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Differential time or uneven and combined capitalism: Sekula, Bakhtin and U&CD

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In *A Singular Modernity*, Fredric Jameson argued that modernism might best be understood as ‘a mode in which [the] transitional economic structure of incomplete capitalism can be registered and identified as such.’¹ In this way, Jameson suggests, intellectuals and writers (Proust, Joyce, etc) lived in two worlds simultaneously. The implication of Jameson’s statement is that our current world progressively converges as ‘completed’ capitalism. However, it is arguable whether capitalism should be regarded in this way. The question we explore here is how the spatial and temporal complexities of modern capitalism—grasped in terms of its contradictions, combinations and unevennesses—are manifested aesthetically (‘registered and identified’) as cultural form. Our hypothesis is that Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of the ‘chronotope’ (*chronos* - *topos*, time - space) offers a useful way to understand this socio-aesthetic relationship.² Our main discussion will focus on the work of artist Allan Sekula, a leading presence in photography since the mid-1970s. From the 1990s, until his untimely death in 2013, Sekula attained prominence for a series of artworks—exhibitions, books, videos and films—that took as their subject the sea; or, more precisely, the question of the labour process in the maritime economy. Over an extended period, he photographed or filmed aspects of: shipbuilding and repair; the arduous work of seafarers and of dock labourers; fishing industries and fish markets; employees dealing with a chemical leakage and volunteers clearing a major oil spill. As was immediately recognised with the appearance of his extended photographic cycle *Fish Story* in the mid-1990s, his project presented a ‘detailed account of the general political and economic transformation brought about by the globalization of late capitalist rule.’³ The question for Sekula, as emphasised in his video-essay *Lottery of Sea*, was how to reveal the ‘hidden hand’ of the global market?⁴ It is not just Sekula’s thematic content that is important for our account; he applied his critical intelligence equally to the problem of form.

I. Uneven & Combined Development.

In the 1980s, debates on ‘uneven and combined development’, derived from the writings of Leon Trotsky, began to make their way from the organisations of the far left into wider intellectual circles, initially through the work of critical social geographers.⁵ This conception of capitalism was further developed by other Marxists in the fields of literature and international relations. In studies focused on the world-literature debates, post-colonial theory’s orientation towards local specificities and vernacular practices have been reconceived through U&CD. This approach allows scholars to attend to particular cultures while not losing sight of the forces of global power relations, thus avoiding those tendencies in the debate that emphasise cultural and religious pluralism and incommensurability.⁶ In international relations, theorists have employed U&CD to criticise ‘realist’ debates—as the mainstream pragmatism is known in that field—and to account

for the relation between global capitalism and inter-state competition.⁷ We build on these contributions in an attempt to extend the discussion to an engagement with recent practices in art.

Even the briefest sketch of developments since 1973, indicates a new phase of global capitalism, which includes: a falling rate of profit and an offensive against the working class; financialisation and privatisation; high patterns of debt in the old capitalist core; capital flight and the development of low-wage production concentrated in Export Processing Zones and maquiladora industries. Writing in 1984, Neil Smith explained how the reconfiguration of the worldwide capitalist economy entails the re-spatialisation of production and consumption. The economy now embraces ‘subaltern centres of power’ such as Mexico City, Mumbai, Shanghai and Cairo, while simultaneously marginalising areas within the traditional hegemons, such as Harlem and the Parisian banlieues.⁸ Today, Smith’s picture would need further refinement to incorporate the BRICs (although Brazil is currently in deep crisis), and to distinguish between core EU states and the so-called PIGS, allowing us to grasp the grotesque exacerbation of social inequalities on scales ranging from the international to the neighbourhood.

In 1905, Trotsky provided an invaluable way to assess this very process of simultaneous integration and differentiation:

Marxism takes its point of departure from world economy, not as a sum of national parts but as a mighty and independent reality which has been created by the international division of labour and the world market, and which in our epoch imperiously dominates the national markets. The productive forces of capitalist society have long outgrown the national boundaries.⁹

It is worth recalling that the theory of uneven and combined development arose from the attempt by Trotsky to conceptualise the possibility of revolution in Tsarist Russia (as a component of the theory of ‘permanent revolution’). Implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, Trotsky rejected the Social-Democratic orthodoxy, which suggested that societies had to pass through a fixed succession of stages, and which believed that capitalism would be the essential precondition for developing the forces of production and creating a modern working class; only by taking this route, the theorists of Social Democracy argued, would socialism be economically viable. In contrast, Trotsky started from the world economy conceived as non-synchronous, which is to say, containing national and regional economies at different points of ‘development’, and yet which were also synchronised under the economic and military hegemony of the imperialist powers. The ‘law of uneven development’, he wrote, ‘operates not only in the relations of countries to each other, but also in the various processes within one and the same country’; and yet the ‘reconciliation of the uneven processes of economics and politics can only be attained on a world scale.’¹⁰ Trotsky was suggesting that the world economy was organised according to an international division of labour, encompassing different production relations, varying types of work organisation, and multiple forms of labour exploitation. Pockets of capital-intensive production sat amidst tracts of peasant labour and other forms of petty-commodity production. (And, we might add, slavery or indentured labour might coexist with ‘free’ wage relations.) This meant there was no need for all societies to pass through a ‘capitalist phase’. Those that were deemed economically ‘backward’ could be reorganised under socialism

on the basis of the latest technologies and techniques that were already being employed by the most 'advanced' states.

Trotsky's insightful account of the world economy as the frame for any national development is not without its problems - historical, theoretical and practical. Sometimes, Trotsky seems to see the world economy dominating the national component parts; on other occasions, he reverses the argument.¹¹ The term 'development' continues to presume Western models of industrial capitalism as the advanced stage against which other social formations must be measured and found wanting.¹² As Marcel Van Der Linden has emphasised, while Trotsky did speak of the 'law' of uneven and combined development, it was primarily with George Novack's systematic presentation in the post-war period, that this idea came to be treated as law-like within international Trotskyism.¹³ In order to produce what Stuart Hall once called a 'Marxism without guarantees',¹⁴ the debate on UC&D needs to be stripped of those residues of 'stagism' and Eurocentrism that adhere to the term 'development'.¹⁵ Indeed, these residues have meant that postwar Trotskyism found itself bound, inadvertently, to the very presuppositions underpinning the intellectual 'retreat from class'.¹⁶ If certain labour forms are tied ineluctably to the factory regime, then the decline of large-scale production in the Western metropolises can all too easily be interpreted as the demise of the working class. This 'developmental' conception, then, was and is vulnerable to critiques from those who claim that Marxism's object has evaporated, and with it the possibility of another future.

In the light of these problems, a number of political theorists have attempted to extend the central insights of Trotsky's account in ways that ditch some of the 'developmentalist' baggage. Neil Davidson, in an important recent contribution to the discussion, has argued for a reversal of polarities, distinguishing the components of Trotsky's argument so that U&CD is treated as the core heuristic, with permanent revolution offering a strategic horizon.¹⁷ Indeed, Justin Rosenberg and others have argued that unevenness is a transhistorical phenomena.¹⁸ Neil Smith suggested that the 'spatial or territorial differentiation of the division of labour is not a separate process but is implied from the start in the concept of the division of labour'.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Colin Barker has described "'inter-entity" social practices' (the particular social arrangements of national or regional blocs) as being shaped and reshaped by the 'external' forces of the world market.²⁰ What emerges from these reconsiderations is not an articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production as adjacent social formations, inhabiting separate times, but rather a capitalist mode of production that has recast inherited practices under the dominance of the law of value and socially-necessary labour time.²¹ Capital subsumes pre-existing or non-capitalist social forms, and remoulds them according to the forces of accumulation, internalising their contradictions and unevennesses, simultaneously resynchronising and redifferentiating cultures, societies and economies. These transformations take place not only at national and global levels, but also refigure particular practices, institutions and even ideologemes.

