

**Sharad Chari**, *Gramsci at Sea*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1- 5179-1591-9 (paper); ISBN: 978-1- 4529-6993-0 (ebook)<sup>1</sup>

In a literal sense, the oceanic crisis of our time is planetary, just as the planetary crisis is oceanic, as it links crises bequeathed by waves of capital and imperialism. (p.xi)

*Gramsci at Sea* encourages the reader to untether themselves from the terrestrial dominance of Global Northern scholarship and theory and to instead span continents, temporalities, and depths. Moving beyond terracentric readings of the planet and of critical theory, Chari positions Gramsci as an oceanic thinker. This is both in terms of Gramsci’s literal engagement with the ocean and its role in hegemony, and through his use of the ocean as method. Throughout, Chari is attentive both to Gramsci’s explicit references to the ocean and the ways in which the ocean appears metaphorically—and “tidalectically” (Brathwaite 1999)—in his writings. Thinking “below the waterline” (Rediker 2008), Chari asks readers to be attentive to the “oceanic feeling” that perhaps dampens Gramsci’s notes, as opposed to saturating them.

This terraqueous read of Gramsci is important for those engaged with critical theory and may be helpful for critical geographers, particularly those engaged with discussions of the ocean as an archive (see Hofmeyr 2020; Mawani 2018; Oceans as Archives 2022). *Gramsci at Sea* argues for an oceanic read of the world and geopolitics, recognising what Khalili (2020) refers to as the “sinews” of political, economic, and military power. It also offers insights into how Gramsci might help us to think through some of the oceanic, planetary challenges—such as climate change—that we face today.

So, what can an oceanic Marxism offer us? Throughout this book, Chari demonstrates how the ocean is revealed as multi-layered and haunted by spectres of capital, imperialism, and colonialism as well as revolution and resistance; a space where colonial conceptualisations of a binary “land” and “sea” can be transcended and where temporality is unfixed.

---

<sup>1</sup> Available in the University of Minnesota Press’ library of open-access titles:

<https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/gramsci-at-sea>

The book is split into four essays: “Gramsci and the Sea”; “The Oceanic Question”; “Just One Last Watery Ghost-Dance?”; and “The Storm”. In keeping with *Gramsci at Sea*, this review addresses each essay in turn but is at times unmoored. In offering the below reflections, I wish to highlight that I am not a critical theorist, nor am I a scholar of Gramsci. Those not already familiar with concepts such as the Southern Question and Gramsci’s use of “passive revolution” will likely find it necessary to read introductory pieces to engage with some of the prompts this book proposes. However, *Gramsci at Sea* can encourage thought across a variety of disciplines. It brings into conversation a wide range of literature, from the oceanic humanities to the political economy of rent extraction. In doing so it encourages us to move beyond terracentric imaginations of the world and power to take seriously our planet as oceanic.

### Essay 1—Gramsci and the Sea

In a move that extends beyond previous engagements with Gramsci, Chari’s first essay looks out from the land towards the possibilities of the sea, and of thinking oceanically. Chari takes us through an oceanic read of Gramscian literary archives, beginning by highlighting how the ocean is surfaced and referred to explicitly in Gramsci’s political writings. In these oceanic moments, Gramsci largely evokes the sea as a geo-political surface over which the theatre of war is played out. Italy, for example, is positioned as living “from the sea” with military seafarers as central but often overlooked actors in the proletarian revolution (p.4).

Drawing on Campling and Colás’ (2021) theorisations of “terraqueous territoriality”, Chari demonstrates how Gramsci was not blind to the ocean’s role in geopolitical arrangements or the spread of ideas; indeed, in *Notebook 2* for example, the ocean is positioned as central to imperial histories and military power. In raising attention to these moments, Chari calls on scholars to move beyond geographically positioning Gramsci as a Eurocentric thinker to one that is attentive to thinking *across* imperial oceans, where imperial hegemony is a spatially unmoored geopolitical project (as Chari highlights, this should be done alongside essential critique of Gramsci’s moments of Orientalism [p.9]). However, it is important to note that, despite this assertion that Gramsci is thinking against a European frame, by thinking oceanically, he was of course doing so from a European analysis of what the ocean is and is not.

