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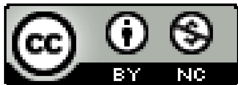

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Introduction

1
Coercion and wage labour in history and art

Anamarija Batista, Viola Franziska Müller and Corinna Peres

This book explores the manifold ways in which coercion has occurred in and through remunerated labour. Covering a variety of historical periods and places brought together for the first time, it does so in a unique way by mobilising an interdisciplinary dialogue. Texts by historians and social scientists are accompanied by a series of images specifically created by illustrators that visualise and interpret the main messages. Other chapters written by art scholars draw on image material such as photographic portraits, film and exhibition posters to discuss how coercion in wage labour has been constructed and reflected in artistic practice. This book thus offers three means of knowledge production and reception: 1) through the academic text, which develops its argument successively word by word; 2) through the image, which develops the argument simultaneously and spatially; and 3) through the collaboration of image and text, which develops the argument in a hybrid way.

Two main purposes stand central. First, this book challenges the juxtaposition of wage labour and coerced labour by showing that different mechanisms of coercion have been used in combination with wages over the centuries. Most of the chapters deal with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when wage labour became the dominant form of labour relations in industrialised societies, such as Brazil, the Ottoman Empire, Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, North America and contemporary Bangladesh. And yet, wages are an age-old phenomenon, as the chapters on the medieval Frankish empire and Fatimid Egypt and on early modern Tuscany demonstrate. By assembling areas as diverse as textile production, mining, naval and war industries, civil service, domestic work and agriculture, we attempt to renew the scholarly attention to wage labour, which has conceptually been largely separated from

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coerced labour. To do so, *Coercion and Wage Labour* scrutinises anew, with a trans-epochal perspective, this 'traditional' subject of labour history through the lenses of global labour history.[1]

The second intervention departs from the fact that narrating history in academic disciplines usually takes place in textual form. To challenge this conventional approach, the book places written histories in dialogue with artistic illustrations. This dialogue has two dimensions: the illustrations were created out of the text, while the chapters, in turn, also integrate and reflect on the illustrations. This hybridity of image and text makes it possible to accentuate different aspects. The text weaves dense information about coercion into its argumentation lines, including historical causes, consequences and possible ambiguities. The illustrators, by contrast, selected central aspects of the argument capable of carrying significant parts of the narrative. The direct links between the two media activate diverse interpretations and can draw unexpected parallels between work in past centuries and now.

Current debates on wage labour in capitalism

The understanding of work in industrialised countries has been greatly informed by the impact of labour movements and the advent of labour markets in which labour power is traded for wages.[2] This characteristic, that labour power is bought rather than the products of work or workers themselves, makes wage labour truly unique – yet not new. Today, social and economic inequality and exploitation have become the cornerstones of debates about work,[3] and the question of whether and to what extent wage labour is a constitutive part of capitalism stirs the minds of scholars from disciplines such as economics, development theory, history, political theory and sociology.[4] Although the answers to this question diverge, there is a consistent tendency in the argumentation: wage labour is the dominant form of work in modern industrial societies, and capitalism is compatible with both so-called 'free' and 'unfree' forms of labour.[5] While far from disagreeing with these imperatives, we aim to strike a different path by breaking open the dichotomy between 'free' and 'unfree' labour.

In times of pandemic and inflation, remuneration is becoming a global 'hot topic'. Skyrocketing living costs combined with higher energy bills are overshadowing tariff negotiations in many work sectors. Debates on minimum wages are looming in nation-state policy-making. At the same time, the rising global trend of deteriorating working conditions is

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not only about low and stagnating wages, also but has many pillars such as precariousness, overtime work and lack of access to social security.[6] To stress this hyper-exploitative nature that remunerated labour can assume in different political and economic systems, the notion of 'modern slavery' has been mobilised in both scholarly and public discourse.[7] The definition of modern slavery – albeit vague – diverges from earlier institutionalised forms of slavery and emphasises extreme coercion in a world of allegedly 'free' wage work.[8] In this politicised context, historical and present-day attention to slavery have come to mutually inform one another. A new research strand on the historical significance of slavery for global – and especially European and US – economic development has emerged, and a whole 'new debate on the relationship between capitalism, freedom, and democracy has been reopened'.[9]

