

# Anthropology in and of the Archives: Possible Futures and Contingent Pasts. Archives as Anthropological Surrogates\*

David Zeitlyn

Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford, Oxford OX2 6PE, United Kingdom;  
email: david.zeitlyn@anthro.ox.ac.uk

Annu. Rev. Anthropol. 2012. 41:461–80

First published online as a Review in Advance on July 2, 2012

The *Annual Review of Anthropology* is online at [anthro.annualreviews.org](http://anthro.annualreviews.org)

This article's doi:  
10.1146/annurev-anthro-092611-145721

Copyright © 2012 by Annual Reviews.  
All rights reserved

0084-6570/12/1021-0461\$20.00

\*This article is part of a special theme on Materiality. For a list of other articles in this theme, see this volume's Table of Contents.

## Keywords

archival studies, museology, digital archives, research ethics, surrogates

## Abstract

Derrida and Foucault provide key starting points to understanding archives. They see archives as hegemonic, characterizing ways of thought, modes of colonization, and the control of citizens. However, they also make clear that archives can be read subversively. With patience, counter-readings allow the excavation of the voices (sometimes names) of subaltern and otherwise suppressed others from the archive. By reading along and across the archival grain, researchers can follow the development of ideas and processes across historical periods. Archives can be seen as orphanages, containing surrogates of performances. Archives (paper and digital) also provide access to the results of anthropological research in ways mandated by ethics codes, but these are subject to controversy. What sorts of consent and what sorts of anonymization should be provided? Archives run by the groups traditionally studied by anthropologists provide models of radical archives that are very different from those conceived of by traditional archivists.

## ARCHIVES FOR ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropologists, historians, and fellow travelers undertake much research in archives. These are mostly administrative archives, often including material concerning former colonial territories. They are the long-term repositories of documents produced by governments and other institutions in their day-to-day operations. However, archives need not be official and institutional. Many individuals and families maintain smaller-scale archives, which provide important evidence for a wide range of topics.

Some archives holding the work of early anthropologists and others, such as missionaries, have been used by anthropologists and indigenous groups to recover material spanning the past 150–200 years of more-or-less structured research.<sup>1</sup>

### PART ONE: THE NATURE OF ARCHIVES

#### Plurals and Capitals: archive or Archive, Archive or Archives?

Archives are both the repositories of material (buildings, suites of rooms, or a Web address) and the materials contained therein. Many authors have exploited the slippage between these two senses, pitting them against each other. Some usage differences map onto substantive differences between authors. Broadly speaking, professional archivists discuss “an archives”: Dictionaries indicate that the word is usually plural (because even one building contains many files). By contrast, theorists who use the idea of records in an extended (metaphorical) sense, following Foucault and Derrida, discuss the singular archive, often with a definite article: the archive, and sometimes even the Archive.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See Savage 2007 and other papers in *Sociological Research Online* 12(3) in the section, “Reusing Qualitative Data.”

<sup>2</sup>See Supplemental Appendix 1 (follow the Supplemental Material link from the Annual Reviews home page at <http://www.annualreviews.org>) for relative rates of usage.

## ARCHIVES AS INSTRUMENTS OF HEGEMONY

An important strand of Foucault’s work (1970, 1977) unpicks the archaeological texture and development (genealogy<sup>3</sup>) by which government becomes a government of thought, and the archive, as an expression of governmental control of its subjects, assumes a supreme importance as a “structuring structure” (Bourdieu 1977) or hegemonic instrument of the state (see Echevarría 1990, especially p. 175).<sup>4</sup> This line of approach was influential in understanding colonialism in general and colonial archives in particular (Cohn 1987, Stocking 1991, Pels 1997, Mathur 2000, Dirks 2002, Burton 2003, Stoler 2009). As Appadurai (1993) and Asad (2002) have stressed, the development of quantitative approaches was a device to improve governmentality to increase control in the Indian colonies [Stoler (2009) also discusses the importance of counting in Indonesia (p. 167)]. I discuss other aspects of subaltern readings of colonial archives below. However, there is a notable parallel and irony: Foucault and his followers [such as Davies (1987) and many other historians and anthropologists] have explored how the archive suppresses, suborns, and controls groups such as women, the insane, and religious dissidents in Europe, in the home states of the global colonizers. Is there a significant difference between the experience of control of such people and that of colonized groups? Perhaps governments colonize all their subjects, whether in cities or the distant colonies (Foucault analyzed the development of the modern

<sup>3</sup>Foucault is notoriously unclear about the difference between archeology and genealogy (see Sheringham 2011, discussed below).

<sup>4</sup>For Richards, colonies could not really be governed given the resources available and the limits of paper-based communication across distance (1993, p. 3). He sees the administrators controlling paper instead of people, resting on the illusion of their files, hence his subtitle: *Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. In *Seeing Like a State*, Scott says, “[T]here are virtually no other facts for the state than those that are contained in documents” (Scott 1998, p. 82, quoted in Ketelaar 2001, p. 133). Similarly, Joyce sees archives as a crucial technology of liberal states (1999).

state and the oppression of its subjects in general). The distinction between colonizers and colonized strangely seems less significant from this viewpoint.<sup>5</sup>

Another general reading of archives is found in Derrida (1995, but see also 2002). For Derrida (1995), like Foucault, there is no escape from archival hegemony; it is a way of thinking about memory, of exploring Freud's ideas of the fear of death, and of repression as a type of archiving, a reversible form of forgetting (p. 43; I discuss archival liminality below). He plays with the ambiguity of his title, *Archive Sickness or Fever*: One can be simultaneously sick of and sick (with desire) for archives. Steedman responded to this by considering literal forms of archive fever, such as anthrax from parchment and leather bindings, and the anxiety and joys of archival research (2002, 2007, 2008).

Parallels with Foucault arise when considering the role of archivists, the gatekeepers selecting which items are archived and which are condemned to oblivion by being omitted. This process is another instrumentality of power. Present choices determine future history, selecting the materials available to future historians (Derrida 1995, p. 17).<sup>6</sup>

Archivists have recently discussed the exercise of power in archival appraisal, the determination of what becomes the archival record<sup>7</sup> [see especially Craig (2002), Schwartz & Cook (2002), Manoff (2004, p. 20), Cook (2007); Assman (2010) is discussed below]. Yakel (2007) considers how archivists create "archival

representations" through appraisal/selection, organization,<sup>8</sup> and cataloging.

Following Garfinkel's (1984 [1967]) ethnomethodological analysis of medical records, another approach examines the role of power in archives' composition. Some research archivists have examined the creation of records, the raw material that will (if passing the selection threshold) become archived. Garfinkel explores how doctors create patients' records that are sufficient for the patients' immediate treatment, but are inadequate for administrators or epidemiologists. He makes clear the "Good' Organizational Reasons for 'Bad' Clinic Records" (his title). Later, Yakel studied how radiography records were created, transmitted around a hospital, then stored (1997, 2001). In another domain, Cicourel (1968), Morash (1984), and Coulthard (2002) examined the creation and use of legal records. Considering these approaches, Trace (2002) distinguished the purpose from the use of a record (p. 143). A record may be created for one purpose but used for other ends: "[R]ecords are more than purely technical facts," requiring "an understanding of records as social entities, where records are produced, maintained, and used in socially organized ways" (2002, p. 152). Her work connects explicitly to the social study of science (see Shankar 2002, 2004).

The purpose/use distinction parallels one made by archival historians: Between sources intended to inform, created with an evidential purpose, and "the evidence of witnesses in spite of themselves," sources never intended to be part of the historical record but which were nonetheless archived becoming more valuable for that<sup>9</sup> [Olwig (1984) and Bastian (2003, p. 77)

<sup>5</sup>This will be read differently in Mumbai, Liverpool, and Douala: Such different readings challenge the discipline of anthropology. We need to rethink the conceptual extensions of the archive and colonization [see Povinelli's (2011, p. 158) discussion of postcolonial archives].

<sup>6</sup>Derrida started with the physical basis of the archive as the house of the archon (magistrate), the place where (judicial) records were kept; so archives connect directly to the power of the state (and Foucault's work).

<sup>7</sup>Examples include the destruction/selection of files by accessioning archivists in Germany (Ernst 1999, p. 18) and the United States (Brown 1998, p. 23).

<sup>8</sup>Derrida (1995, p. 10) describes an archive as a prison for documents (under house arrest). This notion evokes Clifford's (1985, p. 240) discussions of museums as appropriating objects and Foucault's (1977) work on prisons.

<sup>9</sup>Archival records are the by-products of human activity. At their most transparent they are unselfconscious creations intended not to interpret or investigate a particular topic but to complete a normal and often routine transaction. In modern archival theory, such records derive reliability and authenticity as evidence; consequently they result from activity

credit Bloch (1954, p. 51) with the phrase]. Assmann (2010, p. 99, citing Burkhardt) similarly distinguishes messages (consciously aimed at the future) from traces (present signs without future intention, which survive and become historical remains).<sup>10</sup> The idea of accidental witnesses of future, albeit unintentional, significance leads to the next section.

