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Rush and Wait: Airports, Seriality, and Undecidability in the Work of Garry Winogrand

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
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Rush and Wait: Airports, Seriality, and Undecidability  
in the Work of Garry Winogrand

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Leslie Santina Paprocki

December 2014

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2014

The Thesis of Leslie Santana Paprocki is approved:

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## Introduction

Garry Winogrand has long been hailed as one of the preeminent street photographers of the twentieth century. This designation, championed perhaps most strongly by MoMA curator John Szarkowski, positions Winogrand's work in a specific place within the photographic landscape. The inclusion of the term 'street' in Winogrand's title functions to condition viewers to expect a certain type of picture to be presented to them upon seeing his work. The types of pictures found in publications such as *Women Are Beautiful* and *Public Relations*, two of Winogrand's photographic books, are just such images.<sup>1</sup> The photographer is widely known for images made, literally, on the street, outdoors in large cities like New York and Los Angeles. Winogrand frequently worked in the thick of the city, documenting a staggering array of situations and people during the course of a career that spanned more than three decades. His images are both unique and powerful in their capacity to illustrate the everyday, pulling slices of the American experience into single frames that have the ability to simultaneously arrest time while summing up the progression of American history from the 1950s through the 1980s.

Garry Winogrand's archive, housed at the Center for Creative Photography at the University of Arizona in Tucson, provides us with a record of his extensive body of work. It contains over 20,000 contact sheets, 20,000 fine and work prints, and over

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<sup>1</sup> Here I am referring specifically to the images in both publications that were taken on the street. Both projects do contain photographs made in public, but not necessarily outdoor, space, alongside those images which depict the outdoor, public space of the street.

100,000 negatives and slides. Several hundred contact sheets in this vast archive are wholly or partially composed of frames made in and around airports. It appears that in Szarkowski's rush to establish Winogrand as a photographer of vernacular American experience, he missed the shift from the street to the sky as the stage on which that experience was to play out in the 1960s and beyond. Evidence from Winogrand's extensive archive shows us that the photographer himself did not miss this shift, and was in fact positioned directly in the fray as the airport asserted itself as a new type of public space in the 1960s. Thus, the aim of my project is to refocus on the airport pictures as a significant feature, both theoretically and corporeally, of Garry Winogrand's archive. I will argue that Winogrand's airport pictures are central to understanding his overall body of work. These images focus on bodies in space, not merely bodies in the street, and allow us to reassess Winogrand's work in terms of a monumental paradigm shift in popular culture in 1960s America. This shift is towards that of the "supermodern," a term coined by anthropologist Marc Augé. Both the "supermodern" and the new "everyday" posited by Henri Lefebvre are terms that will be central to my exploration of Winogrand's photographs as they relate to the shifting landscape of 1960s America. These concepts will be explored at greater length as they relate to Winogrand's work later in the text.

The airport as a center of travel experience is the focus of the first part of this thesis. In order to understand the images Winogrand made in and around airports, it is necessary to first explore how the airport is sufficiently distinct from the street as to justify Winogrand's treatment of this environment as different. Critical theorist

Christopher Schaberg argues that airports can be read like texts, and Winogrand's photographs provide ample visual texts for this type of study. Additionally, thinkers including Augé and artist Martha Rosler have considered airports in terms of their ambiguity and argued for their consideration as non-places. Winogrand explores this ambiguity and some of the issues raised by it, documenting the physical spaces of the airport as well as the people who move in and through them.

In order to obtain a fuller picture of Winogrand's work in and around airports, I have chosen to examine the photographer's archive of contact sheets, rather than working with extant fine art prints. The unedited contact sheet provides a more complete view of Winogrand's process than individually produced fine art prints, and the ability to examine the photographer's work in this way is vital to understanding the photographs as both a body and as individual images. This analysis will form the basis of my second part. I will also argue that the seriality and multiplicity embodied by the contact sheet as an object provides a mirror to those same traits as seen in the airport itself. These comparisons will help to further situate Winogrand's project as unique and important.

Finally, in part III I will explore the "everyday" as a condition and a function of life in the 1960s. By working to define this term and its development, I believe the airport pictures will become even more prescient, illustrating a shift in conception of the "everyday" put forth in writings by Lefebvre in the 1960s and 1970s. Winogrand's work documents the everyday experience as one of monotony and anomie, particularly as it was enacted in the spaces of the airport. By setting Winogrand's photographs against

these philosophical definitions as well as selected examples of contemporary advertising, I hope to reinforce the photographer's critical reading of the airport experience.

### **Word on the Street: Garry Winogrand and Street Photography**

While it is not entirely inaccurate to position Winogrand as a street photographer, the street is by no means the only place he worked. Invoking the term as a marker of style in order to situate Winogrand alongside prominent photographers of his generation including Joel Meyerowitz, Lee Friedlander, and others is no doubt convenient from a canonical perspective. But the moniker also serves to limit the overall perception of his work by reducing it to a specific type of picture that can easily be understood as street photography. The term itself is not easily defined, and this imprecise categorization is not without its own problems. Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz define street photography as "candid pictures of everyday life in the street."<sup>2</sup> This definition is in some ways very tightly composed, and in others overly simplistic. Terms such as the 'everyday' and the 'street' open up the idea of street photography to nearly endless possibilities of interpretation. How, for example do we define the everyday? Must street photography take place on an actual street, or might we call it (somewhat less romantically) 'public space photography' instead? These questions are ones that must be taken up in an analysis of Winogrand's work, because as will be shown, both the photographer and his work defy easy categorization. The wide variety of subject matter

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<sup>2</sup> Colin Westerbeck and Joel Meyerowitz, *Bystander: A History of Street Photography* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1994), 34.

that makes up Winogrand's archive extends far beyond the boundaries of the street itself, and into nearly every aspect of daily life.

Winogrand photographed in order to document American life.<sup>3</sup> Where or how that life was experienced did not seem to factor into Winogrand's criteria for making a picture and despite his reputation as a 'street' photographer, a great deal of his work deals with subject matter that does not involve a street at all. Winogrand's archive illustrates how fluidly the photographer worked, moving from one environment to the next with his camera always at the ready. The presence of a street or sidewalk in the frame was by no means a prerequisite for the engaging of the shutter. Given the wide variety of subject matter taken in by Winogrand's lens, it is clear that he was a photographer of people in space, and not merely the street.

One of these non-street spaces was the airport. From the earliest evidence of his work in airports in the late 1950s until the last frames he exposed before his untimely death, Winogrand recorded thousands of images in and around airport spaces.<sup>4</sup> The airport images make up a fairly significant proportion of his work and they are threaded throughout clusters of the photographer's other 'themes,' several of which have been published and more fully explored by critics and art historians.<sup>5</sup> The airport pictures document the extensive travel Winogrand embarked on as he worked to capture the

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<sup>3</sup> John Szarkowski, "The Work of Garry Winogrand," in *Winogrand: Figments from the Real World*, ed. John Szarkowski (New York: Museum of Modern Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1988), 34.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Winogrand archive finding aid at the Center for Creative Photography, the earliest contact sheet dealing with images of airports is sheet 3184, from 1959. His work in and around airports continues into the early 1980s.

<sup>5</sup> As noted earlier, Winogrand's archive contains more than 20,000 contact sheets, approximately 500 of which are partially or wholly comprised of images made in and around airports.

American experience, popping up in between and within his other types of images. For example, within the photographer's extensive archive, contact sheets that document the 1973 open house at the Dallas Fort-Worth airport are sandwiched among sheets Winogrand shot in Austin in the days before and after the DFW event.<sup>6</sup> This kind of pop-up thematic occurrence is a common one within Winogrand's *oeuvre*. His prevailing method was to photograph everything all the time and the evidence provided by the archive does not appear to indicate that he specifically set out to photograph a prescribed type of content on a particular day. His book projects, both the ones printed during his lifetime and posthumously, are the result of what was surely time consuming and painstaking editorial work as each book of roughly 80 images was culled from hundreds of thousands of individual exposures represented by the contact sheets. Despite their prevalence within Winogrand's catalog and their situation among his more critically popular photographs, the airport images have largely been eschewed by publishers and scholars in favor of his more street oriented photographs. This perception is one that I would like to argue against in the course of my essay.

Winogrand published four photographic books between 1969 and 1980. These titles, *The Animals* (1969), *Women Are Beautiful* (1975), *Public Relations* (1977), and *Stock Photographs: The Fort Worth Fat Stock Show and Rodeo* (1980), each deal with a distinct thematic component of Winogrand's photographic output, but his airport photographs were not given the same kind of critical or popular attention during his

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<sup>6</sup> Contact sheets 10007 (1973) and 10008 (1973) deal specifically with the DFW open house in 1973. Contact sheets 10007-10038 (1973) deal more broadly with street scenes in and around the University of Texas, at Austin campus.

lifetime. There seems to have been a shift in that attitude after the photographer's death, but it has been largely superficial. Twenty five airport photographs were included in the 1988 MoMA retrospective curated by Szarkowski, but the catalog's introductory essay makes no mention of them as being in any way unique or worthy of extended attention in relation to Winogrand's larger body of work. The images were given their own chapter in the catalog under the title 'Airport' setting them apart from chapters on 'The Street,' 'Women,' 'The Sixties, Etc.,' but this delineation seems to be one of simple curatorial convenience in terms of sorting the images based on a visual theme rather than an acknowledgement of the images' significance as an autonomous facet of Winogrand's work. A 1996 photo-essay in *DoubleTake* magazine, comprised of ten previously unpublished photographs selected from Winogrand's archive by photographer and author Alex Harris, provided the public with the first look at the photographer's images of airports in a standalone format.<sup>7</sup> The photo-essay, entitled "Garry Winogrand's Travel Anxiety," is accompanied by only a short text written by Thomas Roma, and unfortunately it does not provide any significant critical analysis of the images. Luckily, Harris returned to the airport pictures in 2004. He and Winogrand's colleague and friend Lee Friedlander worked together to edit Winogrand's airport photographs into the 86-image book *Arrivals and Departures: The Airport Pictures of Garry Winogrand*. To my knowledge, this book is the first of its kind to address Winogrand's work in airports as an independent aspect of his archive. Although it falls short of a critical analysis of the

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<sup>7</sup> Alex Harris and Lee Friedlander, eds, *Arrivals and Departures: The Airport Pictures of Garry Winogrand* (New York: D.A.P. Distributed Art Publishers, Inc., 2004), 9.

images, mostly waxing nostalgic about Winogrand's brashness and unbounded photographic energy, *Arrivals and Departures* does position the airport images as significant, and importantly, different within Winogrand's archive. It is also important to note that Winogrand himself was aware of the uniqueness of his airport photographs, and that he intended them to be published as a book, much like his other four volumes. Unfortunately, he passed away before the work could be completed. *Arrivals and Departures* is the posthumous culmination of that project.

