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### Ways of Seeing in Anthropology

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Ways of Seeing in Anthropology

Anthropological Ethics

Yukiko Yamazaki

November 22, 2021

“All photographs are memento mori. To take a photograph is to participate in another person’s (or thing’s) mortality, vulnerability, mutability. Precisely by slicing out this moment and freezing it, all photographs testify to time’s relentless melt.” —Susan Sontag

## Human and Camera

When the first daguerreotype was made in 1839, the way that humans see forever changed. The camera, having evolved since then, has been used in numerous ways as an extension of our body, seeing and remembering better than we can. Both photography and anthropology seek to find and record truths about the human and the world at large. In this way, the camera is indeed a “positivist’s dream come true” (Ruby 200: 41): reality captured by the camera is perceived as an authentic reproduction of reality that can be used for scientific proof. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we were interested in “the promise of images uncontaminated by interpretation” (Ruby 2000: 42). The “objectivity” of the camera was an antidote to human subjectivity as it was “an observer and an artist, miraculously free from the inner temptation to theorize, anthropomorphize, beautify, or otherwise interpret nature” (Ruby 2000: 42). However, we critically understand that the photographer’s position cannot be erased, and that the camera serves as a mediator between the photographer and photographed. Although this essay focuses solely on photography and not film, the fact that the analysis of film preceded the invention of cinema indicates our early interest and investment in technology that allows for us to see human behavior beyond our own vision’s capability (Ruby 2000 41). If the camera’s eye and memory is superior to our own, and photography and anthropology were so closely knit in the past, why are photographs largely excluded from much of today’s ethnographies? The central endeavor of this paper is to explore historically how photography within anthropology has exploited subjects and provided little privacy for the photographed subject, as well as the consequences of the act of taking and publishing these photographs, all done in the name of science. Does the end goal of truth-making justify the means of gathering such truths?

The partnership between photography and anthropology dates back near the invention of the camera. Visual anthropology sculpts the audience's conscience about the subject in a way that traditional ethnography cannot. In reading this paper we need to reorient our understanding away from the mechanical objectivity of the camera, that the camera captures reality without the consequence of how the photographer frames the image. Continuing the assumption that the camera is an extension of our own eye, its framing of the photographed subject is inevitably subjective because it is guided by the human eye. The camera is an image-making device, and we, as meaning-making beings, use the camera to make images to accurately capture how we see the world ourselves. The photograph is imbued with the photographer's positionality in the same way that ethnography is.

This paper will explore the myth of realism and objectivity in photography, the racist history of photography, and move onto case studies that bring to question ethical practices in photography. I will focus on the historical use of photography in ethnography with Alfred Cort Haddon and Kathleen Haddon's work in the Torres Strait Islands and Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson's work with the Balinese. Lastly, I will explore the future of visual anthropology. Is there a place for the ethical use of photography in future ethnography?

### **The Problematics of Image-Making**

“Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak. But there is another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled.” —John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (Grimshaw 2001: 44)

Moral issues arise when someone “produces and uses a recognizable image of another” (Ruby 2000: 137). In the issue of representation, we weigh three considerations: the need to respect how someone wants to be portrayed, how we perceive that person, and how our portrayal of them would be received by others. ‘Things’ exist only as they are observed by a different

point in space. We can forever read into the tone and nuance of textual descriptions of a person, but we often form split-second judgements based on image. What we see we take as truth, and what we see is informed by what we know about the world already (i.e., cognitive bias). Vision is both a methodological tool but also a metaphor for knowledge (Grimshaw 2001: 7). Art critic Herbert Read says on this matter: “vision becomes a habit, a convention, a partial selection of all there is to see, and a distorted summary of the rest. [...] what we want to see is determined, not by the inevitable laws of optics or even (as may be the case in wild animals) by an instinct for survival, but by the desire to discover or construct a credible world” (Grimshaw 2001: 8). Photography is not an objective art or science, and it reflects the way we observe the world, which changes with ideological and cultural trends. It is a process of constructing a world that we can better understand and share with others.

Photography was used as a scientific measurement to study race, which often supplemented the racist portrayal of the Other. The realism of photography supplemented racial literature during the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany, where antisemitism was expressed specifically in the medium of anthropometric photography. One of the most influential racial photographs were published in Carl Victor and Friedrich Wilhelm Dammann’s 1899 *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Men*, which gave textual description to the physical and mental characteristics of the racial ‘types’. Figure 1 had the description: “the skull of the Negro is remarkably solid and thick, so that in fighting they often butt against each other like rams, without much damage to either combatant” (Morris-Reich 2016: 36). This photographic atlas of race was organized in a visual and racial hierarchy from ‘primitive’ to ‘developed’ (from Polynesian to Germanic), and individuals stood as characteristic representatives for their type. This is an example of visual imperialism, or “the colonization of

the world mind through the use of selective imagery that acts as a representation of a dominant ideology” (Tomaselli 1996: 91). The visual is a powerful persuasive tool because it is so readily and easily recognized as true. So, with the power of image-making comes the responsibility of ethical usage.