## ARCHIVES AS INSTRUMENTS OF SUBVERSION

Foucault and Derrida also develop the idea of archives challenging the hegemony just considered. This relates to Foucault's "archeology of knowledge": Close reading and assiduous research ("mining the archive") allow us to "excavate" hidden or silenced voices, such as that of the parricide Pierre Rivière (1982, discussed in Sheringham 2011) allowing "an insurrection of subjugated knowledges" (Foucault 1980, p. 81). Derrida sees the archive as containing excess, disrupting its own bounds (J. Bajorek, forthcoming manuscript; Ricœur 1988, p. 125). Both approaches conclude that, pace the section above, we are not complete prisoners of the archive, that thought is not (totally) determined, so we can consider other voices. Therefore, we can excavate and recover subjugated voices from archives of women (Davies 1987, Burton 2003), the insane (Foucault 1967), and religious dissidents (Ladurie 1978). Yet Derrida and Foucault's other arguments imply its impossibility [Comaroff & Comaroff (1992, p. 16) cite Ginzberg against the pessimistic quietism accompanying acceptance of such impossibility]. With care and assiduity, it is possible to understand people from archives

---

itself, and are not conscious or deliberate efforts to influence thought" (Jimerson 2003). Sadly, as Jimerson recognizes, this is optimistic as a general statement: It is true of many records but not for all. Some records are created to protect their creators. Others are deleted to the same end. "Archival diplomatics" studies the forensic trails and patterns of creation/deletion and recasting.

<sup>10</sup>For Ricœur (1988), the trace is "the warrant a document provides for history" (p. 117).

in ways never intended or envisaged by those creating or maintaining the archives.<sup>11</sup>

There is "no view from nowhere" (Levy 1998, p. 168): Every ethnography, history, and archive is positioned or biased in one or many ways. This does not make archival (or any other) research worthless; rather, we must deal with the positionality or bias of the accounts. There are two general strategies for doing so. The Comaroffs "read against the grain" (1991, pp. 52/53, citing Benjamin 1968, p. 257) using sources such as newspapers and songs [calling them "textual traces" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992, p. 33)] to help interpret records in conventional archives. For them, archives contain arguments and are dialogical: "[A]s anthropologists, therefore, we must work both in and outside of the official record" (p. 34). This notion parallels Derrida's suggestions about the implications of excess and contradiction: Archives are sometimes "unconscious maps of the mundane" (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992, p. 36; see also Savage 2005; Dados 2009; Geiger et al. 2010, pp. 25, 26; Roque & Wagner 2012, pp. 23–24). We can study this process by considering archival ethnographies. "The history that would comprise an ethnography of the archive, a history of the practice of the archive, would neglect neither the user in the past nor the user who writes these words, the ostensible 'historian'" (Joyce 1999, p. 37). Indeed, for the Comaroffs (1992), "[A]n ethnography of this archive begins to disinter the processes by which disparate, even divisive, discourses were fused into a consistent ideology" (p. 35). In an important monograph, Stoler (2009) took up the challenge with a significant twist. She reads *Along the Archival Grain* (her title) to identify the biases and preoccupations of the creators of archived documents. This reading sees archives as "systems of expectation" (Stoler

---

<sup>11</sup>East German *Stasi* agents found it inconceivable until shortly before German reunification that anyone else would ever access their archives (Assmann 2010). This strange innocence makes the biases easier to read than in archived documents created with an eye to the future (see Trouillot 1995, Freshwater 2007).

1992, p. 109).<sup>12</sup> Considering material from the Caribbean, Trouillot (1995) encourages us to think about the power plays affecting silences, determining which stories get told and which leave traces (p. 29). Recognizing this, we can read the silences: Reading archival absences against the grain is a way of making silence speak (see Pels 1997, p. 166).

The work of the subaltern studies group (e.g., Guha 1983) in South Asia exemplifies these approaches, using an understanding of how records were created (reading along the grain) to recover history from below (reading across the grain). Working on material from the same region in broadly the same tradition are Bayly (1996), Burton (2003), Cohn (1987), and his student Dirks (1993). Other examples are in collections on the history of anthropology (e.g., Stocking 1991, Pels & Saleminck 1999).

However, not all can be excavated of what lingers along and across the archival grain. Although I cited above Trouillot's (1995) use of silences in history and making them speak, this process is not always possible. Ballantyne (2001, p. 94) cites Spivak against Foucault and the project of "recovery." The answer to Spivak's question, "[C]an the subaltern speak?" (at least for women), is often "no." Discussing images of slaves, Best (2010) concludes that "the archival disfiguration of any record of the enslaved may have been so intense [...] as to bar any hope of recovery and render the enslaved all but irretrievable" (p. 158). Sometimes the past is truly lost. But we cannot know *a priori* what is lost without trying. Some extraordinary research (cited above) has succeeded in writing history (and ethnography) from below.

Michelet's nineteenth-century "resurrectionist history" (1863) partly anticipated Foucault. It brings "the dead to life" by restoring knowledge of their names. This approach has particular resonance for those working on photographic archives: Knowing a name

renders an image more than a nice photograph. It connects photographs as (social) objects to the lives of their subjects. For visual theorists, in Michelet's spirit, putting names to faces is redemptive (whether of the people or the images). However, Farge (1989) sounds a balanced caution: Historical (or ethnographic) research does not revive the dead, but passes them on to future others so that more stories "can be built on their enigmatic presences" (p. 145).<sup>13</sup>

Enigmatic or ghostly, more or less substantial, our families dead, alive, and as yet unborn: These are the people we relate to. Our relations to these people mark and affect humans now, as they always have. Thinking about archives, traces left by people in paper records or as archaeological remains, illuminates the complexity of interrelationships across time and space. Nora (1989, p. 13) sees modern memory as obsessed with archives, another take on archive fever. Echoing Derrida, Stewart (1993 [1984]) closes her book about museums and the desire to collect with the thought that names on labels are another attempt to belie mortality. We must ask if names alone are enough. Perhaps we should accept that often we are only left with enigma.

### Archives as Liminal Phase (Between Memory and Forgetting)

Even enigmas can fade with time. Another approach to archives deems them a liminal zone, between memory and forgetting. Assmann (2010) provides a clear account. Her starting point is that we must forget in order to remember. Ordinary humans are not like "Funes the Memorious" in Borges's (1964) story, remembering everything, forgetting nothing. For Borges, "[T]o think is to forget a difference, to generalize, to abstract" (p. 71). So "memory, including cultural memory, is always permeated and shot through with

<sup>12</sup>This alerts us to collaboration in archive creation: Colonized subjects were clerks (and more), writing documents in colonial archives under orders from, and sometimes in discussion with, their colonial masters.

<sup>13</sup>See Crowley (2007) on the importance of names for Pierre Michon; see Zeitlyn (2008, pp. 167–68) for a similar position on life writing.

forgetting. In order to remember anything one has to forget; but what is forgotten is not necessarily lost forever” (Assmann 2010, pp. 105–6). For Assmann, both memory and archives have active and passive aspects. Of memory, she says, “The institutions of active memory preserve the *past as present* while the institutions of passive memory preserve the *past as past*” (2010, p. 98, emphases in original). However, she further distinguishes among political archives, tools of power [e.g., the *Stasi* archives in East Germany (p. 103)], and historical archives, once but no longer of immediate use, preserved inert for future uses/contexts.

If in the truly long term we are all, if not forgotten, at best archaeology, then the archive is a liminal state, demonstrating optimism about the long term, which is even more important for being unfounded.<sup>14</sup> This viewpoint sees the archive as a liminal zone where objects, files, and memories may be lost or retrieved. Taylor (2003) calls this the politics of ephemerality, the power to choose to preserve/remember (pp. 173–74, 192–93) or to forget. Discussing photographs of the “disappeared” in Argentina, she examines archives’ political role and their function as “performance installations” (p. 178).

Seeing archives as liminal zones in rites of passage between memory and forgetting fits well with Nora’s suggestion that *lieux de mémoire* (“realms of memory”; Kritzman 1996) replace *milieux de mémoire* [more general settings in which memory is part of everyday experience (Nora 1989, p. 7)]. As the past becomes unimportant in everyday life, we valorize museums and archives instead (Velody 1998, p. 13; Hutchens 2007, p. 38). Stoler (2009) suggests that “rather than being the tomb of the trace, the archive is more frequently the product of the anticipation of collective memory” (p. 16).

Trouillot (1995) examined the role of archives as mediators, bridging times, places, and people in Haiti, despite the lacunae

and silences they contain (p. 52). This view parallels the role of ethnographic museums as “contact zones” (Pratt 1991, Clifford 1997), especially when indigenous museums (Erikson et al. 2002, p. 31) act as mediators between indigenous groups and the public, anthropologists, and other researchers. The complexity of such mediation is brought out in studies of museums (and archives) as institutions and of the archivists who work in them (see below). Ricoeur (1988) considers another type of mediation, seeing archival documents as mediating traces connecting past and present [p. 123; see Fabian (2008) and Meehan (2009) on “the archival nexus”]. Similar ideas about photographs view them as traces, which the viewer uses to construct (evoke) a person (discussed in Zeitlyn 2008).

Meehan (2009) discusses “Yeo’s suggestion that evidence and memory [...] be thought of as ‘affordances’ (or properties or functions) provided by records. An archival concept of evidence as a relation between record and event offers one explanation for how and why records are capable of fulfilling the role of touchstones or providing whatever affordances they are capable of offering” (p. 160). The path actually taken depends on interactions among readers, documents, and archivists.

