

ARTICLE

Extraction is not a metaphor: Decolonial and Black Geographies against the gendered and embodied violence of extractive logics

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Funding information

Insight Development Grant, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada; Clarendon Fund; John Fell Fund, University of Oxford, Grant/Award Number: 0011004; The Distinguished Professor Award at the University of Toronto

Abstract

We are witnessing a proliferation of new critical scholarship on the manifold forms of extractivism. Yet, there are risks associated with extraction being rendered a broad metaphor for innumerable forms of removal and value-making through exploitation and misappropriation. Theorising within decolonial Black feminisms, we respond to the metaphorization of extraction by (re)asserting the need for persistent analysis on the material and embodied effects and consequences of extractivisms. That is, the specific processes, logics, ideologies, and relations of extractivism recast lands, labours, ecosystems, and bodies, and particularly the bodies of women of colour. This helps to ensure the concept does not become figuratively empty and abstracted in politically and analytically debilitating ways. Drawing on more than a decade of research with three communities entangled within and targeted through extractivism along the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline and the extractive-tourist coastline of Panama, we mobilise a conception of 'extractive logics' to refer to the unnamed, unquestioned, often contradictory, foundational epistemic frameworks that permit the seemingly-permanent structures and relations of removal, destruction, and dehumanization. We analyse documents from the Chad–Cameroon oil consortium, which projected and then calculated the economic 'costs' of the pipeline's triggering of an increase in rates of HIV/AIDS in adjacent towns and cities, alongside the entanglement of capitalist extraction with the medical neglect of Black labourers in Panama. Doing so demystifies the ways that racial and gendered violence are sanctioned (and even premeditated) within extractive logics. We hope that this work challenges some of the methodological nationalism so common within extractive scholarship, and brings extractive processes across disparate South–South and black geographies into conversation, activating a cross-fertilisation of research across otherwise distinct geographies and

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geographical refrains. We reflect on the imperatives for and (im)possibilities of decolonial research against extractivism.

KEYWORDS

Black Geographies, coloniality, decolonial feminism, extractive logics, extractivism, racial capitalism

1 | INTRODUCTION

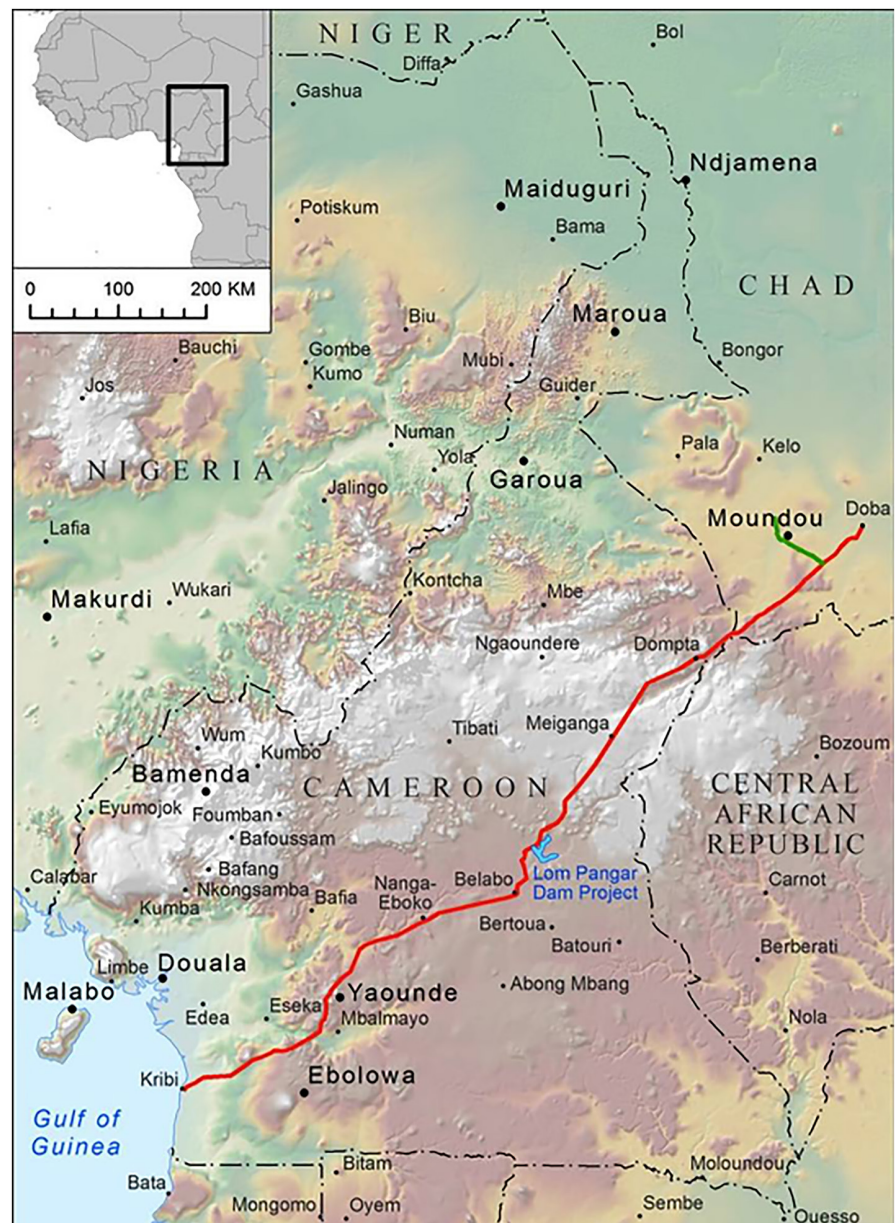
Extractivism extends beyond the moment of removal, beyond the territory of the 'extractive zone' (Gómez-Barris, 2017), to a system's logics and, ultimately, is marked upon lands, waters, food pathways, bodies and knowledges. Extractivism relies on multiple and changing modes of domination, compelling decolonial scholar-activists to seek out decolonial liminalities (Murrey & Jackson, 2020; Sakshi, 2021). Such liminalities are deliberately situated ways of knowing that emerge from experiences and knowledge of the violence of extractivism, but cannot yet comprehend totalising or closed resolutions, nor the end of the colonial-extractive story because these dynamics must be known in praxis; they are unravelled through living, and they are extricated through struggle. Drawing upon anti-colonial modes of relationality, decolonial liminalities can incubate ways of knowing and praxis for land-body decolonisation (Cabnal, 2015; Sweet & Ortiz Escalante, 2017; Zaragocin, 2019). Decolonial liminalities resist colonial mechanisms of power, but this defiance is coupled with an awareness of both the longevity and the temporality of ongoing colonial modes of being (Daley & Murrey, 2022; Lugones, 2007). As such, anti-colonial liminalities do not foreclose possibilities for intellectual solidarity by maintaining that this project will be immediate, straightforward or painless.¹ Liminality is important as a component of these socio-political and ecological processes as it opens up cracks in the temporal foundation of modernity/coloniality, exposing the potentials of the in-between, bordering spaces in which radical transition, futurity and decolonial pluriversality are thinkable.