Further, eye tables for anthropological classification (figure 2) were employed by anthropologists, because “by separating the eyes from other facial features, a single trait functions as a synecdoche of the type” (Morris-Reich 2016: 53). More specifically, “Jewish eyes” are distinguished from all other eye types, fueling a scientific empiricism that validated antisemitism. Francis Galton, anthropologist and eugenicist, developed a method called composite photography used for racial typology. He believed that physical features reflected behavioral traits tied to genealogy and race. Photographic classification, in conjunction with statistical laws and Darwinian evolution, created what he coined ‘pictorial statistics’ (Morris-Reich 2016: 45). At this time, there was a debate about whether ‘types’ should be represented by one specimen or by creating a composite of a few individuals. The latter method, as used by Galton, treated “deviations” from the types in the same way as “errors of observation” within statistics (Morris-Reich 2016: 45). Reducing humans to simple genealogical outcomes and statistical points is a dehumanizing process, and composite photography created distinctive human types such as ‘the criminal’ or ‘the Jew’ which were built on assumption of the “typical” or a statistical mean. He states that composite photography “represents no man in particular, but portrays an imaginary figure possessing the average features of any given group of men” (Morris-Reich 2016: 46). Galton was able to recognize that the photograph captures the ‘actual’ in creating the ‘imaginary.’ Really, there is no typical Jewish person, but using photographic “evidence” to create ‘the Jew’ proved convincing because of its presentation; ‘the Jew’ became

‘actual’ in one’s eyes. Here, we are reminded of the importance of the contextual use of photography and what ideologies it supports.

Although the portraits were staged in a metric, “objective” way, the photographs are recontextualized in accordance with the user’s intent. In fact, it was the objective nature of these photographs that lent it credibility. “In particular cases images were constructed to fit a particular scientific paradigm or interpretive agenda: the anatomical portraits inspired by Huxley’s biological anthropology [sic] simultaneously objectify the powerless and subject status of the people captured by the camera, and provide biometric information” (Banks 1997: 7). This dehumanizing process aimed to humanize ‘us’ and contribute to the human understanding of ‘ourselves’ (‘us’ and ‘ourselves’ here refers to anthropologists and their readership). More alarmingly, we understand that “anthropology’s historical unity lies in its subject matter: dark-skinned people known as ‘savages’ or ‘primitives’” (Rony 1996: 7). Without subjects or the Other to compare ourselves to, there would be no ethnography or anthropology. It is through looking at others that we can grasp a sense of who we are.

### **Photography in Ethnography: Case Studies**

“Ethnography lies in the eyes of the beholder; an ethnographic reading interrogates both the ritual being represented and the ritual of its representation” (Tomaselli 1996: 5).

#### *Case Study I: Alfred Cort Haddon in the Torres Strait Islands*

In 1898, British anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) went to study natives in the Torres Strait Islands, where he was concerned with how the significance of vision differs between civilized and primitive cultures: “it was believed that for civilized Europeans the ‘higher’ senses of sight and hearing were most important, in contrast associating the ‘lower’ senses of taste, touch, and smell with animality” (Pink 2006: 5). Pink doesn’t discuss any further this fallacious theory, but it can be gathered that the ‘higher’ sense of sight and hearing are more

closely associated with symbolic knowledge and communication that requires a higher possession of intelligence. Until the twentieth century, vision was privileged within Western culture as a way of perceiving the world, as the noblest of senses (Grimshaw 2001: 5). Martin Jay addresses this “crisis of ocularcentrism” and Grimshaw argues that anthropology, as a European project, is ocularcentrically biased. Why do we trust our vision above any other sense?

A.C. Haddon’s expedition signaled the end of armchair anthropology. Although Malinowski is credited with bringing about participant observation and deep fieldwork, Haddon and his team were ahead of their time in collecting first-hand data and building theories upon their own set of data. The role of fieldworker and theorist thus fused into a singular person, and experiences within the field became the source of credibility for scholarship. Fieldwork and the idea to “go see for yourself” to verify truth solidifies the association between vision and knowledge, that what the ethnographer sees is the truth. “The authority of vision of the 19<sup>th</sup> century empirical tradition—‘what you see is what there is’—make visual media the prime candidates in the popular quest for authentic knowledge about other people” (Tomaselli 1996: 152). The centrality of vision in meaning-making created a privileged place for photography within anthropology at this time.