The 2013 Garry Winogrand traveling retrospective offers the perspective that comes closest to critical commentary on Winogrand's airport photographs. The text that accompanies Plates 269-79 of the exhibition reads in part:

Not long after he began travelling on commercial assignment, Winogrand discovered that airport terminals were not unlike the streets and plazas of a city – arenas where vast numberless minute dramas were continually acted out... The airports in his photographs began as real places, but Winogrand made these sites a medium in which the restless transience of Americans became palpable and in which we can clearly see the emptiness between them.<sup>8</sup>

Clearly the curators of the 2013 retrospective, led by Leo Rubinfien, have begun to recognize the qualities of Winogrand's airport photographs, which feature the

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<sup>8</sup> Leo Rubinfien and Erin O'Toole, "A Student of America," in *Garry Winogrand*, ed. Leo Rubinfien (New Haven: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2012), 274.



photographer's characteristic quest to document American life but also stand apart from the broader category of the 'street.' With this latest exhibition, Szarkowski's overly simplistic editing of Winogrand's image (and his images) into neatly compartmentalized and easily digestible thematic tropes has begun to unravel. It is my hope to continue this unwinding with an even deeper look at Winogrand's airport photographs.

## **Part I: Airports**

### **Anywhere/Nowhere: The Placelessness of the Airport<sup>9</sup>**

The airport is the architectural and spatial shell in which my arguments take place. The use and experience of the physical elements of the airport, including terminal, ticket counter, gate, baggage claim, parking lot, lounge, restaurant, airplane cabin, and even restroom are all documented by Garry Winogrand's camera. Each of these areas of the airport serve a different function in the process of air travel and anticipate a different set of behaviors from the users of the airport. These spaces also work together in concert to provide a number of the effects that are essential to modern air travel's success as a mode of mass transportation.<sup>10</sup> By exploring the airport with attention to its status as a place, and then examining the behaviors and systems that ensure a successful travel experience, I hope to show how Garry Winogrand's photographs are vital to the understanding of the travel experience of the 1960s and 1970s. These photographs offer a frank observation of actual travel experiences without the polishing veneer of airline or advertising industry

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<sup>9</sup> "Placelessness" is a term used by Martha Rosler to describe the airport environment. It will be taken up in more detail later in this part.

<sup>10</sup> David Pascoe, *Airspaces* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2001), 114.

portrayals. As visual documents, we can read these images as a candid, unvarnished look at the vernacular travel experience and are thus able to obtain a fuller picture of American life by examining Winogrand's recording of this new and different mode of mass travel and experience.

Anthropologist Marc Augé has theorized spaces such as airports as “supermodern.” Augé defines this term as one that revolves broadly around the idea of excess. More specifically, “supermodernity” can be expressed by “three figures of excess... overabundance of events, spatial overabundance [and] the individualization of references.”<sup>11</sup> These figures of excess form the basis for Augé's anthropological view of “supermodernity.” First, the (perceived) overabundance of events results from an excess of time. Here Augé notes that the “difficulty of thinking about time stems from the overabundance of events in the contemporary world.”<sup>12</sup> Because of a near overproduction of information in the modern world, and of our amplified capacity to ingest this information by virtue of improved life expectancy as well as increasingly ubiquitous methods of transmission and reception, it becomes difficult for us to give meaning to the present at the same time it becomes difficult to even differentiate the present from both the recent and distant pasts. In the context of the airport terminal, this excess is easily made apparent. One need only look up at a signboard or monitor to be presented with all of the information concerning arrivals, departures, delays, and alterations for the entire airport system. When only one or two small pieces of this informational whole are relevant to a

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<sup>11</sup> Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 1995), 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

given traveler borne along a specific trajectory, it becomes easy to see how the “supermodern” excess of information is present front and center in the airport environment. While it is clear that the wholesale delivery of all information relevant to a given system denotes one form of overabundance, the excess of time itself also comes into play in this example. Flight arrival and departure times are typically listed in local time zones and this further increases the detachment of the traveler from his overall situation. Instead, the desired holistic view of one’s condition is supplanted by bits of discreet information that prevent the formation of the desired larger picture. Augé notes that as a condition of “supermodernity,” time is “overloaded with events that encumber the present along with the recent past.”<sup>13</sup> The simultaneous presentation of all events occurring in the space of the airport compressed into one small locus of dissemination is distinctly “supermodern.” Several of Winogrand’s photographs illustrate this temporal and informational excess, particularly in terms of human relations to technological information sources.<sup>14</sup>

Excess of space is another characteristic of the airport environment that marks it as “supermodern.” Augé notes that “supermodernity” is an era characterized by both changes of scale and parameter, arguing that “the intelligence of space is less subverted by current upheavals... than complicated by the spatial overabundance of the present.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>14</sup> To take one visually potent example, contact sheet 16145 (n.d., 1979-1983) contains several frames of a single man isolated under a bank of flight status display monitors inside a terminal of Los Angeles International Airport, literalizing the isolation that Augé describes as a product of excess time. A lone individual surrounded and nearly dwarfed by deracinating bits of arrival and departure data flashing on oversized television monitors epitomizes the impact of an excess of both time and information on people in the “supermodern” setting of the airport terminal.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 34-35.

This excess of space can be seen to both expand and contract our experiences relative to our presence on Earth, and this polarizing movement is the basis of the problem of spatial overabundance. At the same time that astronauts began to venture into space and reduce our perceived cosmic presence to an infinitesimal speck, the traversable world was also being expanded by rapid modes of travel such as commercial flight. The “supermodern” functions to both expand and contract the contemporary worldview, and again the airport and its mode of travel support this definition. When one can negotiate the gap between entire continents in a matter of hours by boarding a transatlantic flight from Chicago to London, one experiences both an excess of space and a contraction of space that are impossible to reconcile, made possible only by the invention of commercial air travel itself and thus distinctly “supermodern.” The structures that comprise the airport also possess the excess of space that Augé describes. These will be taken up later with a more detailed discussion of specific images made by Winogrand that illustrate the disparity between the scale of the human body and the scale of the airport, reinforcing Augé’s designation of the airport as “supermodern” by virtue of its excess space.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, Augé turns to the place of the individual in his definition of “supermodernity.” The question here is how to situate the individual, who tends to want to “be a world in himself,” intending to “interpret the information delivered to him by himself and for himself” in a modern system.<sup>17</sup> Augé notes that “the individual production of meaning is more necessary than ever” because individual histories have

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<sup>16</sup> See particularly pages 35-36 of this text for a discussion of Figure 7.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 37.

never been “so explicitly affected by collective history,” thus reinforcing the importance of the individual in the overall “supermodern” scheme.<sup>18</sup> Here Augé references both Freud and Certeau, citing their thoughts on the situation of the alienated man in modern culture to underscore the question of what to do with the individual in “supermodern” society. Certeau is particularly relevant. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, the philosopher defines the concept of “making do.”<sup>19</sup> “Making do” for Certeau involves a compilation of tricks and artifices employed by individuals in order to subvert the prescribed behavioral constraints of modern society and, as Augé summarizes, establish one’s “own décor and trace [one’s] own personal itineraries.”<sup>20</sup> One such trick is defined by Certeau as an enunciative practice or a “manipulation of imposed space(s)” and this type of practice will be shown to be visible by participants in the airport system.<sup>21</sup> The return to prominence of individual patterns of behavior and movement as a method of subverting a larger system as part of the premise of “supermodernity” are particularly important to the experience of the airport and air travel. As will be shown in Part II, Winogrand’s images illustrate the kinds of behaviors denoted by Certeau as enunciative. The photographer captures frames of children who have defiantly removed their shoes, businessmen slumped over their newspapers and briefcases in harried sleep, and other behaviors that seem to transgress the norm by manipulating the imposed space of the airport into a

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>19</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 29.

<sup>20</sup> Augé, 38.

<sup>21</sup> Certeau, 24. Martha Rosler’s exploration of the airport system and the behaviors enacted by participants in this system are emblematic of Certeau’s definition and will be explored more fully in Part II.

series of individual worlds as described by Augé.<sup>22</sup> The very act of photographing while being in an airport, two activities that seemingly have nothing to do with each other, can also be said to be an enunciative behavior, designed to subvert the prescribed airport experience.

As defined above, the spaces of “supermodernity” can be classified as either places or non-places. According to Certeau, a place can be defined as an “order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, a place is implied to be stable because it is defined as an intersection of distributed elements, an “instantaneous configuration of positions” in which each element has its own location and no two things can share the same place. Since each part has been designated to a specific location, there is an element of stability afforded to a given place and that leaves an impression of solidity on the inhabitants or users. Certeau’s primary example of a place is the street, which is inherently immobile and relatively permanent. He then goes on to describe a space as “*a practiced place*,” meaning that a space is composed of interactions of elements which are made mobile by its use.<sup>24</sup> Space therefore also implies transformation through use, as it actively occurs through operations that situate, temporalize, modify, and make it function, imposed upon it by its users. Correlating with the example of the street as a place, those who walk on the street transform it into a space as they interact and mobilize within the stationary

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<sup>22</sup> See contact sheet 3529 (1962) for a charming example of childlike “making do” as a young child, wearing formal clothing, has seated herself on the floor of a terminal waiting area and removed her shoes outside her guardian’s line of sight, directly engaging with Winogrand’s camera.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 117.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 117. Author’s emphasis.

parameters. Both of these definitions can also be applied to the airport in the same way as they are applied to the street, making Certeau's ideas useful for an exploration of the airport as a place, or non-place according to Augé.