In this article, we analyse the concrete and embodied consequences of 'extractive logics' shaping life and death in two quite different developmental contexts. Drawing from original fieldwork on tourism and sexual exploitation in the archipelago of Bocas del Toro, located on the Caribbean coast of Panama, we demonstrate how the intersection of land and body creates extractive landscapes that involve far more than just mineral extraction. Next, drawing on more recent fieldwork in Central Africa along the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline (see Figure 1), we examine how development plans discounted HIV burdens as a justifiable trade-off of capitalist growth. In both contexts, we mobilise a conception of 'extractive logics' to name the unnamed, unquestioned and often contradictory epistemic frameworks that allow extractivist relations of removal and destruction to persist despite damage and death for those on the frontlines of development (see also Murrey et al., 2023). We see that the logics behind extractivism are more than simply capitalist. We argue that the political ecologies and political economies of survival for people living in extractive zones are embodied matters. Neoliberal expropriations of land and other wealth inscribes itself on women's bodies, even as they seek means to maintain lives of dignity.

Extractive logics ensnare women's bodies in particular racialised and gendered fashion. The logics which underpin extraction – what Kathryn Yusoff (2018, p. 59) calls the 'geologies' of extraction – establish 'particular bodies and subject positions ... as disposable in the shadow economy of extraction'. Along the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline, we show how engineered disposability was compounded by neoliberal programme logics in which the corporate extractive industries were mobilised to address the very virus that their operations had aggravated. Through subsequent oil consortium- and state-led activities, illnesses were addressed individually, as if reflecting 'poor choices' of the person. These atomised understandings of and management of the virus impeded possibilities for collective resistances. Entities within the 'oil complex' (Watts, 2005) laud their own institutional responses to predicted rising rates of HIV in ways that would further preserve rather than challenge the fundamental falsehood of extractive logics: the myth of resource extraction as development. The active processes which expose women's bodies to illness, sexual violence and harm are folded back into extractivism's self-celebratory narratives. At the same time, economic techniques and technocratic language would render the concrete and material violence done through these practices as illegible. Positioning our document analysis alongside people's experiences in communities along the pipeline right-of-way reveals women's resilience, dignity and capacities to hustle in times of distress and deprivation, despite hostile, racist and sexualised extractive logics.

We find inspiration in Gargi Bhattacharyya's (2018, p. xi) provocation to look 'in the shadows where capital meets other histories of dispossession'. These 'shadows' are explicit in the extraction-attendant violence writ upon people's bodies, and Black and Indigenous women's bodies in particular. Building on decolonial feminist scholarship between and across

FIGURE 1 Map of Chad–Cameroon oil pipeline. Source: A. Murrey.



political economy and political ecology, we supplement scholarly work on eco-territoriality. This includes important work on land–body relations and attention to how extractive logics and processes simultaneously harm land, ecologies and human bodies in continuous, fluctuating and overlapping ways. By scaling up from the body, we more fully conceptualise the scope and range of extractivisms, and direct our analysis towards the political possibilities of consciousness-raising around shared grievances and experiences. This provides an important counterbalance to the methodological nationalism of much of the scholarship on extraction. Methodological nationalism – or the practice of restricting our analysis to certain nation states or regions – can be analytically debilitating because it obfuscates ‘how deeply intertwined global supply chains ... are in the sociometabolic production and reproduction’ of extractivist paradigms (Arboleda, 2020, p. 5). We move away from methodological nationalism by seeking new avenues of cross-fertilisation between what have been discrete scholarly endeavours (i.e., tourism and oil extraction) and regimented world regions (i.e., against the tendency for extractive scholarship to reproduce regional and sub-regional specialisms; see also Caretta et al., 2020). Our work seeks to embrace these conceptual provocations and methodological challenges while pushing the dial up further, as we focus on women’s experiences of embodied violence. To do so, we work within decolonial feminist scholarship on land–body entanglements building upon the work of Mayan Q’eqchi’-xinka feminist Lorena Cabnal’s concept of *territorio cuerpo-tierra* or *cuerpo-territorio* (2015), the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2007), and critiques of the intersections of racial violence and extractivism (Butler, 2015; Davis, 2019; Yusoff, 2018). We nourish the necessary project of emphasising

the centrality of survival and people's bodies, particularly Black women's bodies, in understanding what extractive logics actually and concretely do. And, by extension, we seek to speak to the magnitude of extraction not through generalisation or theoretical abstraction but through grounded considerations of situated lives and the basic material and moments that constitute people's agency, survival, redress and repair in geographies of extraction (Noxolo, 2022).

This article proceeds as follows: we sketch major developments and movements within three literatures: (a) scholarship widening and sharpening the conceptual lens of extraction; (b) decolonial feminist work on land–body relations, embodiment and sexualised and racialised violence within extractive zones; and (c) decolonial and anti-colonial critiques of the logics of extractivism. We position our arguments within this larger corpus, always ‘keeping an eye on the materiality of relations and processes dubbed “extractive” [as] one way to avoiding the conceptual creep, metaphorical inflation, synonymical restatement, and loss of analytical precision that is now developing in the use of the term “extractivism”’ (Szeman & Wenzel, 2021, p. 505). The concept of extractivism(s), for us, does not entail a dematerialised logic – it is rather precisely to show the interweaving of logics and practices of removal, often with the rendering surplus and disposability. We move from Panama to Cameroon, analysing the commonalities and differences between sexualised systems of domination, bodily illness and other racialised and gendered violence, pointing to how such work intensifies the attendant violence of coexistent forms of extraction. We conclude with a consideration of the need for more generative cross-fertilisations and conversations among decolonial geographers on the interweaving of capitalist, colonial and extractive logics and the potentials for scholarship to actively defy such logics in meaningful, generative ways for emancipatory and post-extractive futurities.

2 | DECOLONIAL AND BLACK GEOGRAPHIES AGAINST EXTRACTIVISM

2.1 | Extractivisms: Sharpening our conceptual lens

In the critical social sciences and humanities, scholars have analysed, brought attention to, and demystified the expansive processes and relations arising within global racial capitalist paradigms of extraction. Directed towards developing more apposite language and conceptual tools, these conversations have resulted in considerable changes in the contours and politics of academic conversation on extraction in recent years, seen most clearly in emergent literatures on extractivism. Extractivism has been pushed beyond its traditional definition, as techniques of removal and instrumentalisation of more-than-human natures, to increasingly be seen as an entangled nexus, a structure, an organising idea, sets of nature-techno-social relations, processes of meaning-making, a zone (Gómez-Barris, 2017, p. xvi), and more.

Acosta (2013, p. 62) locates the origins of extractivism within colonial conquest and expansion as ‘a mode of accumulation that started to be established on a massive scale 500 years ago [...which] refer[s] to those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources that are not processed’. Within Latin American scholarship, neoextractivism names the current intensification of extractive processes on a planetary scale (Streule, 2023, p. 263) through technological development, consumptive cultures of affluence and steady demand. Similarly, extractivism continues to shape the uneven and exploitative integration of African economies within global capitalism. Global rates of extractivism have expanded ‘from 27 billion tonnes in 1970 to 92 billion tonnes in 2017’ (IRP, 2019, cited in Greco, 2020). In this way, ‘the “global” in global extractivism(s) not only denotes the expansion of extractivist forms of appropriation across the planet, but also the global ramifications of many local extractivist projects and processes’ (Chagnon et al., 2022, p. 769; Arboleda, 2020). For Schmalz et al. (2022, p. 3), there are three faces of intertwined and expanding extractivism, including: ‘accumulation by dispossession through land grabbing, colonial continuities in the global division of labour, and the ecological limits of capitalist expansion’. Dunlap and Jakobsen (2020) conceive of ‘total extractivism’ as a means of bringing attention to the ways in which multiple extractions simultaneously overlap, compound and escalate within global capitalism. Murrey (2015) draws from community experiences to emphasise lived experiences of multiple, intensifying neo-imperial extractivisms within the same lifescapes and landscapes. The nexus of diffuse and overlapping extractivisms can complicate political resistance praxis, as people are overwhelmed and sometimes uncertain to whom to address blame, thus highlighting the significance of forms of ‘slow dissent’ within the *longue durée* of capitalist violence (Murrey, 2016) and the coming together of the diverse peoples of the ‘uncommons’ for resistance against socio-environmental destruction (de la Cadena, 2018).