A.C. Haddon first went to the islands as a biologist a decade before the expedition and was alarmed by (his perception of) natives’ threat of extinction. To “save” cultural practices, he needed a team of differing expertise, so he got together Cambridge scientists for an eight-month project that produced a collection of photographs, native drawings, and film (Grimshaw 2001: 20). Haddon was a salvage anthropologist; the ‘vanishing savage’ was a powerful symbol to a very urgent and sudden problem upon realizing that the history of mankind was being destroyed by modern civilization (Grimshaw 2001: 23). For Haddon, culture was visible and at the

forefront of social life, and that the culture at the islands were disintegrating and becoming nonfunctional. The still camera made tangible and permanent the appearance of culture from the surface before it disappeared, in the same way that cultural objects could preserve parts of culture. Haddon also collected cultural objects and sent forty packages to Cambridge for museum display (Grimshaw 2001: 24). Both photographs and cultural objects produce ambiguous meanings as they are removed from their context and preserved for the future, yet they are still closely tied to an 'authentic' representation of the culture it belonged to. Photography is the perfect vessel for carrying the assumptions that Haddon had about a 'dying' culture, and the disconnected, out-of-placeness of the photographs reflect the discontinuity he perceived within it.

Additionally, early anthropologists did not believe that native peoples could provide ethnographic, empirical information of their own culture. Scientific instruments provided a solution to this (Perera 2019) with the added security of accuracy. The camera was only one of a vast array of instruments brought on the trip for scientific verification. There was a general anxiety about contaminating data with human subjectivity, and "'policing the subjective' was an intellectual, practical and moral problem; [sic] in a Victorian world of self-restraint and technological innovation, machines offered to minimize intervention" (Grimshaw 2001: 21).

Other examples of salvage photography, such as those of Edward Curtis, Charles Kerry, and John William Lindt romanticize the Native American, Australian Aborigines, and Clarence River Aborigines (respectively), were "designed to record the last images of a dying race killed through contact with a higher civilization" (Banks 1997: 7). The idea of a native population on evolutionary decline wholly disregards the way in which colonizers often brought disease and death to natives, and the fact that natives continued to resist or exist despite this (Rony 1996: 91).

These salvage photographs largely fed upon the public's political and romantic imagination of the noble, authentic Native.

*Case Study II: A.C. Haddon and Kathleen Haddon in Papua New Guinea*

Alfred Cort Haddon took his daughter Kathleen Haddon (1888-1961) with him on his three-month survey salvage trip to Papua New Guinea as his official photographer. While he took notes, Kathleen took photographs, and the father's ideological influences are clear in her work. Forty percent of her 250 photographs, now displayed in Cambridge's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), are comprised of "snapshot" style photos taken with her Vest Pocket Kodak. Her method for these photos is as such: "As they were so nervous I made no obvious attempt to photograph them, but concealing my vest-pocket Kodak in my hands I looked in another direction and fired off at them sideways with the result that they did not suspect anything. This was the plan I adopted throughout the trip, for as soon as a native sees he is being taken he either runs away or stiffens into a pose and half the charm is gone" (Bell 2009: 143). She goes on to explain that the handheld camera was used for daily recordings while her larger standing camera was used for 'scientific purposes,' but both constructed the "visual language of the savage" (Bell 2009: 144). Her field work technique consists of using different types of cameras and their respective photographing techniques to transform people, places, and things into "portable 'ethnographic facts' for later examination" (Bell 2009: 144), a method that her father used in the field. He himself writes in 1912: "some people will not consent to be photographed and must be taken instantaneously, and without their knowledge" (Bell 2009: 145). His view assumes that natives are not capable of having or deserving of the right to consent, which is a vital consideration to be made in contemporary methodology.

To provide deeper context, in 1914 the territory of Papua was seen as one of the last places to witness humanity's disappearing Stone Age (Bell 2009: 152). This expedition was another trip to salvage this perceived reality. A.C. Haddon in his lecture "Decorative Art in Papua" states: "The material is disappearing at an extremely rapid rate, and I have no hesitation in saying that every day in Australia a man dies with knowledge which he alone possesses [...]" The reason why we want to know about those races is because they represent stages in the evolution of our ancestors" (Bell 2009: 151). He sees urgency in preserving the dying race and understood that his duty as an anthropologist was to record the "past" that is slipping away from the present. In this sense, not only does the past seep into the present moment, but it is preserved for the future. To Haddon, the study of the indigenous through ethnographic and photographic record contributed scientific data to the future understanding of evolution.