On the basis of these discussions, scholarship has been able to more firmly move away from the teleological master narrative of linear, and hardly overlapping, labour relations that evolved from 'bonded forms' to free wage work.[10] The basic element of this view has been that '[v]arious coercive labour practices – slavery, serfdom, indenture, vassalage – are regarded' as having given 'way to free but commodified forms of labour'. This has particularly been related to the 'expansion of capitalist modernity, free contract, and wage work', as historians Christian De Vito and Alex Lichtenstein have outlined.[11] 'Coercive labour practices' came to be seen as mere anachronisms from older times, because – at least in institutionalised forms – they gradually disappeared in favour of unconstrained labour relations.[12] This view, just like the spread of wage labour itself, was accelerated by the positive changes it accompanied in Europe after the World Wars. Rapid economic development enabled steeply rising incomes and wider access to education and culminated in the establishment of the welfare state.[13]

The idea of fading labour coercion, however, has to be rethought. The modern industrial societies postulated after the Second World War that freedom of labour correlated with freedom of consumption. It was precisely 'secured' and ever-growing consumption that was crucial for the stability of the nation-state and its economy. Based on the premise that everyone could equally shape the market with their subjective preferences, it was assumed that the production side of the economy and its labour relations were democratised through the act of consumption. This implied that consumerism would not only improve the quality of life of a 'freely acting' working individual, but also contribute to the regulation of potential market crises.[14] Depending on the political-economic setting, this ideology could manifest itself in varying ways,

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from 'the right to work' to 'the duty to work' or even 'being human through consumption'. Think here, for example, of the long-running advertisement by a German drug store, which claims that shopping is a fundamental facet of being human.[15]

At the same time, in socialist countries such as Yugoslavia, attempts were made to link the freedom of labour with the question of property, and to introduce forms of self-management in factories. This turned workers into collective owners, who partook in the factory collective and provided infrastructure for the common good and consumption. Their competition with other factory collectives was envisioned to boost the productivity of all labour processes.[16] The meaning of freedom in wage work also features prominently in the nineteenth-century writings of Karl Marx. He conceptualised wage workers as 'doubly free' because they were free to sell their labour power on the labour market (unlike 'unfree' workers, they were neither the property of someone else nor bound to the land), and they were free from access to the means of production or subsistence.

We should take from these examples that the issue of freedom of labour cannot be considered outside its historical context, and cannot be disconnected from other economic factors, such as consumption, credit, interest rates and social infrastructures. These aspects significantly influence the experience of employment, especially the 'decisions' on its start, duration and ending.[17] In this line, and offering a broad historical perspective, this book shows that wage work has taken different shapes and played diverse roles in combination with other forms of labour across the centuries.[18]

Coercion in and through remunerated work

In recent publications, wage labour is increasingly conceptualised alongside coerced labour.[19] In particular, the new research agenda of the history of work breaks with empirically untenable dichotomies, aiming to show 'that the coexistence, entanglement, and overlapping of diverse labour relations has been the rule throughout history'.[20] But what exactly is the relation between wage labour and coercion? The International Labour Organization (ILO) has been working to understand this for a long time in its fight against 'forced labour'; the Global Estimates of Modern Slavery represent only one measure in this process. In its endeavour, the ILO also acknowledges, for example, deception about payments and indebtedness through advance wages as coercive elements.[21]

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This recognition of remuneration not only as intrinsic to labour coercion but also as an essential *tool* of coercion is paramount.

Yet, wages can take on many forms; the most prevalent form today is money – paid either by the day or in regular intervals like a salary. Remuneration can be based on a fixed time frame, on the completion of certain tasks or on the concrete products of work. In labour relations that do not abstract the produced output of work from the worker, piece rates are a dominant form of payment.[22] The quantity and quality of remuneration depends on the contemporary understanding of labour, labour market structures and the worker's individual profile. Remunerated labour relations can be informal, formalised by law involving written contracts or oral agreements, and even produced under high pressure, but they are always a product of negotiations.[23] All negotiations necessarily emerge out of asymmetrical power relations, which manifest themselves in the quality of working conditions and the level of wages. Studying these aspects enables us to deduct conclusions about the power relations between employers and employees. A telling example is the case of the German-speaking miners in Gabriele Marcon's chapter in this volume, whose high wages did not prevent them from forced relocation between different mines in sixteenth-century Tuscany.