We believe that U&CD can be productively reconceptualised and further refined by opening a dialogue with a number of recent debates in Marxism: work on Marx's changing attitude to colonialism; key interventions in the debates over the mode of production; and studies into Marxism and time. Books by

Teodor Shanin, Kevin Anderson and José Arico have shown how Marx transformed his earlier assessment of British colonial rule in India and Ireland.²² With these examples - along with his reflections on the American Civil War and his discussions with Vera Zasulich over the question of the Russian *obshchina* – Marx increasingly came to criticise those views that relied on an ‘historico-philosophical theory of the general path of development, imposed by fate...’²³ In his transformed perspective, colonialism was conceived not as a means to modern economic development, but instead hindered and obstructed the production of social wealth. British colonialism had a negative economic impact in Ireland, producing deteriorating conditions. Meanwhile, the village commune was not necessarily to be understood as a ‘pre-capitalist’ remnant that needed to ‘pass through capitalism’, but might itself suggest an alternative route to socialism. Secondly, in the context of the debates over the mode of production, Jairus Banaji has emphasised the varying trajectories of accumulation. Distinguishing between ‘modes of production’ and ‘modes of exploitation,’ his account shifts attention away from the classic transition debate.²⁴ His focus moves away from the idea of the bourgeois revolution as ‘Big Bang’, emphasising instead the ongoing processes of accumulation, whereby multiple local dynamics gain momentum to produce significant qualitative effects. His argument challenges linear conceptions of development and historico-economic change, particularly the assumption that equates certain forms of labour exploitation with specific modes of production (for example, the syllogism that is conventionally assumed between capitalism, large-scale industry and proletarianised free wage labour.) Banaji places at the heart of his analysis the role of capitalist subsumption. Thirdly, recent discussions of Marx’s temporality break radically with developmentalism and stagism.²⁵ For instance, Daniel Bensaïd emphasises capital’s ‘asynchrony’ or ‘discordance of temporalities’, while Massimiliano Tomba calls attention to its ‘violent synchronisation’ of differences.²⁶ Drawing on the above discussions, work in this vein has also incorporated, inter alia, Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin ideas on imperialism; José Carlos Mariátegui’s considerations of Peru; Antonio Gramsci’s writings on southern Italy; Walter Benjamin’s anti-historicism (and sometimes his messianism); Ernst Bloch’s notion of non-synchronicity and non-contemporaneity; Henri Lefebvre’s conceptualisation of everyday life; or the aleatory materialism of the later Louis Althusser.²⁷ This is, we realise, a heterodox list, and one would want to navigate its internal contradictions and tensions with care. It remains, of course, an open question whether the resulting account would still be on the terrain of ‘classic UC&D’. Be that as it may, we propose that a reconstructed version of the theory provides a critical basis for grasping the world economy and its cultures - able to attend to specificities and singularities of social formations without sidestepping the integrative dynamics of capitalism and imperialism.

Trotsky’s conception of the global economy, then, provides an important point of critical embarkation for thinking about both the overarching power relations and particular instantiations of global capitalism. It articulates, as Sam Ashman has put it, ‘the complexity of different economic, social and cultural structures which are brought into contact with each other through the world economy’, while also showing that this ‘does not create homogenisation, but complex and varying amalgams between old and new.’²⁸ Breaking with the idea of unilinear history, the theory of UC&D began – in the words of Michael

Löwy—to pay attention to capitalism’s ‘innumerable combinations, fusions, discontinuities, ruptures and sudden, qualitative leaps.’²⁹ Both as socio-geographic or economic topics to be explored *and* as questions of aesthetic form, these are exactly the qualities to which the work of Allan Sekula – the focus of our essay - is especially alert. Indeed, the characteristics of U&CD précised by Löwy are strikingly chronotopic.

II. Chronotope [tense]

Bakhtin’s ‘Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel’ offers a remarkably productive way to cast these political and economic issues in terms of cultural form.³⁰ As Michael Holquist notes, the chronotope is an anamorphic term, a designation that draws its meaning via reference to other categories—time and space.³¹ If these other categories are understood as uneven and combined, then the chronotope might capture those same qualities. What interested Bakhtin was the ‘intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature’ and he viewed the ‘chronotope as a formally constitutive category of literature’.³² In art, Bakhtin argued, the formal separation of time and space (which he thought to be feasible in abstract thought) cedes to a ‘living’ union:³³

In the literary artistic chronotope, spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out, concrete whole. Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. The intersection of axes and fusion of indicators characterizes the artistic chronotope.³⁴

In his essay, Bakhtin surveyed literary chronotopes from classical Greek literature to Rabelais (periods in which he believes the chronotope had a relatively stable typology), and from this basis elaborated his thoughts on subsequent literature. His key examples of chronotopes included the road as site of encounter (from classical authors onwards); the castle (in Gothic writing); the salon (for the early nineteenth-century novel); the provincial town (eg *Madame Bovary*); the public square and threshold (eg Dostoevsky). In addition to materialising time in space, chronotopes act as ‘organising centers’ for narrative events.³⁵ They are ‘knots’ to be tied and untied, or the forces ‘giving body’ to a novel (in its specific narrative details as well as in its philosophical and abstract aspects).

In principle, Bakhtin’s chronotopic analysis seems to be a promising model through which to figure aesthetically the socio-economic analysis of U&CD; however, we should note a problem. Specialist literary commentators and narratologists agree that Bakhtin’s idea is difficult to pin down. The chronotope is profligate, encompassing everything from trope to character to plot to genre. A distinction, perhaps, needs to be drawn between minor and major (or generic) chronotopes.³⁶ Any particular narrative performance is bound to encompass multiple chronotopes at varying levels of analysis. Critics have noted that, after his initial remarks, Bakhtin alternated between specific examples and generalisations.³⁷

Bakhtin's afterword of 1973, rather than clarifying the methodological issues, only deepened the problem by further broadening the chronotope's range of application. Indeed, he suggested: 'every entry into the sphere of meaning is accomplished only through the gates of the chronotope'.³⁸ Admittedly, this conceptual array is likely to be further stretched by our attention to Sekula: photographs and film are inherently chronotopic, anchored to definite places and moments. The photograph can be seen as a space-time package, producing what has been called the 'photographic paradox' – simultaneously, there-then, yet here-now.³⁹ The question, then, is how to delimit the issue; if all cultural forms manifest chronotopicity, we are faced with a concept that potentially defines everything and nothing, and its critical value is in danger of being emptied out. Bakhtin himself knowingly exploited the multivalencies of the chronotope when he adopted the idea from its original sources in biology and mathematics.⁴⁰ If we accept the chronotope's profligacy as productive, then perhaps the important question to pose might be this: which chronotopes best allow for representations of the contemporary world 'not as a sum of national parts but as a mighty and independent reality which has been created by the international division of labour and the world market and which in our epoch imperiously dominates the national markets'?

The task of cultural intellectuals, the young Georg Lukács once said, is a matter of 'form giving'; that is to say (in our context), of finding an imaginative structure that brings uneven simultaneity into view.⁴¹ In novels and narrative films, plot often provides the armature around which to hold diverse characters together. Artists generally have recourse to a range of different methods, and there a number of noted recent projects that have attempted to give form to the spatio-temporal dislocations of contemporary capitalism. Before focusing on Sekula, it is worth taking a brief look how some other artists have tackled global contradictions. Prominent among these approaches have been focuses on the collisions highlighted by geopolitical borders, on the unevennesses manifested by tracking a particular commodity chain, or by simply holding to a particular object or social phenomenon.

We might mention the video-essay *Europlex* (2003, 20-minute video installation) by Ursula Biemann (working with anthropologist Angela Sanders), which shows how women in Morocco, close to the Spanish enclave of Ceuta, become 'time-travellers'. Biemann is interested in nonsynchronicity and assemblage – both in their social and aesthetic dimensions – as well as in the hypertextual leaps enabled by digitalisation. Literally moving between time zones, the female workers commute across the border to release Spanish women from domestic tasks, or work in factories where they reconfigure commodities to be suitable for the European market. Biemann's *Black Sea Files* (2005, 43-minute video installation) uses the construction of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline to hold together interlinked themes, including an organised prostitution racket and the degradation of farming lands. The pipeline, then, is a type of geopolitical corporate thread, which Biemann counterposes with these 'secondary scenarios'.⁴² The work also conveys Biemann's reflections on her own role as an artist researching, filming, constructing and editing the video-essay, weaving a more open and non-linear narrative, and employing images in ways that resist 'freezing the moment into a symbol'.⁴³

In the installation *Solid Sea 03 – The Road Map* (2003), the Italian collective Multiplicity displays details of a journey from the vicinity of Hebron to the Kdumin area, a trip repeated twice over, once with an Israeli and once with a Palestinian traveller.⁴⁴ Using diagrammatic maps and video recordings of the two simultaneous journeys, the work highlights the contrasting experiences and the opposing requirements of the same trip. The one-hour five-minute, unfettered motorway drive of the Israeli traveller is set against the ever-diverted and disrupted travels of the Palestinian, the latter taking well over five hours, and involving multiple modes of transport. The smoothness of car on a highway contrasts with the bumps and jolts of hand-held camera as the travellers take the back roads or run across fields. These are literal recordings, on the one hand, but at the same time they employ – or rather, they entail – some very simple aesthetic qualities to underscore political and social inequalities; the single and holistic contrasts with the fractured and disjointed. And the live-time documenting of the two journeys holds some surprises: the motorway ride cannot conceal the supporting role played by the structures of separation; while the disjunctive passage of the Palestinian traveller reveals the intelligent social choreographies demanded by subaltern survival.

