Archiving and Memorialising the Taboo

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Not often is archival theory blended with Freudian and spectatorship theory, nor does it cite writers such as Laura Mulvey, Julia Kristeva or Barbara Creed. To explore the relationship between the taboo and the archive, this article journeys through the lack of sexology resources in Australia, the memorialising of the taboo, and the nature of the uncanny and monstrous spectacle in the archives. These terms are familiar to film theorists and stem from psychoanalysis, but are alien to most archivists in Australia. Does the notion of the 'male gaze', spectatorship for the pleasure of men, have a cousin in the 'archival gaze' of historian fetishists? The aim of this article is to broaden the archival understanding of the taboo in archives and investigate why it is recorded, unrecorded and

often unexplored in contemporary Australian archival thinking. Criminality and normalcy are inextricably bound to the notion of taboo even in a business context, and in this article the business of taboo record creation is set against Frank Upward's Records Continuum Model.

In recent times, albeit on other archival topics, writers like Gilliland, Lau, McKemmish, Rele and White have explored the representation of the 'other' in the archive and the marginalisation of communities.[2] Joanna Sassoon has reinforced the idea that 'archives are written by the winners',[3] a crux to the 'us and them' mentality of recorded institutional history. These thoughts echo in the background of the discussion of the criminal other and the monstrous spectacle in archives, the normal made strange; and the fear of self made uncanny.

Introduction

The concepts explored in this essay are the result of a wide-ranging literature review. Resources on spectatorship theory, archival theory, and taboo collections were researched and brought together to accentuate the argument that the Australian archival profession is yet to explore taboo memorialising practices. Australia is the focus of much of the discussion here, yet global comparisons and examples have also been considered and researched. From the research undertaken, it is clear that there are gaps in the archival literature about memorialising taboo subjects and little reference to taboo collections or subjects sited in Australian archival literature.

This article explores the taboo in archives with reference to the dangerous, forbidden and impure. Philosophies of thinking on the monstrous and the taboo underpin arguments presented, and these ideas can be applicable across archives, art galleries, libraries or museums. When thinking about what might be defined as taboo content today, examples of taboo records could include detailed accounts of cannibalism, logs of drug taking or dealing, graphic depictions of death, sexual or 'unnatural acts', or frank, unscientific discussion about sites of abjection such as the excremental body.

This paper aims to examine possibilities for further research and development about taboo information management and archives in society. A broad range of taboo subjects is explored, focussing particularly on fringe collections and businesses. Psychoanalysis is considered here

as a useful tool to discuss the notion of the taboo, the uncollectible, illegal and illicit - what *is* or *is not* being kept in an archive, and how these records are memorialised. Memorialising is bound to the notion of lawmaking because generally, archives house taboo only if in the context of persecution or control by a governing or law-making body. Where records exist in an archive without the context of persecution, the archive could be considered a fringe archive and its records considered a fringe collection - even perhaps an illegal one.

Memorialising or archiving can be seen as inherent acceptance of histories within culture. How society posits the normal and abnormal via criminal and scientific structures is bound to memorialisation of taboo archives: taboo subjects typically are collected if detailed in the form of science, ostracism or punishment. However the taboo is not static and changing perspectives on the normal and condemned are forever changing and fluctuating. What is taboo in one culture may not be taboo in another. What was once considered taboo can become accepted. The flipside of this is that the everyday in archives can elicit feelings of the taboo, the uncanny and the monstrous.

Sex today is more openly discussed than it used to be, yet Australian Archivists have some catching up to do in regards to acknowledging, collecting and researching sexology collections available in Australia. Australia could be considered conservative about discussion of sexual taboo, as even the scientific study of sex,[4] sexology, does not have a long history or sufficient archival representation in Australia. It is hoped that articles like this, and research such as that presented at the recent *Bodies of Knowledge* conference at the University of Queensland will auger in new thinking and discussion regarding memorialisation and research of Australian sexual collections.[5]

Sexology resources in Australia

Sexology: The scientific study of sexual behaviour.

Fringe archives: Collecting institutions outside the mainstream traditional notions, often representing a minority group whose collection can be considered taboo.

What primary sources of sexology are available in Australian archives?

In Australia there is a distinct lack of primary resources for what is defined internationally as the scientific field of 'sexology' in our mainstream archival institutions. Where would Australian researchers find scientifically gathered data on emerging sexual practices in Australia?

In the international arena, entire universities and journals are founded on the study of sexology. A rich history of sexology archives exists in many first-world countries, particularly in the US where prominent psychologists such as Alfred Kinsey created a repository of information, dating from the 1930s, around human sexuality and sexual psychology. The Kinsey Institute houses scientific data on sexual practice and archival records such as patient sex diaries and 18,000 patient interviews.[6] Such primary material is available for substantiated research under a strict access policy.

There is little opportunity for researchers to access such historical material in Australian archival collections. As a result the accuracy and depth of analysis in the history of Australian sexual behaviour is compromised, as researchers must look elsewhere for indicators of what has historically been considered sexually normal or transgressive. As Edgar Crook asserts:

> Australia does not have a centre like the Kinsey Institute in the United States or Archiv für Sexualwissenschaft at the Robert Koch Institute in Germany that collects and preserves sexual material deemed transgressive in society. The preservation burden therefore rests on the Australian National, State, and university library sector to attempt to maintain a solid and comprehensive collection of this type of material.[7]

By and large these institutions have not taken on this 'preservation burden'. This is not to say that taboo material does not exist or is not memorialised elsewhere. However collections of taboo material are for the most part un-promoted and unacknowledged in the Australian archival community. In some cases, collection of taboo records takes place after interested parties realise their history is going unrecorded. The Australian Lesbian and Gay Archive (ALGA) was established in 1978 in response to this sense of loss in relation to homosexual histories.[8] But in terms of recognition for this important resource, even today, this largest collection of gay and lesbian material in Australia is not part of a

university or mainstream collection. Half of the collection is stored in a basement at the Victorian AIDS Council.

Another example of independent taboo archival holdings is the Wilmar Library. The Wilmar Library, a virtually unknown[9] resource, is a private establishment of historical pornographic records and publications. It may be more appropriate for such archives to be independently run - but are these archival sources sufficiently resourced, utilised and promoted?

The above examples represent two of a very small number of independent fringe archives in Australia. Research relating to the taboo and broader studies of sexology, or specific research on the psyche of fetishism for example, is constrained in Australia by a lack of archival institutional support and archival discussion surrounding taboo material.[10] However there are exceptions, particularly where taboos are shifting.