Negotiations can go beyond the realm of work and include all social interactions that make a person work. Think of an enslaved woman in Richmond, Virginia, who pleaded with her hirer that 'her friends and favourites' had to be allowed to visit her.[24] Successfully resisting commodification and accentuating her humanity through the insistence on having a private life, this woman brought the broader social context of her work to the negotiating table. Others took bargaining to the collective level, most successfully during the 'golden age' of the welfare state, when negotiations went far beyond the modalities of wages – their form, conditions and rhythms of payment – to include other benefits, such as transportation to work, housing, pensions and protection from inflation.

Contracts are manifestations of negotiations, but they are not their end point. The historian Jairus Banaji has discussed how contracts were fundamental to the idea of wage labour in modern history, and he makes a strong point claiming that a contract is 'probably never' voluntary.[25] This is obvious in the case of indentured Pacific Islanders who came to work on Australian sugar plantations and whose employers demanded to record 'voluntariness' in the labour contracts, as Paolo Magagnoli shows in his contribution to this volume. Due to the absence of alternatives in a situation of economic hardship, a situation aggravated by their position

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in a racist colonial system, the legal authority to sign contracts did not empower workers to access property but only brought the possibility of selling their labour power.

At the same time, wage earners were not only impacted by the market. In the nineteenth century, institutionalised slavery and various forms of bound servitude were in the process of abolition. The challenge of the day was to move workers into the mushrooming factories, which involved a set of legal, political and social pressures. New forms of coercion were introduced to achieve the transformation of the economy. This required, as historian Sven Beckert puts it, 'a lopsided distribution of power that allowed statesmen and capitalists to dominate the lives of individuals and families in [unprecedented] ways'.[26] In the case of industrial workers, this domination reached into interfering with their bodies, habits and reproduction, as the chapter by Eszter Őze shows for the Hungarian case. Preceded by fundamental transformations of the countryside, labour coercion in modern industrial societies was 'increasingly accomplished by the state, its bureaucrats and judges, and not by lords and masters'.[27] In short, governments created new legal frameworks to regulate labour relations. Marjorie Carvalho de Souza and Sigrid Wadauer's respective contributions illustrate these developments for Brazil and Habsburg Austria, where states enforced work contracts by penalising their infringement with high fines.

Studying remuneration in combination with coercion provides new insights into power relations on different levels and allows us to understand the prevalence of wages as intrinsic to the history of work. But we need to know more about how coercion was constructed, applied and operated. This is especially important when we look at work that might not take place against the worker's will per se. In the Bangladeshi textile industry, for example, employers deliberately build on cultural discourses of solidarity, as Mohammad Tareq Hasan demonstrates in his chapter, to increase the workers' commitment. Coercion, it becomes clear, can take very different shapes and forms. Sometimes, coercion in remunerated work was very visible, foremost when the workers had a legally unfree status. Hired-out enslaved workers (who, in some cases, could keep a part of their payment) are the prime example of this, as well as landlords in Asia and Europe who stipulated their subjects to work for a wage they set.[28] In these cases where lords or governments set the level of wages, the payment was often significantly low, such as in medieval Western Europe and Egypt, as Colin Arnaud's contribution emphasises, but also in the nineteenth-century Ottoman naval industry, as Akın Sefer argues in his chapter. But legally free workers, like domestic servants

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after the abolition of Ottoman slavery in Müge Özbek's chapter, could also be caught in discernibly coercive structures.

At other times, coercive acts were overshadowed by remuneration tactics, for example by using low wages to increase dependency situations when alternatives were largely absent, or by justifying them through forms of liability. The former is dealt with by Nataša Milićević and Ljubinka Škodrić, who show that coercion was not even straightforward when Serbia and its civil servants were under the occupation of Nazi Germany in the Second World War. The latter is the topic of Nico Pizzolato's study on African American and Mexican agricultural workers in the US, who were immobilised through accumulated debts. At other times again, coercion was hardly perceivable at all, namely when it appeared under the disguise of 'care' for the workers, or when the alternatives were perceived as much worse so that the employees even developed a certain gratitude. Ivanka Petrova argues that this happened with students in socialist Bulgaria who 'had to volunteer' as tourist guides to be spared other types of compulsory labour. Independently of whether it occurs in the past or in the present, coercion is often literally invisible when it receives no attention. In this vein, Eva Kuhn highlights the medium of film and its powerful potential to convey the precarities and struggles of those who labour at the edge of our globalised world: women in Mexican sweatshops. The central question that all contributions deal with is how forms of coercion can be detected and understood in the context of paid employment.