The swelling plasticity of models of extractivism has not gone without internal critique. As the conceptual extensions of work on extractivism are increasingly capacious (Cruz & Luke, 2020; Murrey et al., 2023), there are risks of extractivism becoming a metaphor for every process of removal and value-making through exploitation – thus, losing some

of its critical edge as a precise language for demystifying the specific processes, relations and logics it effects through place-based (yet globally scaled) techniques. Within the environmental humanities, Szeman and Wenzel (2021), for example, have recently called for further probing of the analytic and political significance of the concept, raising the question of ‘what is lost and what is gained by taking such an expansive view of extraction and extractivism’.

Framing our collaboration as a South–South polylogue² within Black and decolonial geographies, we hope to provide insights on distinct, directed and specific conceptual widenings of extractivisms. It is vital that this broadened lens of extractivism does not de-politicise the stakes and struggles within extractive paradigms, and that our academic practices do not mirror (through epistemic violence and knowledge imperialism) the very tactics and acts of extractive confiscation, amputation and dehumanisation that we critique (Cruz & Luke, 2020). A persistent emphasis on the material, concrete and tangible effects and consequences of extractivisms – that is, how the processes, logics, ideologies and relations of extractivism can recast ecosystems, bodies, lands, labours and more (Caretta et al., 2020) – helps to ensure the concept does not become figuratively empty and abstracted in politically/analytically debilitating ways.

In an interview with Naomi Klein (2013), for example, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson grounds extraction in the context of colonialism. Simpson explains that

extraction and assimilation go together. Colonialism and capitalism are based on extracting and assimilating ... the act of extraction removes all of the relationships that give whatever is being extracted meaning. Extraction is taking. Actually, extraction is stealing – it is taking without consent, without thought, care or even knowledge of the impacts that extraction has on the other living things in that environment ... Colonialism has always extracted the Indigenous – extraction of Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous women, Indigenous people.

(Klein & Simpson, 2013, n.p.)

Important work analyses the simultaneously dehumanising and ecocidal practices of extractivism, which entangle lives, lands and labour (Murrey, 2015, 2016). Sakshi (2021, p. 66) writes against these totalising forces: ‘extractive capitalism that rearranges economic and social life with the singular objective of accumulation of wealth’. We adopt Szeman and Wenzel’s (2021, p. 510) assertion that it is more appropriate to ‘write of *extractivisms*, in order to attend carefully to the dynamic and diverse particularities of relation across space and time’ (italics original). Theorising within decolonial feminisms, we perceive extractivism (read always as extractivisms) to be the ensemble of relations-practices-logics that produce a disorganising, mal-organising and malfunctioning system.

2.2 | Land–body dynamics within extractivism(s)

An important subset of literature expanding the political and conceptual lens of extractivism has been that within feminist political economy and ecofeminist critique, delineating the various gendered effects of resource extractivism (Elodie Behzadi, 2019; Lahiri-Dutt, 2022; Ukeje, 2005; Endeley, 2010) and unpacking the gendering of extractive geographies within ongoing practices of coloniality and neo-imperial geopolitics (Murrey and Jackson, 2020). This scholarship builds from the experiences of the people most directly impacted by extractivist paradigms, including Indigenous, Black, working class, rural women and more to show that ‘the impacts of extractivism-based development are deeply sex-gendered ones’ (Hargreaves, 2019, p. 63).

Emphasising the mutually constitutive nature of oppressions, Lugones (2007) critiques the ‘modern/colonial system of gender’, arguing the modern/colonial analytical matrix of male-dominated decolonial studies fails to sufficiently grapple with the way power operates via gender norms and discriminations (Lugones, 2007). For Lugones, enduring racial/gendered colonial subjectifications are continuously transformed, yet obscured and ignored within colonial epistemologies (Mack & Na’puti, 2019). Extractivism, racism and sexism are often mutually sustaining and reinforcing within the same geopolitical context. Indeed, Voyles (2015, p. 15) argues that racism and extractivism are ‘conceptual intimates’. Work in the political economies of racial and patriarchal capitalism exposes the relationship between capitalism and racism, including the ways in which neoliberal capitalism heralded new forms of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2007) which have been predicated upon colonial (racial and gendered) logics. Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007, p. 28) writes, ‘Racism, specifically, is the state-sanctioned or extra-legal production and exploitation of group-differentiated vulnerability to premature death, in distinct yet densely interconnected political geographies’. Extractive dispossessions and socio-environmental processes of dehumanisation coincide (i.e., toxins on the body, racial/gender discrimination,

and sex work and servitude) and each are acutely racialised and gendered. The coloniality of being would initiate a dual annihilation and negation 'of both nature and natives' (Rinaldi et al., 2022, p. 828); extractive logics reproduce these dynamics by directly refusing the full humanity of Black, brown and Indigenous people.

A significant conceptual turn has been the emergence of work on *cuerpo-territorio*/bodies-lands (Cabnal, 2015), crucially stressing how land (meanings within, access to and the power/politics that determine these) are constitutive of Indigenous women's capacities for self- and community-caring (Zaragocin, 2019; Zaragocin & Caretta, 2021). Sweet and Ortiz Escalante (2016, p. 594) explain that *cuerpo-territorio* importantly works against Western epistemes that separate bodies from lands; this 'helps to decenter the public-private divide, which is an important obstacle to eliminating violence against women'. This concept links women's struggles for territorial and embodied defence 'against extractivist resource exploitation with the struggle against intersectional discrimination, racism, and the historic violation of their bodies' (Habersang, 2021, p. 169; see also Sakshi, 2021).

Senanayake (2020, p. 1577) conceives of 'sensuous perplexity' to make sense of the ways in which embodied forms of community knowing and witnessing can '(re)produce ambivalence and uncertainty about what harms and what heals' within toxic and polluted geographies. In their analysis of the 'noxious metropolis' of Aamjiwnaag, a First Nation reserve where some 40 per cent of Canada's toxi-petrochemical industries are located, Jen Bagelman and Sarah Weibe (Bagelman & Wiebe, 2017, p. 79) argue for a focus on the intimate as a 'prism through which the realities of global extractivis[m] ... may be viscerally revealed, and felt'. By interweaving Indigenous 'body maps' that mark where and how on the body toxicity is experienced, and people's anxieties and connections with their land, Bagelman and Weibe argue that both places and people are 'intimately colonised' through extractivism. In this way, embodied knowledges reveal significant features of how socio-environmental harm are lived and resisted.

With attention to the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic and other global health crises, geographers have focused on the complex spatial and political ways in which bodies are governed (Fernando, 2020; Sparke & Anguelov, 2020). While responses to viruses can often be framed as 'mere infrastructural failings', critical health geographers have unpacked their techno-political and racialised roots. In Puerto Rico, for example, the differential value attributed to Black and brown bodies influenced global health responses to Zika virus (Patchin, 2020). In the use of a decision tree analysis, women's lives were reduced to their 'economic imprint' and potential deductions from the capitalist system (Patchin, 2020). Elsewhere, in an eastern province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Kivu, 1.9 per cent of the population is HIV positive (Taylor, 2020). Yet, antiretroviral treatment (ART) for HIV has experienced severe regional stock-outs, significantly slowing treatment and recovery rates (Taylor, 2020). These stock-outs are framed as unfortunate logistical, professional and technical deficiencies (Taylor, 2020). Yet, the allocation and denial of resources are arranged along hierarchies of class, gender, race and nationality – their supply and denial have been weaponised (Taylor, 2020). We draw on this important geographical work critiquing the uneven, racialised and gendered ways in which bodies are commodified as economic equations (Patchin, 2020); are exposed to toxicity (Coyle, 2004), disease and medical neglect via infrastructural and political deficiencies (Taylor, 2020); and whose bodies bear the auxiliary labour burdens of capitalism and extraction (Hausermann et al., 2020).