Harun Farocki considers brick production and the associated social organisation of labour in two related works: *Comparison via a Third* (2007, a two-channel installation) and *In Comparison* (*Zum Vergleich*, 2009, 61-minute 16mm colour film). At a Swiss factory, a high-tech robot builds walls, contrasting with some different versions of industrial production in a number of other European locations. These are further compared to hand-made processes employed in India and Burkina Faso, with the latter especially evidencing a community-wide collaboration. The conjunctions are especially striking in the two-channel version. Among the footage from India, the film presents a difference between labour-intensive work and the construction of a high-rise. The bricks are made on site, with mud-blocks backed in the sun, and while male bricklayers create the infill for the concrete frame, working alongside them a woman lifts materials while caring for a toddler. As Farocki's titles emphasise, these contrasts are envisaged as comparative. He describes his intentions: '... I wanted to make a film about the concomitance and contemporary production on a range of different technical levels. So I looked for an object that had not changed too much in the last few thousand years.... the brick appears as something of a poetic object.' Comparisons are underscored by the works' structural uses of repetition and variation associated with music or Minimalist art (Farocki talks of comparing A with A').⁴⁵

These are complex artworks, each deserving deeper critical consideration (and there are many more that could be cited), but hopefully they help to convey the attention being given to the phenomena described by U&CD. These examples also show the way spatial and temporal questions are brought together by artists and radical filmmakers – and it is notable how time-based media and the documentary mode have featured. The examples of Farocki and Multiplicity involve no explanatory overlay, the points being made entirely by the arrangement of footage or the components of an installation. Biemann adopts the essayistic mode (as, in other projects, does Farocki) to impart the subjective voice and the exploratory

nature of her reflections.⁴⁶ With Sekula, we can explore some related techniques and strategies in greater detail.

III. Sekula's Chronotopes

Sekula's major chronotope, at least since the 1990s, has been maritime in nature. This focus enabled him to make a particular intervention: to reject the fantasy of, what he called, 'a world of purely electronic and instantaneous contacts, blind to the slow movement of heavy and necessary things.'⁴⁷ Sekula railed against metropolitan intellectuals who seem to believe all the world's goods are transported via the internet. His work was set in stark antagonism to the fetish of immediacy, virtuality, immateriality and 'smooth space' prevalent in much talk about globalisation. He wrote:

The 'forgetting' of the sea by late-modernist elites parallels its renewed intransigence for desperate third world populations: for Sri Lankans, Chinese, Haitians, Cubans, for the Filipinos and Indonesians who work the sealanes.⁴⁸

The shipping container became emblematic for him of a wider 'capitalist disavowal': hiding the commodities being transported; eliding the labour that produced them; displacing ports from their traditional urban and periurban locations; and transforming the labour processes of dock-workers, as well as the train drivers, bargers and truckers who transport freight inland.⁴⁹ Sekula's insistence on the role of ocean traffic, heavy cargo and the 'invisible' bulk ores⁵⁰ - and on the physical and mental work that underpins the global economy - countered the 'cognitive blankness' of the dominant discourse.⁵¹ His account, then, also is a materialist critique of an idealist abstraction. Indeed, the container is not simply an emblem; its centrality for today's logistics industry and 'intermodal' distribution makes it a key vehicle for the 'violent synchronisations' wrought by socially-necessary labour time. And, as Sekula emphasised, the rise of this box is something like a universal equivalent.

Unusually reflexive as an artist, Sekula was also familiar with both Trotsky's account of U&CD and the linguistics of the Bakhtin School. Not only were all the key books in his personal library, these ideas were central to his own political formation. His proximity to the social, cultural and theoretical questions we are tackling here offers certain advantages: we can be sure that we are not considering his work through a grid of alien concepts. However, this very security produces its own risks: there is a danger of theory-matching, reading-off ideas in such a way that Sekula's artworks become little more than illustrations for critical concepts. As already intimated, further difficulties are introduced by the shift from Bakhtin's literary focus to the artistic realm (to the visual, plastic or fine arts). While the distinction between temporal and anti-temporal arts is, in many ways, rather dated (an ideological and historical construct, expertly dissected by WJT Mitchell), and while it would be tempting just to dismiss or ignore it, the tensions involved between word and image cultures nevertheless centrally animate Sekula's practice.⁵² The anti-narrative, anti-temporal, anti-'theatrical' accounts of painting and sculpture advanced by the high-modernist art critics in the late 1960s and 70s (above all, by Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried - or,

in photography, by the curator John Szarkowski), prompted, a sharp reaction among many artists. These aesthetic disputes were intensified by the growing resistance to American involvement in the Vietnam War, and by the rise of the New Left and new social movements. Sekula's allegiance to lens-based work and to conceptual art (with its refusal of the dichotomy between script and imagery) was part of that critical response. Indeed, he was among those artists who took these approaches – and 'scripto-visual practice' – in an emphatically politicised direction.

Greenberg's early essay 'Towards a Newer Laocoön' (written in 1940, while he was still broadly allied to American Trotskyism) makes explicit the connection back to Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's eighteenth-century treatise, which codified the law of genres on the basis of space and time.⁵³ As Mitchell argues, one can dispense with Lessing's opposition of temporal and atemporal arts (his contrast between poetry and painting respectively) without at the same time collapsing all distinction between texts and images.⁵⁴ The important point, Mitchell insists, is to reject not the distinction per se but rather the basis upon which Lessing (and others) have construed it as binary opposition – that is, to understand *both* literary texts *and* visual art as availing themselves of spatio-temporal constructions. Notably, in his essay on the chronotope, Bakhtin identifies Lessing as a key precursor in the consideration of the problem of historical time,⁵⁵ as the thinker who 'established the temporal character of [chronotopicity]' and who explained the space-time principle within the literary image.⁵⁶ Bakhtin's comments on Lessing are brief, but his general argument seems broadly consistent with the relational conception advanced by Mitchell. Indeed, Bakhtin's dialogic understanding of the novel and of language foreshadows Mitchell's preference for 'conceiving of the space-time problem in the arts, as a dialectical struggle in which opposed terms take on different ideological roles and relationships at different moments in history'.⁵⁷ For Bakhtin, language takes shape in a concrete situation of two speakers; a word or statement always presupposes a response, and, in anticipation, is already shaped by it. His understanding of language as 'dialogic' contrasts to the 'monologic' approach, where meaning is imposed by authority, and Bakhtin believed that the novel was the literary form best exemplifying the dialogic mode.

Bakhtin's examples of the chronotope are drawn from extended prose fiction. Sekula not only takes us to the plastic arts, he also mines therein an essayistic and documentary vein of lens-based work. Still, his practice is notable for its narrational conception, as is made explicit by a number of the titles he gives his works: *Aerospace Folktales* (1973) or *Fish Story* (published 1997; exhibited from 1995). The tradition of the photo-story (in both its fictional and documentary modes) has shaped his approach, which he has compared at times to the making of a 'disassembled film'. *This Ain't China* (1974) is subtitled 'A Photonovel', and it stages yet further narrative forms: parable, psychological novel, political novel). Allegorical allusions have also been important. *Ship of Fools* – Sekula's photo-sequence initiated in the late 1990s while travelling with the *Global Mariner* (the campaign ship of the International Transport Workers' Federation) – is a direct acknowledgement of Sebastian Brandt's late fifteenth-century allegory. Indirectly, *Ship of Fools* looks to Desiderius Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly* (1511), adopting adoxography to speak truth to

power, and appealing to Folly's creativity to resist dogma.⁵⁸ Sekula has said that the quotidian events captured by the camera already involve fiction and theatre, or else can be thought 'as if' performance.⁵⁹

Yet, if the maritime industries provide Sekula with his major chronotopic site, it is important not to mistake his work for a conventional project of photojournalism (afterall, he wrote some of the first and finest Marxist critiques of the classic documentary mode).⁶⁰ *Fish Story*, he said, is best understood as 'a hybrid, "paraliterary" revision of social documentary photography', which sought to dissolve the oppositions typically upheld between writing and the visual arts, or between the arts and critical-social investigations. Instead, it tries to exploit relations running across these practices: essay writing, the 'poetics' of sequential photographs, and research into cultural, economic and social history.⁶¹ This method applies to all of his works in photography and film. His projects combine complexly structured photographic sequences with texts (extended captions, epigraphs, and jokes). Insistently intertextual, the works are dense with connections and allusions, reflecting on representational traditions, such as, the way the sea has been presented culturally – and stretching from Popeye and Jules Verne, to mainstream narrative films and communist novels about seafaring. Thus, many of the devices associated with the chronotope might be reimagined through a number of displacements: the shift Sekula makes from Bakhtin's literary canon to photography; from Bakhtin's address as a literary analyst (the critic addressing the aesthetic object) to that of the artist giving form to that 'object'. Then there are the transpositions Sekula makes within photographic traditions, from art photography to photography's 'non-art' or 'anti-art' modes; from photojournalism to a performative approach to documentary.