It is not the explicit references to the ocean in the Gramscian archive that Chari centres in this book. *Gramsci at Sea* contributes most when understood as an exploration into what it might mean to *think* oceanically. Given that Gramsci's explicit mentions of the ocean are comparatively few, Chari's essay engages with some of the metaphorical mobilisations of the oceanic found in Gramsci's archives. Here, Chari argues that this dialectal method sits in opposition to terracentric conceptualizations of histories. Mentions of "currents" and "waves", for example, appear throughout Gramsci's notes—from ideological currents to waves of revolution and workers' movements. In recognising the ambiguities of these metaphors, Chari chooses to centre on Gramsci's statement "waves on the surface of the ocean ... come and go capriciously; but deep down there is the strong historical current which leads to war" (quoted on p.11). Chari returns to this statement both explicitly and implicitly throughout the rest of the book, contributing to the body of literature that argues for an oceanic understanding of histories of Empire and legacies of struggle (p.17). Chari also positions Gramsci's essay *The Southern Question* and his concept of passive revolution in the context of the ocean, which he returns to and unpacks in the subsequent essays.

While Essay 1 calls on scholars to be attentive to the ocean, Gramsci is often shown by Chari as thinking *across* oceans. Here the ocean is positioned as an arena over which something happens, for example the circulation of capital and/or ideas (see Hannigan 2016). In this first essay, the ocean remains largely a surface of domination that laps the coasts. Direct references selected from Gramsci's archive speak from the position of someone thinking from "near the sea". For example, when discussing an oceanic Marxism, Chari asks the reader to consider the letter Gramsci wrote to his son in 1932:

Dearest Delio, I heard you went to the sea and saw some very beautiful things. I'd like you to write me a letter describing these beauties. Did you discover some new living creature? There's so much teeming life *near the sea*: little crabs, medusas, starfish, etc. (quoted on p.19-20, emphasis added)

Here, as elsewhere, Gramsci's oceanic thinking is coastal and island centric, the latter of which, in my view, could be explored further. For instance, what might it mean to think of Gramsci not only as an oceanic thinker, but also as an island thinker? Does proximity to land

shape this thinking? How constraining is this engagement with the ocean only where it meets land on the coast or in the intertidal, and how can non-terracentric thinking be liberated/liberating?

The ocean is of course not merely a backdrop for imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, and revolution (for example). Thinking oceanically, with all its materiality, can extend thinking in different ways. How might thinking of the ocean as a four-dimensional volume (see Childs 2020) help us to move away from the terracentrism that Chari critiques?<sup>2</sup> In Essay 1, the ocean is occasionally considered as a volume. Chari does evoke notions of volumetric sovereignty, arguing that Gramsci recognises that the political economy of shipping cannot be understood without engaging with the ocean, land, and the airspace above it (see also Elden 2009). However, these moments remain, in my opinion, quite brief, and should be read in conjunction with recent thinking on volume. Building on this Gramscian entry point, Chari hints at how oceanic mineral extraction, present and future, is linked in complex ways to the spectre of outer-space mining. Perhaps these connections are not so complex after all, given that colonial renderings of the commons, and associated legal regimes such as the Common Heritage of Mankind, conflate the high seas and outer space accordingly. In taking up the central challenge of *Gramsci at Sea*, how might we therefore think of, and with, the oceanic volume and all that is entwined therein?

Somewhat unsurprisingly, Gramsci's initial metaphors of, references to, and engagement with the ocean's materiality tend to frame the sea as violent and carceral, and a concealed space contradictory and untethered to terrestrial land (p.5, 10). This materiality is later evoked by Chari through piracy,<sup>3</sup> the slave trade, and the slaughter of whales. This of course misses many of the layers of human and non-human relations that are entwined within the ocean.

Returning to Gramsci's abovementioned letter, Chari suggests that Gramsci's reference to "teeming life near the sea" is indicative of a shift from Gramsci's birthplace of Sardinia; "a different but still embodied and earthly political horizon emerges, one of radical kinship with 'little crabs, medusas, starfish, etc.'" (p.20). However, is this merely a European

---

<sup>2</sup> Here, the work of Billé (2020) and Squire (2022), among others, is essential.

<sup>3</sup> On which see Rediker's excellent *Villains of All Nations* (2004).

gaze at or consumption of the ocean space, informed by imaginations of adventure and discovery (see Elias 2019)?

Finally, it is important that engagements with concepts of kinship and relationality do not essentialise Indigenous peoples, for example, or frame these relations as homogenous.<sup>4</sup> These considerations are also important when attending to questions posed throughout the book, including, “What might it mean to constitute collective political will to refuse its [the ocean’s] transformation into a graveyard as well?” (p.20), which is a discussion Chari returns to in his fourth essay.