Bell's main ethical concerns are how Haddon's bodily composure played a key role in her image-making of the natives, and how her practice was repurposed so that the naturalist snapshot technique was exploited for scientific use. The MAA's Haddon Photographic Collection (opened in 1935 for her eightieth birthday), mounted her 1914 photographs and organized them by geography and culture. The presentation of photographs is another process of meaning-making to be interpreted. The way that the photographs were mounted stripped the photos of their context and specific place in history, only to contribute to a sloppy visual mapping of culture and race for all to see as scientific proofs. The hand-held snapshot photographs, not meant to be used as ethnographic data, slipped into the stream of anthropological knowledge (Bell 2009: 149). One photograph in question, taken of two men relaxing in Kairu village, Purari Delta, Papua New Guinea (figure 4), interrupts our blissful voyeurism and fantasy of photographic objectivity, and reminds us of the photographer's

subjectivity and invisible position within the image. These photos, used for scientific reference, memorialize a people who would otherwise be forgotten in history, and they themselves do not know about their own memorialization as a subject or scientific referent. In modern times, we face the issue of copyright. Since without the subject there is no content, shouldn't subjects have copyrights, or at least rights to informed consent? (Tomaselli 1996: 115). Haddon is quoted: "Always seize the *first* opportunity for a photograph; in anthropological work, it is often your last. *Never put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day*" (Bell 2009: 162). This is an understandable sentiment from a photographer's viewpoint and reflects the human (or colonial) urge to collect and preserve our experiences (i.e., souveniring) or to collect 'the exotic'. Here we can ask ourselves: would it be unethical to take candid photos, if you ask the subject later for consent to either keep or delete it? Or is the act of taking that photograph without informed consent enough of an ethical transgression?

While providing moral criticisms, Bell also lauds Kathleen's humanistic interest in her subject. Kathleen's interest and specialization was in understanding the villagers' use of string figures (figure 5), and her engagement with them in learning this pastime created physical and emotional proximity with them. While villagers were eager to teach her how to make string figures, she was able to take snapshot photographs that were naturalistic, intimate, and "authentic" in the sense that they were comfortable with her presence (figure 6). "The invisibility of the photographer is usually best accomplished by participant observation, not the telephoto lens" (Collier and Collier 1986: 21). On the other hand, the larger stand camera becomes an obtrusive third person that makes the subject and photographer uneasy, producing stiff, posed images. When asking a villager for permission to photograph a baby, the father washed the baby in the river in preparation for the photo (figure 7). This photograph in action reminds us that all

photographs were a product of the social interaction between Haddon and the villagers, the photographer and the photographed.

### *Case Study III: Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali*

Margaret Mead (1901-1978) and Gregory Bateson (1904-1980) were pioneers for using visual anthropology in what Mead calls a “discipline of words”, where ethnography and other anthropological work privilege words over other forms of communication. Textual descriptions often lack the human presence or emotionality that visual and auditory descriptors can immediately and easily evoke. In their work *Balinese Character*, a stills camera with an angular viewfinder allowed Bateson to take a photo “when the subject might be expected to dislike being photographed at that particular moment” (Pink 2006: 26), taking from their own words. A series of photos depicting the Balinese people eating (figure 8) changes with this contextual information: “The eating of meals is accompanied by considerable shame. Those who are eating usually turn their backs towards anybody who might be present” (Pink 2006: 26). Mead and Bateson’s methodology relied on capturing the spontaneity of Balinese behavior instead of staging them to motion through these behaviors in a controlled studio-like setting (Hockings 1995: 27). While the secrecy and spontaneity of these photographs produced authenticity, they were taken without the consent of the subject. For Mead and Bateson, the camera was merely a recording instrument, and photographs posed rather than answered questions (Grimshaw 2001: 88).

### **The Myth of Realism and Objectivity**

“In photography there is a reality so subtle that it becomes more real than reality.” – Alfred Stieglitz

Can we assume the camera’s eye is more objective than our own? With photography and its singular-angled perspective, it denies any other way of seeing the subject. It is often static,

and we are physically only able to see from the photographer's intended view: "the subjects are thus caught in a stylistic web which speaks them in terms of the director's authorial ideology" (Tomaselli 1996: 52). Therefore, only a certain reality is highlighted, one that is fragmented and cut out of time and place. We cannot read into a photograph any further than what is within the image immediately, or the textual description of it. While anthropology may have examined its past faults in assuming the camera's objectivity and distanced itself from using visual elements, it still draws upon the photographic archive for research. The continued use of the archive acknowledges that there is a degree of reality within photographs that we can use for scientific purposes. The archive was created as a large body of work to draw on, for verification purposes and to add a layer of scientific professionalism (Rony 1996: 67). "The use of the camera in the service of science did not in fact solve the problem of evidence; instead, it functioned to pose once more questions about the status of evidence which had so preoccupied nineteenth-century science" (Grimshaw 2001: 89).

The question of realism is a difficult one. Photographer Edward Weston suggests that the photograph is more real and comprehensible than the signified object (Edwards 1997: 54). On the other hand, the realism touted in the photographs by Dammann or Galton is certainly not real in our socio-historical context, as their argumentation for the photographs is not convincing to us anymore. The photograph must be 'seen' not only for its visual components but its presentation and intent of the photographer.