When they first appeared in English, during the 1970s and 80s, the writings of Bakhtin, Vološinov and Medvedev provided ways to rethink aesthetic form for Marxist thinkers. They raised questions about the inherited opposition between Marxism and formalism – the legacies of socialist realism and the Cold War. They also helped side-step structuralism's more 'abstract objectivism' and static conception of language, presenting instead a 'dialectics of the sign' in concrete and everyday use: the 'sign as site of class struggle'.⁶² Further, they allowed for a rethinking of ideology through representation. The Bakhtin School helped Sekula establish his transformatative understanding of photography – neither as 'art-photography' nor as conventional 'documentary', but as a socially-reflexive and interventionary practice. The literal performances of his earlier work (for example, *Meat Mass* (1972) or *This Ain't China*) were translated into photographs conceived dialogically – as enunciatory acts embedded within the relations of social interchange, which were performatively effective.⁶³

The important point for thinking about U&CD is that the focus on the maritime industries, with their international mediations and alternative connectivity, enabled Sekula to totalise the relations between dispersed nodes and aspects of the global economy, and to explore the way spaces are ideologically and economically determined 'within the larger system of postwar development'.⁶⁴ Photography's descriptive power (famous, as noted earlier, for its temporally-charged contradictions) allowed him to record these spaces as socially constituted sites. It also enabled him to draw on social documentary's established tropes of capturing biographies and 'idiosyncratic psychic investment[s]', reading spaces as sites 'of actions and

materialized memories'.⁶⁵ Notably, Sekula revives one of Bakhtin's key examples: the device of the road. Bakhtin, as we saw, associates this particular chronotope with earlier literature, but its continued prominence as an established photographic genre (think, for example, of the work of Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Robert Frank, Stephen Shore) – and also within paraliterature - makes it especially pertinent for Sekula. The 'road' here includes its maritime equivalents (the sea-lanes between ports). And (as made explicit in *Freeway to China*), it includes a metaphorical extension: encompassing the organisational pathways of international solidarity connecting maritime workers.⁶⁶ Sometimes, the parameters of the journey are limited. For example, *Dead Letter Office* (1997) explores the coastal zone that straddles the US-Mexico border, running south from San Diego to Tijuana-Popolta-Ensenada. In *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes* (1997) – here, taking a non-maritime example - Sekula presents a comparison between Ottawa, the state capital and location of the Bank of Canada, and the small provincial town of Sudbury, a centre for the mining and smelting of nickel. Other journeys take the character of global wanderings: *Fish Story* transports us between Sekula's home terrain of southern California, to the US East Coast, around Europe's ports, to South Korea, Hong Kong and back to Mexico. The long video-essay *Lottery of the Sea* (2006) voyages to Athens, Barcelona, Galicia, Lisbon, New York, Panama, Los Angeles, Amsterdam, and a US naval base in Japan. *TITANIC's wake* moves between the Loire valley, Bilbao, Novorossiysk, Limassol, Turin, Seattle, Vancouver, Istanbul, and Lisbon. *Ship of Fools* also includes Durban in South Africa and, with its later 2010 additions, extends to the port of Santos in Brazil. Sekula's traversing of littoral spaces and their hinterlands provides the foundation for connections to be made between places and times. Take as an example this extract from one caption in *Freeway to China*:

The *Teal* berthed at Pier 300 after unloading two of four German cranes transported across the Indian and Pacific oceans from a construction site in Abu Dhabi on the Persian Gulf, where they were manufactured by Filipino and other South Asian migrant laborers. Belgian-owned, the *Teal* is registered in the Netherlands Antilles, a pervasive legal ruse that permits the hiring of cheaper foreign crews.⁶⁷

From a photograph of the Los Angeles harbour, the caption propels our vision outwards geographically and also back into this moment's prehistory, helping us to grasp how the immediately-given instantiates the impact of wider space-time conjunctures.

The road is often used as an allegorical device. Conventionally, the passage along it enacts a spiritual or existential journey. The protagonist faces tests along the way, but while he might be tempted to wander from the path, the journey described, chapter-by-chapter, usually has direction and a final destination; this course in the story is generally shared with the narrative form. In Sekula's work, very little is organised chronologically. It is not as if we as viewers 'follow in his steps' in any straightforward way. While journeys may be important, his works are not 'travelogues'. The photographs do not function in the manner they might for a photojournalist: they have a different 'density'; they are accumulative and retroactive; interrupting, as much as carrying, a narrative. In Sekula, the 'direction' and 'destination' are cognitive in nature; they are less provided than they are posited, acquired through sustained reflection.

His 'voyages' *do* take on an allegorical dimension: the road of critical research. But they are more than that too; they are an allegory of the problems of understanding modern capitalism, the difficulties of representing that understanding and of comprehending its representational elisions and paradoxes. The point made here is important and recurs through his works, indicating the problems of a simplistic notion of 'realism' (a problem that is especially acute for a photographer). To recall the famous point made by Benjamin and Bertolt Brecht in the 1930s – the source is actually Fritz Sternberg, writing in the 1920s – a photograph of a factory shows us next to nothing of the social relations operating within and around it.⁶⁸ That is: 'reality' eludes straightforward appearance; 'social facts' evade the powers of the camera. Indeed, Sekula has described capitalism as having an 'attenuated or broken metonymy'⁶⁹—that is, its relations of causality are not transparent. Conscious of the hiatus in metonymic contiguity, he grasps the representational problems presented by capital's value-form and by the riddle of the commodity. Thus, Sekula's challenge to the disavowal of the port and the occlusion of labour is simultaneously an allegory of this deeper epistemological or representational conundrum.

As in the traditional allegorical journey, a series of encounters shape his narratives. Sometimes the people he meets simply embody roles, albeit situated ones: in *TITANIC's wake*, 'Machinist and apprentice' in the SNCF workshops in Tours; in *Fish Story*, 'Pipe fitters finishing the engine room of a tuna boat' in San Diego or 'Mother and child. Ilisan fishing village'. But equally the encounters take the form of portraits or portraits-with-text: 'Pancake' in *Fish Story*, a former shipyard sandblaster who turns to metal scavenging; in the film-essay *The Forgotten Space* (2010), Liu Han Hu and Wendy Lui, two members of China's new generation of young-female migrant workers. Other figures include expert commentators, activists, the members of church-run seamen's missions who act to defend the basic rights of maritime workers (*Lottery of the Sea*) or provide a temporary home and respite for the employees of cruise ships (*The Forgotten Space*) – Sekula memorably referred to these vessels as 'floating apartheid machines of postmodern leisure'.⁷⁰ *Freeway to China* is especially rich with individual stories of struggle, defeat and defiance, provided through long captions: Ray Familathe, the Los Angeles longshore worker who travels to Merseyside on six occasions in support of striking dockers; Mason Davies, a shop steward and former shipyard employee, who goes on to work there as a welder on temporary contracts before disappearing, reputedly to New York in search of work; Louisa Gratz, president of International Longshore and Warehouse Local 26, just as she exits a tough negotiation meeting with management; Liverpool strikers Mickey Tighe and Marty Size, watching from afar the scabs now at work in what had been their yard. And then there is John Stanson, a former merchant seafarer and dock clerk, who left the industry to work as a guard for Tate Liverpool (the art gallery occupying the former warehouses of the Albert Dock); in response to the artist's query as to why the history of the dock is absent from the neighbouring Maritime Museum, Stanson asks Sekula 'Are you familiar with Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony?' Across Sekula's works, individual lives—workers whose labour process has been radically transformed, migrant workers, trade unionists and activists, the dispossessed and vulnerable—condense social-historical transformations. Importantly, they do so not merely as the objects of social processes, but also as agents. In this, Sekula's own role as 'protagonist' is conceived as dialogic: he is a witness—a medium—whose projects channel other people's stories or sassy observations. And there

seems to be something critical about the various temporal registers allowed by these encounters. The captions (combining descriptions with testimonies) bring together recollections and anticipations; there are stories set in the past that have no known end, while others involve second-guessing or wagering on life decisions whose outcomes cannot be predicted. Reflecting on a series of disputes, Gratz warns that if the bosses are allowed to get their way ‘Pretty soon we are all going to end up of the damned freeway homeless’.