Australian universities have embraced once taboo subjects such as lesbianism; most notably and well promoted is the Victorian Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminist Archives (VWLLF Archive) a community archive that has chosen to operate inside a collecting archive, the Melbourne University Archives. The VWLLF Archive dates back to 1960 but began in 1982, bringing together the papers of 127 individuals and women's organisations. A taboo collection, the VWLLF records subjects such as menstruation, venereal disease and rape (from viewpoints other than the scientific or law-making) and has proved a valuable resource for researchers.

What are the challenges of Australia's taboo collections?

Taboo: Freud used the taboo as an adjective with opposite meanings - simultaneously sacred and consecrated by a group or individual, as well as dangerous, forbidden, impure.[11] The taboo often exists at the site of the body, such as in states of erotic or in death. Open discussion or exhibition of the taboo can generate disgust or offence in mainstream society.

One example of a well-known fringe archive which is part of a mainstream archival institution is the Eros Foundation Archive at Flinders University, with its advocates promoting the benefit of a collection that contains a substantial proportion of pornographic material, and, in turn, a collection of records that reflect the society and times in which these archives were created. An Eros Foundation Archive librarian has described his difficulties in dealing with 'the political and religious

convictions of the people' that have 'understandable middle-class prejudice against the whole idea of prostitution and pornography'.[12] Amongst many others,

> There was the initial difficulty [for its champion, the Professor of Women's Studies] in convincing the library and the university that having the archive of Australia's sex industry lobby group would actually be a good idea. *This wasn't easy...* [13]

A minority in themselves, archivists or special collections librarians managing such atypical material have little direct support, standard policies, or established guidance tailored to their field.

How can fringe archives overcome these challenges?

In a struggle to legitimate fringe archives and establish a cohesive and comprehensive archive on sexual material, there is potential for institutional collaboration. Australia has historically had a successful concept of a Distributed National Collection whereby individual libraries and archives collect in particular subjects of strength.[14] This 'concept' of a Distributed National Collection (DNC) championed from the days of the Australian Libraries Summit in 1988 never bore fruit as political tensions, in-fighting, and lack of resources hindered any practical development of a DNC.[15] A cross-sectoral body ACLIS (Australian Council of Library and Information Services), supported by and together with the National Library of Australia (NLA), became the major agency for progressing many of the proposals coming out of the 1988 summit - however, the NLA withdrew its support and ACLIS was disbanded in 1998.

The physical divide and patchwork collection of taboo material across Australia could be alleviated by implementation of the Distributed National Collection concept in relation to this under-represented and under-resourced area. One could suppose that government support is needed for such an enterprise, but not in totalising mode - as the autonomy and independence of individual archives are important to retain. As noted previously by Edgar Crook, it is his view is that: 'The preservation burden ... rests on the Australian National, State, and university library sector to attempt to maintain a solid and comprehensive collection of

this type of material'. However a DNC model lifts this 'preservation burden' for government institutions.

If the Australian archival profession continues without action, attention or something similar to a DNC model, anomalies within collections, disparate collections or fringe records may be un- or under-documented, even lost. Once established, sustainability relies on publicity and accessibility.

> There are some famous and unlikely anomalies and estrays in collecting patterns and results, and of course gaps; definite areas of Australian life un- or under-documented. Most librarians, archivists and researchers can readily think of instances where inconsistencies and imbalances exist, but in what way has scholarship suffered?[16]

To combat an Australian sexology 'dark-age', Australia could create a national network of sexology archives, or at least collaborate more widely, as was much discussed throughout the 1990s, to procure and protect a range of taboo information - but we first need that content to exist and to have survived.[17]

What sort of archives would be part of this DNC? Indeed, there are records that are too taboo to be a part of such an initiative - think for example of illegal taboo trade or business. As is the nature of fluctuation of the taboo and illicit, the subject of sex is more openly discussed today. However there are sex industries that are considered taboo to mainstream Australia. These industries can create and maintain records across the recordkeeping continuum. The following is a case study of such an example, measured against Frank Upward's Records Continuum Model to highlight the recordkeeping facets of potentially non-memorialised (yet recorded) history.

Case Study: Through the continuum - fringe business recordkeeping

Fringe Business: Business outside the mainstream traditional notions of service delivery, suppling goods or services to a taboo community.

What likely recordkeeping protocols exist for fringe business and why?

Fringe businesses such as brothels keep records, but what recordkeeping protocols exist for such a business? Organisations such as 'Club X',

dungeons, and swingers clubs each create and keep records for *their own* use and business purposes.

As a case study, let us examine an atypical dating website, a sex site for those with alternative sexual lifestyles such as fetishists, dominatrixes and masochists. 'Alt.com' <www.alt.com> is an international meeting-place and information store for BDSM (Bondage, Discipline and Sadomasochism) information, sale of products, community-building and blogs. Although other Australian dating sites exist for singles and couples with varied sexual practices, Alt.com embodies taboo sexual practices and is a useful model for this discussion. On registration, the user is prompted to complete a 'fetish list', most of which the average layman would need a BDSM dictionary for: acts such as Dacryphilia, Cupping or Klismaphilia.[18]

Alt.com's international community adds to the complexity of information sharing over international spacetime and amorphous legal spaces. For Australian websites, the *Australian Privacy Act* (2000) would prevent misuse of private information that members provide to the web hosts. The US site would have its own laws to abide by, with terms of misuse stemming from US legislation, not Australian. For an American-based site, what are the legal grounds for retention of sensitive material about the Australian BDSM community? The behind-the-scenes membership information that includes a person's address, email and personal data is ironically more personal than the detailed sexual profile description. Privacy laws would dictate that membership material and explicit photographs of members should not be archived long-term for privacy reasons. However, there may be instances where the member's thoughts or photographs *are* recorded long-term, for example if universities, media or other interested groups conduct studies on the raw data or capture the webpage.[19]

Can fringe business operate in all 4 dimensions of the Records Continuum Model?

In terms of recordkeeping in society, there may be taboo activities that go unrecorded, but in the business world, be it illegal, illicit or taboo, records are essential to business functions and transactions.

In terms of Frank Upward's Records Continuum Model, recordkeepers consider four axes and four dimensions of continuum recordkeeping in society. One might expect that society's denial of historical or social

relevance to businesses such as Alt.com might suppress the fourth dimension need for pluralisation of such information in the community. However Internet publishing is a powerful tool for creating, capturing, organising and pluralising information dissemination through all four dimensions.

