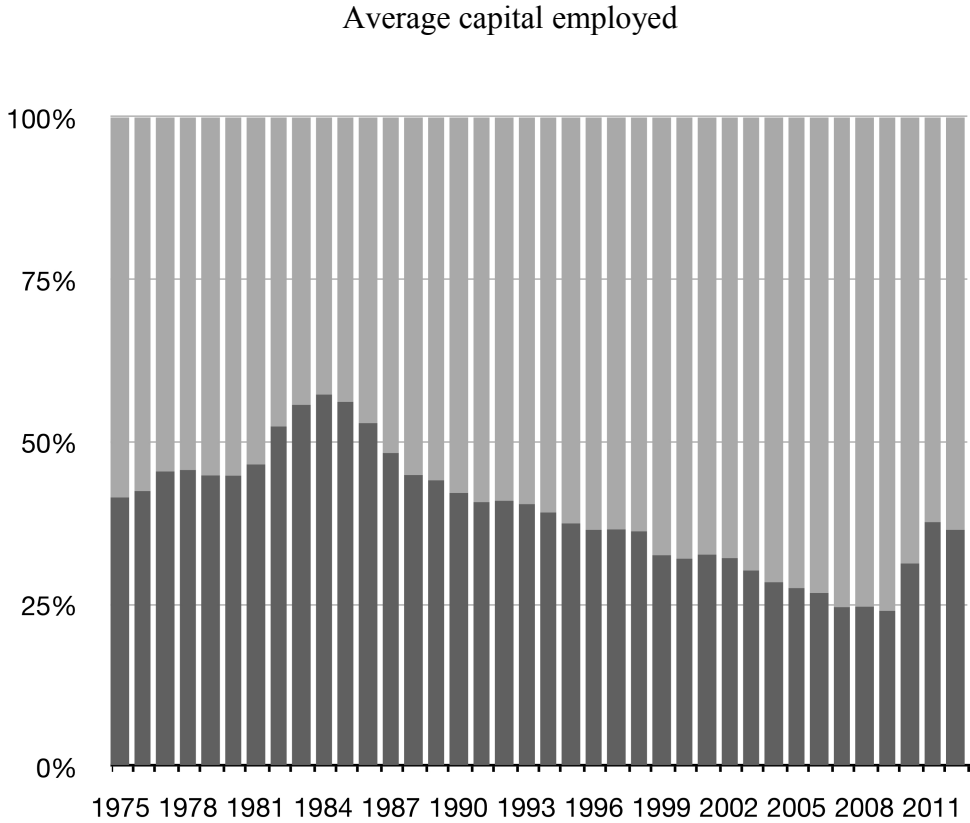


Mazen Labban (2013) Against ~~shareholder~~ value: Accumulation in the oil industry and the biopolitics of labour under finance. *Antipode* DOI: 10.1111/anti.12062 (article first published online 11 November 2013)

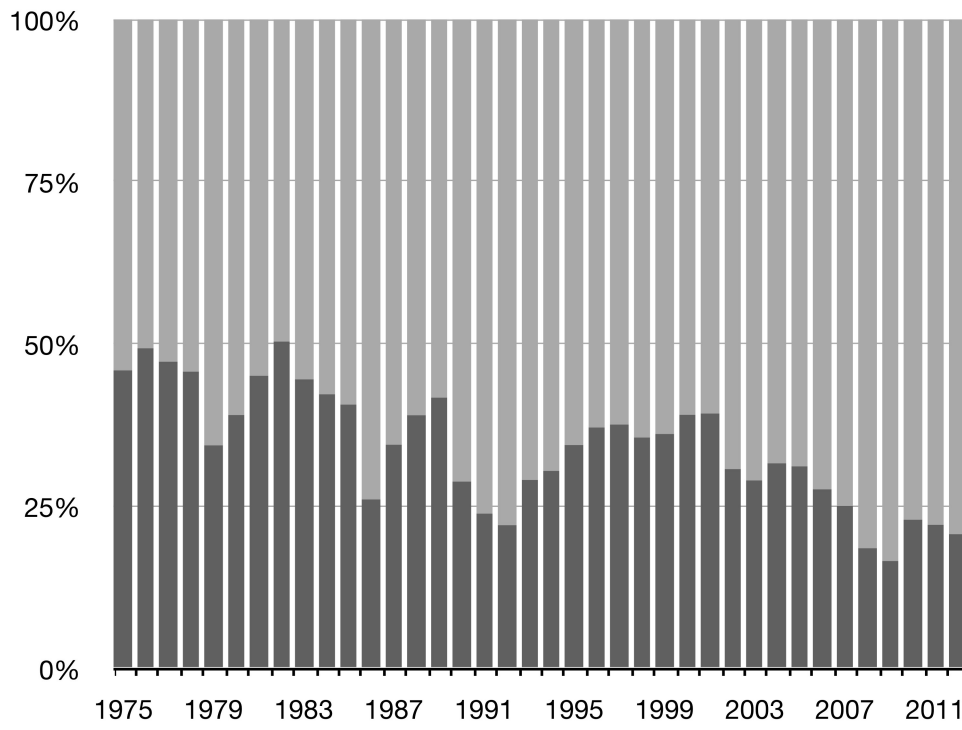
Figure 5: Average capital employed in and earnings from upstream, downstream and chemical operations by region, ExxonMobil 1975–2012 (1975–1998, Exxon only)



Grey - Non-US operations as percentage of total

Black - US operations as percentage of total

Net income



Grey - Non-US operations as percentage of total

Black - US operations as percentage of total