IV. Montage

Montage has been something of a privileged form for the cultural left - breaking apart the apparently seamless whole of appearance and allowing social contrasts and conflicts to be foregrounded. Sekula’s response to radical modernist arguments for aesthetic ‘construction’ was to produce sequences of photographs that called attention to the editing process while maintaining his distance from the staged tableau (an approach which came to be favoured in the 1980s and 90s).⁷¹ Sekula explicitly sought approaches that would resist dichotomising ‘realism and modernism’: he wanted to bring together the realist effort to weave a complex social totality with the modernist power of rupture and its attention to the ‘labour of the image’. (Here, Sekula adopts the spirit proposed by Jameson in the afterword to *Aesthetics & Politics*, where realism and modernism are extracted from their sterile stand-off and, if not actually reconciled, instead are brought into a more productive critical tension.⁷²)

Montage has also been closely associated with allegory and in this it intersects with the chronotope of the road or journey.⁷³ Interestingly, though, montage’s disjunctive logic diverges somewhat from Bakhtin’s emphasis on the ‘fusion’ of ‘the whole’, which reveals his early roots in Neo-Kantian aesthetics. Art, he suggests, ‘seizes on the chronotope in all its wholeness and fullness’.⁷⁴ In this regard at least, Bakhtin’s conception of art displays a more affirmative and organic character; Sekula’s tends to follow Vološinov’s stronger emphasis on social contradictions.⁷⁵ As we have already seen, Sekula’s work demands to be integrated through the processes of our critical involvement, but this is a totalising process that remains fluid – motile, but materially grounded nonetheless. In this sense, then, the interplay of simultaneity and singularity, the integrative and the disjunctive, the synchronous and non-synchronous - which characterise the ambitions of U&CD – appears in aesthetic form.

Sekula specifically advanced a sequential model of montage (which drew on the traditions of the photo-story in magazine and book forms, and the idea of horizontal montage associated with the work of filmmaker Chris Marker.⁷⁶) His pictures are not intended to be viewed as isolated images, but as elements within carefully edited sequences. The constructive method applies not only to a single occasion (a page spread or a juxtaposition within a layout), nor simply to the relations within a particular work (a book or an exhibition cycle), but is also conceived as a ‘larger montage principle’⁷⁷ that operates across and between all his works – as well as interacting dialogically with both intra- and extra-aesthetic concerns. These comparisons through immediate adjacencies as well as through inter-textual recollections help to summon forth the economic and historical integration of diverse locales — connections that might turn

on some small anecdote or episode reported by those he meets, or on the artist's own reflections, just as much as on socio-economic logic. The processes are interwoven. The caption about the *Teal*, for example, turns into a meditation on the colours blue and orange, prominent in his photographs of berths in the Port of Los Angeles: their ideological and historical significance in southern California (ocean, orchards, sunshine, optimism); or the alternative valence of orange in the context of Liverpool (Protestant Loyalism). He also associates the latter to Pop's Day-Glo effects and John Milton's poetic image of hellfire.

Sekula once said that horizontal montage helped him to evade the tyranny of the film projector, which subjects spectators to its relentless forward drive. With his own film-works, he sought ways to complicate this momentum. Whatever his medium, most of his projects have an accumulative character, with each moment giving way the next reference or reflection. At times, they resemble Melville's *Moby Dick* as though reimagined by Brecht or Marker. If, as Sekula said, a 'society of accelerated flows is also in certain key aspects a society of deliberate slow movement',⁷⁸ his own works also demand deceleration or the time-consuming process of reflective reconsideration. *Lottery of the Sea* runs for three hours, and, within it, a long segment exploits an extended temporality to convey the painstaking work of environmentalists and locals trying to remove an oil spill from the beaches and rocks of Galicia. His photo-books and exhibitions also demand repeated viewing, and turnings back to recover further connections – a process already thematised in his earlier installations-as-reading-rooms. The extensive reach of his projects is matched by intensifying strategies, and the measured pace finds its counterpoint in the sting of subaltern pithiness, or in those sudden conjunctions that constellate a moment of realisation. Often, his formulations condense into aphorism; posed somewhere between thesis or parable or riddle, they can feel very Benjaminian – as in the statement that forms part of *Dead Letter Office* or the wall-texts for *Ship of Fools*. Take these examples from the latter: 'You can't send a postcard from the bottom of the sea'; 'Elites are stupider than need be. Everyone else is smarter than allowed to be'.⁷⁹

As examples of Sekula's montage strategies we might look at his diptychs or pairings of images, which allow for sharp contrasts and visual confrontations (although, in extracting these images, we must not forget that they are embedded in larger sequences). In *Ship of Fools*, the old psychomachic battles between Virtues and Vices materialise as the struggle between the campaign ship *Global Mariner* and, moored close by, a vessel operating under a flag-of-convenience.⁸⁰ In *Dead Letter Office*, we are presented with a series of oppositions: between Mexico and the US; between Tijuana's subcontracted labourers and the South Korean multinational Hyundai based there; between the Hollywood film-studios based in Popolna and local mussel-gatherers whose fishing grounds have been damaged during the making of *Titanic*. Meanwhile, a young hanger-on at a Republican convention in San Diego, posing by a swimming pool, is set against an impoverished scavenger with his trolley outside the conference hall. This last opposition exploits a familiar visual trope from the traditions of critical photo-reportage and worker photography: 'poverty in the midst of plenty'. This pairing creates a visual echo with the two exposed male bodies: the one, a young, toned and consciously aestheticized physique; the other, an aging torso that has been lived in. However, although he

deploys this well-known rhetorical device, Sekula does not rest on the stark contrast, but draws out deeper political and economic power relations that shape this cross-border region. The point here is important. At one level, it is quite routine for photographers to expose the 'uneven' character of modern capitalism. There are a large number of images that (in another iteration of the wealth-versus-poverty motif) might set an informal shantytown against a distant conglomeration of skyscrapers – riffs on classic images by Andreas Feininger and Walker Evans that exploit the lens' capacity for visual compression. The cover of the 2010 edition of Neil Smith's classic, with a striking image by *Guardian* photographer David Levene, is an example of this tradition. Another is Oscar Ruiz's series of aerial photographs for the *Erase the Difference* campaign, from 2014, which uses the drama of physical adjacency (two neighbourhoods) - playing on the way reality itself can appear to be Photoshopped.⁸¹ Yet Sekula seeks to do more than demonstrate unevenness. His use of sequential montage and visual integration help to draw out the less visible, and less readily visualisable, aspects of the social world: that is, it aspires to capture the 'combined' dimensions associated with U&CD.

Elsewhere, his montaged contrasts capture temporal processes, as in *Fish Story*, where the vista from a South Korean beach is shown from two perspectives: the fishing village of Ilsan, on the one side; and, on the other, the same village set against, in the distance, Ulsan's Hyundai installation. Again, emphasising their mutual imbrication, we learn that Ulsan is poisoning the waters and gradually swallowing Ilsan, physically and economically. Sometimes, the spatial contrast takes precedence, as in *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes* where banking and state functions contrast to the nickel industry. Sekula specifically foregrounds the metaphorised contrast, one that is abroad in popular perception, which counterposes 'brain' (Ottawa) to 'asshole' (Sudbury). This, of course, is a barely disguised reference to mental and manual labour, and it also taps into Sekula's recurrent interest in scatological motifs, for which Bakhtin's work on Rabelais is central. Yet the work also reveals how, despite this sharp disparity, brain and asshole are related by the creation and distribution of wealth, and by the integration of financial capital with that of the extractive industries.⁸² Here, Sekula's visual play with the sign 'Big Nickel' provides one of the keys for establishing this connection.

TITANIC's wake provides a particularly interesting example with a diptych capturing Bilbao in the midst of its transformation in the late 1990s. The bi-partite structure is used to present us with a ruptured panorama, which evidences a visual archaeology of the urban fabric. This work proves not to be a demonstration of deindustrialisation-and-recovery (the over-familiar story of an industrial past replaced by service industries, tourism and consumer-based economies), but an exploration of and challenge to the neoliberal boosterist ideology that sustains precisely that unilinear employment. In his associated writings (and through to the film *The Forgotten Space*), Sekula considers how Frank Gehry's titanium-clad edifice is repeatedly figured through vitalistic metaphors (from allusions to fishes and whales, or to streamlined submarines and aerodynamic forms, to the discourse of the so-called 'Bilbao Miracle'). He also explores how the museum's hyper-visibility is repeatedly used to position the city's port and industries as a contrasting backdrop of 'dysfunctional atrophy'.⁸³ The Guggenheim offers a powerful fantasy of the finance-fuelled future that can

dispense with labour. The ‘Bilbao Miracle’ provides an example of what Arantxa Rodríguez calls ‘uneven redevelopment’: the skewing of renewal projects away from urban neighbourhoods and towards high-profile central sites; the sinking of local and regional resources into prized locations, such as the Guggenheim; and the wider ideology of the ‘new’ (neoliberal) urban policy.⁸⁴ Here, Sekula uses straight photography to proffer a rebus - one that poses the complicity of urban policies in strategies of deliberate disinvestment, and the siphoning of local public resources to subsidise international private capital. Indeed, this diptych also functions within a larger framework: Sekula conceived *TITANIC’s wake* as a kind of ‘historical novel’, using photography’s diaristic and narrational capacities to elicit the epic resonances associated with (Lukács’ account of) the genre.⁸⁵

V. Coda

Finally, we should note another distinctive chronotope in Sekula’s work. As we have seen, from his quotidian photographs of the here-and-now he elicits other places and times. First, we have those experiences that break the ‘relentless synchronicity’⁸⁶ of modernity. These defiantly challenge the dominant ideology - providing reminders of its one-sided perspectives; the fantasies of a frictionless digital economy being countered, for example, with the intransigence of geographical spaces for migrating workers. Secondly, he discovers those ‘materialized memories’ that draw the evidence of previous histories into the present. This second dimension has sometimes lured Sekula’s viewers into detecting a strain of melancholy – a problem that has, admittedly, been hard to avoid through the main periods of his working life, which roughly paralleled the rise and consolidation of neoliberalism.