### **A Future for Visual Anthropology**

"[Ethnography] promised (and delivered) bare bosoms and frightening fetishes, today it satisfies a new aesthetics of the fantastic and imaginary among some, and the need for 'inside knowledge' of the Third World among others" —

Johannes Fabian, 1990 (Tomaselli 1996: 92).

If anthropology has moved past eugenics<sup>1</sup> and salvage photography, what continues to complicate the relationship between anthropology and photography? A certain anxiety is sensed in using photography within contemporary anthropology. Visual anthropologist Lucien Taylor points to the field's iconophobia: "images are condemned as seductive, dazzling, deceptive and illusory, and regarded as capable of wreaking all sorts of havoc with the sobriety of the discipline" (Grimshaw 2001: 5). Do visual elements undermine the legitimacy of an academic's work? "More recently, visual technologies harnessed to anthropological endeavor have, all too comfortably, conjured up images of the journalist, or worse, the tourist; and, of course, as anthropological cinema or television it lies dangerously close to entertainment" (Grimshaw 2001: 5). The discipline itself is threatened by uses of anthropological work that would illegitimate the study. Modern multimedia such as The History Channel or VICE media employs anthropological data in a presentation that caters to the general audience and is thus entertainment-based. While the accuracy of their data can be questionable, anthropology as a discipline has historically struggled to grant wider access to their information (originally associating itself only with the); these media enterprises counter this problem through use of visual storytelling.

A conversation about documentary also applies to photography: "surface appearances — thin description—become paramount, and reality becomes literal and defined primarily in terms

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<sup>1</sup> Eugenic ideas are not dead. QOVES Studio, which offers a facial assessment tool, uses AI to measure facial aesthetics and provide tips to improve it. Its YouTube covers extensive scientific research about facial aesthetics and its Twitter reads: "QOVES is a brand dedicated to exploring human aesthetics and beauty culture through anthropological data" (QOVES Studio 2021). The use of scientific measurement and new technology is reminiscent of anthropometric photography and hints at eurocentrism.

of visible information. The other possible dimensions become banished further into 'darkness'. Only the points of light, the fragmented pieces of 'reality' are noticed. These events are studied in isolation of each other. The connections are not seen or even searched out. Relativity becomes irrelevant" (Tomaselli 1996: 152). The thin description of documentary (and photography) is antithetical to the purpose of ethnographic fieldwork, which aims to create thick descriptions of a culture, people, and place. How do we solve this paradox? Anthropologist and filmmaker Anna Grimshaw suggests that if we 'see' anthropology "as a project of the visual imagination, rather than 'read' it as a particular kind of literature, [sic] we can discover contrasting ways of seeing and knowing" (Grimshaw 2001: 9). Photography is not just about its material, physical form but its "potential to question, arouse curiosity, tell indifferent voices or see-through different eyes" (Edwards 1997: 54), just as Mead stated. Visual technology also allows for self-expression (Grimshaw 2001: 3) and acknowledges the photographer-ethnographer's positionality. Will photography and other new forms of visual media assist anthropology in stepping down from its ivory tower?

The new age of advance technology and digital multimedia yet again complicates our relationship with the camera. Bombarded daily with advertisements and a media culture that capitalizes on public attention, we have been mentally trained to not believe everything that we see, and the public is quite cynical and combative of visual persuasive elements. We can no longer verify the truthfulness of the construction of an image, especially with the advent of photoshop and deepfakes. We are again spurred to go 'see it for yourselves,' under the idea that we can trust our own eyes but not the camera's. The parameters of ethnography may also need to adapt. With the ingrained use of social media in our daily lives, we are essentially creating auto ethnographies. Nearing a surveillance society, a large portion of our lives is recorded, in contrast

with the lives of the “dying natives.” On the other hand, we face another problem of the information black hole, in which the sheer mass of data breaches the ability to retrieve information. In the new media age, there are infinite possibilities for visual anthropology. Multimedia such as 3D modelling, AR and VR, drones, and digital storytelling are employed by journalism, art, communications, and other fields that focus on information retransmission. What is ethnography in today’s context? Who is allowed to participate? Perhaps photography and visual media would help us guide the direction of future anthropology.

