fiche d'Activités du Mois de Janvier, 1968, District Autonome de Gamba." February 8, 1968. Carton 3375. Région de l'Ogooué-Maritime, Fiches mensuelles d'activités, 1968. Archives Nationales du Gabon, Libreville, Gabon.

Société Agricole et Commerciale du Sette Cama, Dossier Commun aux Sociétés du Fernan Vaz et du Sette Cama. 1899/1930. Carton 62 COL 33. Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, France.

## Samenvatting

Politicologische studies van Afrika ten zuiden van de Sahara concentreren zich vooral op staten en negeren daarom vaak lokale krachten en actoren in ontwikkeling en onderontwikkeling. Dit komt deels door de alomtegenwoordigheid van extractieve economieën en van verstedelijkte, naar buiten gerichte *rentier* groepen. Hierdoor richt de academische belangstelling zich vooral op actoren op het statelijke niveau die formeel verantwoordelijk zijn voor publieke goederen, waaronder genationaliseerde bezittingen, en bestuur. Een heel andere combinatie van thema's, samengevat onder de begrippen idiosyncrasie en banaliteit, brengt het risico mee dat men Afrikaanse politieke culturen stereotypeert ter verklaring van verschijnselen als informalisering en corruptie. Dit kan zo ver gaan dat men begrippen als 'het dorp' (*the village*) en zijn 'grote mannen' (*big men*) een universeel karakter toedicht en extrapolereert naar andere situaties. Dit proefschrift problematiseert en verzoent beide benaderingen door etnografisch veldwerk in Gamba, Gabon, een gemeenschap in een olieproducerende regio in een staat die al lang geassocieerd wordt met *rentierism* (inkomsten uit niet-productieve activiteiten). De conclusies worden vervolgens vergeleken met de ontwikkelingen in Takoradi, Ghana, waar offshore oliebronnen pas sinds kort worden geëxploiteerd in een context van een staat die niet direct bekend staat om *rentier*-gedrag.

Oliegemeenschappen figuren zelden als case-studies van lokale politieke arena's in Afrika. Vaker worden ze gebruikt om politieke beeldspraken en concepten op grond van *rent-seeking* en *resource curses* een té concrete realiteit toe te dichten, waarbij dan geldstromen het politieke gedrag van lokale, regionale, nationale en internationale actoren conditioneren. Hoofdstukken 1 en 2 van dit proefschrift gaan in op de bestaande literatuur over politieke veranderingen en effecten in Afrika, waarbij de relatieve causaliteit van internationale en lokale krachten wordt onderzocht. Dit vormt de opmaat voor de onderzoeksopzet zoals besproken in hoofdstuk 2. Dit hoofdstuk voert argumenten aan voor een vergelijking tussen twee gemeenschappen woonachtig in olieproducerende regio's van Gabon en Ghana. Tevens worden drie representatieve benaderingen van lokale politiek en lokale economie (in de zin van systemen van levensonderhoud) in Afrika besproken. Hoofdstukken 3 en 4 beschrijven de geschiedenis en de recente geschiedenis van politieke instituties en systemen van levensonderhoud (*livelihoods*) in Gamba, Gabon, gevuld door toepassingen van bovengenoemde drie benaderingen in hoofdstukken 5 en 6, ten einde te bepalen wat de beste verklaring vormt voor de politiek beïnvloede veranderingen in de gemeenschap. Hoofdstuk 7 past dezelfde methode van historisering en theoretische applicatie toe op Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana, maar dan op een gecondenseerde manier.

De geschiedenis van extractieve economieën in Afrika bezuiden de Sahara heeft lokale factoren in politieke ontwikkeling versluierd, terwijl het omgekeerde geldt voor essentialistische benaderingen. Mijn onderzoek hoopt deze tegenstelling te verzoenen met behulp van theoretische literatuur die nog nooit is gebruikt voor de studie van extractieve ruimten, alsmede de desbetreffende lokale gemeenschappen 'voor zichzelf te laten spreken'. Het benadrukt de ondergewaardeerde conditie van lokale politiek in Afrika. Oliewinning in dit paradigma is niet langer zowel oorzaak als gevolg van anomie, maar een andere vorm van 'sedimentering'.

## Abstract

Political science as applied to sub-Saharan Africa is largely preoccupied with states, and as a consequence often sidesteps local agents of development and underdevelopment. This is partly due to the pervasiveness of extractive economies and extraverted rentier classes in urban spaces, situations which tend to redirect academic interest towards state-level actors who are formally responsible for nationalized assets and governance. Another set of motifs, that of both idiosyncrasy and banality, risks essentializing African political cultures so as to explain informalization and corruption, going as far as to universalize and extrapolate the “village” and its “big men.” This thesis problematizes and reconciles both approaches through ethnographic fieldwork in Gamba, Gabon, an oil-bearing community in a state long associated with state rentierism. The conclusions are then compared to the experiences of Takoradi, Ghana, where offshore deposits have only recently been exploited in a state not especially known for rentier behavior.

Oil communities rarely appear as case studies of local political arenas in Africa. More often, they serve to reify tropes and concepts based on rent-seeking and resource curses where a cash nexus conditions the political behavior of local, regional, national, and international actors. Chapters 1 and 2 begin by reviewing the literature on political changes and impacts in Africa, surveying the relative causality of international and local forces. This sets the stage for the research design in Chapter 2, which justifies a comparison of two oil-bearing communities in Gabon and Ghana, as well as the selection of three representative approaches to local politics and livelihoods in Africa. Chapters 3 and 4 detail the history and recent history of political institutions and livelihoods in Gamba, Gabon, followed by applications of the three approaches in Chapters 5 and 6 to determine what best explains politically-impacted change in the community. Chapter 7 applies the same method of historicization and theoretical application to Sekondi-Takoradi, Ghana, but in a condensed manner.

The history of extractive economies in sub-Saharan Africa has obfuscated local contributions to political development, while the inverse is true of essentialist approaches. My research hopes to reconcile this, using a body of literature which has yet to be applied to extractive spaces and which allows communities to “speak for themselves” and acknowledges the understudied condition of local politics in Africa. Oil extraction in this paradigm is no longer both cause and consequence of anomie, but another form of “sedimentation.”

## Curriculum Vitae

Joseph Neal Mangarella was born on July 25, 1984 in Rahway, New Jersey (USA). In 2008, Joseph obtained his BA in political science from Earlham College, a Quaker-affiliated liberal arts college in Indiana, USA. He then received his MA in International Relations from the American Graduate School in Paris in 2012, *summa cum laude*, with an area concentration in Africa. In 2014, Joseph entered into a joint doctorate with the African Studies Centre Leiden and the Université Paris 8 (Institut Français de Géopolitique) in anthropology and geopolitics respectively.

Over the course of his doctoral studies, he has contributed to the *Africa Yearbook* and the *Bertlesmann Transformation Index* as a country expert on Equatorial Guinea. Joseph has also contributed to the ViEWS initiative at Uppsala University as a country expert on both Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. In addition to presenting his research at several conferences, Joseph joined the organizing team of a DFG-funded workshop which successfully brought together researchers from several disciplines working on francophone Equatorial Africa. He is now using this expertise to draft a proposal to research the historical trajectories of oil-bearing communities along the entire Loango Coast.

Joseph has taught a wide range of courses to undergraduate and graduate students in writing, language, legal English, and African business and economics at the Université Paris 2, Université Paris 1, INSEEC Paris, and most recently the University of Regensburg. In 2018, he was awarded a Visiting Ph.D. Fellowship at the ASC Leiden, where he was fortunate to share his research and confer with esteemed colleagues.