Yet, there is another temporal register that comes into view, one that projects forward. Or, to put it another way, it is a register that reaches back to us from a time that it ‘not-yet’, but which manifests in our present. We could call it a ‘materialised anticipation’; that is, not just a utopian anticipation, but a possible future that is already materially here. This could be understood as *non-synchronicity* with the destinations and destinies projected for us by capital. Sekula’s slide-cycle of hybrid anti-global protestors in Seattle is one obvious example. Another, is his travels with the crew of the *Global Mariner*, as part of a long-term campaign to draw attention to the gross breaches of workers’ safety allowed under the ‘legal ruse’ of the flag-of-convenience system. The specific friction he proposes, then, is not just with specific physical and social obstacles (whether rough seas, state borders or police lines), but with space-time conjunctures determined by capital. This ‘ship of fools’ reminds us how such projects ‘are often pregnant with the future’.⁸⁷ We can conceive many of his other encounters – those in *Freeway to China*, for example - as belonging to that same crew. *Lottery of the Sea* includes an interview with an activist involved in building an international syndicalist organisation for maritime workers, one that might be capable of resisting capital’s globalised strategies. *Dead Letter Office* is supplemented by a scene from Tijuana, with metalworkers employed by a Hyundai subcontractor signing-up to form an independent union.⁸⁸ In *The Forgotten Space*, we see an activist giving a lesson to truckers, on the economics of their status as ‘independent owner-operators’, a scene concluding

with a memorable and questioning pause as the teacher invites his class to follow through the logic.⁸⁹ Such chronotopes of asynchronous-and-synchronous contemporaneity are instances where the uneven-and-combined character of capitalism meets the current debate on temporality in Marx and Benjamin. It is worth recalling that U&CD was originally formulated as a contribution to revolution in Eastern Europe. In recent debates, perhaps unavoidably, it has become more of a diagnostic or interpretative tool. Artworks cannot substitute for substantive social change, but Sekula's work sustains a futural and praxial gaze. In a time of amnesia, this alone marks out his work as extraordinary. As he put it in *Freeway to China*, such internationalist solidarity '[sustains] hope for a future distinct from that fantasized by the engineers of a new world of wealth without workers'.⁹⁰ Or, as he also quipped in *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes* 'perhaps the asshole has a mind of its own'.⁹¹

¹ Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present*, London: Verso, 2002, 142; *Postmodernism: or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, London: Verso, 1992, 309-10

² Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes towards a Historical Poetics', *The Dialogical Imagination*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. The essay was written in 1937-38 as segments for a major study of the *Bildungsroman*. However, with a new concluding section added in 1973, the manuscript was assembled by one of Bakhtin's executors to form the Russian volume *Problems of Literature and Aesthetics* (1975).

³ Benjamin HD Buchloh, 'Allan Sekula: Photography Between Discourse and Document', Allan Sekula, *Fish Story*, Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag, 1995, 198-9.

⁴ *Lottery of the Sea* (2006) takes its title from Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, Chapter 10: 'Of Wages and Profit in the Different Employments of Labour and Stock, Part I: Inequalities arising from the nature of employments themselves'. This interest in the critique of political economy also manifests in his essay and projects called 'Dismal Science' (Thomas Carlyle). Allan Sekula, 'Dismal Science: Part 1' and 'Dismal Science: Part 2', *Fish Story*, pp 41-54 and 105-137; Allan Sekula, *Dismal Science: Photoworks 1972-1976*, Normal, Illinois: University Galleries of Illinois State University, 1999

⁵ Trotsky, Leon, *The Permanent Revolution & Results and Prospects*, New York: Pathfinder, 1969. See also: *The History of the Russian Revolution*, New York: Sphere Books, 1967; *The Third International After Lenin* (1936), New York: Pathfinder, 1970; 1905, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973; *My Life: an Attempt at an Autobiography* (1929), Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975; and 'A Serious Work on Russian Revolutionary History', G Brietman ed., *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1934-1940)*, New York: Pathfinder, 1979. Basic further reading includes: George Novack, *Uneven and Combined Development in History*, New York: Merit Publishers, 1966; Michael Löwy, *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development: The Theory of Permanent Revolution*, London: Verso, 1981; and Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*, London: Verso, 3rd edition, 2010 (earlier version Oxford: Blackwell, 1984??)

⁶ Warwick Research Collective, *Combined and Uneven Development; Towards a New Theory of World Literature*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015; Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus eds, *Marxism, Modernity and Postcolonial Studies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. This includes Lazarus' important essay 'The Fetish of the west in Postcolonial Studies', (pp.43-64); Neil Lazarus, *The Postcolonial Unconscious*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*, London: Routledge, 2004; and the forthcoming Sharae Deckard and Rashmi Varma, *Marxism, Postcolonial Theory, and the Future of Critique: Critical Engagements with Benita Parry*, London: Routledge. The essays in the current volume present a selection of developing works by younger scholars working within the framework.

⁷ Neil Davidson, 'From Uneven to Combined Development', Bill Dunn & Hugo Radice eds, *100 Years of Permanent Revolution: Results and Prospects*, Pluto, 2006, pp.10-26; Colin Barker, 'Beyond Trotsky: Extending Combined and Uneven Development', Bill Dunn & Hugo Radice eds, *100 Years of Permanent Revolution: Results and Prospects*, Pluto, 2006, pp.78-87; Sam Ashman, 'From World Economy to World Market', Dunn and Radice eds, *100 Years of Permanent Revolution*, 2006, pp.88-104; Marcel Van der Linden, "'The "Law" of Uneven and Combined Development: Some Undeveloped Thoughts', *Historical Materialism*, No.15, 2007, pp145-165; Justin Rosenberg, 'Globalization Theory: A Post Mortem', *International Politics*, No.42, 2005, pp2-74; Justin Rosenberg, 'Basic Problems in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development: a Reply to the CRIA Forum', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 22, No.1, 2009, pp.107-110; Justin Rosenberg, 'Basic Problems in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development: Part II. Unevenness and Political Multiplicity', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 23, No.1, 2010, pp.165-189; Justin Rosenberg & Alex Callinicos, 'Uneven and Combined Development: the Social-International Substratum of the International. An Exchange of Letters', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 21, No.1, 2009, pp. 77-112; Jamie C Allinson & Alexander Anievas, 'The Uses and Misuses of Uneven and Combined Development: an Anatomy of a Concept' *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.22, No.1, 2009, pp.47-67; Neil Davidson, *How Revolutionary were the Bourgeois Revolutions?*, Chicago: Haymarket, 2012; Neil Davidson, 'From Deflected Permanent Revolution to the Law of Uneven and Combined Development', *International Socialism*, Second Series, No.128, 2010..

This is probably the moment to note how 'realism' is an especially tricky term in cross-disciplinary discussions, carrying quite different meanings in various fields. Sekula, for example, conceived his own practice as a project of 'critical realism', alluding both to Georg Lukács' account of literature and to the critical philosophical discussions that, although distinct, took that same name. In 1984, he referred to 'a certain "realism," a realism not of appearances or social facts but of everyday experience in and against the grip of advanced capitalism. This realism sought to brush traditional realism against the grain' (Sekula, 'Introduction', *Photography Against the Grain*, p. x). For a discussion see: Jan Baetens and Hilde Van Gelder eds, *Critical Realism in Contemporary Art: Around Allan Sekula's Photography*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006; for Lukács on Critical Realism see 'Critical Realism and Socialist Realism', *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*, London: Merlin, 1962, pp.93-136; Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science*, London: Verso, 1975; Roy Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science; Scientific Realism and Human Emancipation*, London: Verso, 1987; and Andrew Collier, *Critical Realism: An Introduction to Roy Bhaskar's Philosophy*, London: Verso, 1994.

⁸ Neil Smith, p.240

⁹ Trotsky, p.22

¹⁰ Trotsky, p.131, p.22

¹¹ Ashman, p.95

¹² Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, pp 29-30. Even the idea of 'deflected permanent revolution' – coined in 1963 - presumes a swerve away from some 'regular' course. See Tony Cliff, 'Deflected Permanent Revolution', *International Socialism Reprint*, No.5, 1981. What is more, the predictive power of the theory of 'permanent revolution' has been negligible. For some of the post-war left, it has functioned as a moralising account of roads not taken – for which the Soviet revolution and the necessity party building provided the yardstick.

¹³ Van Der Linden; Novack.