### Essay 2—The Oceanic Question

In Essay 2, Chari draws on Gramsci’s *The Southern Question*, exploring waves of passive revolution, and extending Gramsci’s approach to the agrarian question over (and to some extent into) the ocean. To do this, Chari relies on key arguments from Campling and Colás’ (2021) work on terraqueous territoriality to unpack capital’s encroachment into the ocean. Chari explains how the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) acted as an enclosure moment (p.27), drawing on colonial imaginations of sovereignty and ownership. An important pause here: UNCLOS did not simply “[emerge] through a process of mid-century Third World-ist assertion” (p.31). These negotiations occurred under increased pressure from imperial states. UNCLOS drew on terracentric ideas of sovereignty and on embedded colonial methods of division and territorialisation at sea that can be enacted to enable capital accumulation (Gray 2018; see also Bledsoe and Wright 2019). Moving on from these origins, littoral states’ “exclusive economic zones” (EEZs) were positioned as sovereign mechanisms for “extracting ground rent” (p.31). This positioning is picked up later in the book during discussions of extractivism, including seabed mining under the “blue economy” (and I note that the latter is not just “an industry category” [p.31], but an agenda that is evoked by state and non-state actors alike). The blue economy is perhaps, like the tropes of “sustainability”, “a new iteration of the passive revolution facilitated by the green economy” (Schutter et al. 2021: 2; see also Trantas 2021).

---

<sup>4</sup> There is much work that speaks to kinship, including Daigle (2016), George and Wiebe (2020), Manson (2019), Todd (2017) and Todd et al. (2019).

Essay 2 joins a burgeoning scholarship on the oceanic frontier giving particular attention to the blue economy and activities such as deep-sea mining (DSM) that are posited under the agenda. Thinking with oceanic extraction, including fisheries and minerals, Essay 2 deploys an oceanic Gramscian analysis to unpack ways in which the ocean challenges landed rent extraction. Chari argues that actors including states, non-state organisations, and capital, work to appropriate both biomass (including fish) and shipping as forms of “value in motion” (p.26). However, as Chari explains, the ocean’s geo-physical characteristics offer friction to the movement of capital (as was seen clearly in the 2021 Suez Canal obstruction where the geo-physicality of the ocean and weather resulted in the grounding of the *Ever Given* container ship, disrupting the circulation of capital). Drawing on the excellent work of Capps (2010), the essay considers property regimes over the subterranean, which read alongside Shutzer (2019), and Campling and Colás, offers nuance into understandings of oceanic capitalism and landed property, where rent is key to oceanic extraction. Campling and Colás focus on fisheries as opposed to mining, and I would encourage those interested in the latter to consider their insights alongside the work of Childs (2020).

In this essay, as throughout the rest of the book, Chari reminds us to take oceanic qualities seriously: the oceanic question is distinctive in some ways from the agrarian question. Despite these reminders, and references to the ocean’s materiality, I wonder again how this might be pushed further? With reference to materiality, this is evoked by Chari but without attention to some of the nuances that could take his arguments further. UNCLOS set up the seabed as “land” (in part to enable extraction [see Ranganathan 2019]) but this exists in an oceanic volume. How might taking seriously the ocean’s subterranean play out in discussions of seabed mining (see Childs 2020)?

Drawing on extractivism, Chari argues that the “revolution of capital in blue-green environmental garb ... offers a political, economic, and ideological reshaping of the vast majority of our planet” (p.23) such that the ocean is oxymorically positioned as both a space of enclosure (through UNCLOS) and a “frontier” for the continuous extension of capital. While this extension of capital over and beneath the surface of the ocean is occurring, it is necessary to consistently challenge the idea that the ocean is an empty frontier. As on land, this narrative serves a purpose to capital and state interests, and it results in dispossession. At sea, this narrative is even easier to evoke when the ocean is consistently



positioned alongside notions that it is vast, empty, and/or beyond the scope of human habitation. However, the ocean is not a social void and recognising this can bolster ideas of counter-hegemony.

