Who Do Archives Think They Are?

Archives, Communities and Values in the Heritage City

Victoria Elizabeth Hoyle

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University of York

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Abstract

This thesis critically explores ontological values ascribed to archival heritage in England, interrogating the archives field from a cultural heritage perspective. Using change-oriented research approaches, within a constructivist framework, it considers the ways in which archival institutions, archives practitioners and communities define and value archives.

A critical discourse analysis of strategic documentation from 1997 to 2017 examines professional and institutional conceptions of archival values. Following Smith (2006), an 'Authorised Archival Discourse' that naturalises certain ways of thinking about archives is theorised. It is argued that this discourse, which privileges some cultural subjectivities over others, shapes the activation of archives for political and social agendas. The theory is validated and extended through analysis of semi-structured interviews with archives practitioners. Alternative values emerge in cases studies of archival engagement and participatory research projects with communities. The City of York acts as a 'heritage laboratory' in which to observe how both authorised and alternative values are expressed through engagement programmes and community-based activity.

Two typologies of values are identified. An evidential typology, grounded in dominant Western epistemologies, encompasses juridical, historical and rights values and is conceptually dependent on notions of authenticity, integrity, authority and truth. An affective typology, generated through individual and communal encounters with archives, includes social and emotional values. This typology calls upon place, ownership, autonomy and lived experience for legitimacy. Values-based tensions arise between archival institutions and communities when evidential values are authorised by the discourse whereas expressions of affective values are marginalised. The thesis suggests that the dissonance generated by differing regimes of values impacts communication and collaboration between values-holders, and thus the potentiality of archives in society. In making this dissonance visible the thesis contributes to the theorisation of the "archival multiverse" (McKemmish, 2016) and the emerging field of critical archival studies (Caswell, Punzalan and Sangwood, 2017).

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Acknowledgements

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and that I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged and referenced in footnotes and in the bibliography.

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Chapter One

Introduction:

Archives, Community and Values

In the process of gathering things that are valued, an archive comes into being.

Tim Cresswell[1]

Hector: Brother, she is not worth what she doth cost
            The holding.
Troilus: What's aught but as 'tis valued?

William Shakespeare[2]

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[1] Tim Cresswell, "Value, Gleaning and the Archive at Maxwell Street Chicago," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37, no. 1 (2010): 166.
[2] William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), Act 2, Scene 2, 52-54.

This thesis is concerned with 'archives', the 'values' that are ascribed to them and how different 'communities' of people think about and engage with them on the basis of those 'values'. It is particularly concerned with the discourses that construct and structure the conceptualisation, management and use of 'archives' in institutional and community contexts. My use of quote marks around three key terms highlights that these initial statements are not straightforward. The 'archive' is a slippery and contested notion, which has been claimed and disrupted by multiple disciplines in the late twentieth century. The word may be used to refer to material objects, intangible cultures, discourse or concept; or a combination of any of these. Similarly, 'values' and 'communities' are words that serve multiple purposes, both academic and colloquial. Consequently this introductory chapter focuses primarily on defining my understanding and use of these terms, setting my position in the context of literature from the field of archival and cultural heritage theory and other relevant disciplines. This lays a foundation for describing my research approach, and for introducing the central argument and structure of what follows. Firstly though it is necessary to provide background to the evolution of the thesis, outlining the research questions that have shaped it.

The research was originally conceived and planned as part of a Collaborative Doctoral Award made to the University of York and the City of York Council (CYC) by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) in 2013. The award provided for a cohort of three doctoral students to engage in "close critical assessment of heritage values" as they related to three specialist areas: world heritage, community heritage and archival heritage. Specifically they were to consider the "social values" of heritage with regards to identity, social inclusion and community coherence.[3] The archival strand of the project – of which this thesis is the product – was originally intended to consider how the values ascribed to archives were "informed and shaped by national strategic priorities" and their role in "meeting national and local agendas."[4] Outcomes of the

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[3] *Within the Walls: Heritage Values and the Historic City.* Application to the Arts and Humanities Research Council. York: University of York, 2013.
[4] Ibid.

project were intended to have practical application in shaping City of York Council's approach to the archives in its care.[5]

To some extent this brief has been met, in that I have sought to consider the relationship between the ascription of values to archives and their instrumentalisation for political and social outcomes. However, this became an element of a much broader inquiry into the values of archival heritage. At the outset it was clear that debates about values in cultural heritage studies – in which the project originated - were differently constituted in archival studies. Indeed, discussions of "social values" as framed in the AHRC application were largely absent from the archives literature. A relative lack of cross-pollination between archival theory and other heritage specialisms meant that ideas about value had distinctive genealogies and characteristics that could not be readily mapped.[6] Although the theorisation of 'value' is of longstanding in archival theory, and while archival studies has been subject to the same conceptual and postmodernist turns as cultural heritage and related humanities disciplines, thinking about archives through a values-based lens within a cultural heritage frame was new.

Until recently archives practitioners have been primarily concerned with issues of value insofar as they provide measures of the quality or benefit of archives.[7] The focus has been on defining and identifying informational, evidential and historical value in order to appraise archival materials, deciding what to preserve in institutional settings. Debates have focused on methodologies of assessing and characterising 'value'. Work such as Elaine Penn's 2014 PhD thesis "Exploring Archival Value: An Axiological Approach", for example, has concentrated on inherent value in the properties and characteristics of archives. [8] This is in contrast to ideas about the ascription of values as multiple and subjective qualities as understood in cultural heritage.[9] Archival

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[5] For the scope and content of York's City Archive, see Chapter Five, 186-187.

[6] This tendency towards insularity in the archival field has also been observed in relation to other heritage and history discourses, as for example in the case of 'collective memory'. Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan and Margaret L. Hedstrom, "'Invoking 'Collective Memory': Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2-3 (2013): 226.

[7] See Chapter Two, 42-53.

[8] Elaine Penn, "Exploring Archival Value: An Axiological Approach," (PhD thesis, University College London, 2014), 3.

[9] Values-based approaches to cultural heritage are explored further below. See Chapter One, 23-25.

theorists have only recently begun to engage explicitly with ideas that find synergy with such values-based approaches. Much of this work has emerged during the course of my research, emanating principally from Australia, North America and Canada in the context of efforts to de-colonialize archival praxis.[10] The questions addressed by this thesis find synergy with, and represent a contribution to, this emerging literature. Principally they are: What are the values ascribed to archival heritage? How are they understood and expressed? And by whom?

The resulting thesis explores these questions within specific parameters. Generally, in the context of historic and current archival practice in England, and specifically, with reference to the ways in which archives have been put to work as tools for engaging people with their pasts. Utilising a constructivist framework and a change-oriented action research approach it explores the ways in which archival institutions, archives practitioners and archivally-engaged communities define and ascribe 'values' to archival heritage.[11] It observes how these 'values' are expressed and circulated through documentation produced by archival institutions and through practitioner training, funded engagement programmes and community activities.

It is also concerned to understand how the 'values' ascribed to archives shape actions. Specifically, how are 'values' implicated in community-focused engagement practice between institutions and members of communities? In considering this question York - the heritage city of the title – acts as a laboratory for the collection and analysis of case study data. This supports the formulation of arguments grounded in a local setting which can then be extrapolated to national and international contexts. In doing so I consider if and how values ascribed to archives are related to, or contingent upon, professional, political and cultural discourses. Specifically, do the discourses of government policy and of archival practice reflect or support stated aspirations for broadening the uses of archives in society? If not, how could discourse be negotiated and practice reconfigured through values-based thinking to better support plural uses?

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[10] See Chapter Two, 50-53.
[11] My definitions of both of groups are provided below. See Chapter One, 35-37.

Towards a definition of 'archives'

An exploration of the busy and increasingly fashionable term 'archives' must be the starting point for understanding what is meant when we talk about their values.[12] It could be argued that many of the debates concerning archives, at every level, are reducible to this thorny question of definition.[13] The functional multiplicity of the word presents an immediate challenge to research: what are we talking about when we talk about archives? In the practice of archives management, and amongst researchers using archives, the term commonly refers to a distinct, knowable and manageable information object, usually from the past. This object is conceived as fixed and characterised as text or image on physical media, or its digital equivalent: manuscripts, registers, correspondence, files, deeds, diaries, photographs and film are instantly recognisable examples of this category of thing. Used as a noun it may refer both to these things and to the places where they are kept. At the same time it may be a verb referring to the activity of creating or selecting the things to be kept in that place. Thus we may archive archives in the Archive.[14] In this usage there are also numerous synonyms – for example, record, document, collection, Record Office and repository – which may be used interchangeably. In addition the word now has a number of other practical, technical and theoretical meanings in IT, geology, the arts and the biological and physical sciences that inform public understandings of the concept.[15] It has also been adopted by cultural theorists to describe social constructs and discursive practices, as for example in the work of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida.

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[12] This is the last time 'archives' will appear in questioning quote marks, to denote that the issue of definition has been explored. It should be understood that whenever it appears it does so with the nuance of the following discussion.

[13] A similar observation has been made about heritage more broadly. Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. (London: Routledge, 2013), 20.

[14] Throughout I use the upper case 'Archives' to refer to the institutions, organisations and repositories which preserve and give access to records. The records themselves are referred to in the lower case as 'archives'. The differentiation of terminologies is explored more completely below. See Chapter One, 35-37.

[15] Alexandrina Buchanan and Geoffrey Yeo, "Strangely Unfamiliar: Ideas of the Archive from Outside the Discipline," in *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping*, ed. Jennie Hill (London: Facet, 2010), 37-61.

The Society of American Archivists' *A Glossary of Archives and Records Terminology* offers a standard definition of archives as things, establishing the meaning most widely adopted by archival institutions and archives practitioners. It states that archives are:

> materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator, especially those materials maintained using the principles of provenance, original order, and collective control; permanent records.[16]

No equivalent glossary exists for England but The National Archives for the UK Government, and England and Wales (TNA) offers a similar definition on its website, albeit in language aimed at lay readers rather than archives practitioners.[17] Both highlight the informational and evidential qualities of archives that characterise them as having continuing value, which justifies permanent or long term preservation. The *Glossary* definition further associates the status of archive with three key principles of archival practice – provenance, original order and collective control – which seek to maintain the relationships between archives and their origin and contexts. The implication is that, to some extent, the management of these relationships brings the archive into being, an idea which is more fully explored in Chapter Four.[18]

The first use of the term attested by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) is from the early seventeenth century, but it derives via Latin and French from the Ancient Greek "arkheion".[19] This refers to the house of the Archon, or magistrate, where important documentation was kept and could be consulted. The arkheion formed the basis of the rule of law, evidencing earlier decisions and practice, in a way not dissimilar to the

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[16] Richard Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 2005), 30.