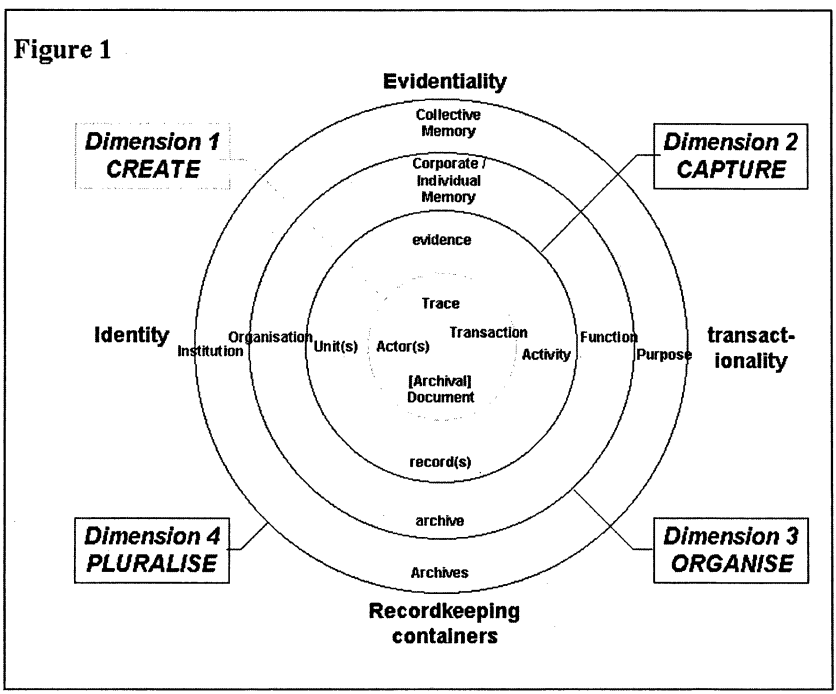

Figure 1. Frank Upward's Records Continuum Model.[20]

Create

This dimension embodies the actors, their transactions and documents as trace of their actions. Records are created as a natural by-product of business processes and essential for business evidence and cross-referencing. Web pages can be created and added to by users with minimal control after membership. For fringe businesses with low accountability

to government bodies or recordkeeping standards, a formal recordkeeping system or policy is unlikely to be used for sites such as Alt.com. A website team is likely to have a secure information store and website management system as well as financial processes for payment. Web publishing practices create a plethora of records for use within the business.

Capture

This dimension of the Model maps the point where a business ensures records are captured as evidence of transaction. Data captured into a recordkeeping system is shaped by the laws, rules and policies imposed upon it. An under-regulated Web-based company such as Alt.com may decide to take risks in short, medium or long-term capture, depending on the areas critical to the business interests.

Organise

Establishing recordkeeping processes and regimes is an important aspect of the third dimension in the Records Continuum Model. Description and organisation of data and metadata of the records are key elements here, as is creation of classification schemes for later access. In this case study, it can be assumed that third dimension recordkeeping takes place in order to identify, arrange and organise data for later use.

In fact, Alt.com is a product of Friendfinder Inc, which hosts twenty-five other branches of meeting sites. Available in six languages and with members in almost every country around the world, staff members would demand not only the most reliable technology to maintain the website, but also the most reliable classification and modes of access to this data.

Pluralise

The Alt.com website is proof of the Internet providing a platform for dissemination and ideology of BDSM. It has created communities and enabled existing communities to communicate over space and time. Existing online, the webpages of Alt.com already constitute collective memories and cultural histories: 'about the lifestyle, about community building, about expressing yourself, about exploring the kinky edges of sexuality'.[21] But will they be preserved as authentic records in the future? Historians and other researchers rely on initiatives like the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine[22] to archive many websites. However, the Wayback Machine is actually unable to perform its designated task for

sites such as Alt.com because the Alt.com website is database driven. The memorialisation of Alt.com would be reliant upon the recordkeeping and archiving practices of FriendFinder.Inc. Will sites like these survive through time? Will they be represented in mainstream archival institutions?

Further considerations

This case study shows the Internet as a fourth dimensional space where organisations like Alt.com exist in the pluralising realm - but what about smaller fringe business or underground organisations that do not conduct their business on the Web? An advertisement on the Internet for a brothel or swingers club may be the only insight into the nature of that business, and no records of transactions are available to the wider community due to privacy concerns.

Transactions taking place in a brothel or dungeon involve people and their private world and such records are not fed back into the community for privacy reasons.[23] So we see in this case, that a fetish or taboo linked to personal details can be deemed too sensitive to archive long-term for public access. Where such examples of personal fetish or taboo already exist within archival bodies, strict access policies would be enforced. But why would mainstream archival institutions already be custodians of such sensitive records? It is reasonable to say that these examples exist most often in records of criminal sentencing, condemnation or control of such practices.

Memory and memorialising and the uncollectible

> The records of ... brothels from the 1780s and 1790s still survive; they testify that proprietors complied with the police and secured their protection by carefully noting the habits, appearance, requests and sometimes conversations with their clientele.[24]

As the above example shows, records of fringe business survive as acceptable recorded history due to the role of law-enforcement. Modern-day brothel records would not stand alone as part of the collection policy for most archival bodies. Without the condemnation associated with taboo practice, archival institutions would be acting against normal moralities and sensibilities of mainstream Australia.

The Alt.com case study shows that fringe business records can exist outside the traditional archive. Although mainstream Australia may be slow to acknowledge it, the information contained within websites such as Alt.com (or at least a cross-section of it) is important for future research into sexual and social practices of our times. As discussed, a broad spectrum of sexology research is active internationally, but as noted, Australian primary material is lacking. Terry Cook notes:

> How can archivists [or librarians or recordkeepers] accurately choose a representative 'slice of life' to reflect a reality that is unknowable? The answer lies in focusing less on that reality and more on the most essential means by which it is articulated or formed.[25]

Although Alt.com's record of sexual practice is unusual to mainstream society, it is a representative record of business practice in a taboo area. The memorialisation by an archive in the fourth dimension is unlikely if conservative politics shape collection policies.

What politics shape our memory of the taboo?

Although the taboo may not be archived in most traditional archival institutions, it is not unrecorded - indeed sometimes the more taboo a subject, the more likely it is to be memorialised in one form or another. Taboo personal experience, events and feelings are likely to be recorded and kept in a diary form or in objects retained for the memorialising of the taboo event. Personal collections of pornography or illicit material can indeed make its way into the public arena through sale or gifting to archival institutions, particularly if a once taboo subject such as homosexuality becomes socially acceptable.[26]

In the case study above, this discussion about the taboo in Australian archives has been broadened by consideration of the international arena of Australian otherness online. Dissemination of taboo information is more and more prolific, for example through file share or video share websites, but does this make the material or the act of viewing it more socially acceptable? The lawful or illegal can guide the acceptable and unacceptable in society, yet the law and the taboo itself varies country to country.

The existence of taboo records in an archival institution can legitimate the archival validity of these records to historians and the public at large.