¹⁴ Stuart Hall, 'The Problem of Ideology: Marxism Without Guarantees', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, No. 10, 1986, pp28-44

¹⁵ To be clear, we should say that we recognise that without a high level of productive capacity attempts to move to socialism are likely to generalize scarcity.

¹⁶ Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Retreat from Class: A New 'True' Socialism*, London Verso, 1996.

¹⁷ Neil Davidson, *How Revolutionary were the Bourgeois Revolutions?*, Chicago: Haymarket, 2012; Neil Davidson, 'From Deflected Permanent Revolution to the Law of Uneven and Combined Development', *International Socialism*, Second Series, No.128, 2010. Davidson, we think, falters in his lack of attention to theories of time and his argument contains a latent developmentalism, but his contribution is of major importance. (Harry Harootunian appears to misunderstand Davidson's argument: see Harootunian, *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism*, Columbia University Press, 2016.)

¹⁸ Rosenberg; Anievas; Allinson. Paradoxically, this may draw Trotskyist thinkers closer to postmodernism than they realise.

¹⁹ Smith, p.135. See also Doreen Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1984; David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development*, London: Verso, 2006. Although subject to criticism in the context of social science, Harvey's notion of 'space-time compression' might be considered in relation to the artistic chronotope. See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), and subsequent works.

²⁰ Barker, p.82

²¹ Here Jairus Banaji and Marcel van der Linden have played a key role, examining the multiple forms of labour organisation and routes for capital accumulation. Jairus Banaji, *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation*, Leiden: Brill, 2010; Marcel Van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays Towards a Global Labour History*, Leiden: Brill, 2008. See also the extensive debates in the *Journal of Agrarian Change*.

²² Theodor Shanin, *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the Peripheries of Capitalism*, Monthly Review Press; Anderson, Kevin B 2010, *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*, Chicago: Chicago University Press; José Arico, *Marx in Latin America* (1980), Brill, 2014. Harry Harootunian, *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism*, Columbia University Press, 2016. Harootunian's book appeared as we were completing our essay.

²³ Marx, Karl 1989, Letter to Editor of *Otechestvenniye Zapiski*, November 1877', *Marx and Engels Collected Works: 1874-1879*, Vol.24, London: Lawrence & Wishart, pp.196-2002, pp.200-201

²⁴ Banaji

²⁵ Roberto Schwartz, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture*, London: Verso, 1992; Peter Osborne, *The Politics of Time: Modernity and Avant-Garde*, London: Verso, 1995; Daniel Bensaïd, *Marx for Our Times: Adventures and Misadventures of a Critique*, London: Verso, 1992; Michael Löwy, *Fire Alarm: Reading Walter Benjamin's 'On the Concept of History'*, London: Verso, 2006; Massimiliano Tomba, *Marx's Temporalities*, Leiden: Brill, 2013; Stavros Tombazos, *Time in Marx*, Leiden: Brill, 2014; and Harry Harootunian, *Marx After Marx: History and Time in the Expansion of Capitalism*, Columbia University Press, 2016

²⁶ Bensaïd 2002, p.4; Tomba 2013, p.161.

²⁷ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, London: Routledge, 2003; Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *The Development of Capitalism in*

- Russia: *The Process of the Formation of a Home Market for Large-Scale Industry*, VI Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 4, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964, pp. 21-608; Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline*, VI Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1962, pp. 185-304; Mariátegui, José Carlos 2011, *An Anthology*, New York: Monthly Review Press; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971; Benjamin, Walter 2003, 'On the Concept of History', *Walter Benjamin, Selected Writings, Vol.4, 1938-1940*, pp.389-400; Ernst Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, Oxford: Polity, 2009; Lefebvre, Henri 1991, *Critique of Modern Life*. Vol.1. London: Verso; Lefebvre, Henri 1995, *Introduction to Modernity*, London: Verso; Louis Althusser & Étienne Balibar, *Reading Capital*, London: New Left Books, 1978; and Althusser, Louis 2006, *Philosophy of the Encounter: Later Writings, 1978-1987*, London: Verso
- ²⁸ Ashman, p.102. Cf Raymond Williams on residual, dominant and emergent possibilities. *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University press, 1978.
- ²⁹ Löwy, *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development*, p.27
- ³⁰ *The Dialogical Imagination* initiated a wave of interest in Bakhtin's writings. We are going to sidestep the 'Bakhtin Wars'—the disputes over the interpretation of his writings between North-American humanists, Russian Christian nationalists and British Marxists. We are most in sympathy with Ken Hirshkop, *Mikhail Bakhtin: An Aesthetic for Democracy*, Oxford University Press, 2002.
- ³¹ Michael Holquist, 'The Fugue of Chronotope', in Nele Bemong, Pieter Borghart, Michel de Dobbeleer, Kristoffel Demoen, Koen De Temmerman & Bart Keunen eds, *Bakhtin's Theory of Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Ghent: Academia Press, 2010, p.19.
- ³² Bakhtin, 84
- ³³ Bakhtin, 243
- ³⁴ Bakhtin, 84
- ³⁵ Bakhtin, 250
- ³⁶ Nele Bemong and Pieter Borhart, 'Bakhtin's Theory of Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives', in Nele Bemong, Pieter Borghart, Michel de Dobbeleer, Kristoffel Demoen, Koen De Temmerman & Bart Keunen eds, *Bakhtin's Theory of Literary Chronotope: Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, 2010, p.7. In fact, the Marxist critic Darko Suvin has claimed that the "differentia generica" between metaphoric and narrative texts can best be grasped by formulating it in terms of Bakhtin's chronotope.' Darko Suvin, 'On Metaphoricity and Narrativity in Fiction: The Chronotope as Differentia Specifica', *Substance*, No.48, 1986, p.58. See also Suvin, 'The Chronotope, Possible Worlds, and Narrativity,' in Jean Bessière ed., *Fiction, naratologie, texte, genre*, New York: Peter Lang, 1989, pp.33-41
- ³⁷ Gary Saul Morson & Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics*, Stanford University Press, 1990, pp.366-7. Bakhtin's essay refers to a page where the concept is discussed, but no such consideration appears. Cf. Bemong and Borhart, p.5
- ³⁸ Bakhtin, p. 258
- ³⁹ Thierry de Duve, 'Time Exposure and Snapshot: The Photograph as Paradox', *October*, No. 5, 1978, pp. 113-125. See also: Roland Barthes, 'The Rhetoric of the Image', Stephen Heath ed., *Image-Music-Text*, New York: Hill & Wang, 1977, pp.32-51; *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, Hill & Wang, 1980
- ⁴⁰ Bakhtin refers to Einstein's theory of relativity and AA Uxtomskij's biology.
- ⁴¹ Georg Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1974, p.xCHK
- ⁴² From the essayistic voice-over to *Black Sea Files*.
- ⁴³ For Biemann's work and publications see www.geobodies.org
- ⁴⁴ For details on the work of Multiplicity, see
- ⁴⁵ Harun Farocki, *Artforum*, February 2011 (discussion with Ed Halter 21.2.11), <http://artforum.com/words/id=27620>. For a good account of Farocki's work see; Michael Baute, Diedrich Diederichsen and Alex Sainsbury eds, *Harun Farocki: Against What? Against Whom?*, Koln: Walther Konig, 2009; Thomas Elsaesser, *Harun Farocki: Working the Sight-Lines*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004
- ⁴⁶ For the video-essay see: Ursula Biemann, 'The Video Essay in the Digital Age', *Stuff It: The Video essay in the Digital Age*, New York: Springer Wien, 2003, pp 8-11; Nora M Alter, 'Memory Essays', *Stuff It: The Video essay in the Digital Age*, New York: Springer Wien, 2003, pp 12-23. The themes are related to earlier discussions of the 'essay as form', see: Georg Lukács, 'On the Nature and Form of the Essay' in *Soul and Form*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1974; TW Adorno, 'The Essay as Form', *Notes to Literature*, Vol. 1, New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, pp.3-23. Tom Huhn has insightful observations on the essayistic mode in: 'Lukács and the Essay Form', *New German Critique*, No.78, 1999, pp.183-92
- ⁴⁷ Sekula, 'Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)', *Performance Under Working Conditions*, ed. Sabine Breitwieser, Vienna: Generali Foundation, 2003, 297. For an earlier consideration of these themes see: Steve Edwards, 'Allan Sekula's Chronotopes: Uneven and Combined Capitalism', *Ship of Fools/The Dockers' Museum*, ed Hilde van Gelde, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015, pp 31-43.
- ⁴⁸ Sekula, 'Dismal Science: Part 1', *Fish Story*, p. 51
- ⁴⁹ Sekula in interview with Debra Risberg, 'Imaginary Economies: An Interview with Allan Sekula', *Dismal Science*, 1999, (235-51) p.248. Sekula was profoundly influenced by Trotskyist seafarer and Los Angeles longshoreman Stan Weir, who developed a pioneering account of containerisation and the transformation of the labour process in dock work. Stan Weir, *Single Jack Solidarity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. For an alternative account of changes on the Los Angeles waterfront see: David Wellman, *The Union Makes Us Strong: Radical Unionism on the San Francisco Waterfront*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995
- ⁵⁰ Discussed in *Lottery of the Sea*
- ⁵¹ Sekula, 'Dismal Science: Part 1', *Fish Story*, p. 54. Cf 'The calculated amnesia of the world of international shipping', Sekula, 'Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea (Rethinking the Traffic in Photographs)', *October*, No.102, 2002, pp. 3-34 (29).
- ⁵² WJT Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, University of Chicago Press, 1987
- ⁵³ Clement Greenberg, 'Towards a New Laocoon', *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Vol. 1: Perceptions and Judgments, 1939-1944*, Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 1988, pp.23-37; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Laocöon: *An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1984
- ⁵⁴ Mitchell 102-3
- ⁵⁵ Bakhtin 204
- ⁵⁶ Bakhtin 251