While discourses of the blue economy, which often accompany DSM discourse, and “blue justice” differ, they both mobilise a similar imagination of community. This concept is seen as coastal, with communities closely tied to the ocean. But this belies histories of dispossession; as Probyn (2022: 186) puts it, “how Indigenous people were and continue to be locked out of their traditional sea countries”. Here, I also disagree with the Chari’s assertions that coastal communities cannot fight extraction on the high seas (p.36-37). Civil society actors have pushed for moratoriums over DSM in states’ EEZs to influence calls for an international moratorium (for example in Canada and Pacific Islands Countries). On a state level, mobilisation and protestation around extraction in the deep sea has also occurred in spaces considered to be geographically disconnected from the ocean (see Carver 2023) with connections extending beyond proximity. As previously mentioned, this book offers one reading of the ocean. In engaging with the non-linearity of the ocean space, a multitude of histories (and currents) *and* forms of resistance exist.

Moving on from DSM, the exploitation and extraction of other marine life is lightly engaged with in this essay. First, a word of caution: it is essential not to conflate the entire fishing industry or to assume that fishers erode the fisheries they rely on. As Chari mentions, not all fisheries feed into pelagic imperialism. Second, engagement with the complexities of fisheries (and fishers themselves) is essential. Context matters, whether in reference to small-scale food, social, and ceremonial (FSC) fisheries or to industrial fisheries. Given the ongoing struggles of small-scale fishers globally, and work to reassert rights to fisheries, scholarship must ensure that it does not conflate all fisheries and all fishers. Finally, some fishers, like the seafarers that Chari mentions, are of course also activists with roles in counter-hegemony.

At the end of Essay 2, Chari begins to highlight how labour is terraqueous (see also Featherstone 2015, 2023). He unpacks the transoceanic nature of global labour regimes and the disciplining and undisciplining of labour, including how slave labour persists in the oceanic regime today. Seafaring is also positioned as a means of transcending land and sea binaries (including through Flags of Convenience). Here, Chari points to the moments of

possible solidarity from terraqueous labour and, in doing so, hints at his forthcoming work *Apartheid Remains* (Chari 2024).

### Essay 3—Just One Last Watery Ghost-Dance?

Chari's third essay continues where the second left off, considering other notions of passive revolution and the way that the ocean has been and continues to be opened and shaped as a site of extraction by imperial power and ideas of dominium.<sup>5</sup> Chari argues that while oceanic extractive projects, including DSM, appear contemporary there are "prior imperial forms" and conditions that inform their emergence (p.39). Readers are therefore encouraged to attend to *oceanic* imperial pasts and presents. Waves of oceanic capitalism are unpacked largely through Campling and Colás' designations of commercial, industrial, and neoliberal eras of capitalism (p.45), with attention given to the emergence of the Law of the Sea (and its Cold War conditionalities).

Throughout this chapter, Chari brings to light the spectres and speculation that haunt oceanic extraction (see Zalik 2018), blurring the past, present, and future.<sup>6</sup> Here, Chari is also attentive to the sea from which Gramsci wrote, unpacking notions of the ocean as a global commons and its subsequent partial enclosure, through the establishment of EEZs. This engagement is crucial as ideas of nation-state sovereignty in the ocean remain unsettled due to states' submissions for the extension of their EEZs on the geographical basis of the extent of the continental shelf. Given current negotiations at the International Seabed Authority over DSM in the high seas, I would be interested in how the author would apply a Gramscian lens to these negotiations. Is this just a further example of passive revolution that fits into visions of blue growth, or are local actions pushing against international hegemony, offering friction against the encroachment and spatial fixity of capital?

It is in Essay 3 that Chari asks key questions of the reader which transcend disciplinary boundaries. We return to the questions asked in his introductory essay: how can we think about the ocean without relying on the terracentric imaginations that scholars are bound by? And what might it mean to think oceanically? Here Chari asks one of the most pressing questions offered by this book: "what it might mean to think beyond terracentrism,

---

<sup>5</sup> For discussions of *mare liberum*, see Mawani (2018).

<sup>6</sup> Which is also evident in Namibia (see Carver 2023).



or go below the waterline” (p.44). In beginning to approach this question, Chari’s essays take tentative glances below the surface, but at times I was willing the book to also consider fully the ocean’s depth and volume. As I alluded earlier, Chari is right to point out that engagement with the ocean often sees it placed as a mere backdrop to imperial, colonial, and post-colonial power, but how do we go beyond this? In this essay there are moments where Chari draws on marshlands—spaces that are at once terrestrial and oceanic—and Atlantic herring—whose biological characteristics, it has been argued, played a role in shaping the Law of the Sea, a role that is indicative of the subsumption of oceanic histories into terracentric histories (p.47)—albeit in different ways, to trouble terracentric thought. However, there are also moments where oceanic thought continues to be mobilised solely through metaphor which jars with the ocean’s material (in both senses of the word) reality.