Concluding this section, consider archivists as mediators, agents in the research process. Archivists select material for archiving and mediate in the process of research: helping researchers find documents, suggesting relevant new materials, and helping researchers frame “a good question” (Nardi & O’Day 1996, Trace 2006). They are generally more knowledgeable than researchers about the quirks of their archives. They understand how the catalogs work, the idiosyncrasies that can hide material under terms obscure to outsiders. Marquis (2007) sees archivists as “mediators between records creators and records repositories, between archives and users, between conceptions of the past and extant documentation” (p. 36). Taking this seriously, we must consider archives as complex social organizations, studying them anthropologically to

<sup>14</sup>The Long Now Foundation (<http://www.longnow.org/>) explores the implications of thinking in the seriously long term.

produce ethnographies of archives, works of archiveology.

## Archiveology/Museology

Dirks (2002) suggested the need for an “ethnography of the archive” in his call “to historicize the archive” (p. 48). His view responds to Derrida: “[N]ormally the archive is self-effacing—we discuss the contents but not the structures which have resulted in those contents being there and surviving. A sociology (anthropology) of the archive changes the frame” (Derrida 1995, p. 58). Studies of record creation, the raw material for archives, were cited above. There are few ethnographic studies of archives as institutions (Yakel 1997, Gracy 2001, Shankar 2002, Trace 2004). They have not used the term archiveology for what they do, although it seems appropriate (see Katz 1991, p. 98). “[O]ne might imagine [. . .] a history of the relevant agents of the archive. It would be a history of at least two kinds of people—archivists and historians—who tend to inhabit such dry, dark, forbidding places” (Osborne 1999, p. 52).

Although the importance of Stoler and Burton’s work is widely recognized, these authors use archival material more often than studying archives themselves. Bastian’s substantial study (2003) focuses on an individual archive qua institution.<sup>15</sup> Steedman (2002) and Farge [1989 reviewed by Carrard (2002)] describe, in very different styles, the process of working in archives from the researcher’s viewpoint and provide autoethnographies

of undertaking archival research. Relevant parallels lie in anthropological approaches to museums (museology) (e.g., Handler & Gable 1997, Macdonald 2002, Fyfe 2006, Gosden & Larson 2007, Isaac 2007).

## An Embarrassment of Metaphors

Perhaps such literature suggests that the archive concept has been a fashion victim and risks collapsing under the weight of metaphoric overextension. If everything is an archive, then what do we call the buildings that house the old files? If everything is an archive, then everything we do and think is conditioned by and part of the archive, so the word tells us nothing. Perhaps too many uses and meanings are being loaded onto the term, replicating an aspect of what an archive is: a collection of more or less connected, and more or less disordered, disparate entities (often but not always documents).

One example is Derrida’s use of Freud. Derrida sees repression as a form of archiving: repression as putting items out of consciousness, archiving as putting items out of circulation and public awareness (see Assman on forgetting, above). He also invokes Freud’s parallel between circumcision creating disjuncta and the archive as being a repository of dismembered parts. Such metaphors may be provocative and intriguing, but they also provoke a different response, reflecting on the ways in which archiving is not like repression and is nonviolent. Like much “grand theory,” this depends on taste and temperament. What excites one theoretician irritates another, and we have yet to address how these ideas may relate to evidence.

Consider two instances of overextension: first, archive as memory, and second, Internet as archive.

**Archive as memory.** Assman and others emphasize the role of archives in processes of memory and forgetting (see also Foote 1990, Craig 2002). Jimerson (2003) identifies four types of memory: personal, collective, historical, and archival, seeing archives as repositories of memory. An individual has

<sup>15</sup>Some key collections contain article-length accounts: Hamilton et al. (2002), Burton (2005), and Blouin & Rosenberg (2007), and in two special issues of *The History of the Human Sciences*, Volumes 11 (in 1998) and 12 (in 1999). Recently, a largely Canadian collection has appeared: Eastwood & MacNeil (2010). Papers from a UK seminar series on *Archiving and Reusing Qualitative Data* in 2008 and 2009 are online at [http://www.restore.ac.uk/archiving\\_qualitative\\_data/projects/archive\\_series/papers.shtml](http://www.restore.ac.uk/archiving_qualitative_data/projects/archive_series/papers.shtml). Papers from the “Fieldwork Between Folders” conference (July 2011) are summarized in Roque & Wagner (2011). Gilliland & McKemmish (2004) provide an important survey of the scope of archival studies, including anthropology. Whatley & Brown (2010) summarize the Investigating the Archive project.

personal memories (often aided in recent years and in some cultural traditions by records, photographs, and prompts from family members). A social group recognizes and discusses collective or social memories [see Bloch (1998) on the complex relationship between personal autobiographical and social knowledge]. According to Jimerson, historical memory is the narrative produced by historians on the basis of artifacts such as archival records and testimony from individuals. He discusses “archival memory” but does not explore how it relates to “personal memory.”

Steedman (2002) is vehement that memory is not like an archive (p. 68). As she points out, archives have (some) boundaries and are themselves human creations. Archivists reject and discard items in ways profoundly different from how forgetting occurs, and in ways that are irremediable (unlike memory, where what is forgotten can sometimes be recalled) such as files marked in an archival catalog as “destroyed by enemy action during the Second World War” (p. 68).

Rose (2009) provides another demonstration of the difference. He discusses a study of students describing the 2001 World Trade Center attack, restating their accounts a year later. He comments that the “huge discrepancies between their first and second accounts indicated just how labile memories of quite dramatic events are. Far from passively recording the past, we in our memories actively reconstruct it” (p. 66). So “records are not memories, but rather are the triggers or touchstones that lead to the recollection of past events” (Meehan 2009, p. 160; see also Best 2010, p. 152).

This active reconstruction affects not only personal and collective memories, but also, on a slower scale, historical memory: Each generation constructs new narratives about the past, often on the basis of the same bodies of “evidence.”

**The Internet as archive.** Many authors describe the Internet as an archive (e.g., Ogle 2010). There are important limits to this claim. Archivists shape archives, deciding what goes in

and how it is cataloged. The World Wide Web apparently (misleadingly<sup>16</sup>) admits everything and is automatically indexed, not cataloged. Indexing problems led to the development of the *Semantic Web* with more intelligent links and indexes. It has been less successful than the World Wide Web. Some people see user-created tagging as an alternative to the strictly defined ontologies of the *Semantic Web* (Shirky 2008). Also, as critics of search engines have pointed out, although Google, Bing, etc., index most (not all) of the Web, if the reference you seek is among five million hits, then it is, practically, lost and inaccessible. Archivists (or their equivalents) still play a vital role in creating and managing the metadata on which search engines rely when responding to searches. Moreover, much education is still needed in the logic and implications of searching (Grigg 1991, Gilliland-Swetland 2000).

Following these caveats about conceptual approaches to archives, I conclude this half by considering two relatively new, underdeveloped (hopefully provocative) models.

## Two Models for Archives

I next consider two different approaches, which may form the basis of alternative ways of thinking about archives. These are orphanages (or hospices) and performance records (records of performances).

**Orphanages or hospices.** Orphan works are prominent in discussions of copyright (Usai 1999, Strateg. Content Alliance et al. 2009). These works have no traceable author or copyright holder. This lack poses problems for researchers and archivists (especially because the fair use quotation rights for film is less well established than for printed material): Permission is needed to copy material in copyright. Copyright extends for up to 70 years beyond the

<sup>16</sup>The so-called dark web includes materials not indexed: protected by passwords (hence inaccessible to indexing robots) and in databases such as archive catalogs.



death of the creator.<sup>17</sup> If the creator is unknown, one cannot know whether copyright persists.

Cohen and Usai report filmmakers using “orphan films” to great effect. Recently, some archives such as the British Library sound archive (containing many orphan recordings) have made many sound recordings available for researchers after agreeing on a series of protocols with the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO).<sup>18</sup>

For Cohen (2004), “[T]he term film archive is ineffective in understanding the politics of the complex lives of films. [Usai (1999)] suggests that thinking of the archive as a ‘film orphanage’ evokes the broader reality of a film and its progeny. A film print reproduces multiple offspring and potential orphans” (p. 722). Greetham (1999) talks of archives taking “protective custody” of material (p. i), which is to use the language of the orphanage. However, my section heading introduced the term hospice. Archives may be where documents follow a managed path to oblivion<sup>19</sup> or “the dead-letter office of lived memory” (Hutchens 2007, p. 38). Anyone working on archived acid paper has probably seen a document disintegrate as they attempted to read it. Orphanage managers tend to those in their care, deal with their administration, and hope that a secure and happy future can be assured. Hospices seek to ensure that death is well managed for the patients and their families. The parallels with the work of archivists are clear, but risk being exaggerated.

<sup>17</sup>This explanation is highly simplified. Different jurisdictions have different rules, depending on whether the material was published. Borgman (2007) and the Strategic Content Alliance, Korn, JISC & Collections Trust (2009) indicate more authoritative sources on the complexities of copyright law. For fair use rights in film see the Center for Social Media (2005).

<sup>18</sup>See <http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/terms/index.html> and Torsen & Anderson (2010); also see the Mukurtu Traditional Knowledge licenses online at [http://www.mukurtu.org/wiki/Manual:Traditional\\_Knowledge\\_Licenses](http://www.mukurtu.org/wiki/Manual:Traditional_Knowledge_Licenses).

<sup>19</sup>As some Native American groups desire, see First Archivists Circle (2007, p. 8). Geary (1994) explores such a “consignment to oblivion” in early medieval archivization (pp. 81–114).