2.3 | Extractivism and land-body dynamics in Panama

On the Caribbean Coast of Panama lies the Bocas del Toro Archipelago. Bocas, as it is commonly named, is the homeland of the Indigenous Ngäbe peoples and multiple generations of Afro-Panamanians. Once the site of the United Fruit Company plantations from the late 1800s to early 1900s, Bocas is characterised by a now saturated tourism economy led by a land-centred residential tourism model dominated by foreign nationals (Spalding, 2011; Thampy, 2013). The success of residential tourism in Bocas comes at the expense of the land tenure securities of Ngäbe and Afro-Panamanian peoples as the state-led Caribbean tourism economy operationalises legislation that favours foreign investors' secure land tenure. Made worse by the creation of a land titling market and legislative changes brought about through a World Bank land regularisation project, PRONAT, residential tourism development intensifies domestic land insecurity. While the state seeks to assuage local domestic communities with the promises of employment, scholars make clear such promises of employment as a trade-off for land dispossession go unfulfilled (Guerrón Montero, 2014; Mollett, 2017; Thampy, 2013). For Afro-Panamanian women in particular, such expectations by the state and settler daily practices in Bocas culminate in limits to employment opportunities beyond domestic service (Mollett, 2017, 2022). In Bocas, like much of Latin America, domestic service providers are not simply poorly paid and experience poor working conditions such as temporary contracts and a lack of wage and job security, but in Bocas, Afro-Panamanian women report being subjected to multiple forms of abuse, including sexual harassment and sexual exploitation (Mollett, 2017, 2022).

Lana Williamson is 27-year-old Afro-Panamanian woman from Bocas Town, Colon Island in the province of Bocas del Toro in western Panama. She traces her ancestry to Afro-Caribbean immigration to Panama in the late 1800s asserting that many of her relatives worked for the Panama railroad, US canal construction and as harvesters for the United Fruit Company in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While many of her relatives now live in the United States, her more immediate family is firmly rooted to the archipelago as she notes 'Bocas is our home' (Mollett's fieldnotes, 2012). After 6 years working as a front desk clerk in an American Hotel in San Jose, Costa Rica, Lana recently returned to Bocas to help her ageing parents who own and manage a small hotel in the archipelago. Lana's father, a long-time fisherman, also works intermittently for tourism operators as a *motorista*, transporting tourist to sites across the archipelago. Lana's mom runs a small hotel on their property and helps with the marketing and selling of fish and organises her dad's transport schedule as part of the 'family business'. Unlike many local Indigenous and Afro-Panamanian peoples on Panama's Caribbean whose access to land and territory relies upon a system of *derechos posesorios*, or use rights, a customary system of land-holding available to Panamanian residents on national lands (non-private), the Williamsons privately own their roughly 3 hectares of titled land on Colon Island. This would seemingly protect them from the multiple forms of land theft and coercion experienced by Ngäbe and Afro-Panamanians in the context of residential tourism development ongoing since the early 2000s. However, recently Lana's parents spent their life savings defending against an attempted land invasion by an American land developer who claimed that her parents were living on *his* land. The claims proved false but required Lana's parents to hire legal representation which severely depleted her family's finances. While previously employing up to 10 people from the Island to work in their family business, her parents called Lana home to help her parents run their small hotel, working primarily with the guest coordination and accounting while organising a small cleaning staff of Ngäbe and Afro-Panamanian women.

Lana reveals that while she is trained in accounting, the most challenging part of the job is dealing with tourist and settler expectations of her and her Black and Indigenous female staff, locally referred to as 'girls'. She recounts:

The girls [housekeeping staff] and I are always being sexually harassed. Once we hosted a bachelor party of six men from Miami. They were constantly asking me to come to the room to attend to something or asking for the girls. We are always happy to bring guests what they need, even if it means we have to go to the super to buy it ... we aim to please [laughing]. But [becoming very serious], it can be stressful and intimidating. When I went to the room, the guys were often undressed or drunk and wanted to touch me, inviting me to stay for drink, saying nasty, very nasty things to me ... I hired security for the next two days to accompany the girls into the rooms ...

[On another occasion] one night after I had already gone home I got a call from the night receptionist who sent one of the girls, Nancie, to deliver alcohol to a room of old men, who had rented out their homes but were spending the last night before returning to the Canada at the hotel. When I got the call, the receptionist was very stressed because it had been over an hour and Nancie had not returned. When she went to the room to see what was going on, they told her that Nancie had gone, when the receptionist pressed the man at the door that she wanted to come to see, he berated her with racist insults [and derogatory comments about her body] and told her to leave ... when she insisted on going in he told her to 'know her place' ... After I sent male relatives to gain access to the room, hours later, Nancie had been sexually assaulted and in shock. While we asked for police assistance, they only came the next day. By that time the men had left the hotel and were seen flying out that morning.

(Mollett's fieldnotes, 2012)

Lana's narrative demonstrates how dispossession is not simply manifest in economic vulnerability but embodied dispossession where exploitation goes beyond racialised and gendered servitude, but carnal desires and embodied violence (see also Wade, 2013). Such dynamics are deeply embedded in extractive industries, like residential tourism, a realisation that considers more than the mechanical extraction of raw materials. Moreover, such dynamics are constitutive of a coastal spatial ontology that in Latin America builds upon Euro-American appropriations and the extractive accumulation of Indigenous and Afro-descendant land and people *and their bodies*. While such ontologies build from sixteenth-century European colonial quests for wealth (Galeano, 1997), nineteenth-century imperial projects also set the landscape for contemporary tourism development in Bocas.

Settler land extraction and Black servitude on the Panamanian Caribbean has a past. In fact, land inequalities in the present are 'constitutive of the *longue duree* of foreign land settlement' along the Caribbean coast (Johnson et al.,

2021, p. 390). In Bocas, the coupling of land dispossession and domestic servitude exemplifies what political ecologist Willems-Braun (1997) refers to as 'buried epistemologies', which disclose the ways in which Afro-Panamanian women, for example, become naturalised as 'maids' embedded in place-specific racial and gendered logics and representations embedded in ongoing colonial spatial formations on the coast (Mollett, 2017, 2022). The machinations of Black peoples' servitude on behalf of affluent and white foreign settlers is taken for granted in Panama's residential tourism model, a relation that shares a history with other spaces of extraction like the building of the Panama Railroad, the Panama Canal and the United Fruit Company. Such relations are constitutive of Caribbean tourism development whereby dispossession is not simply about political economic factors such as poverty and landlessness, but, as we seek to show, such dispossessions are embodied and intimate.