While this book offers a crucial overview of imperial engagements with ocean space, there are of course alternative histories of the ocean (that Chari does begin to draw on) that start not from the shores of Sardinia and Empire, but that go beyond these ideas of dominion (see, among many others, Diaz 2021). These conceptualisations can highlight connections (Te Punga Somerville 2012) as well as revolution across oceanic scales. Essay 3 ends with the often-highlighted dichotomy that the ocean is both proposed as a solution to capitalist overextraction on land *and* as a dumping ground for terrestrial ills. Chari brings us back to Gramsci’s Southern Question, thinking from the complexities of the ocean as opposed to the terrestrial to ask “How, then, do we conceive of opposition to these processes of turning the oceans into a planetary grave?” (p.59).

#### **Essay 4—The Storm**

The book ends with a turn to “a Drexciyan Gramsci” (p.68), to consider how various subalterns have, or might, challenge ongoing dispossession of waterways (p.75). Chari asks how we might imagine a world that moves beyond the “restoration of capital by using capital to save capital from capital” (p.71). This includes the continued (attempted) expansion of capital over and into the ocean’s depths through DSM and the ocean informing legal struggles over the potential for outer-space mining.

Drexciya was an electronic band, a duo from Detroit, whose eponymous work reimagined Afrofuturist narratives of the Atlantic slave trade. Drexciya, a subaqueous world

of Drexciyans who descended from pregnant women thrown overboard (p.64), has increasingly been evoked within the oceanic humanities and art (and notably the 2019 novel, *The Deep*, by Rivers Solomon) and appears within this book also. Chari notes that one of the members of the duo, James Stinson, described Drexciya's albums as "storms". In a chapter entitled "The Storm", Chari describes these storms as "emerging in different places, through work with record labels in different places that might affect different kinds of interventions" (p.62), again offering a way to think about differing oceanic and planetary potentials. Chari recognises Stinson's call to "hit the restart button", and the assertion that the places in Drexciya cannot exist in the current planetary order.

Chari's engagement with Drexciyology builds on McKittrick's (2021) reflections on various soundscapes and oceanic futures (which are also attentive to non-human lifeforms), and questions of materiality (both ocean and of storms).<sup>7</sup> Chari also posits how Drexciya could be considered terraqueous: a "spatial imagination" that is both of and from Detroit—linking Drexciya as "Detroit's undercommons" to the undersea (p.64).

In ending by looking forward, Chari highlights solidarity among seafarers—including during strikes—as moments of potential. He draws on the case of South Africa to argue that the ocean remains largely absent from discussions of anti-apartheid movements. This is despite Durban's dockworkers' strikes acting as a catalyst for the internal struggles that informed the end of apartheid. Here Chari not only demonstrates the "oceanic origins", and centrality, of these dock strikes (p.70), but also shows how these movements disrupt binary imaginations of struggles and solidarity as being *either* of the land *or* of the ocean. The ocean has been central to the spread of revolutionary ideas (p.73), and there are long histories of gathering and collective will. Here the ocean is not just layered with histories as Chari hinted at earlier, but "traces of the dispossessed" (p.74). The ocean, and its depths, are where subaltern political will comes together. A space from which "elements of the past ... might yet surface to reconstitute subaltern political will in a regional and internationalist spirit" (p.80).

---

<sup>7</sup> Here artist Libita Sibungu's works, including "Undercurrents", may be of interest to readers (see <https://bristolbeacon.org/whats-on/undercurrents/>).

## References

- Billé F (2020) Voluminous: An introduction. In F Billé (ed) *Voluminous States: Sovereignty, Materiality, and the Territorial Imagination* (pp1-35). Durham: Duke University Press
- Bledsoe A and Wright W J (2019) The pluralities of Black geographies. *Antipode* 51(2):419-437
- Brathwaite K (1999) *ConVERSations with Nathaniel Mackey*. New York: We Press
- Campling L and Colás A (2021) *Capitalism and the Sea: The Maritime Factor in the Making of the Modern World*. London: Verso
- Capps G (2010) "Tribal-Landed Property: The Political Economy of the BaFokeng Chieftaincy, South Africa, 1837–1994." Unpublished PhD thesis, London School of Economics and Political Science
- Carver R (2023) Extraction and the ocean "frontier": Dispossession, exclusion, and resistance in Namibia. *Antipode* 55(2):327-347
- Chari S (2024) *Apartheid Remains*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Childs J (2020) Extraction in four dimensions: Time, space, and the emerging geo(-)politics of deep-sea mining. *Geopolitics* 25(1):189-213
- Daigle M (2016) Awawanenitakik: The spatial politics of recognition and relational geographies of Indigenous self-determination. *The Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien* 60(2):259-269
- Diaz V (2011) Colonial recovery: Austronesian seafaring, archipelagic rethinking, and the re-mapping of indigeneity. *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2(1):21-32
- Elden S (2009) *Terror and Territory: The Spatial Extent of Sovereignty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Elias A (2019) *Coral Empire: Underwater Oceans, Colonial Tropics, Visual Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Featherstone D (2015) Maritime labour and subaltern geographies of internationalism: Black internationalist seafarers' organising in the interwar period. *Political Geography* 49:7-16