**Performance records.** Theater studies suggest another model: Geiger et al. (2010, pp. 16, 17) discuss concerns about loss of context (of interviews, etc.) limiting possible reuse of qualitative data. Performance studies are exemplary because the score, script, even actual recording, of a performance differ importantly from the performance itself (no audience, no possibility of responding to audience or other performers, etc.). Much is lost, but performance archives are still valuable. So archival material, particularly archives of anthropological research, field notes, and interview recordings, might be viewed as archives of the performance of research. Performance studies researchers have long been thinking about the incompleteness and partiality of archival records (see Taylor 2003<sup>20</sup>; Schechner 1985, Jones et al. 2009).

Taylor views ethnographic fieldwork as performance (2003, pp. 75–78) and uses the idea of surrogation (pp. 46, 174, citing Roach) to capture the active processes of creation/recreation and of cultural transmission, viewing cultural memory as a process, hence a performance. So archival materials are surrogates of the events that created them (and digitized records are surrogates of physical originals). Phelan (1993) stresses the impossibility of archiving performances as performances (their status is different when accessed via recordings) and that interviews (ethnographic or not) are themselves performances because they are (more or less structured) human interactions. Geiger et al. (2010) conclude, “[M]any researchers retain qualitative research material beyond the end of a particular project suggesting that they can imagine ‘reusing’ the material themselves. Nevertheless, the ephemeral nature of the interview as a performance presents a challenge both to the researcher ‘reusing’ the qualitative data and those conducting qualitative interviews” (p. 18).

Combining these two ideas produces a model of archives as orphanages for (more or less fragile) surrogates, some of which may not

<sup>20</sup>Her distinction between archive and repertoire parallels Assmann’s between archive and canon.

survive for long. This notion provides a different viewpoint on the discussion above, especially whether the dead can be given voice, restored to named agency, subverting the present. How to care for future (possibly subversive) traces without knowing which surrogates will be significant is part of the fascination (and tension) of running an archive.

## PART TWO: ARCHIVES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### Archiving Anthropologists' Work

Anthropology has always been reflexive: Malinowski's diary is exemplary, as are Haddon's earlier diaries. Even before Malinowski became so influential, there were moves to archive the records of missionaries<sup>21</sup>, explorers, and anthropologists. Leaving aside connections between archiving and reflexivity, and the contentious issue of whether the products of anthropological research are data, I concentrate here on other current debates.

At the risk of obvious anachronism, when the oldest archives were created (such as the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives and the UK's Royal Anthropological Institute archives) ethical concerns (about content, possible uses, and access) were not discussed. Before considering recent initiatives and problems of digital preservation, I consider anthropologists, their reluctance to archive field notes, and ethics codes.

### Tensions Within Ethics Codes: Conflicting Guidelines

Supplemental Appendix 2 contains extracts from relevant ethics codes about archiving and anonymization. I note the following tensions between and among them.

### Anonymization

Anonymization is difficult to achieve (especially with photographic and video records), costly

to implement, and may fail to mask identities from those intent on identifying informants. One can rarely anonymize office holders or those in positions of power and responsibility (see Corti et al. 2000, 2005; and especially Rock 2001). Anonymization removes material from the purview of the UK Freedom of Information or Data Protection Acts (and equivalent legislation in other countries). However, anonymization keys, if retained, are liable to formal request under those statutes, thereby breaking anonymity, so archival anonymization must be all or nothing. Even the researcher must be unable to undo it.

The UK Data Protection Act (DPA) allows personal records to be retained as long as the results are anonymized.<sup>22</sup> However, successful anonymization of a body of research material would prevent future researchers (historians such as Steedman and Foucault, following Michelet, or anthropological historians, such as Macfarlane or Laslett) from undertaking some of their work, and it precludes the descendants of the people no-longer-named from discovering what their ancestors said; therefore, these records may be less useful to indigenous communities than to those with names retained.<sup>23</sup>

A default assumption that notes will be anonymized conflicts with an individual's moral right to be recognized as the author of his or her words. There is a significant difference in the default presumptions in the codes between social science (assuming anonymity) and oral history [assuming that names will be preserved, unless special factors obtain (Ward 1995; Caplan 2010, p. 17)]. Indeed, Parry & Mauthner (2004) suggest oral history as a model of good practice for qualitative sociologists, and "Hopi anthropologist Hartman Lomawaima suggests that anonymity perpetuates a 'we-they' attitude, implying that only anthropologists can make sense of traditional data" (Fowler 1995,

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.soas.ac.uk/infocomp/dpa/policy/use/> provides a concise summary.

<sup>23</sup> Jolly (2008) discusses potential issues arising from returning (or enabling access to) the Griault archives to Mali; see also Childs et al. (2011).

<sup>21</sup> See <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/> for archives of UK-based missionary organizations.

p. 67). Finally, the UK DPA does not protect the dead, nor give rights to their relatives (an individual cannot make a DPA request, which a deceased relative could have requested when alive). Simpson (2011) discusses mismatches between ethical review procedures and actual ethnographic research by stressing differences between the ethics of the “human subjects” and “social subjects” (p. 380).

Caplan (2010) has already discussed many of these issues:

[T]his is a way of “giving back” data to the people with whom we have worked, and serving as their record-keepers. [...] Archiving forces us to put our material in order in a way we might not otherwise have done, so that it becomes at least partially intelligible to others and, [...] enables us too to view it from another angle. Thirdly, it allows other scholars to make use of our data, perhaps somewhat differently than we might have done ourselves given the fact that they will read it with their own eyes, not ours. But it also enables us to leave behind for others material we have not published, since most social scientists collect far more than they are ever able to use. Finally, it enables comparison not only between our own work and that of others, but also, [...] between our prepublication data and what we write and publish. In this respect, it gives glimpses into the construction of knowledge.

Yet archiving data also [...] moves things out of our control. We sign deposit forms which give copyright to the holding institution, and which allow the material to be read, looked at or listened to by many other people, including, potentially, the subjects of the research. Who knows what all of these people will make of it? In that respect, we are indeed hostages to fortune. (p. 17)

## Consent

Ethics codes stipulate that consent for archiving should be discussed with research participants, but this is particularly difficult to obtain. Once material is archived, it may be consulted by

unknown others who might use it in novel ways (including fiction writing). Can a researcher obtain meaningful prior informed consent if the uses to which the material might be put in the future cannot be explained (Parry & Mauthner 2004, p. 147)? Some ethicists take this to mean that anthropological material, like medical samples, should be destroyed to prevent reuse without new explicit permissions. Paradoxically most anthropologists want neither to destroy their field material nor to archive it. Academic anthropologists expect to consult their field notes throughout their career for various research purposes. Many argue that ethics codes, which deem this practice illegitimate, are flawed. Participatory research<sup>24</sup> provides a (partial) solution, which fits much social and cultural anthropological research at the price of discomfiting ethics committees. Under this model, little is set in advance: neither the detailed topic of research nor consent to participate (and archive). Topic(s), archiving protocols, and publication authorship are repeatedly renegotiated during the research process. After fieldwork, it may be impossible to renegotiate in person, but hopefully the process of fieldwork will establish parameters that equip a responsible anthropologist to decide whether to archive, and if so on what conditions. Hope but hope with guidance is as good as it gets. Signatures on paper may satisfy bureaucrats (ethical Institutional Review Board committees) and facilitate legal cases but provide no guarantee that the spirit of the agreement will be honored. Anderson & Younging (2010) argue for protocols (rather than rules or laws) to provide practical and helpful guidance by recognizing the need for situational, culturally sensitive, flexibility.

Campbell’s review (2010) concludes that the participative frame and collaboration have limits. Particular problems do exist for those “studying up” (or “studying through”<sup>25</sup>): Not

<sup>24</sup>See <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/researchethics/5-5-infcons.html> for consent and participatory research (in Supplemental Appendix 3).

<sup>25</sup>Campbell (2010, p. 8) credits Shore & Wright (1997) for this expression.

only may anonymity be unachievable, but the research subjects can prevent publication if they disagree with conclusions reached. If there is a professional injunction to “speak truth to power,” then what is ethically appropriate action (Simpson 2011, p. 382)? There are countervailing professional injunctions. For example, the development professionals who clashed with Mosse (see Campbell’s discussion) are unlikely to grant access to other anthropologists, so Mosse’s research closed doors for future researchers. An archive of the controversy surrounding his analysis may prove important for future historians of power and development policy in late-20th-century United Kingdom and India. Perhaps such materials should be archived only under an embargo (creating a “dark archive”; Harvard Univ. Libr. Mellon Proj. Steer. Comm. 2002) so that researchers must wait until, say, 2070 to read the documents. Although anthropologists have long studied up (Nader 1969, Forsythe 2001), ethics codes say little of the special ethical dilemmas posed by research on high-status, power individuals.<sup>26</sup> Macdonald (2002) is an exception, accepting the impossibility of anonymization in her study of the London Science Museum (p. 13).

### Doublethink and Reluctance

*Preserving the Anthropological Record* (Silverman & Parezo 1995) and *Fieldnotes* (Sanjek 1990) discuss researchers’ possessiveness about “their data” (see also Zeitlyn 2000, Mason 2007). They were written long before social movements such as Open Science and Creative Commons (except within computer software) and before funders began to mandate the archiving of data collected with their support (see Molinié & Mouton 2008, section 4). If public funds pay for material (data) to be collected, then taxpayers should have access to what their taxes

bought.<sup>27</sup> This policy directly contradicts some ethnic groups’ cultural traditions concerning secrecy and controlled access to information (Isaac 2011).