[17] "What are archives?" *The National Archives*, The National Archives, accessed Jul 27, 2018. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/what-are-archives.htm.

[18] See Chapter Four, 158-160.

[19] "archive, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2015, accessed Jul 9, 2015. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/10416?rskey=pRuNMu&result=1&isAdvanced=false.

function of the Chancery of the Exchequer in medieval England.[20] Evidence suggests that the term may have been in use as early as the mid-fifteenth century. The first incidence in York, for example, can be found in the records of the City Council dating from the early 1470s, when the aldermen requested a search of the "books of olde and newe remembraunces" in the city "archiv" in order to confirm a trading right.[21] Archives as material things which inscribe and evidence past activities, rights and decisions was thus well established by the early nineteenth century when the foundation of the Public Record Office (PRO; now TNA) created a specialised institution to "keep safely the public records" of central government.[22]

In 1922 Hilary Jenkinson, later Deputy Keeper at the PRO, published *A Manual of Archive Administration*, a foundational work of Western archival theory and practice. The book sets out how archives are to be understood, controlled and managed. In it he defines them as documents "which were drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved…"[23] This pre-figures the *Glossary* in defining archives by their nature of production and preservation. Jenkinson went on to state that they have two essential qualities, impartiality and authenticity, which are guaranteed because archives are the organic by-product of indifferent business and life processes. He added a corollary to his definition to underline the point: "Archives were not drawn up in the interests or for the information of Posterity" [capitalisation in the original].[24] Archives in this definition arise out of the administrative structures and mechanisms of bureaucracy in society, whether at the level of the state or the individual. This understanding has been reaffirmed in the literature of archival theory throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, applied to digital as well as analogue records. For example, Bearman, writing in the electronic context in the 1990s, restated that "Archives are recorded transactions created in the course of

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[20] Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 3rd edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 72.

[21] *The York House Books, 1461-1490*, ed. and trans. Lorraine Attreed (London: Sutton Publishing, 1991), 10.

[22] The Public Record Office Act, 1838, 1-2. Vict. 1, c. 94.

[23] Hilary Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archives Administration* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1922), 11.

[24] Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archives Administration*, 11

organisational activities that have continuing evidential value."[25] More recently Yeo has defined them as the "persistent representations of activities created by participants or observers of those activities or by their authorised proxies."[26] The echo of Jenkinson's definition here and in the *Glossary* underlines the continued currency and credibility of his perspective.

A voluminous literature has sought to further define and characterise what constitutes an archive, building from Jenkinson's definition to develop nuanced distinctions between documents, records and archives.[27] The former have often been defined as constituent of the latter. Thus documents – "archival traces of an act or event" – become records "when they are stored by recordkeeping and archiving processes in ways which preserve their content and structure, link them to related documents, and record information about related social and organisational activities."[28] These records become archival when they are managed "in frameworks that enable them to function as individual, group and corporate memory."[29] Critical to each of these definitions is the transactional interconnectedness of archives, which require that attention be paid to their origins and their context. This concern is expressed through the development of specialist and expert processes to document and manage the provenance and original order of archival heritage, and to maintain institutional control of bodies of archives. The first postgraduate degree in Archives Administration, designed to train practitioners in these processes, was established by Jenkinson at University College London in 1947.[30] There are now seven UK training programmes accredited by the

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[25] David Bearman, "Archival Principles and the Electronic Office" in *Information Handling in Offices and Archives*, ed. Angelika Menne-Haritz (New York: K.G. Saur, 1993), 178.

[26] Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information and Persistent Representations." *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 342.

[27] It is not possible to thoroughly explore this literature here. For an overview, see Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1)," 315-343 and Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (2): Prototypes and Boundary Objects," *The American Archivist* 71 (2008): 118-143.

[28] Sue McKemmish, "Document, Record, Archive, Archives" in *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*, ed. Sue McKemmish et.al (Wagga Wagga, N.S.W: Charles Stuart University, 2005), 9.

[29] McKemmish, "Document, Record, Archive, Archives", 13.

[30] Elizabeth Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 38.

Archives and Records Association (ARA), the professional organisation for archivists, records managers and archives conservators.[31]

A reflexive turn in archival studies from the mid-1990s began to complicate and problematize the definition of archives as organic and impartial accumulations. Theorists re-approaching practices in light of postmodernist thought, globalisation and post-Apartheid began to recognise the power dynamics inherent in Jenkinsonian assumptions.[32] Transactional definitions had privileged the types of material generated by centralised administration and dominant social groups, while de-valuing those produced by counter-cultures or minority populations. Records that were unstructured, generated by community activity or non-traditional in format were not recognised as archival in this paradigm and as a result were absent from the collections of archival institutions. This had significant impact on the survival of archives relating to women, ethnic minorities, activist movements and others at the margins of society.[33] Arturo Schomburg, writing about the paucity of African-American archives, had recognised the need for change as early as the 1930s.[34] Some communities had founded their own collections to fill the gaps in the 1970s and 1980s.[35] However, it was not until the late 1990s and early 2000s that an expansion of the definition of archives entered the literature in response.[36]

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[31] See pages 134-136 for a discussion of ARA's course accreditation programme. "Careers in Archives," *Archives and Records Association*, n.d. http://www.archives.org.uk/careers/careers-in-archives.html. Accessed Aug 12, 2018.

[32] See for example, Verne Harris, "Claiming Less, Delivering More: A Critique of Positivist Formulations on Archives in South Africa," *Archivaria* 44 (1997): 132-141; Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift," *Archivaria* 43 (1997): 17-63; Brien Brothman, "The Past that Archives Keep: Memory, History and the Preservation of Archival Records," *Archivaria* 51 (2001): 48-80, and Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 1-19.

[33] Helen Samuels, "Who Controls the Past?" *The American Archivist* 49, No. 2 (1986): 121.

[34] A.A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs up his Past," *The New Negro* (1925): 671.

[35] For example, see the discussion of independent LGBTQ+ archives in Chapter Six, 250-251.

[36] For an overview of the paradigm shift towards more inclusive definitions of archives see Cook's series of articles: Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," 17-63; Terry Cook, "'We Are What We Keep; We Keep What We Are': Archival Appraisal Past, Present and Future." *Journal of the Society of Archivists.* 32, No. 2. (2011): 173-189; and Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms." *Archival Science* 13, No. 2-3. (2013): 95-120.

Subsequently archival theorists began to reimagine archives not as indifferent by-products but as "consciously constructed and actively mediated archivalisations of social memory."[37] Motivated in part by a desire to extend the reach and relevance of archives to public audiences and to collect a variety of cultural expressions and experiences, a wider range of first tangible and then intangible heritage was admitted into the definition. Jeanette Bastian suggested that the archive might be productively understood as "everything that comprises complex cultural community expression" including the "mobile, transient, ephemeral – dances, oral performances, costume, folk-lore…"[38] McKemmish concurred that archives may encompass "oral and written records, literature, dance, art, the built environment, and artefacts."[39] This represented a radical expansion of the forms that archives may take, challenging the characteristics of tangibility, permanence and provenance highlighted in the *Glossary*.

The emerging community archives movement is arguably a grassroots manifestation of this shift, with over 500 independent groups in England estimated to be working with archival heritage outside of institutional settings.[40] The first study of such groups defined the archives that they produce and collect as "the products of their attempts to document the history of their commonality" unrestricted by format or provenance.[41] Thus community archives may include material lacking context, photocopies, secondary sources, digitised content, memories, artefacts and archaeological finds, as well as documents produced specifically for the purpose of archiving. This heritage is distinct in character from archives generated, for example,

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[37] Andrew Flinn and Mary Stevens, "'It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri' Telling Our Own Story: Independent and Community Archives in the UK, Challenging and Subverting the Mainstream," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, ed. Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet, 2009), 17.

[38] Jeanette A. Bastian, "The Records of Memory, the Archive of Identity: Celebrations Texts and Archival Sensibility." *Archival Science* 13, No. 2-3 (2013): 121.

[39] McKemmish, "Document, record, archive, archives," 3.

[40] "Archives", *Community Archives*. Community Archives and Heritage Group, n.d, accessed Aug 6, 2016. http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/archives.

[41] Andrew Flinn, Mary Stevens & Elizabeth Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives? Independent Community Archives, Autonomy and the Mainstream," *Archival Science* 9, no. 2-3 (2009): 75.

by government activity but nevertheless is now theoretically recognised as a valid part of the archival landscape.[42]

Human geographers have become increasingly interested in archives generated by communities in this way, considering them to be expressions of place and locality. In his research on the Maxwell Street market area of Chicago Tim Cresswell skimmed the "official" archives held at the Chicago Museum and instead focused on the "gleaned" archives of a market advocacy group and an individual activist. He describes gleaning as "the process whereby something considered worthless by one 'regime of value' is retrieved and re-envisioned by another."[43] He has been moved by the acquisitive passion of the unofficial archivists of Maxwell Street to propose a further expansion of the archival to include "other kinds of collecting and other kinds of space…including places themselves."[44] From this totalising perspective – archives are everything and everything is archival heritage – archives may no longer be defined by what they are or their relationships, but can be recognised by the values placed upon them. As Cresswell puts it: "In the process of gathering things that are valued, an archive comes into being."[45]

Verne Harris, formerly the Deputy Archivist of South Africa, ascribes to a related view when he writes that "[Archives] are what they are becoming. They open out of the future. We can, at best, mark their movements and engage their energies."[46] In making this statement Harris was extrapolating from Derrida, whose conceptualisations of the archive became influential after the publication of *Archives Fever* in English translation in 1995. In common with Foucault, Derrida proposed a conceptualisation that was broader than either an accrual of documentation or a heritage repository of ephemera and intangibles. According to Foucault the archive is all-encompassing, foundational and ultimate, "the assemblage of all discursive

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[42] Whether this is practically the case is addressed in Chapter Four, 149-153 and Chapter Five, 214-219.
[43] Cresswell, "Value, Gleaning and the Archive," 169.
[44] Cresswell, "Value, Gleaning and the Archive," 175.
[45] Cresswell, "Value, Gleaning and the Archive," 166.
[46] Verne Harris, *Archives and Justice: A South African Perspective* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007), 39.

formations existing in a given society."[47] For Derrida (as interpreted by Harris) it is "all things that generate our point of departure in the present – the canon of Western philosophy, literature, tradition, context."[48] Everything we have and everything we are originates in and is produced by the archive.