Interdisciplinary and intermedial dialogue

With coercion taking such a prominent role in the human experience of labour, *Coercion and Wage Labour* employs textual and visual ways of understanding. To this end, the historical, anthropological and sociological contributions in this book partner with illustrations that were produced in close collaboration between the artists, authors and curators. Created by Monika Lang, Dariia Kuzmych and Tim Robinson, the illustrations are based on key scenes of the chapters which the curators Anamarija Batista and Corinna Peres have extracted, while the chapters themselves also feed back to the visual interpretations. The abstraction of the body is typically very strong in textual scholarship, and the three artists differ in visual strategies to bring the physical (back) into the picture to encourage a discussion of how images themselves can shape the perception of history.[29]

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'Reading' a text and 'looking at' an image are complex processes that depend on the readers' comprehension skills. While the former demands making sense of a chain of letters on black and white ground (*lógos*, the 'merely thinkable'), the latter requires making sense of a composition of forms and colours (*aísthesis*, the 'sensually perceptible').[30] A historical text, however, usually offers interpretations in an already more structurally determined way while illustrations invite people to create their own walkthroughs of history.

In taking this approach of combining two media to tell one story, this book does not have many peers. But an important one is *Art and Public History* by Rebecca Bush and Tawny Paul, which explores how art can be part of public history telling – that is, history is neither done exclusively *by* historians, nor exclusively *for* historians.[31] While the focus is on museum exhibitions, Bush and Paul likewise engage a 'more active and intensive collaboration between' art and history with the goal being to 'yield new meanings, new stories and new forms of engagement with the public'.[32] In our case, illustrations, because they rely on individual interpretations, can mobilise a more direct relation with the recipient to increase their subjective understanding of coercion in wage labour. The presentation of coercion, then, draws on individual and collective experiences and scopes of knowledge.

This book tells of historical cases from different, interwoven angles. The authors and illustrations refer to one other and 'translate' the interpretation of the respective other into their own medium. The aim of this 'translation loop', which is explained in more detail in the afterword by Anamarija Batista, is to shift, intensify and expand on the historical narrative by including spatial and corporeal aspects. While telling the same story, text and image can complement and challenge each other. Take, for example, the illustration by Dariia Kuzmych and the text by Müge Özbek in this book. They deal with the case of a young domestic worker in late Ottoman Istanbul. Kuzymch visually brings the worker's will to leave her employers' household into the foreground by positioning her on a door threshold in which a piece of her clothing is wedged. Although she is physically outside the house, this symbolically keeps her from entering the urban space, which we can glimpse in the background. We can interpret her being bound to the house as forced immobilisation. We can make informed guesses at her motivations and the location, and we can observe and imagine the struggle of the young woman who wants to escape, including how coercion might have felt for her. In her text, Özbek links the city to its surroundings by singling out socioeconomic inequality and patriarchal discourses as conditions for

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the relocation of young girls from rural areas into Istanbul households as domestic workers. In this case, image and text add meaning to each other by emphasising diverse mechanisms and dimensions of coercion through different techniques of abstraction and focalisation. We can speak in this sense of a medial collaboration to transmit historical knowledge. Text and image also challenge each other by highlighting both the worker's powerlessness and the worker's resistance. This shows that this new approach can complement and shift meanings with the hope of tackling rigid dichotomies in academic history telling.

With the linguistic and cultural turns of the 1980s, as well as postmodern influences, the question of 'how to narrate' experienced a boom in both artistic practice and historical studies.[33] This concern stresses that an engagement with the past is not only a question of *what* we decide to study, but also of *how* best to communicate or present our findings if we want to make the recipients of our message curious to engage with our ideas and thoughts.[34] Initially inspired by narrative approaches to history provocatively formulated by Hayden White and Paul Ricoeur, current debates in the fields of intermediality, public history (especially visual history), global history and historical theory have picked up these older debates around the two levels of narration, emphasising the premise that '[h]istory is about content *and* form'.[35]

Artistic practice, too, has become a relevant field to explore how genealogies – the ways in which history writing is composed and organised – and subjectivity feature in historical narratives. Braco Dimitrijević, Anna Artaker, Elizabeth Price and Anna Daučíková, to name just a few, have assembled images such as archive photography or video recordings, visually introduce historical actors whose names are unknown to us, and combine history with fictitious elements to reinterpret historical writing.[36] It becomes apparent that those who provide historical knowledge inevitably encounter narrative choices that are dependent on both the genre and the chosen medium. The material side of the medium – such as paper and ink, or screens and digital pencils – and the ways the messages are conveyed, for example through words, signs, pictures, colours, determine both the constraints and possibilities of their endeavours.[37]