Many anthropologists surveyed by Jackson (1990) exemplify the contradictions Derrida identified surrounding archives. They were reluctant to cede or to allow access to their field notes, fearing loss of control or that they might “expose themselves and their failings. Yet they were reluctant to ensure that this will never happen by burning or contemplating other forms of destruction” (Jackson 1990, p. 10; see also Mayer-Schönberger 2009). Povinelli (2011) is refreshingly honest about considering the destruction of her research archives (p. 169). Jackson also reports reluctance to consider explicitly correlates of mortality<sup>28</sup>: not leaving instructions in wills about research material, or not thinking through the implications of archiving.<sup>29</sup> Pienta et al. (2010) discuss reticence, confidentiality concerns, and the benefits of sharing in social science. The potential for reuse is repeatedly questioned yet also sometimes clearly demonstrated: Cunha (2006) discusses creating the Ruth Landes archive. Bond, Lutkehaus, and Plath (each in Sanjek 1990) explore their involvement with others’ field notes, as do others (see the 2008 special issue of *Ateliers d’Anthropologie: L’ethnologue aux prises avec les archives*, edited by Molinié & Mouton). To anthropologists who say “their notes are worthless or undecipherable” (Jackson 1990, p. 10), apart from asking why then the notes are retained at all, the proper rejoinder is that it is not all or nothing [de Pina-Cabral (2011); Mason (2007) calls for “investigative epistemologies” to break such dichotomies]. The writer of the field note

<sup>26</sup> See an online tutorial (especially the section on reflexivity): <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/researchethics/3-7-reflexethics.html> citing the UK ESRC Ethics Framework.

<sup>27</sup> Harnad’s original argument applied to scientific results published in commercial published journals, which are inaccessible to most of the public. The debate has been generalized to include data on which publications are based.

<sup>28</sup> This reflects unwillingness by many to contemplate their own mortality; many people die without a will.

<sup>29</sup> Depositing papers creates an expensive archiving task. If possible, a donor’s will should provide funds to cover their accession/indexing.

is its ideal reader,<sup>30</sup> for whom a note might jog a memory, recovering “headnotes”: field notes “made and kept” in the head (Ottenburg 1990, p. 144). However, other readers may still get something from them. Lutkehaus describes how her reading of Wedgwood’s field notes changed after she visited their shared field site. I benefited from reading Rehfish’s notes in the village where he made them.

I offer a final thought on reluctance and openness. To destroy field material is an extreme assertion of ownership. Despite feelings of ownership, many professional anthropologists need a quasi-Marxist reminder that, as employees, legally they do not own the fruits of their labors (Parry & Mauthner 2004, p. 141). Destruction is an extraordinary assertion of power (an act of hubris) and prevents colleagues from the communities studied from reconsidering our work, as the Dogon anthropologist Denis Doyon (2008) did with Griault’s papers. Others modestly say that archiving is only for big names. Leopold (2008) from the US National Anthropological Archives responds:

Our decision to collect and preserve ethnographic fieldnotes produced by *all* American anthropologists reflects our profound belief that primary ethnographic data is extremely valuable, even materials produced by less-known academics and those who publish relatively little. In fact, [ . . . ] these materials may have even greater value because the results of their research have never been published. They include materials that document regions of the world that continue to undergo rapid social and cultural change. As such, their field notes preserve a unique record of social life. (section 15, emphasis in original)

## Archives of Anthropology

Anthropologists and historians research the same archives. Anthropologists ask different

<sup>30</sup>Molinié & Mouton (2008, section 16) point out they are also best placed to collaborate with archivists in the process of archival deposit, with future researchers in mind.

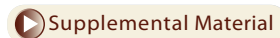
questions and often complement archival work by research with living informants. Researchers such as Stoler, Dirks, and Macfarlane straddle disciplinary boundaries. Space here prohibits discussion of the archives anthropologists use for research except where they are archives of anthropology, holding material collected by anthropological researchers. As noted above, some important archives were established in the nineteenth century. It is unclear whether the existing archives can cope with the material which will require archiving when the post-World War II anthropologists retire and die (see footnote 30 above).

Supplemental Appendix 2 lists key starting points, including archives with substantial holdings of early material, those dealing with research after World War II and that of contemporary anthropologists, and key organizations that provide overviews and guidance, such as the US Council for the Preservation of Anthropological Records, the French Corpus: Infrastructure de Recherche, and the UK’s Qualidata.<sup>31</sup> A special issue of *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* surveys current European provision (see Corti 2011).

## Preservation Problems for Digital Archives

Notes made on paper, traditional photographic prints, and negatives on safety film, left under a bed, will probably be readable 100 years hence. The opposite is true of digital records. Continually changing technology for storing and reading digital archives necessitates active curation to maintain current (let alone future) access. Horror stories are legion about data trapped on media that are no longer readable. The UK’s Digital Curation Centre pioneered efforts to

<sup>31</sup>Part of the Economic and Social Data Service (ESDS), this has a specialist catalog dedicated to qualitative data, including a few anthropological archives (~100 in August 2011), and Qualidata hosts data from some of them. The number is misleadingly small: The archive also contains many important data sets from oral-history researchers, reflecting the influence of Paul Thompson, one of its founders.



establish practical solutions to these problems, providing guidance for individuals and institutions (see <http://www.dcc.ac.uk/>).

It is costlier (in labor and infrastructure) to maintain digital archives than paper-based ones. This fact is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. However, digital archives scale better than paper-based ones (holding size could double without increasing costs significantly), and they enable access to people in many places in ways impossible for traditional archives. This situation raises complex and radical possibilities.

### CONCLUSIONS: TOWARD RADICAL ARCHIVES

Working collaboratively in Australia, Povinelli (2011) dreamt of an archive accessible via a smartphone with built-in GPS. The phone knows the identity and location of the user, and the archive software is set up to display material conditioned by those two variables and by the user's interests. Imagine an Australian sacred site: Sitting in Sydney or New York, a young man without kin ties to the site may see a very different (reduced) set of material than might an old woman from Europe near the site, who herself would see different material from a man born nearby. I use the word "dream" to connect to some Australian aborigine cultural traditions, but Povinelli is not being fantastical: The technology to build such a system exists and could easily be realized.

This would be a "Radical Archive" (Geismar 2012). These are archives radically rethought and managed in ways unlike anything assumed in previous discussions concerning legal structures, privacy debates, or the models of openness explicit in Cultural Commons licenses [see Brown (1998), especially p. 198, for discussion of wider conflicts; see Isaac (2011) for case studies, including a provocative comparison of attempts to control distribution and access to material by representatives of Zuni Pueblo and the Church of Scientology]. As exemplified by some museums working with indigenous groups individually (e.g., Denver, see

Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2011) and collectively (e.g., The Reciprocal Research Network<sup>32</sup>), radical archives pose important questions for anthropologists considering archiving research material. Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2011) notes the varying attitudes of different ethnic groups: There may not be unanimity within a group, and attitudes may change over time. For example, born-again Christians can be enthusiastic (literal) iconoclasts. Can archivists adjudicate between demands from those who repudiate idolatry to destroy pagan symbolism and those who respect its powers (holding that only they can be entrusted with its care)? Colwell-Chanthaphonh recognizes the dilemmas this complexity poses for museum curators and archivists. Mitigating complexity obliges administrators to engage with groups who historically have not been party to discussions. This practice will not right the wrongs of invasion, colonization, or capitalism, but it is achievable within the small frame of an archive. I note one important caution: Much exemplary work is being undertaken in Australia and North America. The cultural norms of these groups should not be imposed on groups elsewhere anymore than those groups should be forced to follow the norms of Western Europe (Descola 1998, p. 209). Not all cultural traditions stress secrecy (as do Zuni) or respect for the dead by suppressing photographs of the deceased (as occurs in Australian traditions).

What does this mean for anthropologists with material (potentially) to archive? First, they should look to their notes and hard drives and organize (at least minimally) what they have. Only then can there be meaningful discussion of possible routes to archiving. Then they can discuss with representatives from the source communities (if possible, if not already undertaken) and with possible repositories what can and should be done. Conversations about possible archiving should occur beforehand, while

<sup>32</sup>This project was codeveloped by two Native American groups and a university museum; see <http://www.rnpilot.org/>.

the material is being collected. That is the thrust of ethics code guidance. However, we must be realistic: Doctoral research is usually carried out by young researchers who often talk to age-mates in the field. At that age, humans seem myopic about aging and death, so it may be unrealistic to expect them to engage in meaningful conversations about what will happen after they die.

This is not to excuse doing nothing. When doing research, when considering archiving research material, anthropologists are bound by critical, ethical, and moral constraints as well as by legal ones. Eschewing legalese, we seek (*a*) to do no harm, (*b*) to do right by those with whom we work, and (*c*) to help our successors as much as is consonant with those two principles. What this means in practice varies enormously according to cultural context [limiting our ability to generalize meaningfully in the form of edicts, guidelines, or protocols. Brown (1998, p. 200) calls this ethical realism]. So, as individuals well placed to understand cultural specificities, we must determine the responsible position to archiving in each research circumstance,

through complex negotiations and discussions with various agents. If that practice becomes the norm, then progress will have been made.