Augé's distinction between places and non-places stems from an analysis of Certeau's notions of place and space. According to Augé's anthropological definition, which takes into account the parameters established by Certeau above, places have at least three characteristics in common: identity, relations, and history. In terms of identity, Augé refers to rules of occupancy, configuration, and distribution, giving the example that to be born is "to be born in a place, to be 'assigned to residence'" and thus to a particular location in terms of Certeau's definition of place, which cannot be shared by anyone else and is therefore unique to a given individual.<sup>25</sup> To continue with the example of birth referenced above, once a child is born they are situated within a matrix of relations, the second characteristic of Augé's place, thereby establishing their situation within a given family unit. This domestic configuration is typically inscribed on the place of the home in which the family lives. Finally, Augé defines a place as historical when it combines the first two elements and is therefore imbued with at least a minimal stability. This stability results from the activation of both identity and relations on the part of the inhabitants or occupants of a place.<sup>26</sup> Conversely then, "a space which cannot be defined as relational, historical, or concerned with identity will be a *non-place*."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Augé, 53.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 53.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 77-78. Emphasis added.

Based on the definitions given above by both Certeau and Augé, I believe that the best way to define the airport is to call it a space of non-place. The airport clearly fits both of Certeau's definitions as a unique location that is enacted through patterns of movement, but it runs almost directly counter to each of Augé's parameters of place, since the site of the airport lacks a connection to any kind of specific social or cultural history or memory. As Augé notes, "the space of the non-place creates neither singular identity nor relations; only solitude, and similitude."<sup>28</sup> The interactions that take place in the airport do not place primacy on either social relationships or individual identity, and in fact value the establishment of the opposite of these characteristics as travelers become essentially anonymous bodies as they enter the airport and insert themselves into the chain of travel. I would argue that the airport is the architectural representation of the greater anomic system of air travel, a physical shell in which the non-place rests.

To more fully define the airport as a non-place, it is useful to examine the ways in which it is situated in opposition to Augé's definition of place. One is not born into the site of the airport, one simply travels through it in the course of a larger journey and does not establish any kind of permanent or linking identity in relation to the location as it is necessarily a transient space. Likewise, Augé's definition of relationality does not appear to hold within the environment of the airport. While travelers frequently travel in groups within which there is a recognized pattern of relations that could establish a place, the lack of identity in terms of a traveler's relation to the space of the airport itself negates

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 103.



the possibility of relationality within the airport. On a deeper relational level, once inside, the vast majority of interactions that take place in the context of the airport are singular and fleeting. Passengers may interact any number of other people within the airport space, but these interactions are not designed to foster a lasting identity in the manner of Augé's familial example. They are instead designed to facilitate the travel experience in as anomic a fashion as possible. Establishment of the kind of familial identity and relationality ascribed to Augé's model of place would be detrimental to the functioning of the airport, as any relationships formed within the travel environment are necessarily temporary, however pleasant and memorable they may be in reality. Finally, because the condition for establishing history relies on the intermingling of both identity and relationality, history cannot be found within the environment of the airport because it is not possible for the first two conditions of place to coalesce and produce the third condition.

In order for an airport to operate within the larger system of commercial air travel, it must be located on a specific site, and the functional features of the airport must then be constructed with particular attention to orchestrating all of the elements necessary in order to obtain a result that will be both efficient and safe for all of the participants in the system.<sup>29</sup> In terms of architecture, specific location and orientation of constituent elements, and exact traffic patterns and flow of people, goods, and aircraft, no two airports will ever be exactly alike. The inherently unique structural nature of any given

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<sup>29</sup> Chris Van Uffelen, *Airport Architecture* (Braun Publishing, 2012), 7.

airport allows us to identify it as a specific and singular link within the chain of travel experience. However, the experience of the spaces within the airport almost entirely reverses any perceived uniqueness of its structure. Every airport must contain the same basic elements in order to be functional; elements including terminals, runways, baggage claim areas, ticketing counters, gates, and parking lots.<sup>30</sup> Acknowledging that each airport will necessarily be composed of a different spatial arrangement of these features, participants in the travel system must still experience each element of the airport in the same basic sequence in order to participate successfully in the system. This pattern of behavior allows us to more firmly qualify the airport as a non-place, because the experience of a given airport is virtually anonymous and indistinct from any airport that may be experienced before or after.

Once inside the airport, travelers “constantly deny place simply to enact a place in what we perceive to be placelessness” in order to enact the individualizing experience of the “supermodern,” as well as the enunciating tactics of “making do.”<sup>31</sup> As a traveler, one is ejected from one’s typical daily experience of place and placed into a new trajectory of behavior and experience within an enacted space that is situated inside a non-place. Thus, electing to view the airport as a transient in-between place that one simply moves through in order to reach their actual destination means that the traveler has enacted a kind of proxy view of place within the no-place of the airport. By temporarily attributing characteristics of place to the airport space, travelers are able to

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 7-8.

<sup>31</sup> Martha Rosler, “Travel Stories,” *Grey Room*, no. 8 (2002): 125.

ground themselves with familiarity and thus normalize their experience in what could otherwise be considered a very jarring situation. The airport is seen as a step between the ‘here’ and the ‘there’ of travel, a temporary, substitute place that might normally be considered a non-place under other circumstances. Rosler notes that as part of air travel, passengers must experience “dislocation in advance of relocation.”<sup>32</sup> That is, as travelers depart the outside world they enter the liminal world of the airport, which they experience until they leave the airport for the even more liminal space of the sky, after which they will enter another liminal zone at the arriving airport location, before exiting the system and reentering the outside world. This cyclical trajectory is at once deeply ambiguous and completely uniform for every passenger involved. It underscores the uniqueness of the air travel experience, particularly as it might be compared to other modes of mass transit. The ambiguity and anonymity of the airport experience reinforces the site of the airport as a non-place, given that passengers are not experiencing the criteria Augé defines as necessary for a space to be considered a place. Rosler agrees, noting that airports are indeed abstract spaces: the “invisible/visible,” or a space that can be at once both anywhere and nowhere.<sup>33</sup> There is no requisite establishment of social identity or relationship to place that must occur in order for a traveler to use the airport. The airport is designed to propel passengers through an efficient system, creating transient participants in a repeatable process as opposed to fostering individual relationships within some larger single history.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 118.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 109.

## **Check Your Autonomy at the Counter: Deferrals and Denials in the Airport System**

Rosler argues that in order for air travel to be completed successfully, a number of denials and recreations must be enacted by the participant and the purveyor of the system, both made anonymous by the anywhere/nowhere of the airport. These denials function to increase the placelessness of the airport, rendering it more difficult to locate identity or relationship once inside the system. Garry Winogrand's photographs capture the expression of such denials on the part of travelers in the system, providing us with a wealth of information from which to examine the air travel experience as it actually occurred on the ground and in the air. Denials manifest themselves in different ways depending on the area of the airport or the point in the travel sequence at which they take place, a great number of which have been documented by Winogrand.

In order for the flight industry to be successful it must deny the very phenomena that necessitate its existence. Passengers that invoke nearly any mode of modern transportation follow the same procedure. Travelers have been conditioned to tune out the realities of the mechanical and physical forces that are enacted to move human bodies from place to place. Given enough time to contemplate these forces and their inherent dangers, it is unlikely that many people would chose to travel by train, road, or air at all. The airport is thus compelled to provide substitute experiences that screen both anxiety and boredom, which, if expressed on a mass scale, would threaten the functionality of the air travel system as a whole. The substitute experiences provided by the travel industry coalesce in the development of a new kind of liminal experience between that of the typical everyday and the specific reality of airplane travel. In order to prevent passengers

from stopping to consider the intellectual and bodily ramifications of entering the massive steel bird that they have paid to nest inside, the air travel industry must provide its consumers with a set of substitute experiences such as in-flight entertainment, retail shopping opportunities, and homelike comforts of food and sleep. These surrogate experiences are made successful through a willing suspension of autonomy, by a tacit acceptance of the offered substitutes, and by actions of deferral and denial on the part of passengers and crew in the travel system. The whole is therefore much greater than the sum of the parts.

The necessary denials that must take place in order for air travel to be successful are denials of both body and mind. These denials are required in order for the artifice of flight to be successfully enacted, as the airline puts forth effort to “deny the reality of flying, the focus of both desire and dread.”<sup>34</sup> The traveler is merely a cog in the air travel machine, one whose choices are essentially made for them from the moment they enter the system. There is very little room for conscious, autonomous decision making in the airport.<sup>35</sup> Passengers are given the illusion of choice and autonomy, but that autonomy is necessarily subjugated and reduced to the consumption of goods and services for inflated prices managed by an imposed system because expressions of actual agency such as entering employee only spaces or carrying restricted items aboard an aircraft threaten the success of the system. While there may be opportunities for ‘individual’ decision making in terms of where one might choose to sit in the gate lounge and what type of drink one

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 114.

<sup>35</sup> Pascoe, 202-203.

might order in the bar, the overall trajectory of actions is limited to those that support the function of the system as a whole. David Pascoe describes the travel experience as a bifurcated one, reinforcing the deferral of autonomy that must take place. “At the airport, fliers forget that they are undertaking two journeys, one of which is overt, ‘the sunlit trip,’ and the other of which is covert, an odyssey controlled by the authorities.”<sup>36</sup> On the whole, passengers must behave as like units, traversing a path laid out by those in charge, so that the travel system functions smoothly. The passenger becomes a player in a game of artifice. Those who are successful in the game are those who most willingly ingest the platitudes offered by the airlines throughout the passenger’s journey, focusing only on the idea of trajectory while ignoring the forces that propel a traveler toward their destination. Interestingly, travelers are not the only participants in the system that must enact these denials. Roland Barthes’ “Jet-Man,” the postmodern pilot, denies his very behaviors to the point that he too is reduced to inhuman stillness in the course of flight. Barthes illustrates these denials by noting “a paradox everyone readily acknowledges and even takes as proof of modernity; this paradox states that excessive speed turns into repose... the jet-man is defined by a coanesthesia of motionlessness.”<sup>37</sup> Not only do the passengers in an airliner deny the realities of moving at 600 miles per hour thousands of feet above the ground in favor of imagining stillness in their cabin seat, but the pilots’ experience of their own bodily situation becomes one of paradoxical stillness as well.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 202-203.

<sup>37</sup> Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard and Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wand, 2012), 103.