Our current times are full of diverse media forms, and many of these media take a stake in narrating the past, such as films, magazine articles, novels, public lectures, comics, illustrations and academic texts.[38] Taking seriously these claims of telling history, we want to encourage a re-evaluation of the academic-historiographical 'unbroken fixation on the text'.[39] Reversely, engagement with the possibilities that

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the illustrations provide can galvanise historians and social scientists into re-exploring the different ways texts can be written as well. Think of the choice of words, textual structure, narrative techniques, the position of the author, implementation of visuals and the place of individual historical actors.

We integrate modes of intermedial narration in our explorations of coercion in remunerated labour relations. Placing scholarly texts alongside illustrations, contrasting and combining them, as well as involving artistic works and exhibition practices, demonstrates different ways of dealing with the past and opens up new spaces for communication and reflection.[40] Yet, it is challenging to build historical narratives, and interpreting labour coercion holds room for ambiguities.[41] This does not only concern the illustrators, authors and editors of this book, but also its readers, who are encouraged to develop their own interpretations of and reflections on coercion in and through labour relations.

Chapter overview: binding, confronting, manipulating

In order to shift the attention to tools and mechanisms of coercion, this book goes beyond categories such as slavery, indentureship, convict work, corvée labour, tributary service and other types of work to which it is relatively easy to attach a 'label of coercion'. Coming from multidisciplinary scholarly backgrounds, the contributors in this book consult and redevelop categories of analysis, such as punishment and debt, the state as a constraining employer, immobility as a tool of coercion, and discipline as an 'educational' measure. They historicise their cases in a broader nexus of work incentives, labour supply and demand, and social relations that shaped experiences of coercion.[42] In some chapters, wages play a very central role, while others focus on factors structuring remuneration, such as contracts, legal status or group belonging. As they collectively show, depending on the political, legal, social and economic considerations at play, employers could bind, control and exploit workers at any time through and under the guise of remuneration.

The book is divided into three parts, each focusing on the key parties involved in the world of work: 1) the state, 2) the workers and 3) the employers. The first part, 'Binding the workforce', looks at legal and institutional frameworks conceptualised by the state for the organisation of labour and the control of labour relations. Akın Sefer shows how, during intensive Ottoman reform programmes targeting the military and naval industry, the government not only used the prospect of regular

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wage payments to legitimise coercive recruitment practices, but also used the delay of wage payments to strategically restrict the mobility of workers. Sigrid Wadauer discusses how labour booklets, which were obligatory identity papers for people in search of regular employment, were instrumented to control workers in the Habsburg Empire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the context of Nazi-occupied Serbia, Nataša Milićević and Ljubinka Škodrić argue that wages too low to cover living costs, combined with a constant fear of losing one's job, exacerbated civil servants' economic fears and ideological-political dilemmas and made them comply with the orders of the occupier.

These three chapters are accompanied by a set of collages by Tim Robinson, who connects material fragments from the historical sources of the respective chapters with pictorial elements and colour filters on different spatial levels. The fourth contribution in this section, by Eszter Őze, explores how the Budapest Museum of Social Health created a 'class body' of industrial wage workers in the early twentieth century. Analysing four exhibitions and the corresponding posters, Őze exposes institutionalised state care as a new scientific way of disciplining workers. The chapters in this part attest that wages can be promised, deferred, denied, reduced and transformed in the contexts of state processes of modernisation, industrialisation and war. Governmental initiatives promoted wage work as an effective instrument to draft, bind and control the workforce.