The ways in which Black women are incorporated into tourism development reflects the way anti-blackness is not simply imbued in development but a particular kind of dehumanisation that targets Black bodies as fungible and disposable (Mollett, 2022). As is well known, the nineteenth and later twentieth centuries' construction of the Panama Railroad, the Panamanian Canal and the United Fruit Company, with the exception of temporary French control of the canal in the late 1800s, are all US imperial formations, and relied heavily on the exploitation of Afro-Caribbean men. During the first years of the building of the Panama Railroad, the workforce was constantly challenged by sickness, malaria, cholera, and yellow fever ran rampant. It was believed that malaria was something that existed in the atmosphere and not brought about by mosquitos (Newton, 1984). As such, work conditions contributed to the enormous amount of sickness and death among railroad and canal workers. As Newton (1984, p. 115) writes, 'most of the time, the men were working in waist-deep, mosquito-ridden water, into which those who were weakened by fever slipped and disappeared'. Indeed, Robert Tomes in 1855 wrote in his travel guide, '[t]he system never habituates itself to the miasmatic poison, and complete recovery from fever during a residence on the Isthmus is impossible ... it is thus that I never met with a wholesome-looking person among all those engaged upon the railroad' (Tomes, 1855, p. 116). While canal workers during the French control of the canal in the late 1800s were to receive hospital care, many did not. Often men were fired upon getting ill and thus no longer eligible for care and/or some were sent without letters of consent by the French operating company Compagnie Universelle. In fact,

Instances of men employed on the canal work who died without receiving timely assistance are many. Yesterday a Jamaican was put on a train in a dying condition ... subcontractors and other employees along the line are in the habit of sending sick men to town without orders to enable them to enter hospital.

(Newton, 1984, p. 117)

At the time, racist tropes of environmental determinism dictated that due to their blackness and 'partial immunity' to malaria, Jamaicans, who made up a large proportion of Afro-Caribbean labour, were able to survive not only the arduous labour of the railroad but also the Isthmian climate, better than other races and ethnicities looking to work on the coast (Bourgois, 1989; Newton, 1984). However, in reality, the 'majority of those who died as a result of the negligence of contractors and foremen were British West Indians' (Newton, 1984, p. 118). For some, the deaths of Black workers were apparently profitable as many cadavers served the brother of a railroad contractor to build a 'thriving business exporting barrels of pickled bodies for medical purposes' (Newman 1984, p.115). For others, as reported by a journalist writing for *New York Tribune* who witnessed dead Black workers underneath piles of rubble in 1886, the excessive death rate on the Panama Canal was described by local official as: 'the same every day – bury, bury, bury, running two, three and four trains a day with dead Jamaican[s]' (22 August 1886, cited in McCullough, 1977, p. 173).

In 1903, the US took over control over canal construction with the blessing of the new Panamanian Republic and under the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. Under the Treaty, the United States obtained rights 'to purchase any additional territory that was determined a requirement for the canal building, security and maintenance' (Scott, 2016, p. 56). Along with this imperial manoeuvring over land came scientific advances in treating infectious diseases, such as malaria. By 1904, the Isthmian Canal Commission (ICC) required that recruiting agents vaccinate canal and railroad workers before arriving in Panama. The medical exam was conducted by doctors where 'batches' of largely Afro-Caribbean men of 100 at time were closely examined. The doctor scrutinised and dismissed

all those who looked too old, or too young, or too weakly, were picked out and sent away ... then the doctor told them all to roll up their left sleeves and began a mysterious examination of their forearms ... then, he went over the whole line again for trachoma, rolling back their eyelids and looking for inflammation ... he made them strip, and went over them round after round for tuberculosis, heart trouble and rupture. A few fell out at each test.

(Newman, 1984, p. 76; Bourgois, 1989)

Notwithstanding advances in managing infectious diseases, Afro-Caribbean men working for transnationals met premature death in Panama. According to Bourgois, the United Fruit Company Plantations, a site that absorbed Black labour after the completion of both the railroad and the canal in the early 1900s, 'had one of the worst health records of any of the UFC divisions'. A report from the UFCs Medical Department regarding the Bocas Division observes that

The sanitary conditions at Rio Caucho, Robalo, Chiriquicito, and Cricamola [the original farms of the Bocas Division] were very bad [due to malaria]. Little was known then of proper sanitary methods, and malaria and yellow fever were rampant. The first two years proved the worst in the history of the Company, with a death-rate of five per cent per annum among white people treated. As here were no hospital accommodations for colored people, a record of their death-rate was impossible.

(Medical Department, 1912: 53–54, cited in Bourgois, 1989, p. 50)

By rethinking singular understandings of extraction and extractivism as limited to extractive industries (such as production in mining and oil), we see how residential tourism in Panama, for example, shares the embodied political ecologies and historical violence embedded in traditional and transnational extractive industries in Latin America and Africa (Johnson et al., 2021; Murrey, 2015, 2016).

The naturalisation of Black women as confined to forms of servitude, much like Afro-Caribbean men are confined to arduous and perilous labour conditions, occurs in tandem with their land dispossession (through settler appropriations of land and labour) within residential tourism development. Within residential tourism enclaves, these practices and power relations resemble the ways in which everyday people in more conventional extractive zones 'jugarse la vida' (wager life) to live with dignity in the face of precarious conditions (see also Valdivia, 2018). These extractive dynamics echo the patterns of violence that unfold in practice in other Latin American extractive zones (Dunlap & Jakobsen, 2020; Zaragocin, 2019). As a technique of capital accumulation, extractivisms are profoundly asymmetrical – gendered, racialising, carnal and classed. Broadening our conceptualisation of extractivisms allows for an understanding of the violent and extractive processes that lay claim to and – as we explore in the next sections – would render as 'disposable' the racialised, sexualised and gendered body.

3 | DEMYSTIFYING THE VIOLENCE OF EXTRACTIVE LOGICS IN CAMEROON

Our consideration has emphasised the expansive and multiple forms of material and embodied extractivisms, thus shining light on these as shared struggles. These next sections will look at the extractive logics that structure the concrete relations and provide the epistemic scaffolding for large-scale extractivisms to occur. Again, we conceive of extractivisms as multiple (see also Szeman & Wenzel, 2021), intersecting sets of logics, material practices and forms of violence that sustain, sanction and preserve uneven economic, social and ecological relations within the colonial matrix of power. Within decolonial thought, extractivism is conceived of as not merely 'an imperial strategy [or] a neo-colonial economic model. It's also *a way of thinking* that captures the imaginations of many, including rural and Indigenous peoples' (Kidd, 2020, p. 156, italics added). As Rinaldi et al. (2022, p. 826) explain, forms of extractivism like 'petro-development not only transform ... the physical environment, but also alter ... identities, values, and social dynamics ... [it] colonizes being in the sense of creating imaginaries of progress for people to desire, and imaginaries of exclusion and guilt for people to fear'. In their work on extractivism as an 'organising structure', Chagnon et al. (2022) explain that such structures 'work ... as a complex ensemble of self-reinforcing practices, ideologies, and power differentials underwriting and rationalising socio-environmentally harmful modes of exploiting natural resources and organising human and nonhuman life'. Arsel et al. (2016) clarify that the so-called 'extractive imperative' – or the will to extract – 'enjoy[s] a teleological primacy' over and above other concerns, including human wellbeing and social justice. Bridge (2009) writes of a 'resource imaginary' which silences alternative conceptualisations of the nonhuman world (see also Yusoff, 2018). Decolonial political ecologies push against the colonial epistemic separations between humans and everything else, and the lethal rendering commodifiable and disposable of lands, ecologies and people (Caretta et al., 2020).