Passengers also willingly subject themselves to physical discomfort in order to participate in the process of air travel. Once they have entered the airport, travelers are funneled through a prescribed set of experiences and then typically endure aimless waiting between scenarios or checkpoints of stimulation, again a deferral, if not an outright denial of bodily autonomy and comfort. These denials of the body are particularly evident once a passenger has entered the airplane itself. For Rosler, “The dignity of both passenger and attendant is left at the gate,” as they are “confined in spaces so small no one in control of their circumstances would willingly endure them.”<sup>38</sup> Pascoe poses a question to air travelers in the same vein which Rosler observes our willingness to acquiesce to utter discomfort, asking “who, in their right mind, would willingly suffer the deprivation that follows from the ‘airport’ version of mind?”<sup>39</sup> His answer: to accept it or start screaming.<sup>40</sup>

### **You Are Now Free to Move About the Terminal: Routes of Transit in the Airport**

Once a traveler enters the airport, it becomes nearly impossible to achieve a holistic experience. Interaction and movement are broken up into smaller nodes of experience, each preceded or followed by a sequential experience that constitutes the movement of travel. This sequence is made apparent to the traveler not only through the design of the terminal, but through signs that indicate direction, time, and location. These movements are all ordered through the design of the terminal to support circulation of

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<sup>38</sup> Martha Rosler, *In the Place of the Public: Observations of a Frequent Flyer*, (New York: D.A.P. Distributed Art Publishers, Inc., 1998), 64.

<sup>39</sup> Pascoe, 15.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 15-16.

passengers and crew, and they also produce delays between nodes of experience, again an indication of the “supermodern” space of the airport. As Pascoe notes, in agreement with Rosler, “the greatest proportion of a passenger’s time at the airport is spend in the holding areas” of the terminal.<sup>41</sup> These holding areas thus necessarily produce an experience of rapid wandering. In the airport, everyone rushes to wait. Garry Winogrand’s photographs embody the essence of rapid wandering and we can see this in the physical movement that he undertakes in the course of making photographs in the airport.<sup>42</sup> For Winogrand, and for the users of the airport that are documented by his camera, the pattern we see is typically as follows: experience one node of the airport, wait for the next node, wander while waiting, experience, repeat. These discrete point-to-point transactions and transitions are the mode of experience in the airport as passengers move (or are moved) through the stages of the travel system. Winogrand’s images illustrate this idea rather wholly, capturing passengers as they pass through each stage of the process. A large number of his photographs depict the interior of airports alongside and among images that document the behavior and experience of travelers within the space of the air travel system.

The spaces of the airport are physically real, but their indeterminacy (and therefore status as a non-place) is consistently reinforced in a number of ways. This indeterminacy is necessarily part of the game. By dividing up the spaces of the airport

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 201.

<sup>42</sup> It is interesting to note that this same type of rapid wandering is enacted when one observes Winogrand’s contact sheets in the archive. The way one scans a contact sheet to pick out an interesting frame or cluster of frames is similar to the way that Winogrand scans his environment waiting to capture the frames themselves.



into a logical sequence that is easy to follow but never gives away the whole, it becomes impossible to develop a totalizing view of the experience of air travel. Terminals are designed such that “passengers ‘in transit’ are forced to proceed in ways that prevent them from seeing that the expanse through which they are flowing is a state within a state, a fragmentary territory.”<sup>43</sup> This fragmentation is necessary in order to assuage anxiety as it allows, even forces, the traveler to focus on one aspect of the journey at a time, sealing off that facet as soon as it is completed to usher in the next link in the travel chain. Conversely, this compartmentalization may serve to actually increase anxiety for some travelers, specifically because it prevents a totalizing view of their experience. This again is where the directed inattention and rapid wandering inherent to the airport experience work to enact denials of the reality of air travel and “make do,” for those whose anxiety is eased and for those whose anxiety is heightened by the building itself. The distractions of the terminal work to assuage the boredom and anxiety that results from the nodular, “supermodern” format of the airport experience.

Lack of functional spatial delineation within the airport begins almost immediately upon entering the system. As one approaches the terminal, one of the most jarring realizations is the lack of an obvious entrance or exit. From both inside and outside, there is not generally a clearly apparent front door, or even a clearly apparent front. Because an airport can be both entered and exited from either end, via some form of transportation to the terminal and also via the jet way to and from the airplane, it is

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 11.

hard to even define the front of an airport as a concrete part of the space. This ambiguity immediately reinforces the notion that the direction of movement within the airport environment is focused on movement within the space, not necessarily movement into or out of it. The airport's structure is typically one of deceptive openness. The terminal and concourse are basically one giant room that uses changes of fixtures, lighting, and flooring to denote a new area. There are few real walls in an airport, and often a great deal of glass.<sup>44</sup> These design elements proffer a false sense of openness within what is a decidedly closed environment. The guts of the airport are so cleverly disguised that it can be easy to forget they exist, and even when we remember that they do, passengers have no way of knowing what those invisible areas actually look like or how they function.<sup>45</sup> This again is another way the air travel industry is able to enact a screen experience, as the inner workings of the system that will propel human beings into the sky are kept out of sight and therefore out of mind.

Airport architecture also places emphasis on monumentality as a denial of mortality. The airport is designed on a massive scale that dwarfs the humanizing scale of the home, automobile, and other architectural places where the traveler may be a consumer in everyday life such as grocery stores, doctor's offices, and schools. It seems to say to the traveler that the airport is larger than life, and so is capable of performing the tasks that will transport passengers from one place to the next. This grandeur masks the uncertainties of flight with a physical architectural presence, again enacting a denial by

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<sup>44</sup> See contact sheets such as 5397 (1964) and 8322 (1972). Both sheets contain several frames that focus on terminal and gate windows.

<sup>45</sup> Rosler 1998, 69.

providing a distraction at the same time as it reinforces the inhuman placelessness of the airport itself.

### **Reading Material: Observing the Airport Through Visual Documents**

Representations of the airport in literature, advertising, media, and artworks can all be used to provide a fuller understanding of its function in society. Borrowing from a model put forth by Donna Haraway, Christopher Schaberg argues that airports can be read, both as texts and in texts, order to be understood more fully.<sup>46</sup> He seeks to understand airports as ““contact zones” where common and uncommon narratives collide.”<sup>47</sup> By focusing on visual figurations in and of airports, Schaberg works to understand how the experiences of the airport come to be. Schaberg also heeds Augé’s call to examine the textual aspects of “supermodern” spaces, in this case the airport. Taking into consideration texts ranging from the literal linguistic information posted throughout the terminal to literary representations of the experience of flight, Schaberg combines these texts with figural representations of the airport in order to make his reading of these “rich” spaces.<sup>48</sup> I would like to now borrow from Schaberg’s blended model and position Garry Winogrand’s airport photographs as visual documents that record the spaces of the airport and the travelers and employees that populate and propagate the air travel system. While there is generally little literary text to be found in

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<sup>46</sup> Christopher Schaberg, *The Textual Life of Airports: Reading the Culture of Flight*, (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012), 3.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 3. While Schaberg uses the term “rich” to imply a space filled with personalizing and interactive possibility, I would like to co-opt the term to imply a space that contains many signs, documents, etc., and is thus richly populated with opportunities for reading and analysis, but that is not necessarily rich in the more positive use of the word.

Winogrand's images, the photographs themselves document the airport in its immediate and functional state, as opposed to an arrested or imagined state that might be portrayed by other media such as literature.

The exposures contained within Winogrand's contact sheets illustrate the photographer's preoccupation with the physicality of airport spaces and the relation of people to those spaces. This focus on the relation of people to space again makes the photographs strong examples of several of the "supermodern" aspects of the airport. Winogrand makes use of the camera in order to dissect and observe the ticket counter, terminal concourse, gate lounge, etc., as discreet, anomic nodes as opposed to a grand and unified whole. By negating the glossy sheen of the total space of the airport and instead recording the components of the space as bits and pieces, Winogrand seems to me to have been critical of the soothing artifice that the travel industry worked to portray. The disjointed experience of airport travel can be stitched together using the records in Winogrand's archive, and it is precisely because of this frenetic and fragmented presentation that we can read the anxiety of the travel system through his work. The contact sheets in Winogrand's archive provide us with an unmediated look at how the photographer viewed the constructed space and lived experience of the airport. These objects will be the focus of my second part.

## **Part II: Seriality**

### **Framing the Frames: Contact Sheets as Objects**

The contact sheet is most commonly viewed as an editing tool in analog photography. In order for a photographer to obtain a quick and compact view of the

exposures contained in any given roll of film, exposed negatives are developed and printed without enlargement on a single sheet.<sup>49</sup> Because the contact sheet represents an intermediate step in the photographic process, it is typically hidden or repressed in some way from the viewer and not normally taken into account when a photograph is viewed as a discrete finished product. Despite this frequent invisibility, it is an important mediating stage between the capture of a frame with the camera and the end result of the finished print. The contact sheet provides us with a document of that step, and of the choices and selections that are made after shooting has taken place. Given its situation between the capturing of a frame on film and the later observation and possible printing of a given frame, the contact sheet can be seen as a physical representation of the temporal and editorial deferrals inherent in analog photography.<sup>50</sup> At the very least, one must shoot an entire roll of film before developing the negatives and printing a sheet of proofs.

Photographer Al Gruen notes that “there is a dichotomy between grasping a picture out of the physical environment and evaluating it on a contact sheet. Seeing the subject in the real and round... is not the same as seeing it miniaturized and presented flatly in shades of gray.”<sup>51</sup> When the photographer is shooting, he has the ability to expose one frame or many of the same basic subject, enacting any one of countless variations in

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<sup>49</sup> Ansel Adams, *The Print: The Ansel Adams Photography Series 3*, (New York and Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 2003), 68.

<sup>50</sup> These deferrals of decision can be likened to the ones experienced by an air traveler, mentioned in Part I. When in the act of photographing, the experience of the end result must be delayed until the roll of film ends. In the same way, the experience of the end result of travel is deferred until the entire process is complete and the traveler exits the airport system at their destination.

<sup>51</sup> Al Gruen, *Contact Sheet*, (New York: Amphoto, 1982), 7.

distance, angle, exposure, or framing. The opportunity to produce a series of images in rapid succession from which one (or more) may later be selected as worthy of further observation is a unique characteristic of photography. There is essentially no limit to what a photographer can record in a given space and because of this the process of editing becomes inherently important. The time that necessarily exists between the capture of a frame and its developing and printing as a finished product, either in the form of a contact sheet or an enlarged print, creates a kind of space between the experience of that image and its realization as a physical printed object. The feeling of engaging the shutter to capture an incredibly poignant or electrifying moment may be completely forgotten by the time a roll of film is finished and developed. Thus, the contact sheet can be seen to function as a repository for the stab at the perfect shot, capturing the successes, and illuminating the not infrequent failed attempts sustained in the process.