This discursive archive is widely invoked in memory studies, feminist theory, gender studies, art theory and work on nationalism and identity, and is the root of the 'archival turn' in these disciplines. The 'turn' focuses attention away from archives/Archives as definable things or places to archives as contested processes of cultural determination. Stoler expresses this when she defines the archive as "a metaphoric invocation for any corpus of selective collections and the longings that the acquisitive quests for the primary, the originary and untouched entail."[49] Understanding the archive in this expansive way allows for an equally radical reconsideration of any and all archives work.   No longer static but constantly changing the archive becomes "a place of reactivation as much as a space of preservation."[50]

The approaches that I have taken during my research, and in the development of this thesis and its conclusions, are significantly influenced by these expansive and fluid conceptualisation of archives. The central argument contributes to an emerging literature concerned with archival activism, social justice and liberatory archives which is oriented towards postmodern ways of seeing the world.[51] However, at the same time I have remained focused on archives as things: as accumulations of tangible and intangible heritage, in the hands of archival institutions and communities, to which values have been ascribed. As such it has been necessary, at times, to work with the definitions of archives used in my source material and by participants.[52] In the case of archival institutions and archives practitioners the question of what is and what is not an archive is significant, as it shapes their objectives, aims, sense of purpose and

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[47] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 128.
[48] Harris, *Archives and Justice*, 40.
[49] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 45.
[50] Caitlin DeSilvey, "Art and archive: Memory-work on a Montana Homestead", *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 No. 4 (2007), 897
[51] See Chapter Two, 47-53.
[52] For definitions of archives by practitioners, see Chapter Four, 142-148.

identity. For other communities it appears to be less important but remains a point for debate. In both cases my analysis suggests that definitions of archives, and therefore approaches to them, are shaped and policed by the values ascribed to them. As such, and generally speaking, Cresswell's values-based definition is most salient in this context.

The meaning of 'values'

Identifying, delineating and understanding 'values' has been the core work of my research, but perhaps even more so than 'archive' value is a tricky and loaded term in both its noun and verb forms. The primary OED definition relates to equivalency: value is "the material or monetary worth of something" in the context of an exchange.[53] "To value" something is to make an estimation of its worth.[54]   This usage implies both that value is quantifiable and that there are established systems for measuring it. While this may be true with regards to economic value, measuring and defining other forms of value proves challenging because "our language is unable to distinguish between monetary estimation and the idea of something above and beyond calculation."[55] Thus when used in relation to art, culture or heritage 'value' is often prefaced by a modifying adjective – 'social value', 'historical value', 'aesthetic value' - which tells us what kind of value is being considered and measured. Used in this way, it is a way of describing the applicable worth something has, e.g. the value of archives to society, or in meeting political agendas. Lennox uses the term "benefit values" to refer to this usage, in that the value in question describes the apparent positive impacts something has in the world.[56]

This is not the kind of value discussed in this thesis, which makes no attempt to define, measure or quantify the benefit of archives. Instead it seeks to identify and

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[53] value, n.". *OED Online*. June 2015. Oxford University Press, accessed July 23, 2015. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/221253?rskey=tUhSOg&result=1.
[54] value, v.". *OED Online*. June 2015. Oxford University Press, accessed July 23, 2015. http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/221254?rskey=tUhSOg&result=2.
[55] Colin Crouch, "Privates, Publics and Values" in *Public Value: Theory and Practice*, ed. John Benington and Mark M. Moore (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 52
[56] Robert Lennox, "Heritage and Politics in the Public Value Era: An analysis of the historic environment sector, the public, and the state in England since 1997," (PhD Thesis, University of York, 2016), 88.

interrogate ascribed values – the feelings of worth or esteem that a person or community of people associates with or projects onto a thing, and which makes that thing important or significant to them. These "ontological values" are generated by our experiences and the discursive systems in which we operate, and are "non-truth dependent, plural and individual…can be learned and can be shared."[57] Further, such values are subjective, responsive and dynamic and cannot, by definition, be objective, inherent or fixed.

The quote from *Troilus and Cressida* which provides the epigraph above describes the classic opposition between subjective and objective value positions. In the play Hector argues that the woman Troilus hopes to win – the lovely Cressida - is not worth the price, suggesting that an objective measure of cost versus benefit should be used in deciding his course of action. Troilus replies that from his point of view Cressida is worth any cost, because of the extraordinary value which he personally places upon her. Hector responds:

> But value dwells not in particular will/ It holds his estimate and dignity / As well where in 'tis precious of itself / As in the prizer. 'Tis mad idolatry / To make the service greater than the God.[58]

He thus makes an argument for the inherent values of things – "precious of itself" – which can be weighed against cost and which are entirely independent of subjective opinions. Hector's implication is that there is an objective position from which something can be viewed. The objectivist/subjectivist dialectic between their two positions is fundamental to debates about values in any discipline. Simply put, things are either valuable by their nature, in and of themselves, or because we think they are. Although rarely expressed in pure form, and often hybridised for the purposes of decision making, any statement about values can be positioned on this spectrum.

As I have stated, this thesis is primarily concerned with ascribed values, and although not strictly subjectivist, is oriented towards Troilus' rather than Hector's viewpoint. I am not concerned whether something *is* valuable but rather with if, why and how

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[57] Lennox, "Heritage and Politics in the Public Value Era," 88.
[58] Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Troilus and Cressida*, 2.2.55-59

someone values it. It is a position in keeping with the constructivist framework for research that is described below and in Chapter Two.[59] It also makes sense in the context of current archival thinking which, as described above, understands archives as socially constructed. This is not to suggest, however, that all of the values interpreted here as "ontological" or ascribed are conceived in that way by the people or communities that express and hold them. Indeed, as is demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four there are strong currents of inherent and "benefit" values thinking inscribed into archival practices. These are connected to the transactional definitions of archives originating with Jenkinson, which continue to surface and co-exist with more recent postmodernist perspectives.[60]

The understanding of values that I have used is grounded theoretically in cultural heritage studies, an interdisciplinary academic field which developed in the late twentieth century. In this field heritage is understood as a constructed element of the social world, which intersects with and is produced by our cultural, political and personal beliefs and values. Such values-based perspectives understand heritage, in any form, as a production that arises from the interpretations of objects, places and pasts by people. As Harrison puts it, heritage emerges from the situated "dialogue between people and things."[61] Heritage, and the use it is put to, is defined and shaped by the relationships between people, institutions, their communities and the world around them. It is a way of seeing heritage that recognises the validity of multiple, sometimes conflicting, points of view. The work of managing heritage is perceived as a collective, participatory process of negotiation between different values-holders.

Thus from a cultural heritage perspective what were formerly understood to be inherent values, for example, beauty and truth, are seen instead as normative. As they "take place within the context of general understandings" what looks like objectivity is actually widely shared subjectivity.[62] This has led Laurajane Smith to theorise the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), a hegemonic framework of values that have

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[59] See below, Chapter One, 29-30 and Chapter Two, 41-42.
[60] See Chapter Two, 49-50 and Chapter Four, 142-148.
[61] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. xiii.
[62] Jorge Otero-Pailos, Jason Gaiger and Susie West, "Heritage Values," in *Understanding Heritage in Practice*, ed. Susie West. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010: 49

been coded as objective in Western heritage practices.[63] These include truth, historicity, aesthetics and moral rightness. Such values become fixed when they are absorbed over time into international frameworks, legislation and standards for practice, and are thus presented as both natural and timeless.[64] The standardisation of these values creates fields of expertise which become the preserve of specialists who are qualified to make judgements based on them, as for example in the listing of a building. This effectively excludes and disempowers other groups of people who have an interest in the heritage but who may value it using unrecognised criteria.

The theory of the AHD emerged alongside new approaches to cultural heritage practice that sought to overcome the status quo. This was "participatory, bottom-up and fundamentally grounded in local concerns and interests," and aimed to make visible and account for diverse perspectives in decision-making.[65] Heritage was to be recognised as a shared resource with a wide potential spectrum of ontological values to individuals and communities, including social values, communal values, identity values, place values and emotional or affective values. This perspective was fully expressed in the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage, which was recognised by the Council of Europe in November 2005. This re-defined cultural heritage as:

> A group of resources inherited from the past which people identify,
> independent of ownership as a reflection and expression of their constantly
> evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions.[66]

Schofield has argued that the Convention was a significant turning point for heritage practice in Europe.[67] In 2008 English Heritage (now Historic England) published a framework for conservation management which sought to characterise heritage and prioritise practice by assessing significance through dimensions of values. The

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[63] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006), 4. For further discussion of the AHD, see Chapter Two, 53-58.
[64] Otero-Pailos, Gaiger and West, "Heritage Values", 81.
[65] John Schofield, "Heritage Expertise and the Everyday: Citizens and Authority in the 21st Century," in *Who Needs Experts? Counter-mapping cultural heritage*, ed. John Schofield (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 2.
[66] Council of Europe, *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, CETS 199. Faro, 2005, Article 2. https://rm.coe.int/1680083746. Accessed August 3, 2018.
[67] Schofield, "Heritage Expertise and the Everyday", 5.

guidance identified four categories: evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal, which were then broken down into sub-categories.[68] Although the role of experts and professionals in assessing these values was described, the document was characterised by a shift to "recognise the importance of widespread public participation in identifying valuable material."[69] This shift was perceptible in other parts of the heritage sector in England; it was present for example in a report commissioned by the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) in 2004 which described grant-making in the language of heritage values rather than that of outputs and outcomes.[70] It was also implicated more broadly in the "public value" paradigm emerging from the late 1990s, which sought to capitalise on the ontological values of culture and heritage to generate benefits value in society.[71]

However, archival institutions, theorists and practitioners have not engaged explicitly with these theories of ontological values. This is despite a focus on engagement and participation in practice, and a concern with the intersections of people, archives and power in research over the last two decades.[72] It is notable, for example, that the Faro Convention is absent from the literature, despite the fact that its expansive definition of heritage does include archives. Indeed, the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Archives*, endorsed in 2011, avoids the theory and language of values completely. Although UNESCO's *Recommendation on Documentary Heritage*, published in 2015, references the "significant and enduring value" of archives it operates within an exclusively benefits value paradigm. Consideration of ontological values-based approaches to the identification, preservation and management of archival heritage are lacking.[73] This omission presents an opportunity to consider archival heritage from

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[68] Heritage England, *Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008), 27-32.
[69] Robert Hewison and John Holden, "Public Value as a Framework for Analysing the Value of Heritage: the Ideas" in *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The Proceedings of the London Conference, 25-26 January 2006*, ed. Kate Clark (Swindon: English Heritage, 2006), 15.
[70] Demos, *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value. A report to the Heritage Lottery Fund* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 2004).
[71] Public value theory and its relevance to this thesis is discussed further in Chapter Two, 63-65.
[72] See Chapter Two, 47-50.
[73] UNESCO, *Recommendation concerning the preservation of, and access to, documentary heritage including in digital form*. Nov 17, 2015, accessed Aug 10, 2018, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=49358&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

a new perspective, using a critical heritage values-based approach to describe and critique discourses of archival value.