Herein we mobilise a conception of 'extractive logics' to refer to the unnamed, unquestioned, often contradictory, foundational epistemic frameworks that permit the seemingly-permanent structures and relations of removal, destruction and dehumanisation that result from paradigms of extractivism. Gómez-Barris (2017, p. 3) describes the logics within the extractive zone as a kind of 'death force'. As we have shown in the previous section, gendered, sexualised and racialised logics are central to the operations of extractivisms, in particular the historical undervaluing of Black bodies

(Hernández Reyes, 2019, p. 226). In response, Duarte Filho (2021, p. 419) asserts the need for ‘a perspective on extractivism that discloses its link to the larger project of the construction of racialised, extractable, and disposable bodies and existents’.

Extractive logics often work in tandem with colonial logics (Murrey & Jackson, 2020), and the two logics likely developed in a close and long-term relationship over time.³ Similarly, capitalist and extractivist logics are not commensurate, although they often work in parallel. Capitalist logics include the ideological drives to outsource, deregulate and privatise; algorithms of finance; legal mechanisms that mostly tolerate primitive forms of accumulation. These are some of what Saskia Sassen (2014, p. 12) refers to as the bedrock of advanced capitalism since the 1980s: those ‘predatory formations’ and ‘predatory logics’ which provide ‘systemic help’ to international capitalists for acute concentrations of capital. Duelling capitalist interests and institutions can (and do) mobilise extractive logics in different, contradictory, and deceitful ways. These logics are shifting, malleable and mobile (frequently transposed across time and transported across place). These logics are, of course, inconsistent and self-destructive. Extractivisms, as enmeshed logic and material practice, preclude and foreclose certain futures and foster a socio-economic context in which people are compelled to buy into extractivism as the only possible future. Political ecologists thus write about the attritional violence of extraction, in which ‘death-worlds’ are created where people are subject to physical and psychological threats of imminent death.

3.1 | Extractive logics, active disposability and manufacturing death along the Chad–Cameroon oil pipeline

Beyond the embodied, emotional and more-than-human harms of extractive violence, careful excavation of project documents in the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline reveals an economic scaffolding that drew upon objectifying classifications of human life and value. In this section, we probe the imaginative operations through which people become figured as less-than-resources and as disposable materials, through the predictions of rising HIV/AIDS rates in the region as bearable, as reasonable. Doing so highlights connections between extractive material operations and their intangible logics. We are interested in ‘the way the colonial rationalities of neoliberal extractivism are incorporated into racialised capitalism’ (Hernández Reyes, 2019, p. 219) through the *active* production of geographies of human surplus, toxicity and illness and the subsequent knowledge-framing projects which render these violent phenomena as standard, as reasonable. We show how actively manufactured extractive violence becomes compounded by racial vilifications of people as having ‘poor self-discipline’ and neoliberal assumptions about individual fault for HIV. Finally, we critique the corporate and state entities that alternated between silencing the stories of gendered and sexualised violence within extractive projects, and establishing institutional self-promotional campaigns around public responses to that very gendered violence.

3.2 | Extractive logics and anticipated disposability

Prior to the engineering of the pipeline, social science and medical publications had elucidated the links between migrant labour and resultant influxes of cash into agrarian societies associated with large-scale infrastructural projects and increased sex work, sexual exploitation and public health emergencies in and beyond Africa (Bassett & Mhloyi, 1991; Gish, 1982; Goldsmith & Hildyard, 1984; Romero-Daza & Himmelgreen, 1998; Singer, 1998; World Bank, 1996, 1997). The connections between licit and illicit labour regimes and the emergence of underground economies connected to globalised economies of extraction was acknowledged within the pages of the project’s environmental assessment (EA). Conducted in 1997, the EA recognised that as much as 44 per cent of ‘the Sub-Saharan African disease burden [was a consequence of] infrastructure investments’ (Esso Exploration and Production Chad Inc., 1997, pp. 7–48). It was recognised that extractive projects nurtured conditions in which sexually transmitted diseases and ecological illness proliferated (see also Inspection Panel, Investigation Report on Chad–Cameroon Petroleum Development and Pipeline Project, 2002; Endeley & Sikod, 2007). Within the context, certain parties within the World Bank and the oil consortium considered the intensification of the on-going HIV emergency and rise of other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) to be a known consequence of such large-scale infrastructural projects like the Chad–Cameroon pipeline.

World Bank reports and other project documents reveal a fundamental extractive logic premised upon an unstated-but-always-present abandonment of rural people, particularly women. This logic of abandonment was not arbitrary but rather is foundational to extractive and colonial logics. Amié Césaire (2000/1950) called this colonialism’s ‘thing-ification’ of people, which Kathryn Yusoff (2018, p. 68) has articulated as ‘a category of the inhuman that transforms persons into things’. A World Bank Policy Research Report from 1997, for example, offers a window into the dehumanising econo-centric colonial logics of extractivism: ‘sufficient net economic returns [should] cover ... the cost of

mitigating negative impacts, including the spread of AIDS' (World Bank, 1997, p. 31). It is worth quoting from the World Bank report at length to demonstrate precisely the calculated voiding of life achieved through such extractive logics:

... the available evidence suggests that the impact of AIDS on [the economy], although varying across [Cameroon and Chad], will generally be small relative to other factors ... declines in population growth due to HIV/AIDS will tend to offset declines in economic growth, so that the net impact on gross domestic product (GDP) growth per capita will generally be small ... Other things held constant, the death of people with higher incomes will reduce average income – even though the welfare of those who remain alive has not changed. Conversely, the death of those with lower incomes raises average income, without necessarily improving the lot of any surviving individual and despite the suffering and economic losses of the families of those who died. Further, increased spending on health care and funerals is included in GDP calculations. As a result, per capita GDP may increase, even though overall well-being has not improved and the incomes of survivors have been reduced.

(World Bank, 1997, pp. 31–33)

In this passage, funeral and healthcare expenditures (that will be the consequence of the influx of new HIV-positive people resulting from the pipeline) are calculated to be forms of income generation. In absolute economic terms then, HIV might 'increase' per capita GDP. Next, the authors of the report consider the auxiliary 'labour costs' of pursuing large-scale infrastructural projects that cause an intensification of HIV. They write:

Because AIDS kills prime-age adults, many of whom are at the peak of their economic productivity, the shock of AIDS to the labor market is one mechanism through which AIDS might affect growth. However, in economies with substantial unemployment, firms should find it easy to replace sick or deceased workers, particularly if they are not key personnel. Other things being equal, the impact of the AIDS epidemic will be small until the economy begins to grow and is constrained by labor supply rather than by insufficient demand ... *The departures of lower-skilled workers due to AIDS may have had little effect on firm profits...*

(World Bank, 1997, pp. 33–34, italics added)

As we see, the firm's profits are explicitly prioritised within extractive logics. These documents are important precisely because they reveal a concrete and tangible breakdown of the application of the colonial extractive logics – in which people are reduced to absolute and disposable numbers/things – which has been critiqued at length in social science scholarship (Gómez-Barris, 2017; Yusoff, 2018), but which critics have dismissed as 'theoretical', 'abstract' or even 'ideological'. The extensions of extractive logics to the body is not hyperbole: extraction dwells within internal ecologies, including ecologies of health and disease, that reaffirm colonial logics of race, gender and sexuality. On configurations of the relations between disease and oil extraction, Suzana Sawyer (2022, p. 124) explains that dominant logics 'reduce ... a complex economically and racially inflected techno-social health phenomenon into an epistemological problem that can only be understood through mathematical equations and rigid criteria'. As framing logics, these ideational structures guide possible responses, foreclosing and enclosing possibilities for justice.