The Australian National University Noel Butlin Archives Centre's custodianship of The National AIDS Archives Collection heralded not only the housing of a government-funded project, but made legitimate the seriousness of the project and its research value to the broader community.[27] Contrast this acceptance with the fear of Aids epidemic, with disease and so-called societal unclean as a site of social stigma and homosexuality as something to be cured or eradicated. Ironically this marginalisation is a catalyst for history-making and recording by the repressed minority. In some cases, it appears that the collection and maintenance of a taboo collection is the responsibility of minorities until the prospect of social acceptance arises.

If archives house taboo collections, are they acknowledged, promoted and accessible? Institutions may not wish to highlight depraved aspects of their collections. Perhaps, as mentioned previously, the lack of direct discussion or support surrounding taboo materials in Australian archives prevents the archivist from solving complex access issues. It may not be the complexity of the records themselves but the complexity of politics and social psychology that shapes archival thinking surrounding taboo records. Inherent legitimation of actions may also discourage archives from promoting or collecting taboo materials. Legislation and what is socially acceptable behaviour are intertwined, and attempts to regulate the Internet show that criminal and antisocial behaviours online are less tangible for persecution. If law dictates unacceptable behaviour, what happens if memorialisation and law conflict? An archive memorialises a record which legitimates its place within history. Is the same true for normalising the taboo depicted if it sits outside the context of the criminal? In other words, if housing of fringe collections legitimates the collection's role in history, it can be a precursor to the shift of the taboo to normal or socially acceptable. This thinking may be a reason why Australian archives are hesitant to promote or collect taboo records; as the archive may be dictating a culture shift too soon in the eyes of the majority.

A fringe collection of S&M taboo at the Grainger Museum in Melbourne was born from the tastes of its collector, Percy Grainger himself. Grainger's taboo tastes were sadomasochist. It was also rumoured that he had a less than healthy relationship with his mother and that he frequented S&M clubs.[28] If the museum's records were not saved in their totality, much of the collection could have been perceived as eccentric self-indulgence; an

indulgence now revered as a snapshot of his time. Although the Museum's website at first appears scant on detail of his 'Lust branch collection',[29] there has indeed been promotion of and study around Grainger and all facets of his personality - including the taboo yet fascinating personal tastes and fetishes of the collector.[30] A search of Alt.com does not reveal a link to the University of Melbourne website, and one can assume that the museum would not want to be associated with such an organisation. But as taboo shifts, what was once taboo is more likely to be shared between communities. Documents of Grainger's penchant for flagellation may one day connect directly to the BSDM community. A reason for lack of taboo information sharing initiatives, despite the era of cross-marketing and cooperation across sectors, could be that, as pointed out by Ken Gray, a library or archive that devotes resources and space to dubious materials risks losing the support of its taxpayers.[31]

How does society view records of taboo criminal behaviour?

The above discussion highlights examples of taboo in Australian archives, but some collections of taboo or criminal acts would never appear in an archival institution. That is, unless it is part of its condemnation by mainstream society or by the law-makers. One such example would be the collection of a hair fetishists' thefts in 2004: 'Rodney Lyle Petersen, 30, of Wallan, pleaded guilty to fifty counts of theft of women's hair that he collected from the baggage of Qantas passengers'.[32] The evidence could be part of a persecution file, but if undiscovered would remain a private collection - outside the collection policy and morality of most mainstream archives. Other sinister collections would exist outside the walls of the archive too, unless kept as a record and memorialised as persecution of the other.

Informal yet sophisticated recordkeeping processes would exist for some criminals and for organised crime in particular, a group deemed the 'other' to law-abiding citizens. Taboo groups would include underground drug-dealers and mafia rings dealing in illicit and illegal materials. Law-abiding citizens can only imagine the extent of records created by groups such as the mafia, who trade on a black-market, and no doubt keep their records well - but hidden. Today laptops, blackberries, and hard-drives would be the repositories for records of illegal activity - business never intended to be seen in the public domain. These records will remain

hidden unless found by law-enforcement and condemned on record. These criminals are seen as 'other' to the moral majority. 'Us and them' mentality allows respectable society to look objectively at taboo records and condemn the creators and disseminators of illicit documents. Examples of illicit documents in a criminal context could be material such as snuff video or child pornography, both of which document acts of inhumanity or the monstrous.

The 'other': a term identifying social and/or psychological differential, where one group excludes or marginalises another group or individual for this difference.

The 'monstrous other': The other made monster, which is by its threatening inhumanity is a mirror of humanity and distorted primal self. 'Otherness and the threat it embodies'.[33]

Society posits the criminal as monster, a lawless animal for persecution by moral society and the records created by criminals, such as diaries or evidence of immoral transaction if in an archive are mostly in the governance realm of law and punishment. This clinical treatment of taboo records makes the records' memorialisation accepted within society, much like sexual taboo discussed at the beginning of this essay, when sex is being treated in a scientific way. The context of condemnation or scientific study of taboo legitimates the records' existence for memorialisation in the archive and this notion is examined later particularly in regards to exhibition of collections with violent or shocking content. It cannot be understated that the legal and illegal, like the taboo and normal, fluctuate through time and vary across cultures.

Foucault questions when perversities and normalcies were defined, and asks: who did the categorising and for what reason? Morality and societal normative behaviours were categorised around the notion of 'the other' and the fear of the other resides in the mirroring of monstrous humanity. This raises the broader question about normalcy and lawmaking - who are the lawmakers and who defines what is normal, abnormal, legal and illegal in society? Generally, criminal sexual acts are talked about openly, even graphically depicted in television drama. It can be argued that this depiction or recording is acceptable because of the 'otherness' of the perpetrators - the monstrous other - extractable from the society at large, condemned and therefore treated as a clinical illness and abnormality, distinct from the rest of the normal population.[34]

But what if the law does not clearly delineate the other? Consider the social attitude toward a person's repeated sexual seeking of deformed or mentally ill partners. Oppose this view with a loyal partner to a deformed person.[35] Preying, sexually or otherwise, on the mentally ill or incapacitated may be seen as immoral - but is there an illegal aspect, a law against the act itself? If not, then does it make the act socially acceptable? Also, as mentioned previously, if an act is memorialised in an archive or collection without persecutory context it can be a sign that there is culture shift or move toward social acceptance of that particular taboo. Or, that the archive is crossing the socially acceptable boundaries of taboo recordkeeping.

Where records exist in an archive without the context of persecution, the archive could be considered a fringe archive or the collection of records a fringe collection - even perhaps an illegal one. Memorialising itself is bound to the notion of lawmaking because generally archives house taboo only if in the context of persecution or control by a governing or law-making body.