Towards an understanding of 'community'

If the ascription of values is the socially and culturally mediated process whereby archives become heritage, then there must be someone doing the ascribing. Although individuals can and do ascribe their personal values to archives, my interest has been in groups who generate and express values collectively, on the understanding that it is these values which shape how archives are subsequently identified, managed and used. I have chosen to use the long-standing sociological notion of 'community' to describe such groups of values-holders.   However, a significant challenge of the research has been the liberal and uncritical way in which 'community' is used across literatures and discourses, by practitioners, by members of the public and especially by politicians. Arriving at a satisfactory and usable understanding has been difficult. At its most vague and colloquial it means "social organisation based on small groups", but since the 1980s it has more often been used to describe social interactions with an emphasis on place, meaning and identity.[74] Thus community has become a shorthand for describing any group of people with common characteristics of geography, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity or interest.

In England the term has been heavily and persistently politicised, particularly since the rise of New Labour in the mid-1990s.[75] Community has been used as a shorthand to identify groups in need of intervention in order to become 'cohesive' or 'strong', and as a focus for policy in what a leading sociologist has called an "infatuation with community."[76] In response, community has emerged as a keyword for funding bodies such as the HLF, upon whom many heritage organisations depend for their public programmes. Throughout the 2000s policies to create "sustainable" and "living

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[74] Gerard Delanty, *Community* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.
[75] This politicisation is explored in Chapter Five, 179-186.
[76] Zygmunt Bauman, "Morality in the Age of Contingency," in *Detraditionalisation*, eds. Paul Heelas, Scott Lash and Paul Morris (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 50.

communities" implicated heritage in generating feelings of belonging and an identification with place.[77] "Community cohesion" was further seen to be generated through "finding the collective memory."[78] Cubitt, writing on the commemoration of the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in 2007, observed how this often leads to heritage practices "filtered through notions of community."[79] It was in this context of national and local agendas for communities and heritage that the grant application for my studentship was made to the AHRC.

However, Waterton and Smith have critiqued an unthinking adoption of the term by heritage organisations and practitioners, observing its "obvious links to many social relations of power" and arguing that it has been misappropriated to manage categories of otherness.[80] They suggest it has been used to delimit and thus control multivalent, shifting and conflicted groups, such as LGBTQ+ people, and turn them into "bland, homogenous collectives."[81] On this basis heritage practices which are predicated on working with communities or generating community benefit may be challenged. If the community is dynamic and always in the process of creation then there is a clear tension between this and any activity that seeks to define and essentialise it. Waterton and Smith offer an alternative definition that is based not on shared characteristics such as sexuality or ethnicity but on interactions. From this point of view community is better understood as a deeply contested set of evolving relationships that are constantly reshaped and defined by the individuals involved.[82]

Archival theorists have also recognised the ambiguity of community and the dynamism of community structures, and have grappled with definitions. This has been prompted by the shifts in the definition of archives and the recognition of community archives described above. Evans *et al*, for example, has suggested that community may be used "to refer broadly to groups which form around shared beliefs, values, experiences and

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[77] Baroness Andrews, "Sustainable Communities: The Economic, Social and Environmental Benefits of Heritage", in *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The Proceedings of the London Conference, 25-26 2006*, ed. Kate Clark, Swindon: English Heritage, 2006, 34.

[78] Andrews, "Sustainable Communities," 39.

[79] Geoffrey Cubitt, "Bringing It Home: Making Local Meaning in 2007 Bicentenary Exhibitions," *Slavery and Abolition* 30, no. 2 (2009): 261.

[80] Emma Waterston and Laurajane Smith, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no.1-2 (2009): 5.

[81] Waterson and Smith, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," 10.

[82] Waterson and Smith, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," 8.

interests, who come to have a shared sense of identity."[83] Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd have offered an alternative definition based on self-determination: "A community is any group of people who come together and present themselves as such…"[84] Communities have thus been conceived as units of collectivity that "make decisions about what is of enduring value to them and control the means through which stories about their past are constructed."[85]

At the same time, however, significant claims have been made for archives' role in forming and defining communities:

> Through their formation, collection, maintenance, diffusion and use, records in all their manifestations are pivotal to constructing a community, consolidating its identity and shaping its memories.[86]

Such claims imply the power of archives over communities rather than vice-a-versa, implicating archives, and through them archives practitioners, in determining what a community is and how it is constructed. This conflicts with ideas of self-determination and archival autonomy, seeing communities as built by external forces. The tension between the definition of community by an external authority – i.e. by a government, a targeted engagement project or an Archive – and forming a community through the negotiation of relationships between individuals is present in the OED. The word's primary meaning is "a body of people or things viewed collectively", while its secondary definition is "A body of people who live in the same place, usually sharing a common cultural or ethnic identity."[87] While the latter leaves space for self-identification as a member of the community, the former implies the recognition or imposition of community by an outside observer.

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[83] Joanne Evans et al., "Self-determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (2015): 341.

[84] Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?" 75.

[85] Michelle Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History: Community Archives in the Fight against Symbolic Annihilation," *The Public Historian* 36, no. 4 (2014): 31.

[86] Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander, "Communities and Archives: A Symbiotic Relationship," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, eds. Jeanette Bastian and Ben Alexander. London: Facet (2009), xxi.

[87] "community, n.". *OED Online*. June 2018. Oxford University Press, accessed Aug 3, 2018. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/37337?redirectedFrom=community.

Nevertheless, in spite of its politicisation in practice and amorphousness in theory community still provides a useful starting point in my research. In thinking about the ascription of values I adopt a broad and flexible definition, conceptualising community in line with Evans *et al*.[88] This aligns with the understanding of a "heritage community" adopted in the Faro Convention:

> …a heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations.[89]

This conceptualisation allows for a responsive engagement with communities as they self-identify at any given moment. Michelle Caswell has demonstrated the use of expansive ideas of community as catalysts for social change, offering a critical framework that engages Appadurai's theories of "memoryscape" as the focus for "imaginaries" about better futures.[90] Consequently I have been careful throughout the research to only identify membership of a community when an individual has identified themselves in this way. My approach does not seek to fix or essentialise these groups, but instead recognises both their independence and their changing nature. I use the term to denote communities of practice as well as communities of interest, place and identity, on the understanding that archives practitioners are also bound together by shared beliefs, values and experiences.[91] Notably, some of the communities with whom this research was produced no longer formally exist, or are differently constituted.

Structure and Argument

Having established my use and understanding of three key terms, and therefore what this thesis is *about*, it is possible to outline the structure of my research and the central arguments arising from it. As previously mentioned, my work has been informed by a constructivist framework. Fundamentally this epistemology proposes that meaning is

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[88] Evans et al., "Self-determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," 341.
[89] Council of Europe, *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, Article 2.
[90] Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin University Press, 2014), 40. For further discussion of 'memoryscape' in the context of archives see Chapter Six, 238-240.
[91] This understanding is supported by analysis in Chapter Two, 131-136.

generated through interplay between the thinking subject and the object of meaning. In this case between communities, their individual constituents, and archives. It considers that "truth or meaning comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of our world."[92] Further it posits that "no object can be described in isolation from the conscious being experiencing it."[93] The values of archives, therefore, are contingent upon the people interacting with them and the engagements to which they are subject. However, it is important to distinguish this thought framework from subjectivism, where there is no interplay but only meaning imposed on the object by the thinking subject. In a subjectivist worldview the archives would play no role in constructing the meaning produced through engagement or interaction with them. Instead, constructivism recognises that meaning arises from something in the world - in this case, archives - while still acknowledging that there is no single or valid interpretation. Archives contribute something towards any meaning constructed by an individual or community but that meaning is not intrinsic. In other words, archives exist in a state of potentiality, awaiting activation. Reiterating Harris: "[Archives] are what they are becoming. They open out of the future."[94] Such an approach also coincides with Derrida's conceptualisation of the archive, in which ascribing something meaning not only establishes its value but also brings it into being:

> Because the archive, if this word or this figure can be stabilized so as to take on a signification, will never be either memory or anamnesis as spontaneous, alive and internal experience. There is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition and without a certain exteriority. No archive without outside.[95]

Chapter Two further explores the theoretical and methodological implications of this epistemological perspective, as well as providing a review of relevant literature in archival theory, cultural heritage studies and historiography. It expands on the discussion of cultural heritage values introduced here, mapping ideas about value

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[92] Michael Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process* (London: Sage, 2003), 8.
[93] Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research*, 45.
[94] Harris, *Archives and Justice,* 39.
[95] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Interpretation*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 11.

across existing discourses in archival studies. It describes the methods used in the collection and analysis of research data, before finally addressing the ethical challenges of the project.