The second part, 'Confronting coercion', centres on the workers' experiences of and reactions to coercion. Among different groups of workers that Colin Arnaud discusses in his chapter on textile production in medieval Western Europe and Egypt, those working as cooperative subcontractors enjoyed high autonomy. Being remunerated for the end product, they were able to avoid supervision during the production process and mitigate coercion.[43] This adaptation strategy of working as self-employed also drove German men and women into the silver mines of sixteenth-century Tuscany, as Gabriele Marcon lays out, yet they were quickly turned into dependent wage earners. Extreme dependence is likewise the context of Müge Özbek's chapter on early twentieth-century Istanbul. Forced to hand over her wages to her father and highly controlled in the urban space, a female domestic worker was, against all odds, capable of taking legal actions against her exploitation, Özbek shows. Mohammad Tareq Hasan explores a different kind of resistance, focusing on small acts of sabotage as well as organised collective action in the garment factories of current-day Bangladesh. For each of these four chapters, Dariia Kuzmych created a watercolour illustration with striking contrasts and alternations of hard and fluid stroke lines. The last chapter

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of this section, by Eva Kuhn, discusses how workers themselves employ the medium of film to document and capture their own coercive working conditions. Slipping into an active role as narrators and directors, they turn the viewers into witnesses of their activism along the Mexican and US border.

This section shows that while fighting for higher or due wages, workers also strove for better working conditions, including social security and decision-making powers in the production process. Resistance, importantly, emerges here not as a way out but as an attempt to improve an existing situation. In the Foucauldian 'battlefield of a microphysics of powers'[44] at the labour site, workers and employers switched the roles of actors and reactors. While doing so, their practices and behaviours were constantly linked to the realm outside of work – and often enough, coercion was too. To the extent that workers were individually and collectively part of a society, the quality and quantity of remuneration for work became tied to social status and opportunities for social mobility, especially in the case of labour migration.

'Manipulating labour relations', as the third part, addresses employers' strategies to ensure the efficiency of the workforce. While some of these studies reveal an entanglement of labour with debt, migration and the threat of punishment that employers used to their advantage, others expose contractual wage labour arrangements as promoters of ideologies and power inequalities. The first three chapters partner with a series of illustrations by Monika Lang, who employs digital drawing techniques with bold colours. Marjorie Carvalho de Souza centres the debts of European immigrants and formerly enslaved workers in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro as an entry point into exploitative labour contracts. Mechanisms of indebtment to recruit and control workers are also part of Nico Pizzolato's chapter on Black Americans and, some decades later, Mexican migrant workers in the US cotton economy. He combines a historical narrative with his subjective perspectives as a researcher. By focusing on ethnic minorities and foreigners, both contributions clearly show that debt – and its redemption – was more than an economic tool and had far-reaching social implications.

The Bulgarian students in Ivanka Petrova's chapter also found themselves indebted, namely morally to a state that provided them with education and spared them physical work. Exploring working norms, duties and the relevance of wages in an ideologically loaded socialist context, Petrova shows how the perception of coercion was fundamentally shaped by the existing alternatives. Paolo Magagnoli

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concludes this section with a study of the wage negotiations of South Sea Islanders in Australia. Analysing late nineteenth-century photographic portraits alongside twenty-first-century exhibition practices, Magagnoli emphasises how social discourses and presentations of civilisation and race informed labour relations and continue to shape perceptions of work and workers.

By exploring a wide spectrum of labour regimes, this book demonstrates that wage labour and coerced labour did not contradict each other either in theory or in practice. Rather, they were frequent historical phenomena, occurring side by side. Even more, the chapters stress that remuneration did not protect workers from coercion. Rather, remuneration mirrors the distribution of power in labour relations, can emotionally and physically separate the employer from the employee, and can disguise exploitation and coercion. Thereby, coercion and wages often appear as mutually constitutive.

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Looking at the manifold ways in which coercion is produced raises the question of whether production is really the main concern of those who run the economy. This book shows that wages are not only the basis for remunerating workers for their work but are, historically, an effective instrument for controlling the workforce in contexts of social and economic asymmetry. This ties in with the bold claim of economic historian Jeffrey Sklansky that the struggle over the means of payment, rather than over the means of production, might be the real class conflict.[45] While we do not intend to make this thesis a new master narrative, the research undertaken in the case studies supports the historical and contemporary potential for conflict around wages. Absent wages, withheld wages, promised wages, forfeited wages and indebting wages are practices that can exert legal, physical and social coercion on workers across time and space.

Emphasising the human experience of coercion, this book situates labour history within a larger spectrum of interdisciplinary works. It brings scholars and illustrators together in the attempt to increase our understanding of remunerated work. *Coercion and Wage Labour* thereby makes history more accessible for audiences with a variety of backgrounds, serves as an innovative and creative tool for teaching and raises awareness of the fact that narrating history is always contingent on the medium chosen and its inherent constraints and possibilities.