But indeed, archives house socially accepted records that can also incite taboo. In the psychoanalytic sense of the term, taboo often exists at the site of the body, such as in states of erotic or even in death. Open discussion or exhibition of the taboo can generate disgust or offence in mainstream society. Consider however, the monstrous in the everyday, the monstrous and abject in everyday archives. These taboos can be criminal or they can be natural states, like sex and death. Sex and death if treated clinically and scientifically can be socially acceptable to memorialise in an archive; just as taboo criminal acts are often memorialised by an archive if in context of persecution. So when is death not scientifically or clinically recorded in an archive? And if death is recorded frequently in archives, what feelings does that incite in visitors and historians?

Uncovering the hidden monstrous

Uncanny: The return of the repressed in unfamiliar form. A taboo where life and death exist in an ambiguous mixture. For example, when the dead return to living space (as ghosts or apparitions). A feeling of the

uncanny involves the ego's relationship with death, and an unsuccessful repression of this relationship.[36]

Abject: 'everything that ought to have remained ... secret and hidden but has come to light' - Frederic Schelling.[37]

Do archives house the hidden monstrous?

Taboos are constantly fluctuating, so at the sight of the taboo, various cultures or sub-cultures may react differently to the same act or record of the taboo. Some taboos can become normative or accepted in society, even memorialised. But this is not a linear process; even an accepted natural state such as death can be taboo depending on its context. For example, a dead body with its abject mess can incite revulsion or horror - depending on the person, on the media in which it is presented, and on the surrounding context.

What if the everyday, such as the state of death could uncover taboo states of humanity? As Derrida has intimated, archives themselves are houses of ghostly apparition:

> the structure of the archive is *spectral*. It is spectral *a priori:* neither present nor absent 'in the flesh,' neither visible nor invisible, a trace always referring to another whose eyes can never be met.[38]

In the archive, genealogists not only map family lineage, but also attempt to discover lost secrets, reveal hidden identities, to uncover the hidden monstrous. Immersion into the life and death of 'the other' gives a researcher a sense of the uncanny, often bordering on revelation of the abject, for example, in grotesque description of a relative's demise. As one character in the *Tree of Man* noted, 'It doesn't do to keep old letters ... it's morbid. You start reading back, and forget that you have moved on'.[39]

The attraction of the archive to a historian is like a haunting siren call to a dazed sailor. Harriet Bradley, on the subject of the seduction of the archive, speaks of her family research in terms of the intersection of self, death and remembering - the act of family research as an uncanny familiar, a stripping back of her life to its barest animal elements. On her mother's death she was confronted with the archive of her mother's life and death intertwined:

> Here was the archive as individual life narrative, a chronicle of personality summarized in writings, scraps, mementoes ... [within the stories of family life and death was] that of my own past, the story of me as a child, the *primal self* beneath the accretions of experience, of pleasures, pains and losses [emphasis added].[40]

This primal uncanny, the return of the repressed (the human repression of close linkage of life and death) is brought forward by an archive and materials held within it. The haunting monstrous of death here is allegorical for Bradley, not a confronting hidden abject that should have remained. The abject does exist however in other records, particularly if the abject in death is exposed: stripped to the blood, pus and hacking of bone by a coroner for example, that constitutes a taboo beyond death and dying, the ultimate taboo of the corpse itself.

Research of death is not in itself considered taboo, but is posited as a relevant and scientific or clinical undertaking. But death can represent an uncanny taboo because it gives us shivers, a sense of the unspeakable or feelings of taboo death-drive[41] reminding us that there is 'death within life, life in death, nonlife in nondeath ... a bit too much death in life; a bit too much life in death, at the merging intersection'.[42] Archives allow researchers and historians to experience this intersection.

Does spectacle and gaze influence archival exhibitions?

Every day at Public Record Office Victoria, in a space that can be viewed as uncanny, researchers access wills and probate records for various reasons. Here, archives exist for animation and retelling of narratives, yet these particular taboo archives inherently have a clinical or sovereign gaze:

> One might say that the particular - clinical - effects we get from archival histories stem from the fact that the sovereign gaze of the historian, the reader of the archives, re-animates the discourses he or she discovers in the archives, giving them an aura of a certain rarity, a kind of extraordinary ordinariness.[43]

Derrida has explored the idea of the sovereign gaze and as noted above, historians 're-animate' the buried, giving stories an unnatural clinical life (much like the undead in a horror movie - an abject and uncanny spectacle). This extraordinary reanimation of narrative highlights the possibility for horror within the ordinary, because within the ordinary of the everyday is the possibility of the 'return of the repressed' in theories of the Freudian uncanny. Although taboo topics, both sex and death can be studied scientifically and academically without feelings of disgust. Looked at clinically, the disgusting or the abject does not transgress social norms. But what reasons beyond the macabre would researchers need to explore the harrowing details of a stranger's demise? For the same reason we slow down and stare at a car-crash? In Ian Miller's book on disgust, he uses the example of noises and actions hidden behind a toilet door as a human condition of fascination and disgust intertwined.[44]

At least one macabre series of Australian archival holdings is literally locked away due to past infractions by junior records staff. This heightened restriction can heighten staff fascination.[45] Taboos and hidden human actions can be examined in clinical and scientific form, and sometimes it is not the record or action itself that is socially transgressive but the improper use of the material that makes it socially unacceptable. To place a murder scene photograph out of context, in an artwork for example, renders it taboo or disgusting to the viewer. It is the display and the reanimate retelling that makes it improper in the eyes of the spectator. Narrative on death or sex in the context of a clinical report, treated in a clinical way, puts aside our disgust mechanisms and gives way to the rational need for macabre documentation in coroner's reports, suicide and inquest records.

Our attitudes, emotions, expectations and the medium on which the narrative is told can contribute to the overall impact of that story. For example, at Public Record Office Victoria, staff can be heard saying: "you didn't see any photographs did you? They are quite gruesome and disturbing". Interestingly, it is the visual element that is perceived as more horrific and taboo than a grotesque narrative for example. In film theory, the notion of spectatorship and horror is well-established in the example of horror for entertainment. It is here we can draw comparisons with exhibitions of macabre items of cultural value. An exhibition in an archive may shock the viewer, but there are different spectator expectations for each medium. For example, in film we expect to be

entertained with a spectacle. In contrast, historians' expectations are to find the spectacle amongst the mundane in the 'dusty archives' - or to make the ordinary extraordinary through reanimation and retelling of narrative.