Chapter Three sets out to assess the values ascribed to archives by archival organisations and institutions, and considers whether Smith's theory of the AHD is applicable in this context. It offers a critical discourse analysis of a sample of strategic and policy documentation produced by organisations with claims to authority over archival heritage and practice in England. Namely, UNESCO, the International Council on Archives (ICA) and The National Archives of England and Wales, and the UK government (TNA). In doing so it makes visible a discourse of 'authorised' values that work to define and shape archival institutions, archival practice and archives in England. An evidential complex or typology of values is seen to emerge, characterised by key discursive formations that envision the structures and practices of English archival institutions as constituting a 'legitimate, functioning system'. This evidential typology encompasses juridical, historical and rights values in archives, which are seen to be inherent, and is conceptually dependent on ideas of authenticity, integrity, authority and truth. Although the discourse is related to the AHD I argue that it is distinct and specific enough to warrant calling it an 'Authorised Archival Discourse'.

In Chapter Four the arguments of Chapter Three are validated and further developed on the basis of semi-structured interviews conducted with archives practitioners. By applying the same techniques of critical discourse analysis I consider if and how the discursively constructed values of the authorising discourse are interpreted and activated through practice. Although the interplay between individual and object is what generates meaning, analysis of these interviews demonstrates that the potential range of meanings is framed by the symbols, signs, rules, instructions and schemas that constitute the culture in which that interplay occurs. Thus archives practitioners inhabit a world of pre-formed meanings, which impact on their interactions with archives. I suggest these are formed by experiences of training, a shared language and an internalisation of authorised values. The paradigms and discourse that exist in archives practice are shaped by values, which in turn determine what values can be ascribed to archives themselves. As Smith puts it, it is "present day cultural processes

and activities that imbue them [in this case, the archives] with physically symbolic meaning."[96]

However, at the same time, I observe the expression of a number of alternative and competing values, particularly in response to questions about community engagement and community archives. A range of social and emotional values sit alongside the evidential typology. Using a deconstructive lens I argue that this juxtaposition of values generates cognitive dissonance for archives practitioners, which has to be discursively managed and neutralised. In Chapter Five three case studies of HLF-funded projects led by archival institutions are analysed to see how this apparent dissonance in values impacts in the context of heritage engagement programmes. The chapter situates these activities within recent government agendas for inclusion, diversity and community cohesion and explores the ways in which archival values have been instrumentalised and mobilised to tackle social issues.

Chapter Six offers discussion of two action research projects co-produced with archivally-engaged communities in York, providing access to expressions and understandings of values generated outside of the authorised discourse. An affective typology is acknowledged here, which includes a range of social, identity and emotional values that call upon place, ownership, autonomy and lived experience for legitimacy. The first community, the York Past and Present Facebook group (YPP), undertook an activist public history project, while the second, an LGBTQ+ archives group, set out to establish an independent archive of LGBTQ+ experiences for the city. An exploration of these projects reflects on the points of alignment and disjuncture between institutional and community archival practices, drawing on the observation of engagement activity described in Chapter Five and the perspectives of archives practitioners in Chapter Four. It suggests the challenges in combining the values of authorised archival practices with successful, equitable partnerships with holders of alternative values.

The thesis concludes in Chapter Seven with a summary of findings and a critical reflection of the relevance and applicability of heritage values theory and the AHD to

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[96] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 3.

local, national and international archival practices. I focus particularly on how discursive systems and typologies of values shape engagement between archival institutions and communities; arguing that the rhetoric and stated aims of Archives in relation to engagement are mismatched to the authorised values and ways of seeing that underpins their modes of operation. In place of this I propose a reappraisal and refiguring of the archives/Archive as a dynamic interlocutionary space, both literally and metaphorically. Such spaces could better reflect the values of multiple communities and audiences, facilitating the creation and adaptation of meanings, histories and values. This aligns with the possibility of a liberatory approach to archival work, calling upon Derrida's conception of the archive as a site of becoming and constant renewal and McKemmish's theory of the "archival multiverse".[97] This approach finds further synergy with the decentralisation of the practitioner and a dispersal of archival power advocated by archival activist and social justice movements, uniquely contributing to the new critical archival studies.[98]

Parameters

I have already noted some parameters to which I have confined myself. The first of these is geographical: the focus of the study is England, set within the context of international archival theory and practice. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, archives legislation, governance and practice is sufficiently different in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland to make generalised analysis invalid. This is in contrast to the structural and professional coherence of archival systems in England, which offers a relatively stable if diverse setting for study. Secondly, given these differences and the differences of culture, governance and history, it is reasonable to assume that the ascription of ontological values in other parts of the UK will vary. It is beyond the

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[97] See Chapter Two, 51-52.
[98] See Chapter Two, 51-53. See also Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish and Gregory Rolan, "Critical Archiving and Recordkeeping Research and Practice in the Continuum." in "Critical Archival Studies", eds, Michelle Caswell, Ricardo Punzalan and T-Kay Sangwand, Special Issue. *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): Michelle Caswell, Ricardo Punzalan and T-Kay Sangwand, "Critical Archival Studies: An Introduction," *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): DOI**:** https://doi.org/10.24242/jclis.v1i2.50.

capacity of this thesis to adequately account for these differences, although it provides a valuable basis for comparative study in future.

I have focused on York as the subject of my case study, using the city as both a research territory and a laboratory to test ideas. Its selection is justified in a number of ways. Primarily, it has a rich and diverse economy of archival institutions to draw upon, being home to fifteen recognised repositories of archival heritage including the York City Archives (presently managed by Explore York Libraries and Archives Mutual Ltd), the Borthwick Institute for Archives at the University of York, the York Minster Archives and Search Engine, the Archive of the National Railway Museum.[99] There are also numerous community archives and history groups in the city and the surrounding area. This is evidenced by the extent and activity of the Timeline York Plus consortium of 34 local history and archaeology societies.[100]

Secondly, York is a well-established cultural heritage city, and is home to the York Archaeological Trust, the York Civic Trust, the Council for British Archaeology and the Yorkshire base of Historic England. Thirdly, the city has been the subject of several values-based projects during the course of my research, which have heightened awareness of the relevant issues and debates. They have brought together activist and community users of archives such as the York Alternative History group and the York Past and Present Facebook group (YPP) with heritage practitioners and researchers.[101] The latter is a forum in which to share and discuss photographs, film, objects and memories of York's past; as of August 2018 it has over 23,000 members.[102] As a consequence of these existing projects members of YPP and other groups were already primed to participate in my work, with an established understanding of research and the confidence to take part.

Finally, York has recently benefited from the £1.8m *York: Gateway to History* archives project (2012-2016), which ran in parallel to the first three years of my research. This

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[99] For my definition of recognised repositories, see below, Chapter One, 36-37.
[100] See http://yorkcommunityarchaeology.pbworks.com.
[101] See Helen Graham, *How Should Heritage Decisions Be Made: Increasing participation from where you are*, Leeds: University of Leeds, 2015. https://www.scribd.com/document/268046154/How-should-heritage-decisions-be-made-Increasing-participation-from-where-you-are. Accessed Aug 12, 2018. See also the My Future York project: https://myfutureyork.org/. Accessed Aug 12, 2018.
[102] See https://www.facebook.com/YorkPastandPresent.

project saw the construction of an extension to the central library (currently known as York Explore Library and Archives) where the city's archives are now stored and accessed. Its aim was to create a "21st century Archive and Local History service for York – a service which serves and reflects all communities and cultures, past and present, in this ancient city."[103]   A two year Activity Plan with 13 interconnected activities was designed to "make the service and collections easier to use for everyone, whatever their previous level of experience with archives" and to "build a network of community links and outreach champions across a much wider range of York citizens than the service has ever engaged with before."[104] It was intended to transform the Archive from a niche venue for a minority of longstanding researchers to "a highly valued long-term community heritage asset."[105] The project, set in context, offered an opportunity to research and explore archival values at a significant moment of debate on the subject in the city.

Between 2013 and 2017 I was employed as City Archivist for Explore York Libraries and Archives, managing the city's archival heritage and a team of four staff delivering archives services and developing engagement activities.[106] This provided me with insight and access to the research site that would otherwise have been difficult. It also presented ethical challenges, which I have described in Chapter Two.[107] I was able to use this role to fulfil my collaborative doctoral work placement with City of York Council, working first on a critical evaluation of the *York: Gateway to History* project (which informed Chapter Five) and then on a community engagement project with YPP (which contributed towards Chapter Six).

The second of my parameters is chronological. Although I have engaged with the nineteenth and twentieth century histories of archival practice and theory, my analysis is focused on the twenty year period from the election of a New Labour government in

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[103] Jura Consultants and Richard Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan: Final Report* (Midlothian: Jura Consultants, 2012), 1.
[104] Ibid, 1.
[105] Ibid, 1.
[106] I was City Archivist with Explore from November 2013 until October 2017, at which point I left to take up a post as a Research Associate in Information Studies at UCL. Prior to my role as City Archivist I was Archivist (Civic and Public Records) with the York City Archives, then part of the City of York Council, between 2010 and 2013.
[107] See Chapter Two, 77-81.

1997 until 2017. This period was chosen because it sees the development of key political and social ideas about values, community and heritage which have shaped contemporary approaches to archival practice.

Terminologies

As already evidenced, this thesis is deeply concerned with discourse, language use and word meanings. As terminologies are indexes of power, operating in the context of social relations of power, some further definitions and distinctions must be described. The basis for my use of the term 'archives' has already been elaborated above, and I have closely policed it throughout, with some nuanced differences in context. Wherever I refer to a body of material selected for preservation and held by an organisation as a result of its perceived value and for continuing use I have used the lower case 'archive' or 'archives'. I have reserved this usage for archives held by recognised archival institutions such as Explore York Libraries and Archives. I have distinguished this material from the fluid dynamic accumulations of material collated online and in real life by independent community groups. I refer to these accumulations as 'archival heritage'. I do not mean to imply any hierarchy by this distinction, or that archives are not archival heritage and vice-a-versa. However, I wish to distinguish between materials whose status has been modified through certain archival practices and materials which have undergone other transformations within communities.

I have used the capitalised Archive to denote recognised institutions that hold archives, which I define as those constituted and funded by a parent body or organisation such as a local authority, a university, a business or charity. I have classed these archive holders together because, in addition to the business of collecting and preserving archival material, they are implicated in the objectives, values and governing principles of their parent body. They are also, to a greater or lesser extent, part of the broader system of state governance and management that intersects with archival practice and which is explored in Chapters Three and Four. Further, they are the body of archive holders most likely to receive recognition from national and

international heritage organisations and to employ professionally qualified archives practitioners.