In these and other texts, the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline is held up as an ideal model of oil-as-development precisely because, in part, the consortium was seen to be taking health issues seriously. Following the consortium's initial three-page health impact (released in 1991), the Bank joined the project and pushed forward with an expanded pre-implementation appraisal to include, 'for the first time', an 'assess[ment of] the potential for an adverse impact on STDs, including HIV/AIDS, and to incorporate prevention efforts in the project design' (World Bank, 1997, p. 31). The mere physical presence of the documentary analysis is held up as an indication of an improved procedure, despite its empty material significance.

Finally, economists at the Bank reasoned categorically that, in the case of the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline, the recognised attendant rise in HIV rates in the region was economically trivial. They conclude:

Since preliminary estimates suggest that effective [HIV/AIDS] interventions can be implemented for less than \$1 million a year, the substantial returns on the project are more than sufficient to justify project execution despite these [human health] costs.

(World Bank, 1997, p. 31)

The document provides an exposure of extractive logics at their crudest, emphasising as well that these conversations are not immaterial. We critique these logics not as metaphor, but for the fact that they are establishing 'historical regime[s] of material power' (Yusoff, 2018, p. 4).

In 2004 – 4 years after the ground-breaking ceremony that marked the beginning of pipeline construction and 1 year after the export of the first tanker of crude – the National Committee for the Fight Against AIDS noted that HIV ‘prevalence was 19.8 per cent higher along the pipeline corridor than in other regions of Cameroon’.⁴ The territorialisation of extraction, or the rendering legible of land into material components and segments for forms of forceful and often violent value-making, extends beyond the subterranean to the corporeal, to the body (Murrey et al., 2023). This extension is not accidental but patterned; it is colonial and racialised, sexualised and gendered. For project consultants and engineers, biological harm(s) associated with infrastructural construction were predicted and subsequently quantified as tolerable ‘costs’ through the technocratic and economic (predatory) logics of extractive regimes. Extractivism is premised upon a classification system of profit, material, value and resource-making in which Black life is frequently actively disappeared, including through the devaluation of bodily autonomy and the active production of vulnerability (Johnson et al., 2021; Hernández Reyes, 2019; Murrey & Jackson, 2020). These are the extractive logics that foster material disposabilities (Murrey et al., 2023). The wholeness of life and health – wellbeing, social equity, emotion, social/care relations, biodiversity, conviviality – are omitted from the consortium reports and considerations of the ‘costs’ of HIV. These quantifications and disposabilities are not mere aftereffects or arbitrary consequences, but rather they are constitutive of extractive logics.

3.3 | Obfuscating extractive logics through corporate and state promotion

Recognising HIV/AIDS as a known consequence of resource extraction, the oil consortium and regional civil society groups subsequently implemented a ‘package of measures’ to mitigate the social and health effects of the virus (World Bank, 1997, p. 31). The package included: the sponsoring of consciousness-raising programs; peer-to-peer worker educational campaigns; the ‘vigorous’ marketing of subsidised condoms and subsidised oral re-hydration salts; and ‘AIDS surveillance’ or the direct monitoring of the HIV status of workers (Esso Exploration and Production Chad Inc., 1997; World Bank, 1997, p. 31). The project was largely applauded by corporate and government leaders for its ‘innovative plan to integrate an HIV/AIDS-prevention campaign along the pipeline route’ (Kigotho, 1997; for institutional criticisms, see Inspection Panel, 2002⁵). The ‘package’ revealed a marked preference for preventative programming, a tendency in early response to HIV/AIDS in African countries that has been critiqued as both individualising and racist, as well as failing to foreground a more holistic ‘prevention-care-treatment’ policy (for the latter, see Jones, 2007).

According to the World Bank’s own website, ‘The World Bank was a leader in global HIV/AIDS financing in the early days of the emergency’ (World Bank, 2012). In the foreword to *The World Bank’s commitment to HIV/AIDS in Africa: Our agenda for action, 2007–2011*, the Vice President of the Africa Region at the World Bank touted the institution as ‘one of the first organizations to respond to the HIV/AIDS emergency ... The World Bank has helped put in place the foundations of an effective response – a governance structure; a strategic direction; a multisectoral approach; community engagement; and programs for prevention, treatment, and care’ (World Bank, 2008, p. ix). No mention is made in such publicity and promotional materials of the ways in which the socio-economic milieu of extractivism, including the World Bank-funded Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline, fostered the then-recognised conditions for the proliferation of the epidemic (see Figure 2).

Despite celebratory hegemonic rhetoric, the oil consortium’s response to the imminent health crisis was logistically ‘ad hoc’, superficial and at times openly racist. One of the consortium’s ‘educational campaigns’ was a travelling automobile with audio-visual awareness messages (Bell et al., 2004, p. 12). A theatrical project in southern Chad sponsored by ExxonMobil toured the pipeline’s construction camps, warning community members of the risks of HIV/AIDS through the white-faced character of ‘Mr. AIDS’ (see Figure 3). More than being merely insufficient or individualising in response to the scale of the crisis, these extractive interventions were subsequently represented within corporate PR in ways that would obfuscate the dehumanisation and gendered racism of extractive logics (see also Murrey & Jackson, 2020). Such programmes frequently drew upon older colonial tropes of ‘African people need[ing to be] sav[ed] from themselves’ (Flint & Hewitt, 2015, p. 294; see also Daley, 2008; Murrey & Jackson, 2020; Pierre, 2019) (see Figure 4).

At the state level, the First Lady of Cameroon Chantal Biya launched an international humanitarian program to fight AIDS, *Synergies Africaines*. Nanga is known as the birthplace of the First Lady of Cameroon and it is the town where Madame Biya’s mother resides (see Murrey, 2016). A hub for her eponymous organisation, Chantal Biya Foundation, was located next to the town’s main health clinic (see Figure 5). The Foundation has periodically experienced scandals, most significantly in an embezzlement case when it was revealed that the former Managing Director and a dozen former employees had fleeced the Health Ministry of more than \$102 million in illegal cash disbursements from 2001 to 2005. An estimated 200 million CFA was said to have been funnelled through the Chantal Biya Foundation. Despite cyclic scandals,



FIGURE 2 Promotional materials from the World Bank and ExxonMobil subsidiaries (including their subsidiary in Cameroon, COTCO) that highlight the consortium's work to prevent HIV/AIDS. *Source:* Collage by A. Murrey.

by 2014, Madame Biya would be among five African First Ladies honoured in Belgium with a Diploma of Recognition for Solidarity and Humanitarian Actions. The humanitarian certificate was given as a means 'to acknowledge [First Lady Biya's] tireless actions against HIV and AIDS'. Much like their corporate counterparts, certain government figures profited both financially and reputationally through their public responses to what had been an acknowledged and even calculated increase of HIV rates in Cameroonian communities.

4 | CONCLUSION

Our simultaneous consideration of two varied forms of extractivism and their extractive logics – in the tourist and oil industries – has brought together feminist political economies of women's labour and lived realities within extractive

DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
 NANGA-EBOKO, CAMEROON

HIV / AIDS



Theater Drama for Teaching #2

One of the project's most powerful HIV/AIDS prevention efforts was the innovative use of drama as a compelling tool for education (see previous photo). The project contracted with the Chadian theatrical troupe Les Benjamin to tour villages and construction camps in southern Chad. The troupe developed an educational play in which the protagonist was a character named Mr. AIDS. His face was painted white to symbolize death.

FIGURE 3 A theatre project in southern Chad sponsored by ExxonMobil toured the pipeline's construction camps, warning community members of the risks of HIV/AIDS through the white-faced character of 'Mr. AIDS'. *Source:* ExxonMobil.com (this page has since been relocated or deleted).