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Figures

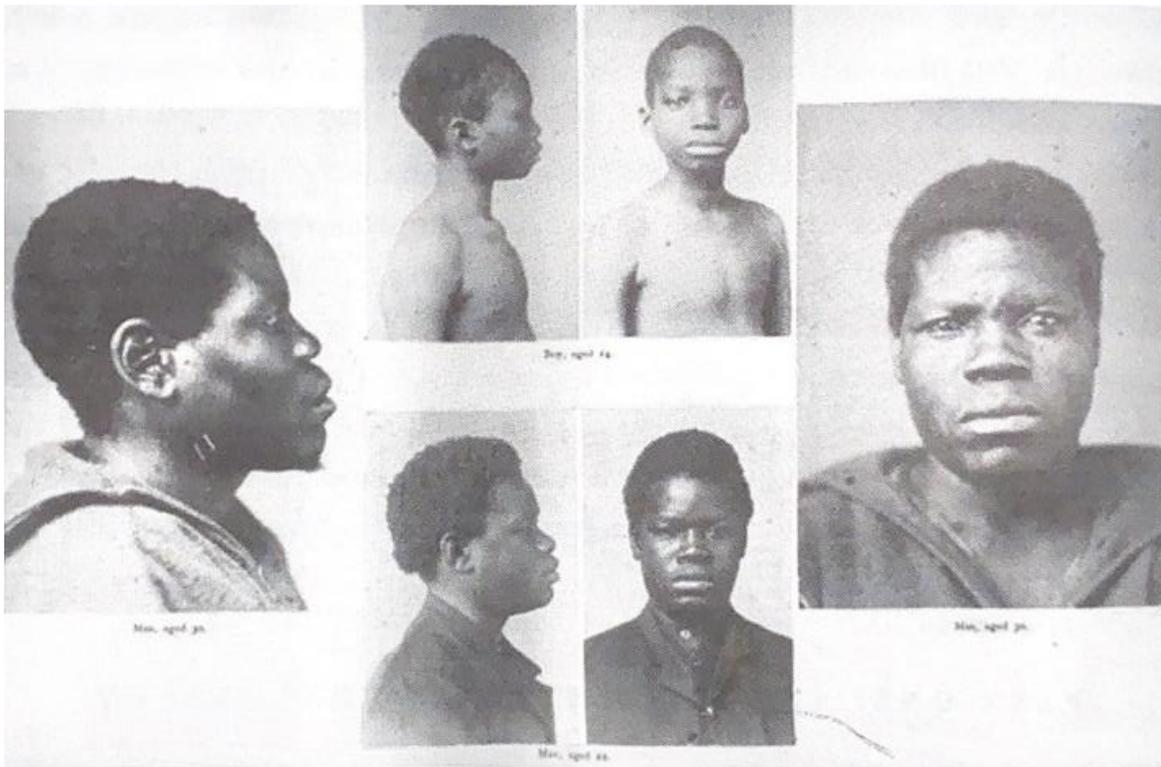


Figure 1: Carl Victor and Friedrich Wilhelm Dammann's *Races of Men*, a racial photography book. Taken from *Race and Photography* on page 36 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).



*Fig. 2. Verschiedengradige Ausprägung mongolischer Merkmale an den Augenlidern bei Völkerschaften des europäischen und asiatischen Rußlands.*

Figure 2: Eye tables for use in anthropological classifications of race. Taken from *Race and Photography* on page 53 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).



Figure 3: Studio photograph of Clarence River Aborigines shot by J.W. Lindt in the 1870s.

Taken from *Rethinking visual Anthropology* on page 7 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).