I have used modifying terms to identify those archive holders who do not fall into this category, such as community archive groups. These will always be prefaced with their group name and type wherever possible, and I have only used 'community archive' to describe the collections of groups who claim this terminology for themselves. It is broadly and indiscriminately used in the archives literature to denote any collection of archival heritage outside of institutional control, which is misleading and, arguably, dismissive. For example, although YPP collects both analogue and digital archival heritage it does not consider itself a community archive and so I have not called it one. Instead I have used the phrase 'accumulations of archival heritage' to encompass the full range of practices, motivations and ideologies at work.

I have been similarly careful with the use of the terms 'archivist', 'professional' and 'practitioner'. Throughout the word 'practitioner' has been preferred when referring to individuals with a recognised qualification in archives management as opposed to the more loaded 'professional'. Thus I speak of 'archives practitioners' rather than 'archive professionals'. However, it is important to note that participants often referred to themselves and to their colleagues as professionals, in the same way that legal or medical professionals might. This was often in contexts which implied the term denoted a calling or vocation with a moral or ethical dimension beyond monetary gain. It was also notably used when referring to a community of people with whom they felt a fellowship. I have preserved these uses and used the term when discussing professional communities of knowledge. It is recognised that the term professional implies not only a distinct disciplinary expertise, but also myths and academic traditions which strengthen solidarity. Practitioner, on the other hand, echoes Michel de Certeau's theory of practice as a routine of inherited acts that are repeated in everyday routines and accumulated over time.[108]

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[108] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (London: University of California Press, 1980).

The word archivist is not used here as a synonym for archives practitioner, principally because of the widespread adoption of the word across disciplines, specialisms and communities. It is a word claimed by unpaid community members as well as people who are paid for working with archives. It is no longer a meaningful way to distinguish the subset of individuals who are trained in archival principles and processes as part of an archives management qualification. It is used here in its broadest sense to mean a person who works with archives, whether paid or unpaid, and who self-identifies as an archivist.

Who do Archives think they are?

My anxiety over terminologies and meanings reflects the difficulties I have experienced in navigating a crowded landscape of competing claims about what archives *are*, and what archives and the people who work with them *do*. Deciding where to situate myself amidst these claims has been an act of personal politics, in which my own ontological values, beliefs and feelings about archival heritage have been persistently implicated. I have set out the ethical position I have come to in the following chapter. However, an explanation of the questioning title of the thesis describes my intellectual starting point.

It is clearly an echo of the popular family history TV programme *Who Do You Think You Are?,* a long running BBC series which has done much to embed a particular way of thinking about and using archives in the popular imagination. Early in my career as an archives practitioner I appeared on it, using early twentieth century poor law records to trace an ancestor of the actress Una Stubbs.[109] During the course of filming I repeatedly resisted Una's attempts to ascribe her own values and meanings to the documents we were looking at. I rebutted the stories she made from their content and reasserted what I considered to be a more reasonable, justifiable interpretation of the evidence. When she began to cry in response to the imagined feelings of her great-grandmother, I felt this was an over-reaction to the bare threads of information that survived.

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[109] "Una Stubbs", *Who Do You Think You Are?*, BBC, Jul 24, 2013, television broadcast.

When I embarked upon this research a year later the encounter became a site of personal reflection, upon which to test the implications of the analysis and conclusions of my doctoral work. It seemed to me that the framework of values and discursive assumptions that shaped my interaction with the poor law archive were in contrast to those that shaped Una's, and were indicative of broader currents of discourse about archival heritage. I began to hear an interrogatory tone in the title of the programme – who did I think *I* was, and what did my institution think *it* was doing? Later, while working with members of the YPP Facebook group, I was struck by the exasperated tone of a participant who spoke about being denied access to an old Council building prior to its redevelopment. They valued the building as a heritage site, which they sought to document through photography before it was "lost" to new purposes. "Who do they think they are," he said, "to tell me I have no rights, and to decide what's important and what's not?"[110] By asking 'Who do Archives think they are?' my title seeks to capture both my co-researcher's frustration and my own sincerity in considering how values, and the expressions of those values, impact on the management, uses and potentials of archival heritage.

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[110] Richard Brigham, in conversation with author. Hungate Histories, Research Field Notes, Apr 29, 2016 – Jun 10, 2016, York, notes from Apr 29, 2016.

Chapter Two

Frameworks:

Literature, Theory, Methodology, Ethics

…there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.

William Shakespeare[1]

History is neither watchmaking nor cabinet construction. It is an endeavour toward better understanding and, consequently, a thing in movement.

Marc Bloch[2]

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), Act 2, Scene 2, 244-255.
[2] Mark Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putman (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2010) 10.

This chapter describes and explores the theoretical and methodological frameworks that I have used to think about archives and values. It situates the analysis and arguments of the thesis in the context of literature from a number of disciplines. I have drawn principally upon work in the fields of archival theory, public history and cultural heritage studies, using the latter in particular to critique and disrupt assumptions about archival heritage. In exploring community as a way of classifying people, and values as the social, cultural and emotional interactions they have with archives, I have also called upon literature from philosophy and the social sciences.

As previously mentioned, my thesis is aligned to the emerging critical archival studies, a field characterised by the recognition of structural inequalities and situated globally in a rapidly changing socio-political context. This chapter plots a route to understanding my contribution, both intellectually and practically, to a nascent area that has evolved around me. The transdisciplinary approach I have taken in reviewing the literature "confronts complexity…and challenges knowledge fragmentation" in this space. It is particularly suited to my research because it "entails making linkages not only across disciplinary boundaries but also between theoretical development and professional practice."[3] However, it is necessarily selective rather than comprehensive; in drawing on multiple fields it represents an attempt to navigate a difficult path through new territory. As such it has required a degree of personal, political and intellectual exposure.

A transdisciplinary approach is compatible with the constructivist epistemology described in the previous chapter. This way of knowing the world recognises the wilfulness of human agency and accepts the reflective and idiosyncratic nature of knowledge. The aim of research from this perspective is not the "uncovering of a true account"; instead it is "to seek to capture and understand the meaning of a social action for the agent performing it."[4] The agents in this case are the institutions and

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[3] R. J. Lawrence, "Deciphering Interdisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Contributions," *Transdisciplinary Journal of Engineering & Science* 1, no. 1 (December 2010): 130.
[4] Jonathan Moses & Torbjørn Knutsen, *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 9-11.

people who engage with archives as practitioners and communities; the social actions are the creation and use of archival heritage, and the ascription of values to it.

Later in the chapter I describe and justify the methodologies and methods that arise from this epistemological perspective, as well as addressing ethical considerations. Given that the different groups of social agents I have worked with have different skills, forms of expertise and knowledge, a range of sources have been used to explore their relationships to archival heritage. Methodologies have been selected and the methods designed using a "logic of appropriateness", an inductive grounded theory approach that allows for the expression of multiple subjectivities.[5] As intimated in Chapter One, this includes my own subjectivity. At the end of the chapter I offer further reflection on my position, examining the challenges and potentials of operating as both an archives practitioner and a researcher in the same place at the same time.

Theorisations of value in archival studies

The origins of archival studies as a discipline, distinct from the bureaucratic processes of government or the practice of history, can be traced to the early twentieth century when a formalisation of approaches to archival tasks began to necessitate the production of work manuals.[6] These set out how a new professional class of 'archivists' should go about arranging, describing and facilitating access to archives. In developing and describing these activities the authors of such texts associated qualities and values with archival heritage that made assumptions about what archives are and what functions they have in society. As previously noted, in *A Manual of Archive Administration* Jenkinson suggested that archives may be defined and identified by two essential qualities, impartiality and authenticity.[7] They were not consciously created to capture, collect or collate information about the present or the past for the purposes of history-making, cultural heritage or communal remembering. They arose out of administrative structures and mechanisms, whether at the level of national government, parish council, local choral society or family. He argued that archives

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[5] Ian Greener, *Designing Social Science Research: A Guide for the Bewildered* (London: SAGE, 2011) 1.
[6] The earliest of these manuals is Samuel F. Muller, J.A. Feith & R. Fruin's *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, trans. Arthur H. Leavitt (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2003), first published in Dutch in 1903.
[7] See Chapter One, 15-16.

could be treated as unbiased, factual and truthful representations of events, and thus had credibility and value as evidence.

Lane and Hill have recently described a complex of related 'Jenkinsonian' qualities in archives, which they argue have become "the epistemological bedrock of our [English] archival practice."[8] In addition to impartiality and authenticity they include "immutability, reliability, evidentiality, integrity, truth, authority, accuracy, order, uniqueness and trustworthiness." [9] Verne Harris has traced the logic of core archival practices back to this conception of archives as "simple, stable, uncontested…" evidences that "…reflect reality."[10] The principles of context, provenance, order and hierarchy that arise from it require the management of archives within expert systems in order to maintain their evidential qualities. Albada, writing from the European conception of archives, affirmed that:

> …archival documents should be kept and studied in their original context, that content and context are integral to the scientific and legal value of an archival document, that no archives is without an original order and that order should form the backbone of any cataloguing activity.[11]

The role of a practitioner in this worldview is to provide a physical and moral defence of archives, taking as "…His Creed, the Sanctity of Evidence." [capitalisation in the original][12]

Although Jenkinson's position has been heavily challenged both practically and theoretically (as explored below) the underlying ideas about value established in the *Manual* and developed throughout his career have retained significant authority. Neo-Jenkinsonians such as Duranti and Bearman, for example, have applied his thinking to the digital environment in order to develop approaches for preserving the integrity of

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[8] Victoria Lane and Jennie Hill, "Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going? Situating the Archive and Archivists," in *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping: A Reader*, ed. Jennie Hill (London. Facet. 2011), 4.
[9] Lane and Hill, "Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?" 4.
[10] Harris, "Claiming Less, Delivering More," 133.
[11] Joan Van Albada, "On the Identity of the Archival Profession: A European Perspective," *American Archivist* 54 (1991): 400.
[12] Cook, 'What is Past is Prologue," 23.

electronic records.[13] More recently Gauld has proposed a renewed commitment to a Jenkinsonian position in both digital and analogue contexts, suggesting that "the basic remit of the archivist remains, in principle, the same…" in supporting "the principle of evidential credibility, based on the authentic and verifiable record."[14] The *Manual* remains a core text on all postgraduate archives and records management courses in the UK, the established qualification pathways into archival practice.[15] A fact which may explain why Jenkinson's claim that archives tell the truth and that archivists are "the most selfless devotees of Truth the modern world produces" was echoed by several of the practitioners who took part in this research.[16]

Initially the challenge to Jenkinsonian epistemology grew from the impracticalities of his processual methods, particularly regarding the selection and appraisal of archives for preservation. He disavowed both, advocating that the practitioner should passively receive archives from their creators without interposing judgement. At the inaugural lecture of the first course on archival studies in 1947 Jenkinson explained:

> Archives are not collected… They come together and reach their final arrangements by a natural process. They are a growth; almost you might say, as much an organism as a tree or an animal.[17]

This natural accumulation of material over time would represent the most valuable, trustworthy and evidential sources of information without partisan decision-making.