The archive of Winogrand's contact sheets provides us with a nearly complete record of his shooting process, as it does for any photographer. Because each roll of film that was proofed was printed as a whole, we have the ability to take a closer look the photographer's movements and patterns as he worked. I would like to argue that Winogrand's contact sheets can be seen as objects in their own right, as emblems of seriality inherent in his process of photographing. When faced with the results of Winogrand's near constant exposing of film in the form of the contact sheet, one is able to more fully grasp the energy behind his work. For Winogrand, photographing was a matter of 'shoot now, observe now, capture what is going on in the world now, and digest

later.’ Leo Rubinfién has noted of Winogrand’s process that “his ferocious insistence on the primacy of seeing brought him to regard almost every other aspect of camera work... as extraneous, if not a suspect diversion from a photographer’s essential purpose.”<sup>52</sup> The work of editing, if it occurred at all, was done after the fact, when Winogrand had exited the world of the airport and reentered the world of his studio. The great majority of the airport contact sheets do not display any of Winogrand’s signature red editing marks and it seems, commensurate with Rubinfién’s observations, that he made relatively few decisions about the proofed images after they were contact printed. What the sheets lack in editing marks, however, they make up for in elucidation, specifically of the photographer’s tendency to bracket shots into bursts of frames that record many variations on a specific subject, and then later decide which, if any, to select and realize as enlarged prints. This type of serial shooting is a hallmark of Winogrand’s work and his airport pictures bear the same sort of directed inattention that is typical of the rest of his catalog, regardless of subject matter. For Winogrand, the seemingly inexhaustible ability to release the camera’s shutter translated into the capturing of thousands of images in and around airports. The ratio of exposures to published prints recorded by the contact sheets not only points up this serialized aspect of Winogrand’s output, but it also highlights the relative lack of attention paid to the resultant negatives, and the comparative primacy Winogrand placed on the act of photographing as opposed to its result. Particularly in

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<sup>52</sup> Leo Rubinfién, “Garry Winogrand’s Republic,” in *Garry Winogrand*, ed. Leo Rubinfién (New Haven: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in Association with Yale University Press, 2012), 41.

Winogrand's case where the contact sheets far outnumber the prints, these objects are vital to the exploration of his work.

Observing specific sheets will provide insight into Winogrand's work in the space of the airport. If we allow the contact sheets to function as autonomous objects and emblems of Winogrand's work process, we can gain an understanding of how photography functioned both by and for him in the space of the airport. Contact sheet 8650 (Figure 1), for example, was printed from a roll of film taken at New York's La Guardia airport in 1972. Frames 17A-22A are landscape frames of a group of passengers occupying a bank of seats at a flight gate. These frames capture the same basic scene, with only minor changes in distance between the photographer and his subjects. Frame 21A is marked as being of interest, only one of the six frames that were shot. Further down the roll, frames 30A-36A are landscape shots that capture an interaction between two female passengers and a female agent at a ticketing counter. Winogrand does not change his position or framing in this series, but simply shoots images from a single vantage point in fairly rapid succession. Here, four of the eight frames were marked, despite the women occupying nearly identical poses in each of the frames. The differences in the gate series and the counter series are relatively minor in terms of technique, but each series illustrates a rapid burst of shooting as some feature of each scene caught the photographer's eye.

For Winogrand, the physical act of photographing appears to serve as his own personal substitute experience to channel the anxiety and boredom he experiences in the airport, whether or not these images were intended to be printed. Winogrand's colleague



and friend Lee Friedlander attests to this in his introductory essay for *Arrivals and Departures*, noting that

For Garry, airplanes, like bridges and tunnels, brought on a cold sweat. He probably started photographing seriously at airports because he had made a few good pictures at times and had recognized the airport as a real subject for himself. He would arrive at the airport very early so as to have time to watch and then get lost in his work.<sup>53</sup>

Friedlander also speaks of Winogrand's photography as "a way to deal with his lifetime and the facts of it."<sup>54</sup> By shrinking the environment of the airport to fit his viewfinder, Winogrand is able to control it, thus mitigating the cold sweat ostensibly brought on by the spatial and temporal excesses of the "supermodernity" of the airport. His photographic selections and arrangements become the focus of his experience, not the other activities offered as distractions by the airport system. As he roams the terminal, engaging both his body and mind in the act of photographing, Winogrand's attention is directed to a place far outside the airport itself and he is able to retain a degree of autonomy not afforded to other travelers who allow themselves to be soothed and distracted by the more superficial offerings of the airport.<sup>55</sup> Winogrand focuses his

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<sup>53</sup> Lee Friedlander, "The Hair of the Dog," in *Arrivals and Departures: The Airport Pictures of Garry Winogrand*, ed. Alex Harris and Lee Friedlander (New York: D.A.P. Distributed Art Publishers, Inc., 2004), 17.

<sup>54</sup> Friedlander, 16.

<sup>55</sup> Naturally, Winogrand documents these distractions as well. See contact sheets such as 6146 (1967) – the first documentation of a terminal gift shop, 8647 (1972) – a particularly humorous sheet that contains images of a group of nuns enjoying the personal televisions in a lounge area, and 14275 (n.d.) – a sheet containing images of a terminal book stand.

energies on aestheticizing an environment, that when experienced fully, causes him a great deal of anxiety, thus subverting that anxiety and “making do” by committing the airport to film as opposed to engaging in a real-time bodily experience of his situation. In the space of the airport, Winogrand uses his camera to break down the veneer of the travel experience in order to both observe and negate the anxiety threaded through air travel. The serialized nature of the contact sheets themselves as they are used to record rolls of film in order, as well as the series of frames contained within the sheets, illustrate the repetitive, often cyclical nature of Winogrand’s airport photography. For Winogrand, photography appears to allow him to master his environment and begin to make sense of it, no matter the location. Within the environment of the airport this behavior becomes even more important as it both relieves his anxiety and allows him to establish a position of subversion within an otherwise very controlling system. The images contained within the contact sheets become nearly apotropaic when viewed in this way, as if Winogrand’s ability to assuage his own anxiety was contingent on capturing the anxiety of others and reducing it to a frame on a roll of film. Whether these images were intended to be realized as fine art prints does not appear to be as important to Winogrand as the fact that the capture of the images serves as a mediating act between himself and the experience of the airport.

### **Carousels and Walkways: Airports as Emblems of Seriality**

Winogrand’s contact sheets literalize the seriality of the airport as both a physical place and an experience by providing us with the same basic sets of images over and over. The photographs document the overwhelming sameness that all airports share.

Runways, terminals, parking lots, gates, lounges, counters. Regardless of his location at a given airport or the time at which the photographs are taken, the same features appear time and again in his contact sheets. The destination may differ but the process is always the same. Winogrand's photographs capture repeatable, serial movements and patterns located within the physical spaces of the airport. These patterns may be enacted by different groups of people, but they are consistent. The feeling that is produced by observing a group of people waiting in the baggage claim in 1964 at San Francisco International Airport is the same basic feeling that is produced by observing a wholly different group of people waiting for their luggage in 1973 at Los Angeles International Airport.<sup>56</sup> Nine years and 600 miles from each other, passengers must still participate in the same process in order to claim their luggage after arriving at their destination. Martha Rosler notes that the anomic spaces of the airport work to provide "continuity with life at the office building, perhaps, or the waiting room at the medical complex."<sup>57</sup> The anonymous and serialized spaces of the airport allow passengers to experience a sense of stability from location to location, assuaging the anxieties of travel by creating an illusion of continuity from point to point in the travel experience. Since the process of navigating an airport follows essentially the same steps no matter where that airport is located, we can expect the same basic types of photographs to emerge from any number of discrete

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<sup>56</sup> To take an example, the 1964 contact sheet 5386 from San Francisco Intl. Airport and the 1974 contact sheet 10723 from Los Angeles Intl. Airport both feature roughly a dozen frames of people waiting at baggage carousels to retrieve their luggage. Winogrand's frames focus on traveler's backs as they wait for their luggage. The images share the same degree of anonymity and focus on the behavior rather than specific individuals. Without context clues provided by the archival dates, it would be difficult to tell these sheets apart at a glance.

<sup>57</sup> Rosler 2002, 109.

airport locations. The anywhere/nowhere space of the airport reinforces the perception that in travel, there is “no journey, only trajectory.”<sup>58</sup> This limbo space produces the very vague, dispersed, listless attention that is captured in the bursts of shooting in Winogrand’s contact sheets, both on the part of the travelers Winogrand photographs, and the photographer himself. We see the directed inattention in the behavior of Winogrand’s subjects at the same time as we experience it in his movements and view it in his frames. As Walter Benjamin notes of the invention of photography, “the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence.”<sup>59</sup> In the same sense that a photographic copy substitutes a surrogate experience for the original, the experience of one airport may become a substitute for any number of others. Just as there can be no authentic original photographic print, there is no ‘original’ airport experience.

Winogrand’s airport pictures fall into four basic categories: interior shots, exterior shots, images with people in them, and images without people in them. I have previously mentioned some specific contact sheets, but I would like to look at a few examples in more depth to observe that while Winogrand’s airport pictures are largely different from the rest of his work, the photographer is the same. His attention to his surroundings is both deliberate and unfixed as he works to capture all aspects of the miniature world of the airport. One contact sheet that illustrates this quite succinctly is the 1973 sheet, 10035

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<sup>58</sup> Rosler 1998, 65.

<sup>59</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, (Scottsdale: Prism Key Press, 2010), 221.

(Figure 2). Frames 1A-7A focus on a pair of men sitting next to each other and reading newspapers while waiting at a gate to board their flight. Winogrand gradually moves closer to the pair, photographing the men at a fairly rapid rate and with fixed framing until he shifts his attention to a group of children looking out the window in frames 8A and 9A. He then follows the children's lead, looking out the terminal window and capturing two frames of an airplane being taxied to a jet way before returning to the pair of newspaper readers for two frames. Two more frames of the airplane punctuate the series of the readers before Winogrand moves close enough to the men that he crops the bottoms of their shoes or tops of their newspapers out of the frame in order to focus on the pairs of hands that hold the reading material aloft. The rest of the roll is comprised of 14 nearly identical in-flight shots of the left wing of an airplane from a window seat located inside the cabin just behind the wing. This sheet illustrates several trademarks of Winogrand's style. It features bursts of shooting punctuated by single frames of a completely different subject. It also shows us how mobile Winogrand was in his work as he moves back and forth in relation to the newspaper readers and shifts his focus and framing in and out in order to capture an ideal shot of the scene he selected. All but 4 of the fourteen images in the newspaper readers series received a red editing mark, indicating that this scene was one in which Winogrand took a good amount of interest, even after the delay between shooting and proofing.