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1 On the trajectory of labour history, see Zemon Davis, 'Decentering History', 2011; Alexander, 'On the Road to Global Labour History – via Comparison'; De Vito, 'Labour Flexibility and Labour Precariousness'.
2 Eckert, 'Why all the Fuss about Global Labour History?', 3.
3 See Piketty, *Capital and Ideology*; Fraser, 'Behind Marx's Hidden Abode', 2014; Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Kocka and van der Linden, *Capitalism*; Magubane, *Making of a Racist State*; Rama et al., *Addressing Inequality in South Asia*; Milanovic, *Measuring International and Global Inequality*.
4 Welskopp, 'Kapitalismus und Konzepte von Arbeit', 2017, 199. See, for example, the debate between the sociologist Gerhard Hauck and the political scientist and economist Heide Gerstenberger, in Hauck, 'Zwangsarbeit, Lohnarbeit, Kapitalismus', 2019, esp. 473. Theories and definitions of capitalism are numerous; see, for example, Kocka, 'Introduction', 2–5; Fraser, 'Behind Marx's Hidden Abode', 2014, esp. 57–8.
5 Hauck, 'Zwangsarbeit, Lohnarbeit, Kapitalismus', 2019, 487; Fudge, '(Re)Conceptualising Unfree Labour', 2019, 111; van der Linden, 'Introduction', 6; van der Linden, 'Why "Free" Wage Labor?', 39; Beckert, 'Revisiting Europe and Slavery', 2021, 173; Banaji, 'Historical Arguments for a "Logic of Deployment" in "Precapitalist Agriculture"', 110.
6 Martin, 'Cost of Living: "Costs going up but finances stagnant"'; OECD Report on 'Average Annual Hours Actually Worked per Worker'; Aljazeera, 'South Africa's Transnet, Unions in Wage Deadlock as Strike Looms'.
7 For example, BBC Yorkshire, 'Seven Held in Modern Slavery Investigation in Sheffield'; *Guardian*, 'Brazilian Woman Forced into Domestic Slavery and Marriage Freed after 40 Years'; Aljazeera, 'Seafood Slaves'; Bales, *Blood and Earth*; Bales, *Disposable People*.
8 See Bales, *Understanding Global Slavery*. For a discussion of continuities and divergences of 'traditional slavery' and 'modern slavery' from a business perspective, see Crane et al., 'Confronting the Business Models of Modern Slavery', 2022.
9 Kocka, 'Introduction', 4. See also Beckert, 'Revisiting Europe and Slavery', 2021; Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Fudge, '(Re)Conceptualising Unfree Labour', 2019, 108; LeBaron, Pliley and Blight (eds), *Fighting Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking*.
10 De Vito et al., 'From Bondage to Precariousness?', 2020, 644.
11 De Vito and Lichtenstein, 'Writing a Global History of Convict Labour', 49. For a similar approach, see Banaji, 'Historical Arguments for a "Logic of Deployment" in "Precapitalist Agriculture"', 106–7; Müller, 'Introduction', 2019, 865.
12 See, for example, Engerman, 'Coerced and Free Labour', 1992.
13 van der Linden, 'Why "Free' Wage Labor?', 40.
14 See, for example, Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*.
15 The slogan by DM reads 'Here I am human, here I do my shopping' ('Hier bin ich Mensch, hier kauf' ich ein').
16 See, for example, Horvat et al., *Self-Governing Socialism*.
17 van der Linden, 'Dissecting Coerced Labor', 297.
18 See van der Linden, *Workers of the World*, 40–8. On a global scale, scholars have shown that wage labour was the exception rather than the norm, and that self-subsistence, the putting-out system and various forms of dependency were much more common. For Finley Moses' conceptualisation of wage labour as the 'peculiar institution', see Finley, 'A Peculiar Institution?', 1976, 819–21. See also Eckert, 'Von der 'freien Lohnarbeit', 2017, 298, 304; Eckert, 'Why all the Fuss about Global Labour History?', 4; Welskopp, 'Kapitalismus und Konzepte von Arbeit', 2017, 197. Moreover, recent research has stressed the constitutive link between wage labour and reproductive labour, as '[w]age labour could not exist in the absence of housework, child-raising … and a host of other activities which help to produce new generations of workers and replenish existing ones'; Fraser, 'Behind Marx's Hidden Abode', 2014, 61. For a historiographical overview on the link between feminist studies and labour history, see Grama and Zimmermann, 'The Art of Link-Making in Global Labour History', 2018. Note that also in the family economy it was possible that all members – women, men and children – worked for wages simultaneously. For a critique of the application of 'the male breadwinner model with husband/father as the sole source of earnings' for the early modern period, see Horrell et al., 'Beyond the Male Breadwinner', 2022, esp. 531, 554.