In film theory, spectators' fantasies, desires and expectation of narrative have been examined in works such as *Perverse Spectators* by Janet Staiger.[46] Similarly, the obsessive gaze of historians has classed them as fetishists, according to Michael Shanks, since historians and archaeologists have:

> a passion a little too intimate with the past, a fetishism. Fetishism: here is a desire to hold, look, touch; captivation by the consecrated object . . . The wholeness of the past is lost in the melancholic holding of the [object].[47]

This relation to the past is viewed as a voyeuristic violation, a pornography.[48] Voyeurism is a key focus in the film production world, but is exhibition for the voyeuristic gaze considered in archival display? 'The Gaze' as it is known in film theory relates to the male-dominated look of the spectator. The gaze itself is an important yet often unexplored concept when dealing with exhibition of information such as archives. Exhibiting taboo archives is often considered against the public interest, and therefore much unseen. If any 'gaze' is to be displayed in a government archive, it is the gaze of the authoritarian government itself, as Piggott and Ketelaar comment upon in *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*.[49] The next section explores taboo within a government archive, and compares taboo archival exhibition to that of other forms of popular media and narrative.

Records of monstrous violence

The Australian War Memorial is a grand memorial and exhibition of the heroism of Australian soldiers. The memorial displays and tributes the stories of survival and bravery, and memorialises the trials and sacrifices for the life we enjoy today. One wonders what stories are untold, or too taboo to tell the youngsters wandering the memorial lawns. What taboo undertakings are held within the archive for the researcher to 'uncover', to uncover in fact, the hidden monstrous? One could argue it is the figure of the monstrous itself, personified in uncanny triumph and inhumanity intertwined at which most would reel at in disgust:

'Blood Carnival' [Diary Entry of Major General Horii]

> All is over. The head is dead white, like a doll. The savageness which I felt only a little while ago is gone, and now I feel nothing but the true compassion of Japanese Bushido. A senior corporal laughs loudly "well he will enter nirvana now!" If I ever get back alive it will make a good story to tell, so I have written it down ... SSH! It must be the sound of blood spurting from the arteries ... the onlookers crowd forward. The head detached from the trunk, rolls in front of it. SSH! The dark blood gushes out ... Then a superior seaman of the medical unit takes the Chief Medical Officer's sword, and, intent on paying off old scores, turns the headless body on its back and cuts the abdomen open with one clean stroke ... [50]

Is this an image of the 'evil dead' personified? What if these zombie-like figures were to eat the carcass, as other evidence of wartime has shown Japanese soldiers to do 'intent on paying off old scores' or merely in animalistic mode of survival. The actors here are alive and aware of their actions - or are they? The consequence of war brings out the inhuman side of humanity (or adversely, the most human - the animalistic[51]), as well as the mentally unstable. Reports and interviews on Japanese cannibalism during World War II substantiate that soldiers 'were not normal human beings at the time the cannibalism took place'.[52] However, our perception of normal human behaviour is dependant on our belief systems at any given time. National and individual ideas and belief systems conflict especially in time of war. Accepted behaviour blurs in the time of war, and again, the resultant records of taboo acts are the result of persecution of them, as evidence of these acts are predominantly extant in records of war crimes trials.

Acceptable and unacceptable behaviour is enforced by law within the theatre of war, and these laws measure the individual belief systems of right and wrong. However, individual belief systems do not always mimic that of society at large and it is important to note that beliefs, taboos and the feeling of shame is particular to communities of people, bound by commonalities such as nationality or faith. Detailed in an interview of a prisoner of war, a spectre of the undead is revealed, caught in a nexus of space-time he says of himself: "I, alas, am not yet dead. And

my carcass in enemy land still unburied".[53] Here, what is monstrous depends on cultural perspective and national belief systems. To many Japanese POWs the disgrace of capture was more monstrous than death itself, with 'self inflicted death as a means of atonement or escape from the humiliation of disgrace ... many corpses have been found giving unmistakable evidence of self-destruction by hand grenades held to the chest and exploded'.[54] Compare this view of shame to the disgrace imposed or felt by Western society in regards to suicide. Religion, faith and community as modifiers of societal taboos and difference are sub-topics to this wider discussion. Suicide has had the history of disgrace in Western culture, particularly for those with religious convictions that dictate such an act as sin. The challenge of providing access to records detailing suicide is experienced by archival organisations such as National Archives of Australia for example. Decisions have to be made as to whether details of suicide are masked or closed for a period of time and for how long the narrative is to remain closed to the public.

If given the passage of time, some narratives and archives of monstrous taboo can become part of a community narrative. The passing of time can desensitise the taboo, but the appropriate length of time taboo records should be closed to the public is sometimes unclear and likely shifting depending on social attitudes. Even legislation regarding public access to records is not static. Take for example the taboo of cannibalism. Cannibalism is a popular topic for historical documentary and popular non-fiction, even Hollywood movies. One such example is of the only US citizen to be jailed for cannibalism, Alfred Packer. Packer is a memorialised part of US popular culture, and his nineteenth-century records of persecution feature prominently in the Colorado State Archives website.[55] This integration of the taboo in mainstream media can be most recently felt in the Australian *60 Minutes* interview of a father and daughter's sexual relationship.[56] Details of such a relationship if undisclosed to media would be closed for pubic access in an archive, or not recorded at all unless from a governance or law-making standpoint. Even without the passing of time, the taboo of incest is readily discussed by the couple on *60 Minutes.* Is the existence of such an interview on television, or in other television programmes such as *Jerry Springer* an indication of changing social taboo? It is in fact more likely that if an incest fringe archive or fringe collection was available in the public realm it would

indicate such a shift. Representations of incest are uncommon in Australia and provide media shock value.

Cannibalism is a taboo that can invoke shock and horror in western society, but the degree to which it is taboo varies depending on context. For example, cannibalism is accepted practice in some tribal cultures and looked upon as part of that cultural heritage. Even for first-world societies, the anecdotal explorers making a pact to eat each other in extreme situations to survive is considered gruesome, but implies less of a criminal element. It is this aspect of criminal 'other' that we focus on here. The acts of the 'monstrous other', in the real-life example of Armin Miews, the German cannibal, are more chilling than any account of fictional character Hannibal Lecter - primarily because *Silence of the Lambs* is a fictional creation for our entertainment and spectacle.[57] The narrative surrounding Miews (interestingly, a movie has been made on his life story, adding another layer of spectacle) in news reports is a factual account of real events - gruesome, yet told in a clinical and law-enforcing manner.

What monstrous violence may archives inadequately memorialise?