Winogrand's infamous prowl was not absent in the airport setting. The photographer was widely known for his aggressive behavior, particularly towards

women, in the pursuit of his photographs.<sup>60</sup> According to Szarkowski, “Winogrand’s view of women was perhaps outrageous, or was perhaps saved from outrageousness by its simplicity and openness, and by its reckless enthusiasm.”<sup>61</sup> In sheet 10016 (Figure 3), also from 1973, observes a single female traveler sleeping in a bank of chairs with her shoes on the floor beside her. Winogrand observes the sleeper from many angles while keeping another row of chairs between himself and the subject. This series finishes the roll of film and is comprised of frames 29A-36A. On the sheet that immediately follows, 10017 (Figure 4), Winogrand has started a fresh roll of film with the same subject. Another 6 exposures of the sleeping woman comprise the first negatives on the sheet. He continues to experiment with distance, framing, and the addition of tilt, a signature device, in this set of images. More than half of the pictures of the sleeping traveler bear editing marks. The dedication with which Winogrand pursued this particular subject is typical of his sustained bursts of shooting in many other settings. Within the space of these two sheets, fifteen frames are devoted to one of the most ubiquitous banalities of life, the nap. Not only does this sheet illustrate Winogrand in typical prolific form, it also grounds the space of the airport in everyday reality by capturing a traveler engaging in a distinctly non-travel specific behavior. Not only does this set of sheets feature his tendency to become fixated on a particular subject or photographic challenge, but it also demonstrates Winogrand’s propensity to photograph surreptitiously, as if he is seeing

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<sup>60</sup> The photographic book *Women Are Beautiful* gives 85 examples of Winogrand’s fascination with women, from their dress to their behavior, movements, and mannerisms. For more on Winogrand’s behavior towards women in the course of his practice, see *Confessions\*: Rethinking Winogrand’s Women: of a Male Chauvinist Pig*, ed. Susan Laxton (Riverside: UCR ARTSblock, 2013).

<sup>61</sup> Szarkowski, 20.

something no one else sees. Contact sheet 5871 (Figure 5) from 1966 also illustrates this tendency. The sheet contains 13 exposures made in the interior of an airplane. Nine of those exposures are taken as Winogrand looked behind him and to his right, framing an older gentleman between the edge of Winogrand's seat and the back of the seat positioned directly in front of the passenger. The passenger appears to be completely unaware that Winogrand's camera is trained on him as he is engaged in reading what appears to be a report or letter of some kind. Both of these instances feature Winogrand's observations of people who are not aware that he is photographing them while at the same time paying attention to behaviors that would be typically overlooked by other people. Neither of these behaviors is distinctly travel-centric, but both behaviors are enacted in the travel setting as examples of the kinds of screening behavior mentioned earlier, with the difference that these substitute experiences are ones developed by the travelers, and not offered by the airline.

Up to this point, the images that I have analyzed do not feel very different from Winogrand's work on the street, in terms of the shooting style or types of content. It is not unusual for Winogrand-on-the-street to catch a subject, chew on it for several frames, and discard it when another subject or problem presents itself to the photographer's viewfinder; we have seen Winogrand-in-the-airport behave in the same way. His style and method of understanding the events and situations in which he finds himself remain the same, regardless of location. In the same way that it becomes difficult to differentiate one baggage claim from another, it is indeed somewhat difficult to discern one city street corner from another. The homogenizing effect of such prolific image making is the same

regardless of the location. In fact, there are a number of contact sheets that illustrate Winogrand's work in airport crosswalks and parking lots that take on the rather literal feel of the street, and would be difficult to differentiate from images made in New York or Chicago, were it not for the contextualizing frames found on the rest of the contact sheet. Figure 6, contact sheet 14228 (n.d., ca. 1977-83) provides us with an example of this. Frames 29A-36A are tightly composed and closely focused images of travelers entering and exiting cars at the curb of a terminal at Los Angeles International Airport. The surreptitious American Airlines podium that sits in the background of frames 33A and 35A is one of the only clues that locates these images of passengers entering a waiting car at LAX and not on a street corner in Chicago or New York City. When viewed in the context of the rest of the contact sheet, it becomes clearer still that these images were made at an airport, but the isolated frames of the elderly woman entering her waiting vehicle could be dropped onto nearly any street corner. Perhaps ambiguous images like these are indicative of Winogrand's discomfort with the airport environment and of his desire to locate aspects of the airport that feel familiar to him despite the patent differences between the airport and street. It seems that by locating expressions of the literal street within the confines of the airport space, Winogrand was attempting to dispel the foreign qualities of the airport and substitute, in what small way he could, the more familiar qualities of the open street instead.

Where we do observe a more marked difference in Winogrand's airport work as opposed to his work elsewhere is in the distinct attention paid to situating himself within the physical spaces of the airport. An early and particularly striking example of this is



contact sheet 3531 (Figure 7), from 1962. Winogrand devotes five frames to an unattended luggage cart situated in the middle of a nearly empty terminal lobby at JFK International Airport in New York. Two of these frames are devoid of human presence, a third features three people far enough in the background that they only register as vertical bodies along the left edge of the frame. The last two exposures in the strip catch a man in a long, dark coat walking quickly past the cart and through Winogrand's frame. The angle of these exposures give the impression that Winogrand had crouched or even nearly laid on the floor to angle his camera upwards towards the subject, as the frames have a particularly strong 'worm's eye' feel to them. The cart is situated just right of center in the frame and balanced by a large Alexander Calder "mobile," .125 (1957), suspended from the terminal ceiling above and to the left of it. A large, curved bank of windows anchors the upper right quadrant of the frame and imparts a grand sense of scale and a good deal of light to the image, contrasting with the darkness of the lone cart on the ground floor. Winogrand moves very little in these frames, and the dearth of passersby gives the impression that this sequence of exposures was made over a longer period of time. The following five frames capture Winogrand's attention as it is diverted up from the luggage cart to the art installation above him. Given the orientation of the "mobile" in relation to its position in the preceding frames, Winogrand has essentially pivoted clockwise on the terminal floor as he shifts his focus from figures on the floor to shapes on the ceiling. Again, the bank of windows provides a sense of scale that gives an impression of massive, open space, this time fully visible as a portion of the terminal entrance. Winogrand shoots directly into the light streaming in from the glass wall

opposite him, framing the installation in stark contrast. Like the preceding five frames, this set of exposures is also almost completely devoid of people and the lack of human scale directly reinforces the nonhuman scale and monumentality of the airport.

Contact sheet 10021 (1973, Figure 8) provides an interesting combination of Winogrand-on-the-street and Winogrand-in-the-airport. Here we see the photographer shoot the majority of a roll of film, exposures 17A-36A, as he stands on a second floor balcony and looks down at the travelers on the first floor of a terminal. The photos are broadly focused and do not pay direct attention to any individual or group of people. Winogrand remains nearly motionless in the course of this making this set of exposures, and the frames are all trained on almost the same vanishing point on the first floor. Instead of following specific people or groups in their movement through the airport, Winogrand chooses to focus on the terminal itself and allows the travelers to move through his photographs. The angle and distance from which the images are made gives the impression that the people in the photographs are even smaller in relation to the scale of the terminal than is actually true. The travelers feel diminutive and insignificant within the overall scheme of the images, as if they are mere props required by the airport in order to function. The majority of the travelers have their back to the photographer, and none of them look up to notice or acknowledge Winogrand's presence on the second floor. This contact sheet in particular reinforces many of the anomic aspects of the airport discussed earlier. We do see groups of people forming, interacting, moving, and parting, but even these small groups form in isolated nodes and do not engage in any sort of larger interaction with other travelers who share the same space. The travelers remain faceless

and nameless in the midst of their interactions. Winogrand documents this kind of transient social interaction on the street as well, but his street photographs differ in that they almost never depict such generic and anonymous crowds. Of course, Winogrand photographed in crowded public places and took many photographs of those crowd scenes, but the distinct disengagement we see in the airport balcony photos is not found in images taken on a stroll down a New York City avenue. The airport photos again reveal a preoccupation with physical location in space and explore how people move in and through that space.

Winogrand's directed inattention is highlighted in contact sheets like 3531 and 10021, sheets that feature the environment of the airport in favor of the inhabitants of the space. Because there are a finite number of people present in a given area of the airport at any one time, the permutations of photographic possibility are necessarily more limited in this environment than they would be on the street. The airport's inherent restrictions on movement and access do much to stem the tide of bodies that would otherwise be able to flow more freely through space, as they are ordinarily able to do on a city street. Perhaps because of this fact, or perhaps in spite of it, Winogrand turned to the physical limits of his experience: the building spaces in which he was now contained, in order to orient himself. Without an endless supply of people to digest through his viewfinder, Winogrand had to work within the parameters of his environment to keep himself occupied. This resulted in the photographer's increased attention to the built environment in which he found himself, something that was not necessary for him to pay attention to on the street by virtue of its very openness.

## **Travel Behaviors: The Undecidability of the Everyday**

Through the analysis of the contact sheets above, I hope to have illustrated how Garry Winogrand both participated in and documented distinctly commonplace behaviors that transcend the experience of the airport. Winogrand was able to capture the realities of the travel environment that seem to deviate from the prescribed set of behaviors promoted by the travel industry to propel the travel experience forward. These photographs also serve to place the scale of the human in sharp contrast with the monumental scale of the “supermodern” airport space, thus illuminating the starkly differing realities travelers must navigate in order to be successful participants in the airport experience. The behaviors observed in Winogrand’s airport photographs stand at times in distinct contrast to the polished image of air travel set forth in popular advertising that was published at the same time Winogrand was shooting. As he peeled back the layers of artifice and spectacle so carefully constructed by the travel industry and looked at the realities of travel as opposed to the prescribed experience of travel, Winogrand subverted the veneer that the industry attempts to pass off as the correct, normalizing view of the spaces and experiences of the airport. Through Winogrand’s contact sheets, we see the banalities of travel being documented as a means of warding off the dangers of travel, as opposed to the consumption of platitudes (the desired result in the eyes of the airline industry) as a means of the same. The undecidability between the advertised and actual airport experience, and how that experience compared with that of everyday life in the 1960s, will be the subject of the next part.