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[13] See, for example, Luciana Duranti, "The Archival Bond," *Archives and Museum Informatics* 11, no. 3-4 (1997): 213-218, and David Bearman, *Electronic Evidence. Strategies for Managing Records in Contemporary Organizations* (Pittsburgh: Archives & Museum Informatics. 1994).

[14] Craig Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging: The Democratisation of Knowledge and the Role of the Archivist," *Archival Science* 17, no. 3 (2017): 230; 237.

[15] See for example, the Week 1 reading for "Concepts and Contexts" module at UCL: University College London, *INST0041: Concepts and Contexts' Module Reading List.* London: Department of Information Studies, 2018, accessed Jul 12, 2018. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/information-studies/inst0041-concepts-and-contexts. Also see the pre-course reading for "Recordkeeping Theory and Practice" at the University of Liverpool: *HIST577: Recordkeeping Theory and Practice Module Reading List.* Liverpool: Department of History, 2018, accessed Jul 12 2018. https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/study/postgraduate-taught/taught/archives-and-records-management-ma/module-details/.

[16] Hilary Jenkinson, quoted in Elisabeth Kaplan, "'Many Paths to Partial Truths': Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3-4 (2002): 215. See also Chapter Four, 154-158.

[17] Hilary Jenkinson, "The English Archivist: A New Profession: Being an Inaugural Lecture for a New Course in Archives Administration delivered at University College London, 14 October, 1947," in *Selected Writings of Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. Roger H. Ellis and Peter Walne (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2003), 238-239.

However, this position proved increasingly impractical in light of the vast accumulations of records produced by governments and organisations during and after the Second World War. In the 1950s American archivist T.R. Schellenberg put forward an alternative in *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques*, describing how practitioners should actively decide what to keep from amidst the mass of survivals. He advocated the appraisal of evidential and informational value, including potential historical value, to make decisions about what to keep and what to throw away, ensuring the selection of the worthiest documents for preservation.[18] This required experts to define, identify and manage value. Whereas for Jenkinson the value of archives was determined by their originating bodies and contingent on non-interference, for Schellenberg value could be measured and maintained through archival processes. The latter position was accepted in the UK context by the Grigg Report in 1954.[19] This advocated for the identification of records of particular significance, leading ultimately to a list of archives of national value whose preservation was legally mandated by the Public Records Act 1958.[20] Yet despite heated debate on the issue – Schellenberg once apparently calling Jenkinson "an old fossil"[21] - both positions "retained a belief in the organic nature of archives as explicit representations of organisational activity."[22]

The reflexive turn in archival practice in the late twentieth century began to erode this confidence in the representational qualities of archives. Confronted with postmodern critiques of truth, theorists questioned the possibility of objectivity in both archival practices and in the archives themselves. The actions of creating, selecting, preserving, cataloguing, interpreting and managing the use of archival heritage were recognised as non-neutral expressions of dominant cultural assumptions and personal subjectivities. Work by Foucault and Derrida that engaged with the archive as "a central metaphorical construct upon which to fashion their perspectives on human

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[18] T. R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1956).
[19] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 43.
[20] Natalie Ceeney, "The Role of a 21st Century National Archives – The Relevance of the Jenkinsonian Tradition and a Redefinition for the Information Society," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 29, no. 1 (2008): 62. See also Chapter Three, 110-111.
[21] Donald R. McCoy, *The National Archives: America's Ministry of Documents, 1934-1968* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 180.
[22] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 229.

knowledge, memory, and power" fuelled the shift.[23] Brothman, for example, questioned the naturalisation of archival principles, using Foucault's genealogical method to historicise them in eighteenth and nineteenth century conceptions of scientific order.[24] He further argued that the relationship between archives and evidentiality was not inevitable, but was "manifested in choices made by record-keepers in how they situate themselves in relation to other professions and institutions within the public sphere."[25] Cook, following Le Goff, acknowledged that remembering and forgetting were culturally mediated acts and that Archives were amongst the principal sites where such acts took place.[26]

In practice Canadian practitioner Helen Samuels proposed the introduction of "documentation strategies" that not only sought to appraise the materials that were offered to an archival institution by creators but to proactively identify archives of value.[27] Hans Booms asserted that in developing such strategies it was society itself that should determine what constituted valuable archives. Public opinion should "provide the fundamental orientation for archival appraisal."[28] However, any such strategy should still be grounded in the principles of provenance and undertaken by expert practitioners who would interpret that value on behalf of society.[29] Subsequently Cook developed "macro-appraisal" methodologies, which equipped archives practitioners to reflect society by taking a broad view of the context in which records were created, "on the assumption that those creators, and those citizens and organizations with whom they interact, indirectly represent the collective functioning of society."[30] More broadly the "total archives" approach sought to extend macro-appraisal to non-governmental and private archives, working towards an archival

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[23] Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 4.

[24] Brien Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," *Archivaria* 32 (1991): 78-100.

[25] Brien Brothman, "Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3-4 (2002): 314.

[26] Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," 2.

[27] Helen W. Samuels, "Improving our Disposition: Documentation strategy," *Archivaria* 33 (1991-1992): 125-140.

[28] Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," trans. Hermina Joldersma and Richard Klumpenhouwer. *Archivaria* 24 (1987): 104.

[29] Hans Booms, "Uberlieferungsbildung: Keeping Archives as a Social and Political Activity," *Archivaria* 33 (1991-92): 31-33.

[30] Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," 31.

representation of society itself. From this perspective, archival heritage produced about or by counter-cultures or minority populations could be recognised and the value of dispersed, ephemeral and oral traditions of recording might be re-evaluated. However, although these developments represented a shift from passivity to activity and a broadening of archival responsibility, assumptions as to the "organic context of recordkeeping", the significance of organisational and institutional records and the centrality of evidential and informational value were reproduced.[31]

In the context of Post-Apartheid South Africa Harris questioned the validity of these assumptions, by highlighting the dynamics of power that underlie all archival activities. He argued that a combination of political, social and cultural forces, as well as physical degradation, meant that archives could only ever represent a "sliver of a sliver of a sliver" of society.[32] In *Archive Fever* Derrida had explicitly drawn connections between the archive and the exercise of power, authority and control, stating that "There is no political power without control of the archive..."[33] Harris's experience in South Africa affirmed that "the archive is politics" and that archives practitioners are always engaged in political activity.[34] This was antithetical to both Jenkinson's vision of a passive, objective gatekeeper receiving the by-products of administrative processes, and to the new theories of appraisal. It recognised that archives reflected and reproduced inequalities in society. Appraisal was as a mechanism whereby value was not only identified, but also created, confirmed and destroyed.[35] Archives practitioners were implicated in not only the selection and interpretation of archives but in the construction of memory.   The archive was acknowledged as an ambiguous and limited societal resource, on the one hand positive or benign in supporting community memory or social justice, on the other hand available for use by oppressors in restricting truth or controlling a population.[36] Archives could no longer be understood

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[31] Cook, "What is Past is Prologue," 32.

[32] Verne Harris, "The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa," *Archival Science* 2, no.1-2 (2002): 2-3.

[33] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 4.

[34] Verne Harris, "Archives, politics and justice," in *Political Pressure and the Archival Record*, ed. Margaret Proctor, Michael Cook and Caroline Williams (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2005), 173.

[35] Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," 81.

[36] Jeanette Bastian, "Locating Archives Within the Landscape: Records, Memory and Place," *Public History Review* 21 (2014): 48.

as disinterested, and their content and make-up was seen to be dependent on the infrastructures within which they were managed and controlled.

The implications of this were expressed by Jimerson as the ethical obligation of archives practitioners to commit to social justice work.[37] Broadly, a social justice approach requires an analysis of power and the ways that it operates. In the archival field this has been interpreted as "promoting the inclusion of underrepresented and marginalized individuals and sectors of society…and reinterpreting and expanding archival concepts to disrupt dominant power structures and promote justices."[38] In working towards social justice archival institutions must "collect and appraise in more socially conscious ways, that extend concepts of who and what is of value…"[39] The role of archives in "constructing a community, consolidating its identity and shaping its memories", at national and local levels, was foregrounded.[40]

The theorisation of social activism as part of archival practice has been galvanised by community archives movements and by civil rights debates arising out of the experiences of marginalised peoples. In her work with community archives in minority communities Caswell has highlighted the ways in which "traditional dominant archival definitions of the record" have reinforced the marginalisation, oppression and "symbolic annihilation" of their lived experiences.[41] She sees the establishment of independent community archives, separate from existing archival infrastructures, as a way of both reclaiming power over marginalized histories and as a foundation for "building more just and equitable futures."[42] Flinn and Stevens have agreed that community archives are "social movements" and "political and subversive endeavours."[43]

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[37] Randall C. Jimerson, *Archives Power: Memory, Accountability and Social Justice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2009).
[38] Marika Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," *Archival Science* 16, no. 1 (2016): 8.
[39] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 9.
[40] Bastian and Alexander, "Communities and Archives – a symbiotic relationship" xxi.
[41] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 30.
[42] Michelle Caswell, "Inventing New Archival Imaginaries: Theoretical Foundations for Identity-based Community Archives," in *Identity Palimpsests: Archiving Ethnicity in the US and Canada*, ed. Dominique Daniel and Amalia S. Levi (Sacramento: Litwin Books. 2014), 51.
[43] Flinn and Stevens, "'It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri,'". 3-4.