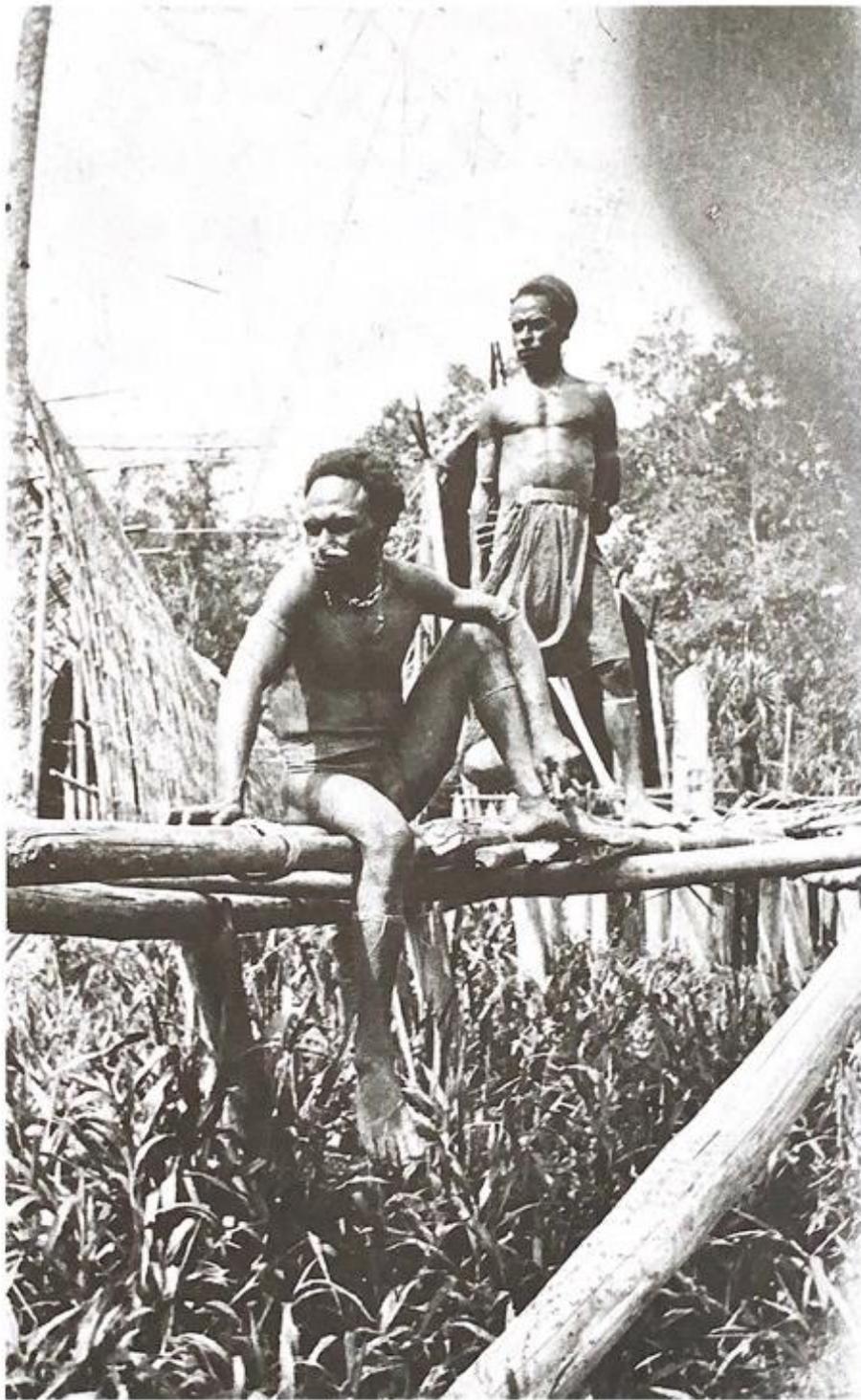


Figure 4: Two men in Papua New Guinea captured secretly by Kathleen Haddon, with her finger in the corner, 1914. Taken from “‘For Scientific Purposes a Standing Camera is Essential’: Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua” on page 144 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).