⁵⁷ Mitchell 98

⁵⁸ Sekula in Hou Hanrou 'In conversation with Bruno Serralongue and Allan Sekula', *Art Practical* (February 15, 2012), ppCHK. Elsewhere, Sekula asked: 'Who would be foolish enough to view the world economy from the deck of a ship?' (*Fish Story*, p. 48) The answer was evident: he was interested in 'fools'. This is another example of adoxography – a mode in which high themes are addressed through a low voice.

⁵⁹ Sekula in Risberg, 240-1

⁶⁰ Sekula, 'Reinventing Documentary, Dismantling Modernism (Notes on the Politics of Representation)', Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photoworks, 1973-1983*, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984, pp 53-75; 'On the Invention of Photographic Meaning', Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photoworks, 1973-1983*, Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984, pp. 3-21 (original publication: *Artforum*, Vol. 13, No. 5, 1975, pp 36-45)

⁶¹ Sekula, 'Dismal Science: Part 1', *Fish Story*, p.52

⁶² Valentin Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, p. CHK

⁶³ Allan Sekula, 'Introduction', *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works 1973-1983* (The Press of NSCAD, 1984), p. xiii

⁶⁴ Sekula in Risberg, p. 238. CHK

⁶⁵ Sekula in Risberg, p. 238. CHK

⁶⁶ And yet it would be fair to say that – despite the overarching motif of the sea – what he mostly presents is its junctures with solid ground, its hinterlands and infrastructural networks. Only occasionally do his captions give properly maritime locations: 'Mid-Atlantic' (*Fish Story*); or 'Off the Albanian Coast' (*TITANIC's Wake*)

⁶⁷ Sekula, 'Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)', p. 287 Cf *Fish Story*, p.12. Sekula is always the on side of the subaltern classes. Nevertheless, a shift can be detected from an earlier 'trade unionist' emphasis, which focuses on the cheapening of labour, to a more explicitly internationalist perspective on the integration of the global workforce.

⁶⁸ Bertolt Brecht, "No Insight Through Photography" and "The Threepenny Lawsuit," in *Bertolt Brecht on Film and Radio*, ed. Marc Silberman (London: Methuen, 2000), 144 and 164; Walter Benjamin, A Short History of Photography (1931), *Screen*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1972, pp 5-26 (24); Fritz Sternberg. See Sekula's discussion in 'On "Fish Story": The Coffin Learns to Dance', *Camera Austria*, Vol. 59, No. 60, 1997, pp 49-69 (p. 49)

⁶⁹ Sekula in interview with Pascal Beausse, 'Allan Sekula réalisme critique/The Critical Realism of Allan Sekula', *Art Press* 240 (November 1998), p. 26. This break, Sekula argues (in a discussion alluding also to Marx's account of commodity fetishism), demands that we make a "jump in the imagination" (Beausse p. 26). See also: "This labor is no longer proximate or contiguous – that is, no longer accessible through the realist rhetorical device of metonymy – except through some great imaginative geographical leap, the uncanny ability to wear Nike sneakers and jump in the imagination to an assembly line in Indonesia." (Sekula in Risberg, p. 248)

⁷⁰ Sekula, *Fish Story*, p. 51

⁷¹ Sekula, 'On "Fish Story": The Coffin Learns to Dance', *Camera Austria*, No. 59/60, 1997, p.49. See also Steve Edwards, 'Photography out of conceptual art', *Themes in Contemporary Art*, eds Gill Perry and Paul Wood, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004, pp 136-80

⁷² Fredric Jameson, 'Reflections in Conclusion', *Aesthetics and Politics: Debates Between Bloch, Lukacs, Benjamin, Adorno* (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 196-213. Sekula's reference

⁷³ Edwin Honig, *Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory*, Northwestern University Press, 1959; Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode*, Cornell University Press, 1964; Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre*, Cornell University Press, 1979.

⁷⁴ Bakhtin, 243

⁷⁵ For Bakhtin's relation to Neo-Kantianism, see MM Bakhtin, *Art & Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990; Hirshkop, 2002. The issues correspond closely to the allegory-symbol debate, where allegorical modes are closely associated with issues of temporality. Notably, these debate also became increasingly staked around the postmodern-modern distinction in the 1980s. Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, Verso, 1985; Walter Benjamin, 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century', London: Verso, XX; Paul de Man, 'The Rhetoric of Temporality', *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism*, Minnesota University Press, 1983, pp 187-288; Craig Owens, 'The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism', *October*, No. 12, Spring 1980, pp 67-86; 'The Allegorical Impulse: Towards a Theory of Postmodernism. Part 2', *October*, No. 13, Summer 1980, pp 58-80; Benjamin HD Buchloh, 'Allegorical Procedures: Appropriation and Montage in Contemporary Art', *Artforum*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1982, pp 43-56; Gail Day, *Dialectical Passions: Negation in Postwar Art Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

⁷⁶ On Marker's 'horizontal montage', see André Bazin, 'Lettre de Sibérie', *Le Cinéma français de la Libération et a la nouvelle vague* (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma, 1983 (1958), p. 181.

⁷⁷ Sekula in Risberg, 238

⁷⁸ Sekula, 'Dismal Science: Part 1', *Fish Story*, p.50

⁷⁹ The first is attributed to oral history; the latter is from the São Paulo iteration of *Ship of Fools*. See Hilde van Gelde, ed., *Ship of Fools/The Dockers' Museum*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2015

⁸⁰ The dodging of responsibility and breaches labour rights through the 'flag of convenience' system, was the target of the ITWF's campaign ship *Global Mariner*. See Sekula, 'Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea'.

⁸¹ *Erase the Difference* was run by the ad agency Publicis on behalf of the Mexican bank Banamex – social awareness campaign.

⁸² Allan Sekula, *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes*, Vancouver and Cambridge: Vancouver Art Gallery and MIT Press, 1999, p. 70 CHK

⁸³ Sekula and Burch, "The Forgotten Space: Notes for a Film," *New Left Review* 69 (May-June 2011): 79. The time contrast used in *The Forgotten Space* (the film Sekula made with Noel Burch) in which we see the Guggenheim before and after the redevelopment of surrounding Abandoibarra,

⁸⁴ Rodríguez also appears in *The Forgotten Space*, interviewed from a prospect very close to the one Sekula gives in his *Bilbao* diptych. On 'uneven redevelopment', see: Arantxa Rodríguez, Elena Martínez and Galder Guenaga, "Uneven Redevelopment: New Urban Policies and Socio-Spatial Fragmentation in Metropolitan Bilbao," in *European Urban and Regional Studies* 8:2 (2001):

161-178. Rodríguez and Martínez, “Restructuring Cities: Miracles and Mirages in Urban Revitalization in Bilbao,” in *The Globalized City: Economic Restructuring and Social Polarization in European Cities*, eds Frank Moulaert, Arantxa Rodríguez, Erik Swyngedouw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 181-207.

⁸⁵ Allan Sekula, ‘Im Kielwasser schwimmen,’ *TITANIC’s wake* (Graz: Edition Camera Austria, 2003), 107. For further discussion of this project, see Gail Day, ‘Allan Sekula’s Architectures of Industry and Industries of Architecture,’ *Industries of Architecture*, eds Katie Lloyd Thomas, Tilo Amhoff, Nick Beech, London: Taylor & Francis, 2015 ppCHK

⁸⁶ Sekula, ‘Dismal Science: Part 2’, *Fish Story*, 130.

⁸⁷ Sekula in Hou Hanrou.

⁸⁸ Allan Sekula, *Dead Letter Office*, Rotterdam: Foto Instituut, 1997.

⁸⁹ Allan Sekula and Noël Burch, *The Forgotten Space* [truckerslesson]. References to a truckers’ dispute also appears in *Freeway to China*.

⁹⁰ Sekula, ‘Freeway to China (Version 2, for Liverpool)’, p. 297

⁹¹ Sekula, *Geography Lesson: Canadian Notes*, p.CHK