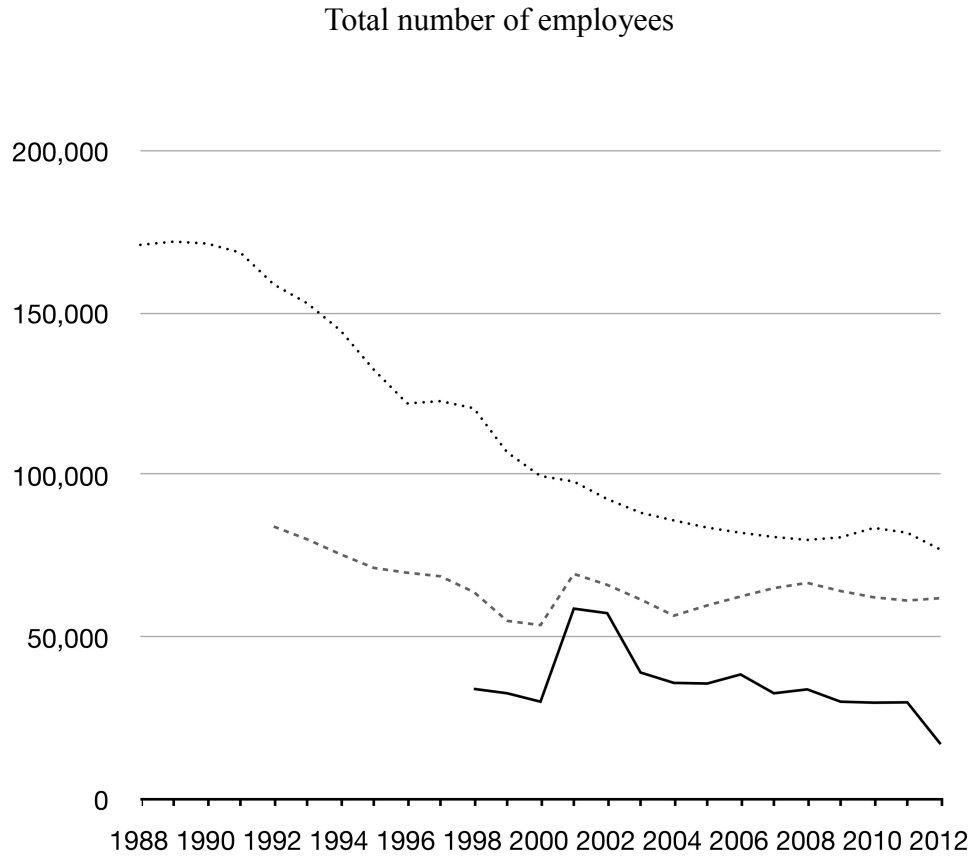


Mazen Labban (2013) Against ~~shareholder~~ value: Accumulation in the oil industry and the biopolitics of labour under finance. *Antipode* DOI: 10.1111/anti.12062 (article first published online 11 November 2013)

Figure 4: Total number of employees (average at year end)



ExxonMobil (excluding employees at company-operated retail sites)

Chevron (including service station personnel)

ConocoPhillips