Anthropologists place themselves betwixt and between, as agents of the art and science of ethnographic research. The long-term consequences include complex and sometimes fraught relationships with the people researched, with research funders, and with archives. There are no simple answers (nor should we seek any) to the question of whether to archive, and if so how. Digital media increase access, increase the different types of material available, and increase the complexity of archive management as well as the potential for misrepresentation, for creative reanalysis, and for community involvement. However, the shift to digital does not change profoundly the conceptual issues for anthropologists about their relationships to archives. As we have seen, these connect to wider theoretical issues about how representations are made and of what they consist and cannot be solved by simple reference to ethics codes or committees. Archives are indeed surrogates for anthropology.

## DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

The author is not aware of any affiliations, memberships, funding, or financial holdings that might be perceived as affecting the objectivity of this review.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have greatly benefited from discussions and correspondence on this topic with Jennifer Bajorek, Pat Caplan, Louise Corti, Elizabeth Edwards, Haidy Geismar, Michael Sheringham, and an anonymous reviewer for Annual Reviews. I am extremely grateful to them all for their comments. Anna Rayne has helped me clarify the issues. Both she and I know how much I owe her. The remaining faults, of course, are my own.

## LITERATURE CITED

- Anderson J, Younging G. 2010. *Discussion Paper on Protocols*. Can. Public Art Fund. (CPAF) Prof. Dev. Meet. Aborig. Arts Sess. Protoc. [http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/sites/default/files/project\\_papers/research\\_team\\_publications/aboriginal\\_arts\\_protocols\\_discussionpaper\\_for\\_canadian\\_public\\_art\\_funders\\_anderson\\_younging.pdf](http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/sites/default/files/project_papers/research_team_publications/aboriginal_arts_protocols_discussionpaper_for_canadian_public_art_funders_anderson_younging.pdf)
- Appadurai A. 1993. Number in the colonial imagination. See Breckenridge & van der Veer 1993, pp. 314–39
- Asad T. 2002. Ethnographic representations, statistics and modern power. See Axel 2002, pp. 66–91

- Assmann A. 2010. Canon and archive. In *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. A Erll, A Nünning, pp. 97–107. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter
- Axel BK, ed. 2002. *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and its Futures*. Durham, NC/London: Duke Univ. Press
- Ballantyne T. 2001. Archive, state, discipline: power and knowledge in South Asian historiography. *N. Z. J. Asian Stud.* 3:87–105
- Bastian JA. 2003. *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*. Westport, CT: Libr. Unltd.
- Bayly CA. 1996. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Best S. 2010. Neither lost nor found: slavery and the visual archive. *Representations* 113:150–63
- Bloch M. 1998. Autobiographical memory and the historical memory of the more distant past. In *How We Think They Think. Anthropological Approaches to Cognition, Memory, and Literacy*, pp. 114–27. Boulder, CO: Westview
- Bloch ML. 1954. *The Historian's Craft*. Manchester, UK: Manchester Univ. Press
- Blouin FX Jr, Rosenberg WG, eds. 2007. *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
- Borges JL. 1964. Funes the memorious. In *Labyrinths*, pp. 65–71. New York: New Dir.
- Borgman CL. 2007. *Scholarship in the Digital Age: Information, Infrastructure, and the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Bourdieu P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Breckenridge CA, van der Veer P, eds. 1993. *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press
- Brown MF. 1998. Can culture be copyrighted? *Curr. Anthropol.* 39:193–222
- Burton A. 2003. *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home, and History in Late Colonial India*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press
- Burton AM, ed. 2005. *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Campbell JR. 2010. The “problem” of ethics in contemporary anthropological research. *Anthropol. Matters* 12:1–17
- Caplan P. 2010. Something for posterity or hostage to fortune? Archiving anthropological field material. *Anthropol. Today* 26:13–17
- Carrard P. 2002. Une historienne et le «personnel»: Le Goût de l'archive d'Arlette Farge. *Soc. Représent.* 13:227–45
- Cent. Soc. Media. 2005. *Documentary Filmmakers' Statement of Best Practices in Fair Use*. Washington, DC: Cent. Soc. Media. [http://www.centerforsocialmedia.org/sites/default/files/fair\\_use\\_final.pdf](http://www.centerforsocialmedia.org/sites/default/files/fair_use_final.pdf)
- Childs BG, Van Herk G, Thorburn J. 2011. Safe harbour: ethics and accessibility in sociolinguistic corpus building. *Corpus Linguist. Linguist. Theory* 7:163–80
- Cicourel AV. 1968. *The Social Organization of Juvenile Justice*. New York: Wiley
- Clifford J. 1985. Objects and others—an afterword. In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture. History of Anthropology 3*, ed. G Stocking, pp. 236–46. Madison: Univ. Wis. Press
- Clifford J, ed. 1997. Museums as contact zones. In *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, pp. 188–219. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press
- Cohen E. 2004. The orphanista manifesto: orphan films and the politics of reproduction. *Am. Anthropol.* 106:719–31
- Cohn BS. 1987. *An Anthropologist Among the Historians and Other Essays*. Delhi/Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh C. 2011. Sketching knowledge: quandaries in the mimetic reproduction of Pueblo ritual. *Am. Ethnol.* 38:451–67
- Comaroff J, Comaroff J. 1991. *Of Revelation and Revolution*. Volume 1: *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press
- Comaroff J, Comaroff J. 1992. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Oxford: Westview
- Cook T. 2007. Remembering the future: appraisal of records and the role of archives in constructing social memory. See Blouin & Rosenberg 2007, pp. 169–81



- Corti L. 2011. The European landscape of qualitative social research archives: methodological and practical issues. *Forum Qual. Soz./Forum: Qual. Soc. Res.* 12, Art. 11. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1746>
- Corti L, Day A, Backhouse G. 2000. Confidentiality and informed consent: issues for consideration in the preservation of and provision of access to qualitative data archives. *Forum Qual. Soz./Forum: Qual. Soc. Res.* 1, Art. 7. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs000372>
- Corti L, Witzel A, Bishop L. 2005. On the potentials and problems of secondary analysis. An introduction to the FQS special issue on secondary analysis of qualitative data. *Forum Qual. Soz./Forum: Qual. Soc. Res.* 6, Art. 49
- Coulthard M. 2002. Whose voice is it? Invented and concealed dialogue in written records of verbal evidence produced by the police. In *Language in the Legal Process*, ed. J Cotterill, pp. 19–34. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Craig B. 2002. Selected themes in the literature on memory and their pertinence to archives. *Am. Arch.* 65:276–89
- Crowley P. 2007. *Pierre Michon: The Afterlife of Names*. Oxford/New York: Peter Lang
- Cunha OMG da. 2006. Imperfect tense: an ethnography of the archive. *Mana*. Vol. 1. Selected ed. [http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0104-93132006000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso](http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-93132006000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso)
- Dados N. 2009. Anything goes, nothing sticks: radical stillness and archival impulse. *M/C J.* Vol. 12, No. 1. <http://dev.mediaculture.ci.qut.edu.au/ojs/index.php/mcjournal/article/view/126>
- Davies NZ. 1987. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Cambridge, UK: Polity
- de Pina-Cabral J. 2011. The all-or-nothing syndrome and the human condition. In *The Challenge of Epistemology—Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. C Toren, J de Pina-Cabral, pp. 163–76. Oxford: Berghahn Books
- Derrida J. 1995. Archive fever. A Freudian impression. *Diacritics* 25:9–63
- Derrida J. 2002. Archive fever in South Africa. See Hamilton et al. 2002, pp. 38–80 (even pages only)
- Descola P. 1998. Comment on Michael Brown, Can Culture Be Copyrighted? *Current Anthropology* 39:208–9
- Dirks N. 1993. Colonial histories and native informants: biography of an archive. See Breckenridge & van der Veer 1993, pp. 279–313
- Dirks N. 2002. Annals of the archive: ethnographic notes on the sources of history. See Axel 2002, pp. 47–65
- Doyon D. 2008. Le regard d'un ethnologue malien sur les archives du Fonds Marcel-Griaule. *Ateliers Anthropol.* 32: <http://ateliers.revues.org/3062>
- Eastwood T, MacNeil H, eds. 2010. *Currents of Archival Thinking*. Santa Barbara, CA: Libr. Unltd.
- Echevarría RG. 1990. *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Erikson PP, with Helma Ward and Kirk Wachendorf. 2002. *Voices of a Thousand People: The Makab Cultural and Research Center*. Lincoln: Univ. Neb. Press
- Ernst W. 1999. Archival action: the archive as ROM and its political instrumentalization under National Socialism. *Hist. Hum. Sci.* 12:13–34
- Fabian J. 2008. *Ethnography as Commentary: Writing from the Virtual Archive*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Farge A. 1997 [1989]. *Le Goût de l'archive*. Paris: Ed. Seuil
- First Arch. Circ. 2007. *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials*. Salamanca, NY: First Arch. Circ. <http://www2.nau.edu/libnap-p/protocols.html>
- Foote K. 1990. To remember and forget: archives, memory, and culture. *Am. Arch.* 53:378–92
- Forsythe DE. 2001. *Studying Those Who Study Us: An Anthropologist in the World of Artificial Intelligence (Writing Science)*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press
- Foucault M. 1967. *Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. London: Tavistock
- Foucault M. 1970. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Tavistock
- Foucault M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen Lane
- Foucault M. 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*. Brighton, UK: Harvester