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19 For example, Hauck, 'Zwangsarbeit, Lohnarbeit, Kapitalismus', 2019; Bonazza and Ongaro, *Libertà e Coercizione*.
20 De Vito et al., 'From Bondage to Precariousness?', 2020, 645.
21 ILO, *Cost of Coercion*; Walk Free Foundation, International Labour Organization, International Organization for Migration, 'Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, Forced Labour and Forced Marriage', 2022.
22 For a study on terms, composition and value of wages in the Middle Ages, see Beck et al., *Rémunérer le travail au Moyen Âge*.
23 On negotiations in master–servant relations in premodern times, see Sarti, 'Can Historians Speak?', 353.
24 Müller, *Escape to the City*, 39.
25 Banaji, 'The Fictions of Free Labour', 2003.
26 Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, 179–82.
27 Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, 182.
28 Martin, *Divided Mastery*; van der Linden, 'Why "Free" Wage Labor?', 43.
29 See the Afterword by Batista. To consult the webpages of the illustrators, see https://dariiakuzmych.com/; https://monikalang.com/; https://www.behance.net/TimRobinsonCollage.
30 Youngs, 'Understanding History through the Visual Images in Historical Fiction', 2012; Krämer, 'Über die Rationalisierung der Visualität', 50.
31 Allowing and even enabling a variety of relationships with the past is the core of public history, and art has been part and parcel of public history for a long time. For the emergence and development of public history and historical culture in Germany and the United States, see Zumhof, 'Historical Culture, Public History, and Education'.
32 Bush and Paul, 'Introduction: Art and Public History', 2.
33 Middell, 'Weltgeschichte erzählen', 101.
34 In narratology, there are two levels: the *histoire*, which consists of the happenings, and the *discours*, which concentrates on the way the happenings are presented; see Rajewsky, 'Von Erzählern', 2007, 35.
35 Munslow, 'Narrative Works in History', 2016, 123; Bunnenberg, 'Bewegte Bilder', 2020, 9; Lingelbach, *Narrative und Darstellungsweisen der Globalgeschichte*. For some insights into the debate about 'fiction' and 'factuality', see, for example, Fludernik and Ryan, 'Factual Narrative', 12. For the 'classical' reference works in this context, see White, *Metahistory*; Ricoeur, *Temps et récit*.
36 Peyer-Heimstätt, 'Braco Dimitrijević Looking Beyond the Canon'; Artaker and Gleim, *Atlas of Arkadia*; Hofer, 'Sonic Assemblies: Artistic Historiography, Video Sound, and Representation in the Woolworths Choir of 1979'; Hoffner. 'With and Against Contemporaries: Anna Daučiková's 33 Scenes'.
37 Ryan, 'On the Theoretical Foundation of Transmedial Narratology', 20. On conventions and stylistic trends in the historiography of the present, see, for example, Fulda, 'Historiographic Narration', 230; Lingelbach, *Narrative und Darstellungsweisen der Globalgeschichte*; Jaeger, 'Factuality in Historiography', 341.
38 Rajewsky, 'Von Erzählern', 2007, 35; Rajewsky, 'Percorsi transmediali', 2018; Munslow, 'Narrative Works in History', 2016, 121.
39 Bunnenberg et al., 'SocialMediaHistory', 2021, 273. See also Munslow, 'Narrative Works in History', 2016, 110–11.
40 On 'multimodality', see Stöckl, 'Sprache-Bild-Texte lesen', 50. For a similar approach to the analytical potentials of 'visual sources', see Griesse et al., 'Introduction', 6. For a definition of media combination, see Rajewsky, 'Intermedialität', 15.
41 Munslow, 'Narrative Works in History', 2016, 110; Weible, 'Defining Public History'.
42 See LeBaron, 'Unfree Labour Beyond Boundaries', 2015, 14.
43 See Lucassen, *Story of Work*, 302–3.
44 Sarti, 'Can Historians Speak?', 353.
45 Sklansky, 'Labor, Money, and the Financial Turn', 2014.

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