In the news today, taboo issues can reach beyond sex and death, to war, difference and otherness. Otherness can be clearly mapped to the Iraq War and in the War Against Terror. During WWII the racially different 'other' was personified as monstrous and inhuman in popular culture. Over sixty years later in the war against terror, beheadings in Iraq publicised on the news and online highlight the taboo of inhuman murder (not much unlike Hortii's diary entry) with media narrative undercurrents suggesting the 'otherness' of the criminals' race and religion. How will archives record such events - will the voice of the monstrous other be heard?[58] This is likely only if archived in the context of persecution. The voices *un*likely to be heard any time soon are those banned from our shelves.[59]

> 'hate items', be they racist, sexist, homophobic, anti-Semitic, etc, may indeed be the toughest ... It may be a relatively easy decision, in our own fairly liberal society, to include positive representations of homosexuality, Islam, and so on, but what about negative representations? What about items that are

> outright offensive to you as a person, such as racism or Holocaust revisionism? What about books which advocate violence?[60]

Yet as discussed, sometimes efficient memorialisation exists outside of traditional archives. Fringe archives of jihad supporters in Australia for example may survive for the few, until this threat to the majority eases over history. Perhaps in the future such a fringe archive will appear in the mainstream.

Cultural difference can be the cause of much contention for archives. In an abject state, stripped of human rights, the archival narratives of Jewish people rendered inhuman is so taboo today that release of holocaust archives has been a political battleground:

> [In relation to the holocaust archives] Twenty countries published a joint statement backing the US position and calling for the urgent release of the documents to researchers. One American researcher has called the refusal to open the archive "a form of Holocaust denial".[61]

Even if adequately memorialised in an archive, existence of taboo records and the political tensions as well as public access problems these records create are a fascinating yet largely unexplored realm in the Australian archival field.

Conclusion

Although wide-ranging, this article has only scratched the surface of the taboo, and further societal attitudes and laws, particularly in relation to censorship, could be explored as the preceding examples are a handful of many. This article covers a broad range of taboo subjects in these contexts, looking particularly at fringe collections and businesses. Rather than answer all the questions it raises, this paper aims to examine possibilities for further research and development about taboo information management and archives in society.

This article considers psychoanalysis as a useful tool to discuss the notion of the taboo and the social and antisocial elements surrounding records and institutions. Research and development around taboo information management mechanisms in society could be further explored, as could the lack of sexology archives and resources available in Australia. A

DNC model has been suggested for capture and dissemination of Australian taboo collections.

The uncollectible, illegal and illicit are examples of what business records *are not* being kept in archival institutions due to their taboo status and for those records that *are kept,* discussion of how society houses memory or memorialises this abnormality or criminality is considered. How we make things normative via criminal and scientific structures is inextricably bound with the notion that 'archives are written by the winners' and that the other in archives is memorialised in the form of ostracism and punishment. Further to how the taboo can become normative is the theory that the everyday in archives can elicit feelings of the taboo, the uncanny and the monstrous.

Endnotes

[1] The concepts raised in this article are representative of my thoughts alone, and not of my employer.

[2] Gilliland, Lau, McKemmish, Rele, and White , 'Pluralizing the Archival Paradigm through Education: Critical Discussions around the Pacific Rim', *Archives and Manuscripts,* November 2007, vol. 35. no.1.

[3] Joanna Sassoon, 'Sharing our story: An Archaeology of Archival Thought', *Archives and Manuscripts,* November 2007, vol. 35. no.1 quoting Jeannette Allis Bastian, 'Reading colonial records through an archival lens: the provenance of place, space and creation', *Archival science* (online preprint 2006), p. 1.

[4] Science or logic usually undermines the taboo, making the taboo openly discussed for 'proper' reason.

[5] For the outline of the *Bodies of Knowledge* conference see: <http://www.ched.uq.edu.au/?page=57577> (Accessed 24/4/2008).

[6] For more information see the Kinsey Institute website at <http://kinseyinstitute.org/index.html> (Accessed 12 June 2006).

[7] Crook, Edgar 'Erotica in Australian Libraries: Are We Negligent Collection Managers?' in *LIBRES: Library and Information Science Research,* vol.11, no. 2, September 2001. Available at <http://libres.curtin.edu.au/LIBRE11N2/crook.htm>.

[8] More information on ALGA is at <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~alga/>.

[9] It has published books and has issued a serial publication *Notes and Curieux,* but even in Crook's assertions above, the existence of the Wilmar is ignored.

To the credit of the NLA and the Wilmar's Librarian Glen Ralph, the library is listed on the Australian Libraries Gateway.

[10] Non-government funded Australian archives and libraries also lack philanthropic support of the type more common in the USA - for example the monetary support of religious archives, and the Rockefeller family's support of the establishment of sexology archives in the US.

[11] De Mijolla, Alain (Ed.) *International Dictionary of Psychoanalysis.* Thomson Gale, 2005. *eNotes.com.* 2006. <http://soc.enotes.com/psychoanalysis-encyclopedia/taboo> (Accessed 12 June 2006).

[12] Brittain, Craig. 'Sex and Politics: The Eros Foundation Archive' *Archives and Manuscripts,* vol.31, no. 2, November 2003, p. 39.

[13] *ibid.* p.40.

[14] *op.cit.* Crook, Edgar.

[15] Wainwright, Eric. 'Glory days? Reflections on the 1988 Australian Libraries Summit and its aftermaths' Australian Library Journal Online (undated ?2003) available at: <http://www.alia.org.au/publishing/alj/53.1/full.text/wainwright.html> (Accessed June 13 2006).

[16] Piggott, Michael. 'Round Table No. 10: Archives in the National Research Infrastructure', November 1999. <http://www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/nscf/roundtables/r10/r10_piggott.html> (Accessed 21 May 2006).

[17] Albeit a 'dark-age' for Australian sexual material, it may follow the pattern of other social movements where a fluctuating level of availability of recorded discussion is reflected in archives (such as in the temperance movement, spiritualism, or phrenology - with the records being more prevalent the more they are discussed openly).

[18] Meaning (in order) arousal from: tears, suction on the skin, enema/douching.

[19] See for example, the media coverage in Melbourne surrounding the death of Maria Korp dubbed the 'body in the boot case'. Images from her adult dating profile were front-page news.

[20] Image from: Upward, Frank. 'Modelling the continuum as paradigm shift in recordkeeping and archiving processes, and beyond - a personal reflection' published 2000,<http://www.sims.monash.edu.au/research/rcrg/publications/Frank%20U%20RMJ%202001.pdf> (Accessed 24/4/2008).

[21] Friendfinder.org, 'The Alt.com Story' <www.alt.com>.

[22] The website of the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine is <http://www.archive.org/index.php>. (Accessed 24/4/2008).

[23] In comparison, mental hospital records are kept in an archive for later access. The governing bodies claim ownership of these records and are subject to access provisions.

[24] Cheek, Pamela, 'Prostitutes of 'Political Institution', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* vol. 28, no. 2, Winter, 1994-1995, p. 193.