- Fowler C. 1995. Ethical considerations. See Silverman & Parezo 1995, pp. 63–72
- Freshwater H. 2007. The allure of the archive: performance and censorship. *Moveable Type* Vol. 3 (Archives: From Memory to Event). <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english/graduate/issue/3/pdf/freshwater.pdf>
- Fyfe G. 2006. Sociology and the social aspects of museums. In *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. S Macdonald, pp. 33–49. Malden, MA/Oxford: Blackwell
- Garfinkel H. 1984 [1967]. “Good” organizational reasons for “bad” clinic records. In *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, pp. 186–207. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Geary PJ. 1994. Archival memory and the destruction of the past. In *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, pp. 81–114. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Geiger T, Moore N, Savage M. 2010. The archive in question. *Rev. Pap. NCRM/016*, ESRC Natl. Cent. Res. Methods. [http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/921/1/Moore\\_review\\_paper\\_march\\_10.pdf](http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/921/1/Moore_review_paper_march_10.pdf)
- Geismar H. 2012. Museum + digital = ? In *Digital Anthropology*, ed. HA Horst, D Miller. Oxford: Berg
- Gilliland A, McKemmish S. 2004. Building an infrastructure for archival research. *Arch. Sci.* 4:149–97
- Gilliland-Swetland AJ. 2000. Archival research: a “new” issue for graduate education. *Am. Arch.* 63:258–70
- Gosden C, Larson F. 2007. *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884–1945*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press
- Gracy KF. 2001. *The Imperative to Preserve: Competing Definitions of Value in the World of Film Preservation*. Los Angeles: Univ. Calif. Press
- Greetham D. 1999. “Who’s in, who’s out”: the cultural poetics of archival exclusion. *Stud. Lit. Imagin. (Spec. Issue: The Poetics of the Archive)* xxxii:1–28
- Grigg S. 1991. Archival practice and the foundations of historical method. *J. Am. Hist.* 78:228–39
- Guha R. 1983. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press
- Hamilton C, Harris V, Pickover M, Reid G, Saleh R, Taylor J, eds. 2002. *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip
- Handler R, Gable E. 1997. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Harvard Univ. Libr. Mellon Proj. Steer. Comm., Harvard Univ. Libr. Mellon Proj. Tech. Team. 2002. *Report on the Planning Year Grant for the Design of an E-Journal Archive*. Andrew W. Mellon Found. <http://old.diglib.org/preserve/harvardfinal.pdf>
- Hutchens B. 2007. Techniques of forgetting? Hypo-amnesic history and the an-archive. *SubStance* 36:37–55
- Isaac G. 2007. *Mediating Knowledges: Origins of a Zuni Tribal Museum*. Tucson: Univ. Ariz. Press
- Isaac G. 2011. Whose idea was this? *Curr. Anthropol.* 52:211–33
- Jackson JJ. 1990. “I am a fieldnote”: fieldnotes as a symbol of professional identity. See Sanjek 1990, pp. 3–33
- Jimerson RC. 2003. Archives and memory. *OCLC Syst. Serv.* 19:89–95
- Jolly É. 2008. Le Fonds Marcel-Griaule: un objet de recherche à partager ou un patrimoine à restituer? *Ateliers Anthropol.* 32: <http://ateliers.revues.org/2902>
- Jones S, Abbott D, Ross S. 2009. Redefining the performing arts archive. *Arch. Sci.* 9:165–71
- Joyce P. 1999. The politics of the liberal archive. *Hist. Hum. Sci.* 12:35–49
- Katz J. 1991. From archive to archiveology. *Cinematograph* 4:93–103
- Ketelaar E. 2001. Tacit narratives: the meanings of archives. *Arch. Sci.* 1:131–41
- Kritzman LD. 1996. Foreword. In remembrance of things French. In *Pierre Nora: Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, pp. ix–xiv. New York: Columbia Univ. Press
- Ladurie ELR. 1978. *Montaillou. Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324*. London: Scolar
- Leopold R. 2008. The second life of ethnographic fieldnotes. *Ateliers Anthropol.* 32: <http://ateliers.revues.org/3132>
- Levy N. 1998. History as struggle: Foucault’s genealogy of genealogy. *Hist. Hum. Sci.* 11:159–70
- Macdonald S. 2002. *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum*. Oxford: Berg
- Manoff M. 2004. Theories of the archive from across the disciplines. *Portal: Libr. Acad.* 4:9–25
- Marquis K. 2007. Not dragon at the gate but research partner: the reference archivist as mediator. See Blouin & Rosenberg 2007, pp. 36–42
- Mason J. 2007. “Re-using” qualitative data: on the merits of an investigative epistemology. *Sociol. Res. Online* 12: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/3.html>

- Mathur S. 2000. History and anthropology in South Asia: rethinking the archive. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 29:89–106
- Mayer-Schönberger V. 2009. *Delete: The Virtue of Forgetting in the Digital Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Meehan J. 2009. The archival nexus: rethinking the interplay of archival ideas about the nature, value, and use of records. *Arch. Sci.* 9:157–64
- Michelet J. 1863. *La sorcière, the witch of the Middle Ages*. London: Simpkin, Marshall
- Molinie A, Mouton M-D. 2008. L'ethnologue aux prises avec les archives—introduction. *Ateliers Anthropol.* 32: <http://ateliers.revues.org/1093>
- Morash M. 1984. Establishment of a juvenile police record: the influence of individual and peer group characteristics. *Criminology* 22:97–111
- Nader L. 1969. Up the anthropologist—perspectives gained from studying up. In *Reinventing Anthropology*, ed. D Hymes, pp. 285–311. New York: Pantheon
- Nardi BA, O'Day V. 1996. Intelligent agents—what we learned at the library. *Libri* 46:59–88
- Nora P. 1989. Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire. *Representations* 26:7–24
- Ogle M. 2010. *Archive Fever: A Love Letter to the Post Real-Time Web* (blog). <http://mattogle.com/archivefever>
- Olwig KF. 1984. “Witnesses in spite of themselves”: reconstructing Afro-Caribbean culture in the Danish West Indian archives. *Scand. Econ. Hist. Rev.* 32:61–76
- Osborne T. 1999. The ordinariness of the archive. *Hist. Hum. Sci.* 12:51–64
- Ottenberg S. 1990. Thirty years of fieldnotes: changing relationships to the text. See Sanjek 1990, pp. 139–60
- Parry O, Mauthner NS. 2004. Whose data are they anyway? Practical, legal and ethical issues in archiving qualitative research data. *Sociology* 38:139–52
- Pels P. 1997. The anthropology of colonialism: culture, history, and the emergence of Western governmentality. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 26:163–83
- Pels P, Salemink O, eds. 1999. *Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
- Phelan P. 1993. The ontology of performance: representation without reproduction. In *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*, pp. 146–66. London: Routledge
- Pienta AM, Alter GC, Lyle JA. 2010. *The enduring value of social science research: the use and reuse of primary research data*. Presented at Organ., Econ. Policy Sci. Res. Workshop, Torino, Italy. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/78307>
- Povinelli EA. 2011. The woman on the other side of the wall: archiving the otherwise in postcolonial digital archives. *Differ. J. Fem. Cult. Stud.* 22:146–71
- Pratt ML. 1991. Arts of the contact zone. *Profession* 91:33–40
- Richards T. 1993. *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*. London: Verso
- Ricoeur P. 1988. Archives, documents, traces. In *Time and Narrative*, Volume 3, pp. 116–26. Chicago/London: Univ. Chicago Press
- Rock F. 2001. Policy and practice in the anonymisation of linguistic data. *Int. J. Corpus Ling.* 6:1–26
- Roque R, Wagner KA. 2011. Introduction: Engaging Colonial Knowledge. In *Engaging Colonial Knowledge: Reading European Archives in World History*, ed. R Roque, KA Wagner, pp. 1–32. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Rose S. 2009. Memories are made of this. In *Memory: An Anthology*, ed. AS Byatt, H Harvey Wood, pp. 54–67. London: Vintage Books
- Sanjek R, ed. 1990. *Fieldnotes: The Making of Anthropology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
- Savage M. 2005. Revisiting classic qualitative studies. *Forum Qual. Soz./Forum. Qual. Soc. Res.* 6, Art. 31. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/502/1081>
- Savage M. 2007. Changing social class identities in post-war Britain: perspectives from mass-observation. *Sociol. Res. Online* 12: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/12/3/6.html>
- Schechner R. 1985. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press
- Schwartz JM, Cook T. 2002. Archives, records, and power: the making of modern memory. *Arch. Sci.* 2:1–19
- Shankar K. 2002. *Scientists, Records, and the Practical Politics of Infrastructure*. Los Angeles: Univ. Calif. Press
- Shankar K. 2004. Recordkeeping in the production of scientific knowledge: an ethnographic study. *Arch. Sci.* 4:367–82