### **Part III: Undecidability**

#### **Illusions and Fantasies: Airline Travel Advertisements of the 1960s**

In Garry Winogrand's 1963 application for a Guggenheim fellowship, he summed up his feelings about the state of American culture and the mindset of its citizens.

"I look at the pictures I have done up to now and they make me feel that who we are and how we feel and what is to become of us just doesn't matter. Our aspirations and successes have been cheap and petty. I read the newspapers, the columnists, some books, I look at some magazines (our press). They all deal in illusions and fantasies. I can only conclude that we have lost ourselves, and that the bomb may finish the job permanently, and it just doesn't matter, we have not loved life. I cannot accept my conclusions, so I must continue the photographic investigation further and deeper. This is my project."<sup>62</sup>

Winogrand was at a crossroads in his personal life at the time of his application and his anxiety about not only his personal future but also that of the society in which he lived is palpable in this personal statement.<sup>63</sup> The rapidly changing social and topographical landscape of the 1960s left few soft places to land in a time of crisis and Winogrand opted to continue moving and looking at the world around him as a method of survival.

Can the fantasies and illusions that Winogrand speaks of be linked to the advertising and media industries? I would argue that this is exactly what Winogrand is

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<sup>62</sup> Szarkowski, 34.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 20.

speaking about, and thus that his airport photographs, as part of the photographic investigation mentioned above, are part of his hunt for true ‘American-ness.’ Based on my examination of Winogrand’s images, I believe they can be positioned as critical of the illusory travel experience that the airline industry worked to publicize. Winogrand actively subverted the artifice by dismantling it and observing the system of air travel out of sequence and outside of the way normalizing protocols of experience and viewership were propagated by the media. Winogrand looks too closely at the system to be an effective or model participant in the travel machine. By subverting these conventions of behavior within the prescribed spaces of the airport and acts of travel, he steps outside of the participant role and instead becomes a documenter.

Here I want to introduce a selection of 1960s advertisements that deal with air travel and contrast them with the images contained in Winogrand’s contact sheets. These advertisements comprise the substitutes and artificialities that make up the very core of the “denial-mode” of flight, providing a foil for Winogrand’s works as his images capture the reality of travel. In 1965, Braniff International Airlines published an advertisement introducing the “Air Strip” (Figure 9). The full color advertisement employs a number of onomatopoeic phrases such as “Snap” and “Zip” in order to describe how the stewardesses’ versatile all-weather wardrobe can be altered to accommodate any weather or travel condition. Lauding the speed at which the stewardess can remove her new Puccino designer uniform, and affirming that this brief delay leaves all the more time for her to provide the passenger with “constant attention,” the advertisement illustrates the female flight attendant literally stripping her clothes off in order to serve her

passengers.<sup>64</sup> It also implies that there is a secondary motive underlying the practicalities of being able to dress for both rain and sun; the figure-baring features of this new line of clothing might also be employed in the presence of a traveler as part of some sort of sexualized show of willingness to serve on the part of the attendant. The splashy use of the full spectrum of colors, combined with the peppering of onomatopoeia invokes a rather cerebral set of potential interactions with a Braniff International Stewardess.

Photographed by Winogrand in 1966, one year after the publication of the Braniff advertisement, contact sheet 5868 (Figure 10) provides us with a look at the cabin interior of an airliner. While we are given no clues as to the airline Winogrand is flying, we are given a thorough look at the behavior of one of the flight's stewardesses. The entire roll of film was shot inside the cabin, from Winogrand's seat on the right side of the aisle. Frames 0A-33A focus on one stewardess as she greets passengers, offers food and drink, and provides pillows and blankets for interested travelers. Frame 33A shows the attendant interacting directly with Winogrand, as she appears to be speaking with him while she retrieves a pillow from the overhead compartment and hands it to the photographer. In the following frame, Winogrand's seatmate has found his place and immerses himself in a newspaper, at which point the attendant is not seen again on the roll. The stewardess Winogrand photographs is an attractive young lady, well-groomed and by all appearances polite and friendly. She appears to embody societal standards of polite interaction, but she is by no means overtly sexualized. There is no time-lapse

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<sup>64</sup> See Figure 9, advertisement text.

striptease offered by Winogrand's attendant as there is in the Braniff advertisement. The promise of seduction and explicit innuendo is left on the page, and Winogrand is left to capture a merely pleasant interaction, relatively anonymous as it might have been. The unaffected friendliness of the attendant's gestures and expressions is no match for the erotic sizzle of a stewardess who literally strips in the commission of her duties as promised by the glossy advertising. The contrast between the relatively banal behavior of the attendant photographed by Winogrand and the ramped up image of the willing and sexualized attendant offered by Braniff is not unnoticeable. This perhaps disappointing encounter with a female staff member is not the only instance in which Winogrand makes exposures that seem to subvert the advertised promises of airline travel.

The 1960s United Airlines advertisement seen in Figure 11 provides an excellent example of the way airline advertising offered the substitute experiences mentioned earlier. The advertisement features "the boys with the Friday night faces" and describes in detail the amenities and services that United offers in order to best serve its business class passengers. The promise of lobster, an inflight movie, and the ability to dictate one's preferred level of conversation with the stewardess all promote an environment of total control and relaxation aboard the aircraft, exactly the sort of substitutes that distract travelers from the realities of flight. This advertisement does not illustrate any of the periods of waiting that take place between check-in and boarding, or between landing and deplaning. It does not show the business traveler who has removed his coat and shoes as he waits for his flight. Winogrand documents these aspects of the business traveler's journey, while the airline only mentions the creature comforts of the inflight experience.



In contact sheet 16187 (n.d., ca. 1977-83), Winogrand devotes roughly half a dozen exposures to a man seated alone at an airport restaurant or lounge. The man's papers clutter the table before him, spilling out of his open suitcase. His jacket is draped over the chair, and he appears not to notice Winogrand as he is being photographed. Images like these and the male travelers discussed in contact sheet 3531 illustrate the realities of business travel. For passengers like this, the time spend waiting in the airport is no different than time at the office might be. The reality of employment has made its way into the airport and although airlines can offer upscale dining selections and inflight cinematic distractions, the behaviors that Winogrand captures illustrate that the veneer of advertising can only stretch so far when it comes to the airport experience. The airport photographs widen the gap between the media vision of the airport and the actual lived experience of the same space. Winogrand's work is informed by the reality of the airport, not dictated by the veneer of advertisement. As we have seen from these comparisons, the sparkle of the modern airport experience cannot completely eradicate the advance of the everyday.

Airline advertising in the 1960s did not limit itself to depictions of ever-willing stewardesses. As Figure 12 illustrates, United Airlines also invoked the image of the pilot in its campaigns. This pilot tells his audience that sometimes he thinks he flies a restaurant, and not a plane. He then goes on to impress upon his audience the quality of the food served on board his flights and just how much work United as a company does to serve the very best. The advertisement captain is reminiscent of Barthes' Jet-Man, the motionless pilot of the postmodern world. This captain is not preoccupied with speed,

altitude, trajectory, or radar, but he does make sure to inform readers that United's extra employment of European trained chefs is certainly worth the extra effort.

### **The Everyday and Everydayness<sup>65</sup>**

How does the condition of the airport or of travel compare with the condition of everyday life, particularly that of the 1960s? Henri Lefebvre describes the nature of a contemporary everyday by noting that

The character of the everyday has always been repetitive and veiled by obsession and fear. ... The everyday is situated at the intersection of two modes of repetition: the cyclical, which dominates in nature, and the linear, which dominates in processes known as "rational." The everyday implies on the one hand cycles... and it implies on the other hand the repetitive gestures of work and consumption. ... Production anticipates reproduction, production produces change in such a way as to superimpose the impression of speed onto that of monotony.<sup>66</sup>

This everyday is defined in contrast to the everyday that existed before the modern era, which Lefebvre notes was "not subordinate to any one system."<sup>67</sup> The tendency towards normalizing uniformity is seen as a symptom of the postmodern everyday that Lefebvre describes, and this definition fits with Augé's notion of "supermodernity," particularly the homogenizing distortion of space so present in the airport environment. In terms of

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<sup>65</sup> Henri Lefebvre and Christine Levich, "The Everyday and Everydayness," *Yale French Studies*, no. 73 (1987): 7-11.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, 7.

Lefebvre's definition, cyclical and linear repetition are two of the key aspects of the airport experience. As we have seen, the system of air travel requires passengers to move in an essentially linear fashion from one node in the system to the next along their travel trajectory. This movement also becomes cyclical when it is repeated *ad infinitum* by the countless travelers who are engaged in the system at any given time. For Lefebvre, these types of repetitive movements form the core of the everyday. Thus, the experience of the airport functions as a concentrated example of the greater experience of modern everyday life. It is one that is enacted and perpetuated by repeated movements and behaviors. Lefebvre also notes that the repetitiveness of the everyday is veiled by fear—a fear reminiscent of the anxiety that the airline industry works diligently to counteract and screen within the spaces of the airport. The airport also produces evidence that the impression of speed is superimposed onto the experience of monotony. This is the experience that we have found to be present in the airport system. This everydayness is by no means relegated to the air travel experience. The everyday as defined above was present throughout society in the 1960s. Thus, we can situate the anonymous, anomic experience of the airport space in relation to the increasingly anonymous and tumultuous experiences on the space and place of the street, which Winograd documented in step with his airport work.

## **Conclusion**

After undertaking this examination of Garry Winogrand's airport photographs, I have situated the work within a broader and more theoretical context than the images have previously been afforded. By examining the non-place of the airport and its professed and actual functions, a place has been made for the airport pictures to rest critically against an understanding of the spaces they document. The airport pictures illustrate Winogrand's dealings with anxiety while they also represent on a larger scale the growing pains of a nation that was working to come to terms with a new normal. For the 1960s, this new normal was one of increasing anomie and homogenization. As the "supermodern" excesses of time and space pressed in on all sides of American life, the struggle to find individual experience also emerged against the seemingly overwhelming tide of sameness. When viewed against this backdrop, the photographs contribute to a broader understanding of the new everyday of the 1960s and the ways in which people succumbed to deferral and denial in the name of this new normal: enacting artifice in place of authentic experience, denials of both body and mind in the name of progress.