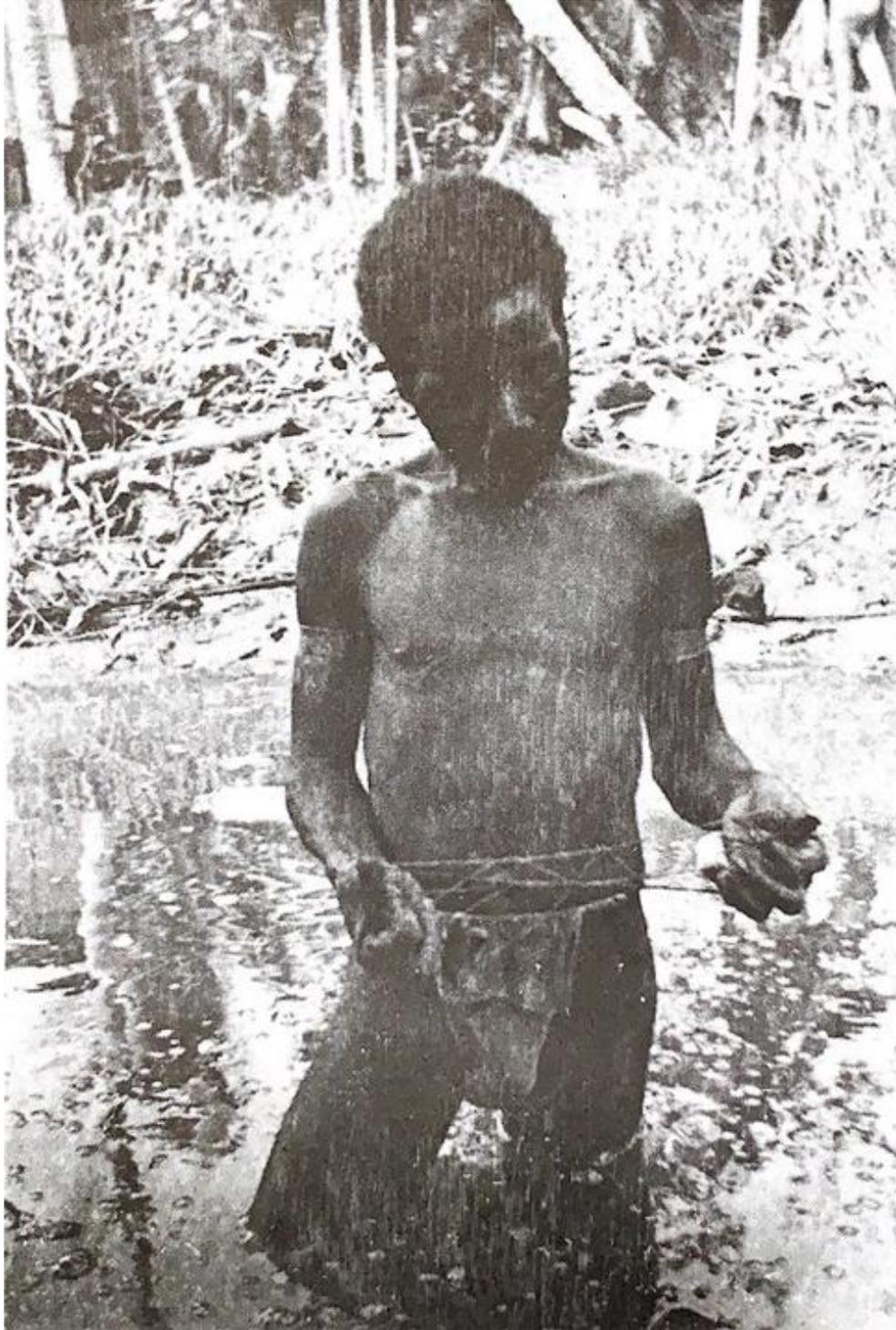


Figure 5: Man showing Kathleen Haddon a string figure, Pairo, Purari Delta, 1914. Taken from “‘For Scientific Purposes a Standing Camera is Essential’: Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua” on page 159 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).



Figure 6: Man in Kairu, 1914. Taken from “‘For Scientific Purposes a Standing Camera is Essential’: Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua” on page 159 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).



Figure 7: A man washes his child in preparation for a photograph, Wadodo Village, 1914. Taken from “‘For Scientific Purposes a Standing Camera is Essential’: Salvaging Photographic Histories in Papua” on page 159 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).

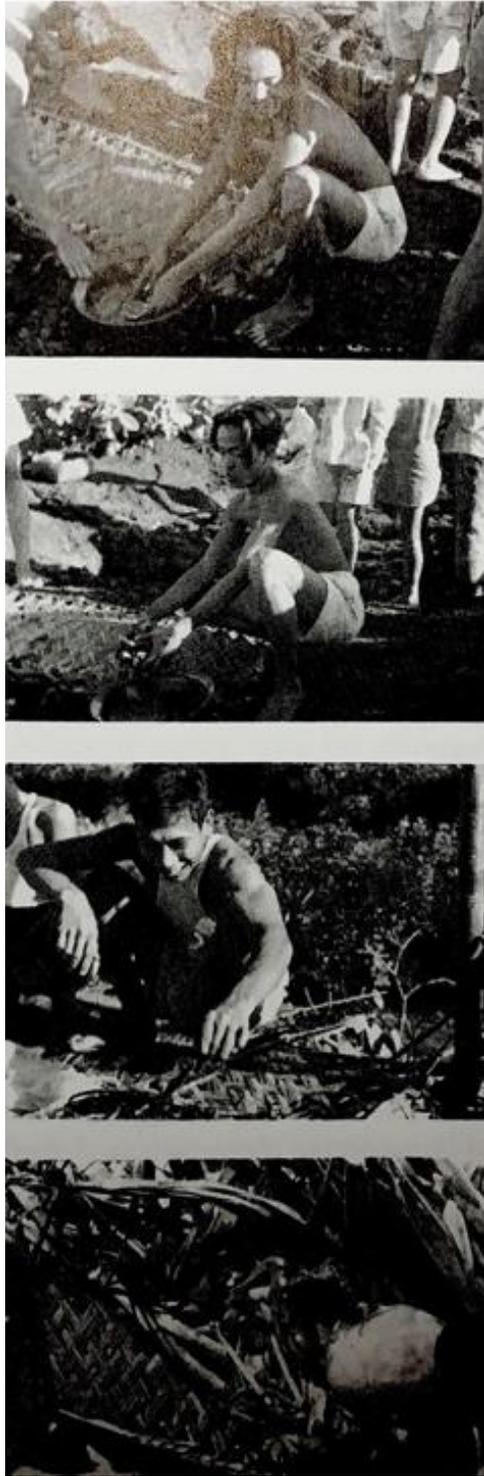


Figure 8: Plate 91 of Balinese men eating in *Balinese Character* by Bateson and Mead. Taken from *The Future of Visual Anthropology* on page 27 (Digitally scanned by Yukiko Yamazaki).