- Sheringham M. 2011. Foucault, Pierre Rivière and the archival imaginary. *Comp. Crit. Stud.* 8:235–57
- Shirky C. 2008. *Here Comes Everybody*. London: Allen & Unwin
- Shore C, Wright S, eds. 1997. *Anthropology of Public Policy. Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*. London: Routledge
- Silverman S, Parezo NJ, eds. 1995. *Preserving the Anthropological Record*. New York: Wenner-Gren Found. Anthropol. Res. 2nd ed.
- Simpson B. 2011. Ethical moments: future directions for ethical review and ethnography. *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 17:377–93
- Steedman C. 2002. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press
- Steedman C. 2007. “Something she called a fever”: Michelet, Derrida, and dust (or, In the archives with Michelet and Derrida). See Blouin & Rosenberg 2007, pp. 4–19
- Steedman C. 2008. *Romance in the archive*. Ontol. Arch. Conf., April 25, Univ. Manch. <http://www.cresc.ac.uk/events/archived/archiveseries/documents/Steedman.pdf>
- Stewart S. 1993 [1984]. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. London: Duke Univ. Press
- Stocking GW Jr, ed. 1991. *Colonial Situations. Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*. Madison: Univ. Wis. Press
- Stoler AL. 1992. “In cold blood”: hierarchies of credibility and the politics of colonial narratives. *Representations* 37:151–89
- Stoler AL. 2009. *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Strateg. Content Alliance, Collect. Trust, Korn N, JISC. 2009. *In from the Cold: An Assessment of the Scope of “Orphan Works” and its Impact on the Delivery of Services to the Public*. Cambridge, UK: JISC Collect. Trust
- Taylor D. 2003. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, NC/London: Duke Univ. Press
- Torsen M, Anderson J. 2010. *Intellectual Property and the Safeguarding of Traditional Cultures—Legal Issues and Practical Options for Museums, Libraries and Archives*. Geneva: World Intellect. Prop. Organ. (WIPO)
- Trace CB. 2002. What is recorded is never simply “what happened”: record keeping in modern organizational culture. *Arch. Sci.* 2:137–59
- Trace CB. 2004. *Documenting School Life: Formal and Informal Imprints of a Fifth-Grade Classroom*. Los Angeles: Univ. Calif. Press
- Trace CB. 2006. For love of the game: an ethnographic analysis of archival reference work. *Arch. Manusc.* 34:124–43
- Trouillot M-R. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston, MA: Beacon
- Usai PC. 1999. *What is an orphan film? Definition, rationale, and controversy*. Symp. “Orphans of the Storm I: Saving Orphan Films in the Digital Age,” Sept. 23, Univ. S. C., Columbia. <http://www.sc.edu/filmsymposium/archive/orphans2001/usai.html>
- Velody I. 1998. The archive and the human sciences: notes towards a theory of the archive. *Hist. Hum. Sci.* 11:1–16
- Ward A. 1995. *Copyright Ethics and Oral History*. Colchester, UK: Oral Hist. Soc.
- Whatley P, Brown C. 2010. Along and against the grain: the philosophy of the archive. Papers from the first international conference of the Investigating the Archive project. *Arch. Sci.* 9:127–31
- Yakel E. 1997. *Recordkeeping in Radiology: The Relationships Between Activities and Records in Radiological Processes*. Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press
- Yakel E. 2001. The social construction of accountability: radiologists and their record-keeping practices. *Inf. Soc.* 17:233–45
- Yakel E. 2007. Archival representation. See Blouin & Rosenberg 2007, pp. 151–63
- Zeitlyn D. 2000. Archiving anthropology. *Forum Qual. Soz. /Forum: Qual. Soc. Res. [Online J.]* 1, Art. 17. <http://qualitative-research.net/fqs/fqs-eng.htm>
- Zeitlyn D. 2008. Life history writing and the anthropological silhouette. *Soc. Anthropol.* 16:154–71



# Contents

## Prefatory Chapter

Ancient Mesopotamian Urbanism and Blurred Disciplinary Boundaries <i>Robert McC. Adams</i> .....	1
---	---

## Archaeology

The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect <i>Sarah Tarlow</i> .....	169
--	-----

The Archaeology of Money <i>Colin Haselgrove and Stefan Krmnicek</i> .....	235
---	-----

Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology <i>Matthew H. Johnson</i> .....	269
---	-----

Paleolithic Archaeology in China <i>Ofer Bar-Yosef and Youping Wang</i> .....	319
--	-----

Archaeological Contributions to Climate Change Research: The Archaeological Record as a Paleoclimatic and Paleoenvironmental Archive <i>Daniel H. Sandweiss and Alice R. Kelley</i> .....	371
--	-----

Colonialism and Migration in the Ancient Mediterranean <i>Peter van Dommelen</i> .....	393
---	-----

Archaeometallurgy: The Study of Preindustrial Mining and Metallurgy <i>David Killick and Thomas Fenn</i> .....	559
---	-----

Rescue Archaeology: A European View <i>Jean-Paul Demoule</i> .....	611
---	-----

## Biological Anthropology

Energetics, Locomotion, and Female Reproduction: Implications for Human Evolution <i>Cara M. Wall-Scheffler</i> .....	71
---	----

Ethnoprimateology and the Anthropology of the Human-Primate Interface <i>Agustin Fuentes</i> .....	101
Human Evolution and the Chimpanzee Referential Doctrine <i>Ken Sayers, Mary Ann Raghanti, and C. Owen Lovejoy</i> .....	119
Chimpanzees and the Behavior of <i>Ardipithecus ramidus</i> <i>Craig B. Stanford</i> .....	139
Evolution and Environmental Change in Early Human Prehistory <i>Richard Potts</i> .....	151
Primate Feeding and Foraging: Integrating Studies of Behavior and Morphology <i>W. Scott McGraw and David J. Daegling</i> .....	203
Madagascar: A History of Arrivals, What Happened, and Will Happen Next <i>Robert E. Dewar and Alison F. Richard</i> .....	495
Maternal Prenatal Nutrition and Health in Grandchildren and Subsequent Generations <i>E. Susser, J.B. Kirkbride, B.T. Heijmans, J.K. Kresovich, L.H. Lumey, and A.D. Stein</i> .....	577
<b>Linguistics and Communicative Practices</b>	
Media and Religious Diversity <i>Patrick Eisenlobr</i> .....	37
Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation <i>Penelope Eckert</i> .....	87
Documents and Bureaucracy <i>Matthew S. Hull</i> .....	251
The Semiotics of Collective Memories <i>Brigitte M. French</i> .....	337
Language and Materiality in Global Capitalism <i>Shalini Shankar and Jillian R. Cavanaugh</i> .....	355
Anthropology in and of the Archives: Possible Futures and Contingent Pasts. Archives as Anthropological Surrogates <i>David Zeitlyn</i> .....	461
Music, Language, and Texts: Sound and Semiotic Ethnography <i>Paja Faudree</i> .....	519

## International Anthropology and Regional Studies

Contemporary Anthropologies of Indigenous Australia <i>Tess Lea</i> .....	187
The Politics of Perspectivism <i>Alcida Rita Ramos</i> .....	481
Anthropologies of Arab-Majority Societies <i>Lara Deeb and Jessica Winegar</i> .....	537

## Sociocultural Anthropology

Lives With Others: Climate Change and Human-Animal Relations <i>Rebecca Cassidy</i> .....	21
The Politics of the Anthropogenic <i>Nathan F. Sayre</i> .....	57
Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image <i>Elizabeth Edwards</i> .....	221
Sea Change: Island Communities and Climate Change <i>Heather Lazrus</i> .....	285
Enculturating Cells: The Anthropology, Substance, and Science of Stem Cells <i>Aditya Bharadwaj</i> .....	303
Diabetes and Culture <i>Steve Ferzacca</i> .....	411
Toward an Ecology of Materials <i>Tim Ingold</i> .....	427
Sport, Modernity, and the Body <i>Niko Besnier and Susan Brownell</i> .....	443

## Theme I: Materiality

Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image <i>Elizabeth Edwards</i> .....	221
The Archaeology of Money <i>Colin Haselgrove and Stefan Krmnicek</i> .....	235
Documents and Bureaucracy <i>Matthew S. Hull</i> .....	251
Phenomenological Approaches in Landscape Archaeology <i>Matthew H. Johnson</i> .....	269

Language and Materiality in Global Capitalism <i>Shalini Shankar and Jillian R. Cavanaugh</i> .....	355
Toward an Ecology of Materials <i>Tim Ingold</i> .....	427
Anthropology in and of the Archives: Possible Futures and Contingent Pasts. Archives as Anthropological Surrogates <i>David Zeitlyn</i> .....	461

## Theme II: Climate Change

Lives With Others: Climate Change and Human-Animal Relations <i>Rebecca Cassidy</i> .....	21
The Politics of the Anthropogenic <i>Nathan F. Sayre</i> .....	57
Ethnoprimatology and the Anthropology of the Human-Primate Interface <i>Agustin Fuentes</i> .....	101
Evolution and Environmental Change in Early Human Prehistory <i>Richard Potts</i> .....	151
Sea Change: Island Communities and Climate Change <i>Heather Lazrus</i> .....	285
Archaeological Contributions to Climate Change Research: The Archaeological Record as a Paleoclimatic and Paleoenvironmental Archive <i>Daniel H. Sandweiss and Alice R. Kelley</i> .....	371
Madagascar: A History of Arrivals, What Happened, and Will Happen Next <i>Robert E. Dewar and Alison F. Richard</i> .....	495

## Indexes

Cumulative Index of Contributing Authors, Volumes 32–41 .....	627
Cumulative Index of Chapter Titles, Volumes 32–41 .....	631

## Errata

An online log of corrections to *Annual Review of Anthropology* articles may be found at <http://anthro.annualreviews.org/errata.shtml>