- Featherstone D (2023) Maritime labour, circulations of struggle, and constructions of transnational subaltern agency: The spatial politics of the 1939 Indian seafarers' strikes. *Antipode* 55(5):1411-1432
- George R Y and Wiebe S M (2020) Fluid decolonial futures: Water as a life, ocean citizenship, and seascape relationality. *New Political Science* 42(4):498-520
- Gray N J (2018) Charted waters? Tracking the production of conservation territories on the high seas. *International Social Science Journal* 68(229/230):257-272
- Hannigan J (2016) *The Geopolitics of Deep Oceans*. Cambridge: Polity
- Hofmeyr I (2020) The sodden archive: Africa, the Atlantic, and the Indian Ocean. In R Mukherjee and R Seshan (eds) *Indian Ocean Histories* (pp32-47). London: Routledge
- Khalili L (2020) *Sinews of War and Trade: Shipping and Capitalism in the Arabian Peninsula*. London: Verso
- Manson J (2019) Workmanship and relationships: Indigenous food trading and sharing practices on Vancouver Island. *BC Studies* 200:215-239
- Mawani R (2018) *Across Oceans of Law: The Komagata Maru and Jurisdiction in the Time of Empire*. Durham: Duke University Press
- McKittrick K (2021) *Dear Science and Other Stories*. Durham: Duke University Press
- Oceans as Archives (2022) "About." <https://www.oceansasarchives.org/> (last accessed 14 April 2024)
- Probyn E (2022) UNCLOS as a geopolitical chokepoint: Locked down, locked in, locked out. In I Braverman (ed) *Laws of the Sea: Interdisciplinary Currents* (pp185-200). London: Routledge
- Ranganathan S (2019) Ocean floor grab: International law and the making of an extractive imaginary. *European Journal of International Law* 30(2):573-600
- Rediker M (2004) *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*. Boston: Beacon
- Rediker M (2008) History from below the water line: Sharks and the Atlantic slave trade. *Atlantic Studies* 5(2):285-297
- Schutter M S, Hicks C C, Phelps J and Waterton C (2021) The blue economy as a boundary object for hegemony across scales. *Marine Policy* 132  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2021.104673>

- Shutzer M (2019) “Extractive Ecologies: Fossil Fuels, Global Capital, and the Political Economy of Development in India, 1870–1975.” Unpublished PhD thesis, New York University
- Squire R (2022) Depth: Discovering, “mastering”, exploring the deep. In K Peters, J Anderson, A Davies and P Steinberg (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of Ocean Space* (pp347-361). London: Routledge
- Te Punga Somerville A (2012) *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Todd Z (2017) Fish, kin, and hope: Tending to water violations in amiskwaciwâskahikan and Treaty Six Territory. *Afterall* 43:102-107
- Todd Z, Desrochers-Turgeon É, Saloojee O and Voordouw J (2019) Fluid boundaries: Water, water, everywhere... *Lapsus Lima* 11 September  
<https://web.archive.org/web/20230322195602/https://www.lapsuslima.com/water-water-everywhere/> (last accessed 22 March 2023)
- Trantas N (2021) Could “degrowth” have the same fate as “sustainable development”? A discussion on passive revolution in the Anthropocene age. *Journal of Political Ecology* 28(1):224–245
- Zalik A (2018) Mining the seabed, enclosing the area: Ocean grabbing, proprietary knowledge, and the geopolitics of the extractive frontier beyond national jurisdiction. *International Social Science Journal* 68(229/230):343–359

*Rosanna Carver*  
*School of Environmental Studies*  
*University of Victoria*  
*rosannacarver@uvic.ca*

*July 2024*