[25] Cook, Terry. 'Mind over Matter: Towards a new theory of Archival Appraisal' in *The Archival Imagination, Essays in Honour of Hugh A Taylor,* Ottawa, Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992, pp. 38-70. Quote from p.49.

[26] One example of this is the John Willis Collection at the University of Melbourne, a forty-year collection by Willis of gay and lesbian fiction and biography.

[27] More information on the collection can be found at: The Noel Butlin Archives Centre website <http://www.archives.anu.edu.au/nbac/html/history.html> (Accessed 24/4/2008).

[28] Josey, 'Getting Back to the Grindstone - Writing Other-whens' in the *Travelouge* website hosted by fagedfour.com available at: <http://www.fangedfour.com/travelogue/id37.htm> (Accessed May 21, 2006)

[29] University of Melbourne, 'The Grainger Musuem Collections' webpage available at:<http://www.lib.unimelb.edu.au/collections/grainger/museum/collection.html#lust> (Accessed 20 May 2006).

[30] For examples of such publications, see for instance the collections listed at the University webpage at: <http://www.unimelb.edu.au/culturalcollections/research/grainger.html>.

[31] Gray, Ken. 'City library becoming a 'porn palace': CUPE: Children can glimpse explicit material on library computers' Published in the *Ottawa Citizen,* January 25, 2003, p. D1. available at: <http://cla.ca/issues/citizen_gray.htm> (accessed 14 June 2006).

[32] *The West Australian,* 'Deviant Jailed over hair fetish' <http://www.thewest.com.au/aapstory.aspx?StoryName=360873> (Accessed December 1 2007)

[33] Creed, Barbara. *Phallic panic: film, horror and the primal uncanny,* Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2005. 'Introduction', p.4.

[34] What is now considered normal by the majority, such as certain fetishes like a foot-fetish or cross dressing, can be considered along a spectrum of 'normal' and 'abnormal' sexual activities - and some of which are integrated into the dialogue of societal history. The measure of a taboo act is defined by the time, space, and attitudes of the community at large. Homosexuality is a case in point. But how have societal these attitudes towards taboo topics been followed or recorded throughout history? As noted previously, the Australian attitudes to sexual perversions such as foot fetishes have not been recorded scientifically due to a lack of acceptance and/or lack of sexology pioneers in Australia. A taboo act can be a consecrated part of one's lifestyle, but viewed as a perversion by another. Our social signifiers are complex and fluctuating and therefore the attitudes and treatment of records of these behaviours are too.

[35] Example used in: Eve and Renslow, 'An exploratory analysis of private sexual behavior among college students: some implications for a theory of class differences in sexual behavior', *Social Behavior and Personality,* vol. 8, no. 1, 1980, pp. 95-105.

[36] What Freud termed 'the return of the repressed'.

[37] Frederic Schelling in Kristeva's *Powers of Horror;* Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: an essay on abjection,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1982, p.ix.

[38] Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,* translated by Eric Prenowitz, 1995, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 84.

[39] *The Tree of Man,* p.213 quoted in Patrick White: *A Life,* p.441.

[40] Bradley, Harriet, 'The seductions of the archive: voices lost and found' *History of the Human Sciences,* May 1999, vol. 12, pp. 107 - 122. p.120.

[41] Freud's Death Drive embodies human drive and yearning for a re-birth, to be returned to the earth, ie the mother's womb.

[42] Cixous' summation of Freuds' essay *The Uncanny,* p.545 of' 'Fiction and its Phantoms: A Reading of Freud's Das Unheimliche', *New Literary History,* vol. 7, 1976, p. 525-48.

[43] Osborne, Thomas. 'The ordinariness of the archive', *History of the Human Sciences,* May 1999; vol. 12, pp. 51 - 64. , p.62.

[44] Miller, William Ian. *The Anatomy of Disgust,* Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997, p.112.

[45] This is example is drawn from personal experience.

[46] Staiger, Janet. *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception,* NYU Press, 2000.

[47] Shanks, Michael, *Experiencing the Past: On the Character of Archaeology,* London, Routledge, 1992, p.99.

[48] Freshwater, H. 'The Allure of the Archive', *Poetics Today,* vol. 24, 2003, p. 735.

[49] Michael Piggott looks briefly at the 'gaze' of ASIO on p.315, and Eric Ketelaar highlights gaze in terms of power structures for example, highlighting Foucault's notion of *panopticism* on p. 282, 'where power rests on supervision'.

[50] Horii, Major-General. 'Blood Carnival' diary extract from *Study of the Japanese Bushido,* AWM54 423/5/29.

[51] Julia Kristeva notes that 'the abject confronts us ... with those fragile states where man strays on the territories of animal' in *Powers of Horror: an essay on abjection,* p.12.

[52] (anon, Interview) *Study of the Japanese Soldier,* AWM54 423/5/29, p.27.

[53] *ibid.* p.23.

[54] *ibid.* pp.17-18.

[55] Colorado State Archives 'The Alfred Packer Collection at the Colorado State Archives'<http://web.archive.org/web/20040405011012/http%3A//www.archives.state.co.us/packer.html> (Accessed 3rd June 2006).

[56] Channel 9 Australia, 'Forbidden Love', 6 April 2008, Transcript available from <http://sixtyminutes.ninemsn.com.au/article.aspx?id=441583>. (Accessed 25 April 2008).

[57] Armin Meiws, was a convicted German cannibal. When news of his fetish spread around the world on his arrest in 2001, normal disgust reactions ensued - and most were surprised to hear that five people replied to Armin (Franky) Meiws' advertisement: 'Are you max 30 years old, with a normal body, then you are just right for me. I want to slaughter you and consume your delicious flesh. Please reply with details of age, height and weight, preferably with photo. Your master butcher, Franky'. See: McElderry, Kevin. 'Cannibal Exposes Dark Side of the web' *cooltech technology news,* 18 December 2002. <http://cooltech.iafrica.com/technews/196468.htm> (Accessed 24 May 2006).

[58] The monstrous line of 'them and us' blurs depending on individual belief systems. In this example, the monstrous are those personified as atavistic other.

[59] See for example the book ban on material advocating jihad at: Pennell, C R, 'Book Ban a Bomb', *The Australian,* 4 July 2007. (Accessed 25 January 2008).

[60] Moody, Kim. 'Covert censorship in libraries: a discussion paper', *The Australian Library Journal,* October 2004, <http://www.alia.org.au/publishing/alj/54.2/full.text/moody.html> (Accessed May 28 2006).

[61] Sydney Morning Herald 'Dispute over Nazi archives'. Published February 22 2006 <http://www.smh.com.au/text/articles/2006/02/21/ 1140284067583.html> (Accessed 25 March 2006)

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