FIGURE 4 A HIV/AIDS screening and testing poster displayed on the walls of the health clinic, Nanga-Eboko, Cameroon. Poster shows group of young people raising the need to be tested. (*Source:* Photo by A. Murrey, 2014).

regimes and contributed to work in decolonial and Black geographies. We have shown that the stories of how women's labour and bodies are incorporated within the geographies of extraction cannot be tidily consigned to the rubric of capitalist 'surplus' populations. Tracing women's experiences within such geographies exposes the merging of technological, racial and gendered regimes of extractivism, in particular the ways in which violence and insecurity are accumulated (Feldman et al., 2011) inside, within and upon Black women's bodies. At the same time, such forms of embodied violence are naturalised, domesticated and rendered as unavoidable externalities in extractions of resources (from minerals to petroleum to, as we have shown, transactional and exhibitionary pleasures).

FIGURE 5 The First Lady of Cameroon created a charity organisation, eponymously called the Chantal Biya Foundation, to respond to rising health risks. *Source:* Chantal Biya Foundation.



We have drawn upon the intimate politics of extraction to contribute to the scholarship rethinking the singular understanding of extractivism as limited to official 'extractive industries', such as production in mining and oil, commonly placed in the energy sector. The rhetoric by which Panamanian land is accumulated in return for 'taking care' of women, whom tourists and businessmen claim as objects of desire and domestication, are flipped by representatives of inter-governmental development organisations in Cameroon, who claim to intervene in the putatively natural spaces of sexual work in order to 'take care' of those who suffer from the increase in HIV which accompanied the construction of the Cameroon–Chad Oil Pipeline. HIV, brought about by exchanges of sexual labour and mediated by middlemen, was treated as an abstract economic 'cost' or even 'benefit' for business.

In Cameroon, World Bank and oil consortium documents reveal calculated and calculating extractive logics, in which the bodies and health of women are concretely (and not abstractly) rendered disposable in the pursuit of corporate profit and state enrichment. This violent disposability is dependent upon the seductive language of quantification, which works to obscure racist and sexist assumptions at the heart of extractive logics. For the authors of the World Bank's, 1997 anticipatory calculations on the economic costs of HIV, people are bodies which are mere potential labourers for 'firm profit' and, when 'unskilled', are 'easy to replace' (World Bank, 1997, p. 34). Far from being objective representations of truth, these calculations are political. In her work on 'colonial extractions', Paula Butler explains the ways in which the 'manifestations and technologies of racialization remain centrally constitutive of the mesmerizing logic, operations, and effects of contemporary capitalist-imperialist power' (Butler, 2015, p. 8). The categorisation of people as 'un-skilled' and 'labourers' would mark them as disposable, reifying colonial logics of *thing-ification* (Césaire, 2000/1950). The Bank's absolute prioritisation of the economic in calculations of the effects of the anticipated decline in health for people in Cameroon and Chad fits within a demonstrated pattern of logics that are simultaneously racialised and extractive.

The result of this toxic interplay has been the commodification of premature death and the exposure to illness and ecocide as anticipated, tolerated and normalised consequences of extractivisms. These are not passive nor immaterial logics. They actively produce embodied vulnerabilities for peoples of in the Global South, and – as emergent work from decolonial feminists has demonstrated – for people gendered as women and racialised as Black and Indigenous, in

particular. Mack and Na'puti (2019, p. 348) assert, 'A decolonial feminist orientation understands gendered violence, such as sexual assault, as part of colonial violence and attends to the combined processes of racialization, gender dichotomization, and heterosexualism in modernity'. These intertwined colonial and extractive logics work simultaneously alongside other forms of 'looping violence' (Valle & Martin, 2021, p. 5) within the *longue durée* of the colonial wound. Furthering the material violence upon women's bodies and personhoods, corporate and state representatives have too often responded to the premeditated violence of extractivism in ways that furthered their own power and would erase and deny the very origins of embodied violence.

We have worked within decolonial feminisms, critiquing the colonial logics enshrined within the econo-centric evaluations of extractive paradigms. The logics and practices of coloniality, heteropatriarchy and extractivism are enmeshed and often mutually constituting. Where there is friction between these logics, hegemonic people and institutions have frequently mobilised difference to further entrench the colonial matrix of power. These logics herald an unconditional stripping of value (resources, labour, knowledge) from our natural and social worlds in the pursuit of capital. They would reduce bodies to numerical and statistical points and, ultimately, manufacture political worlds in which racialised and gendered peoples would be rendered disposable. We write 'would reduce' as the capitalist vision of disposability is always-already incomplete, resisted and refused by people and communities.

We have mounted our critique as a means of demystifying the multiplicities of extractivisms within racialised and gendered capitalism as well as the extension of extractive logics into the shaping of the political relations between subsoil, geologies, economics and bodies (see also Yusoff, 2018). These analytical shifts are important in considering how extractive practices operationalise more than capitalist logics. Critical comparisons between, and conversations about, varying articulations of racial and sexual logics of extractivism (between divergent places and bodies), we argue, open up possibilities for new directions in scholarship on the geographies of extraction. A close examination of extractive logics is an important analytic within the microcosms of globally uneven tendencies and violence in racialised and gendered extractions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are deeply beholden to the people and communities in Nanga-Eboko, Yaoundé and Kribi, Cameroon and the Bocas del Toro archipelago, Panama, who have shared with us their experiences and stories of joy and struggle over the past many years. We are grateful to Negar Elodie Behzadi, Nina Döring and Stephanie Postar for their invitation to speak at their conference on 'Extraction/Exclusion', during which our ideas for this co-authored piece first emerged. We would like to thank Harry Pettit and Alexander Vasudevan for inviting us to present early iterations of this work at the workshop on 'Emotions and Capitalism: Towards a critical political economy of capitalist emotion' at Christ Church College, University of Oxford in February 2019. We are thankful to colleagues and friends who read drafts and supported this work, including Nicholas Jackson, Patricia Daley and Anya Gleizer. All errors are our own.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Empirical data gathered for this research remains with the authors to ensure the protection and safety of all those who have helped and contributed their stories as part of this research.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Refer to the *Gesturing Towards Decolonial Futures Collective* for a constructive example of such decolonial relations in practice (<https://decolonialfutures.net/>).
- ² We speak of this work as a polylogue, as our work is liminal, with multiple origins, loops, iterations, and incompletions (see Motta, 2022).
- ³ Most colonial logics are likely extractive, but not all extractive logics are strictly colonial.
- ⁴ The HIV prevalence rate had decreased in Cameroon in the decade leading up to the construction of the Chad–Cameroon Oil Pipeline, i.e. between 1989 and 1998 (Ayoub et al., 2001, cited in Lachenal, 2015, p. 16).
- ⁵ The World Bank's commissioned inspection in the early years of the project did not directly request an analysis of the increase in HIV/AIDS, yet the panel deemed the 'grave threat' significant enough to include such an analysis (Investigation Report, World Bank, 2002, p. 20). The panel concluded, among other things, that: (a) Flawed and incomplete baseline health data that, even upon improvement of gathering mechanisms, was not sufficiently integrated into project policies. (b) The consortium failed to consider the scope of the disease beyond immediate

communities, (c) the response was limited by a focus on those directly employed and (c) the failure to address systemic weaknesses in Chad-ian health infrastructure hindered the practicality of responses to increased rates of HIV (Annex 1, Investigation Report, World Bank, 2002).

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How to cite this article: Murrey, A., Mollett, S., (2023) Extraction is not a metaphor: Decolonial and Black Geographies against the gendered and embodied violence of extractive logics. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 48, 761–780. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12610>