Winogrand's airport pictures illustrate the many aspects of the paradigm shift in 1960s popular culture from one of the postmodern to one of the "supermodern." As I have shown, these images enunciate the "supermodern" qualities of the airport by supporting my definition of the airport as a space of non-place symptomatic of a shift toward the "supermodern." Since these images form a substantial part of Winogrand's work, and one that he deemed to be thematically important and relevant, I believe that the airport pictures present a vision of the shift in American culture that could not be

rendered by the street pictures alone. The unique nature of the space of the airport and its innately “supermodern” qualities provided a platform onto which a new kind of everyday was able to unfold, and Winogrand’s documentation of these shifting spaces demonstrates that his finger was not only on the shutter but on the pulse of American experience and culture. Combined with the larger narratives of 1960s American experience present in his body of work, the airport pictures work to flesh out Winogrand’s presentation of us to ourselves.

## Figures

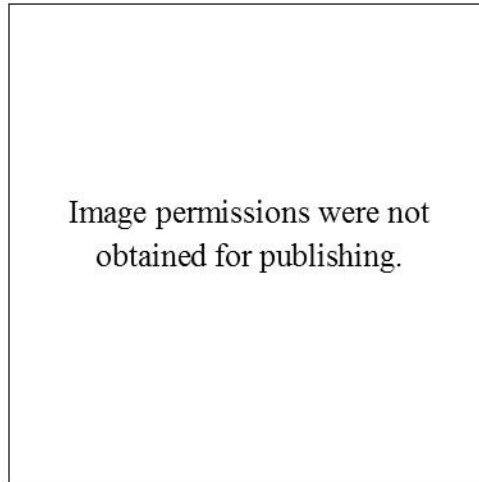


Figure 1. Contact sheet 8650, 1972 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

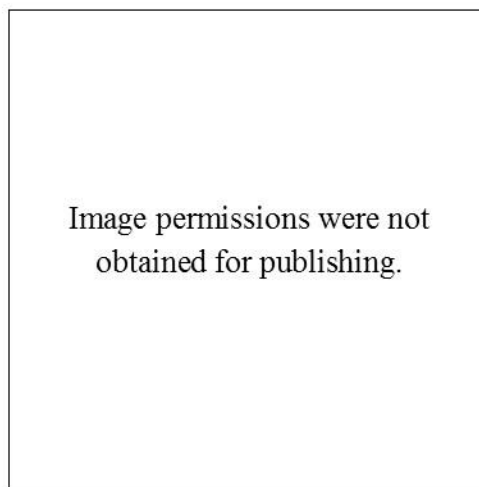


Figure 2. Contact sheet 10035, 1973 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

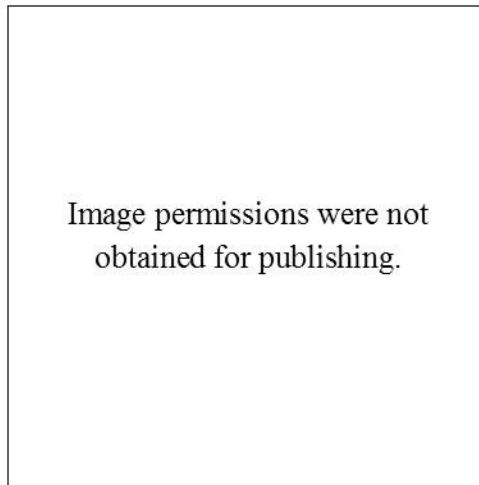


Figure 3. Contact Sheet 10016, 1973 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
© The Estate of Garry Winogrand, courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco  
Collection Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona

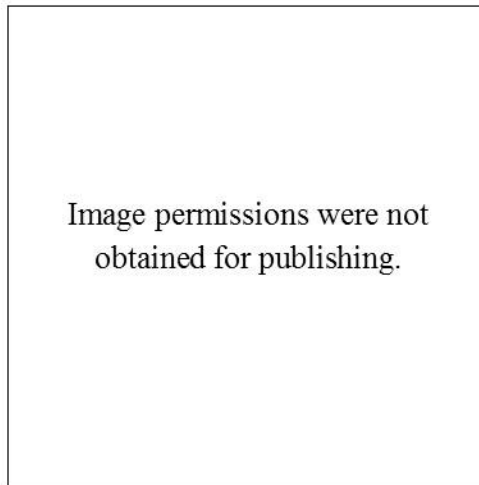


Figure 4. Contact Sheet 10017, 1973 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
© The Estate of Garry Winogrand, courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco  
Collection Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona

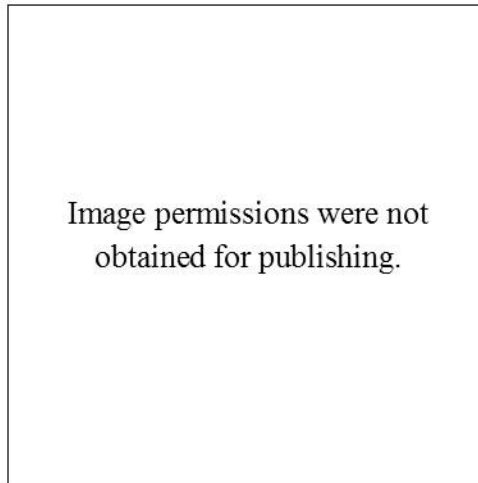


Figure 5. Contact sheet 5871, 1966 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography

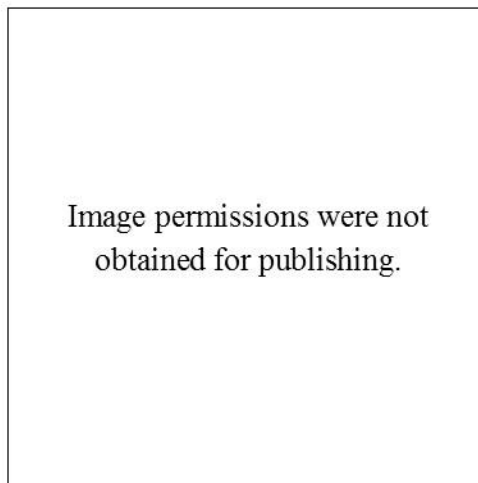


Figure 6. Contact Sheet 14228, n.d. Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
© The Estate of Garry Winogrand, courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco  
Collection Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona



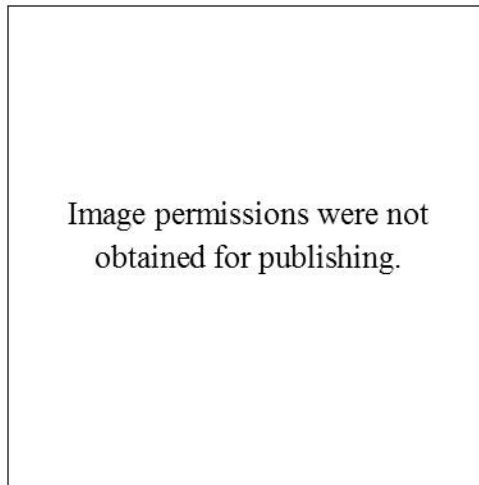


Figure 7. Contact Sheet 3531, 1962 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
© The Estate of Garry Winogrand, courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco  
Collection Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona

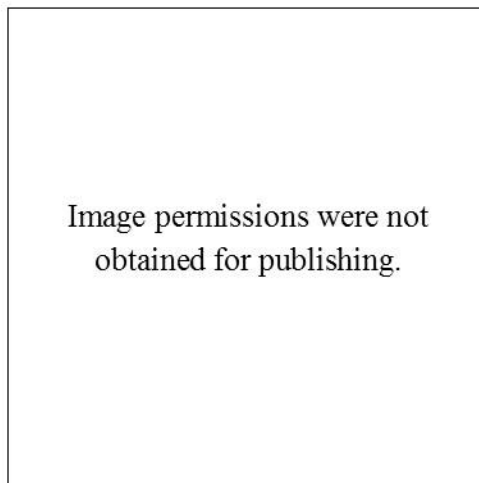


Figure 8. Contact sheet 10021, 1973 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
Reproduced at the Center for Creative Photography



Figure 9. Braniff International Airlines advertisement, 1965

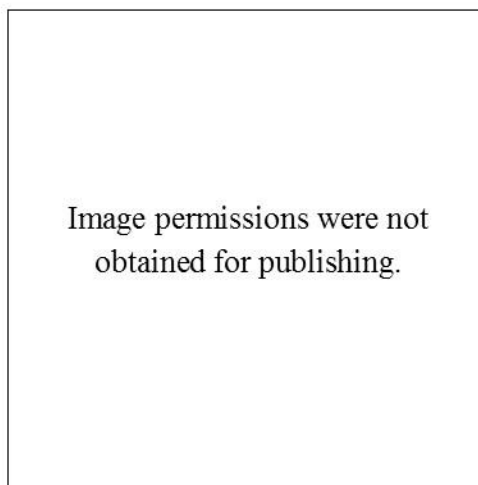


Figure 10. Contact Sheet 5868, 1966 Photograph by Garry Winogrand  
© The Estate of Garry Winogrand, courtesy Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco  
Collection Center for Creative Photography, The University of Arizona



### *The boys with the Friday night faces.*

Every United stewardess knows a Friday night face when she sees one.

It's the tired face of a businessman who's put in a hard week and just wants to go home.

Maybe he wants to talk. Maybe he doesn't.

We'll feed him well.

His favorite drink. Hors d'oeuvres. Sizzling steak. Or broiled lobster. Cornish hen, maybe.

A pillow for his tired back. Six channels of music—even stereo—plus a movie to unkink the tension.

Some people want to be fussed over. Some don't.

Extra Care is different for every passenger. But they all get it.

That's why more businessmen fly United than any other airline.

They think the service is great.

We agree, but we think it's good business, too.



Shown by United Motion Pictures

\*Look! Charley's coming.

Figure 11. United Airlines advertisement, ca. 1960s



*Sometimes I think  
I fly a Restaurant,  
not a plane.*

I see the passengers come aboard, grinning. And I know what they're thinking about.  
The meal they're going to get.  
You just wouldn't believe what we pay for steak.

We buy 2½ million pounds of meat a year, 275,000 pounds of coffee, 80,000 gallons of cream. All of it the best on the market.

Only United Air Lines has a coast-to-

coast system of flight kitchens, with European-trained chefs in charge. That's extra care.  
Sure it's more effort that way.  
But the food is better.  
I know, I eat it too.  
I guess that's why my wife says I'm not an easy guy to cook for.  
You wouldn't be either, if you ate like this every day.

"When my wife hears what we feed the driver, she'll change her mind."

 *fly the friendly skies of United.*

Figure 12. United Airlines advertisement, ca. 1960s

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