Key to such endeavours is the creation of literal and figurative spaces for "communities to make collective decisions about what is of enduring value to them…"[44] Work with indigenous communities, with refugees and with survivors of child sexual abuse has generated the concept of "archival autonomy" to describe the transfer of power from archives practitioners to the subjects of archives, enabling them "to participate in societal memory, with their own voice, becoming social agents in recordkeeping for identity, memory and accountability…"[45] This represents a radical redistribution of archival power and a challenge to the logics of expertise that constitute archival training.

Nevertheless, the intellectual foundations established by a Jenkinsonian epistemology remain. The tension, for example, between the archive defined by objective survival and the archive defined by subjective selection remains characteristic of debates in practice, leading Terry Cook to acknowledge it as central to the "mythologies of the archival profession."[46] The tension can also be found in competing ontological claims about archives, which continue to be presented on the one hand as sources for evidencing reality and on the other as repositories of subjective narrative. Cifor has observed the way that the "still prevalent modernist construction of the study and practice of archiving…has led to particular practices of knowledge production aimed at objectivity that dismiss their inherent power relations."[47] This can be seen in critiques of the social injustice imperative, like that offered by Greene. Although he acknowledges that objectivity is impossible, he argues that a position of "neutrality" can be achieved through transparency about archival processes. [48] This neutrality is not complicit with "the system" because the practitioner stands aloof from the system and should not advocate for any one political or social perspective over another. Instead they should preserve records of government and of social movements, of oppression and of justice equally and indifferently. In this way archives could "act as memory and meaning repositories", surrogates for human memory that remain

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[44] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 31.
[45] Evans et al., "Self-determination and archival autonomy: advocating activism," 347.
[46] Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity and Community," 5.
[47] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 11.
[48] Mark A. Greene, "A Critique of Social Justice as an Archival Imperative: What Is It We're Doing That's All That Important," *American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 312.

"unchanged."[49] Recalling Jenkinson, he argues that it is not the role of the archivist to activate such records for social justice or any other purpose.

An alternative view – perhaps best described as neo-Schellenbergian – has been expressed by Gauld. He has argued that the social justice agenda requires archives practitioners to exercise rather than disavow their power. Far from questioning their expertise or primacy of their perspective, socially just practice: "…is still being a gatekeeper, although a benevolent one rather than a malevolent one."[50] The implementation of archival principles is necessary for what he calls "democratizing by privileging":

> It is by retaining and emphasising principles such as evidence, context, selection and aggregation that will enable the profession to be gate-opener as well as a gate keeper through encouraging participation…[51]

Some practitioners have seen this reasoning as indicative of an inherently reactionary culture at the root of archives practice, leading them to disavow the structures of established archival theory and practice altogether. In explaining his decision to leave the "archival profession" Drake questioned the possibility of delivering justice from within a system of work that "mandates a replication of the patriarchy, oppression and violence many in our world experience."[52] Elsewhere he has argued:

> We are entrenched within power. We are trained and prepared within out graduate programmes to see no other options.[53]

Lately Harris has agreed that the structures of archives institutions and archival practice are "…profoundly resistant to transformation of a society still structured by centuries of colonialism and apartheid. They collaborate both passively and actively in

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[49] Greene, "A Critique of Social Justice as an Archival Imperative," 325.

[50] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 17.

[51] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 17.

[52] Jarrett M. Drake, "I'm Leaving the Archival Profession: It's Better This Way," *On Archivy (*blog*)* Jun 26, 2017. *Accessed Aug 10, 2018. https://medium.com/on-archivy/im-leaving-the-archival-profession-it-s-better-this-way-ed631c6d72fe.

[53] Jarrett M. Drake, "Archivists without Archives: A Labor Day Reflection," *On Archivy* (blog) Sep 2, 2016. *Accessed Feb 2, 2017. https://medium.com/on-archivy/archivists-without-archives-a-labor-day-reflection-e120038848e.

the replication of oppressive relations of power."[54] The alternative is a non-institutional "liberatory" model of archival heritage, the selection, control and uses of which are distributed between multiple actors. Findlay has suggested that this may include the distribution of the custody of archives and the costs of archival work, so that archival heritage is literally owned by the communities who value it.[55]

Elsewhere the concept of the "archival multiverse" has been generated as an alternative to pre-existing archival regimes, a theoretical space which can encompass the "pluralism of evidentiary texts (records in multiple forms and cultural contexts), memory-keeping practices and institutions, bureaucratic and personal motivations, community perspectives and needs, and cultural and legal constructs."[56] Evans, McKemmish and Rolan have described the process of mapping the distance between existing standards, systems and practices and the multiverse as a "societal grand challenge" with implications in every aspect of life.[57] The multiverse is understood as conducive to the reconfiguring of archival spaces to admit multiple values and perspectives, "thus unsettling the power imbalances embedded in the current archives and records landscape" and more broadly in society.[58]

The concept of the multiverse is proposed by researchers and educators working within the "records continuum", an Australian approach to thinking about archives and recordkeeping which questions linear, literal and teleological perspectives on archives. Formerly, "lifecycle" models of records had envisioned a staged process, following Jenkinson, in which records were created, served their original purposes and then were either destroyed or became archives. The roles of records' creators, archives practitioners and users were seen to be distinct and sequential. Upward offered an alternative model – the "continuum" – in the mid-1990s, stressing the plural and

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[54] Verne Harris, "Passion for Archive," *Archives and Manuscripts* 46, no. 2 (2018): 193.
[55] Cassie Findlay, "Archival Activism," *Archives and Manuscripts* 44, no. 3 (2016): 158.
[56] Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group, "Educating for the Archival Multiverse," *American Archivist* 74, no. 1 (2011): 73.
[57] Evans, McKemmish and Rolan, "Critical Approaches to Archiving," 2.
[58] Sue McKemmish, "Recordkeeping in the Continuum: An Australian Tradition," in *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, ed. Anne Gilliland, Sue McKemmish and Andrew Lau. (Melbourne, Australia: Monash University Publishing, 2016), 125.

reiterative movements of records through dimensions of use.[59] The theory aligned with the Derridean opening out of potential and the fluidity of the archive emerging in the work of Brothman, Cook and Harris. As a theoretical space it is hospitable to ideas of plurality and multiplicity because it envisions archives in constant motion rather than as "static end products."[60] Subsequently, researchers have used the continuum as a basis for challenging core principles. These include the concepts of co-creation and "multiple" or "parallel" provenance, to reflect that archives may be generated or created by many actors; the aforementioned recognition of archival autonomy and the social justice implications of archival practice.[61] It has led most recently to the emergence of "critical archival studies", an approach which seeks to "explain what is wrong with the current state of archival research and practice" and "posit practical goals for how such research and practice can and should change."[62]

Implicit in both the social justice imperative and the concept of the "archival multiverse" is the ascription of diverse archival values. Community archives, for example, have been conceived as "affect generators", with emotive value to invoke feelings of surprise, nostalgia, wonder and sympathy.[63] This follows Cvetkovich's argument that as "cultural texts" archives are "repositories of feelings and emotions."[64] The language of affect has emerged most strongly in recent scholarship on archives and human rights, which recognises that individuals may have archival needs which are fundamental to their experience of family, sense of belonging, wellbeing and personal safety. It has led Gilliland and McKemmish to propose the

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[59] Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum: Part One," *Archives and Manuscripts* 24, no. 2 (Nov 1996): 268-85; and Frank Upward, "Structuring the Records Continuum: Part Two Structuration Theory and Recordkeeping," *Archives and Manuscripts* 25, no. 1 (1997): 10-35.

[60] Evans, McKemmish and Rolan, "Critical Approaches to Archiving," 6.

[61] Chris Hurley, "Parallel Provenance: (1) What, If Anything, is Archival Description?" *Archives and Manuscripts* 33, no. 1 (2005): 110–45; and "Parallel Provenance: (2) When Something is Not Related to Everything Else." *Archives and Manuscripts* 33, no. 2 (2005): 52–95.

[62] Caswell, Punzalan, and Sangwand, "Critical Archival Studies: An Introduction," 2.

[63] Alexandrina Buchanan and Michelle Bastian, "Activating the Archive: Rethinking the Role of Traditional Archives for Local Activist Projects," *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (2015): 435; 447.

[64] Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (London: Duke University Press, 2003), 7.

"participatory archive", a concept that acknowledges the multiple values, beliefs and emotions invested in archives by different communities.[65]

What surfaces in overview is the long term dominance of a "benefits" value paradigm of archives, and the recent emergence of what can be characterised as "ontological" values perspectives. In response to such perspectives researchers have begun to re-frame archival practice, in some cases finding new ways to theorise and justify existing principles; in some cases expanding them and in others disavowing them completely. However, as Cifor has noted, modernist viewpoints persist and are juxtaposed uncomfortably with alternative ideologies in practice. Chapters Three and Four of this thesis use the values lens to examine how traditional ideas continue to circulate and resurface not only in the academic literature but also in practitioner documentation and day-to-day practices, often in parallel with more recent viewpoints.

Cultural heritage and the 'Authorised Heritage Discourse'

Analogous paradigmatic shifts are evident in cultural heritage studies. In particular, the authority of "experts" to establish the criteria of heritage values has been challenged by recognition of the subjective and intangible and of the role of community in values-making.[66] A brief narrative of this shift was provided in the previous chapter.[67] In drawing on cultural heritage theory, I have specifically used Laurajane Smith's model of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), as a starting point for thinking about how certain values have been ascribed, circulated and naturalised in the archival field.

Smith conceives the AHD as an underlying hegemonic framework that "naturalizes a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage" in the West.[68] The theory is grounded in Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, wherein discourse is understood to function as a form of expertise. In this case the discourse constructs and represents knowledge about heritage, the past and cultural objects in certain ways. It

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[65] Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, "The Role of Participatory Archives in Furthering Human Rights, Reconciliation and Recovery," *Atlantic Review for Modern Archival Theory and Practice* 24 (2014): 81.

[66] Schofield, 'Heritage Expertise and the Everyday," 2.

[67] See Chapter One, 24-25.

[68] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 4.

is maintained and reinforced by internationally sanctioned bodies such as UNESCO, and by state-sponsored cultural heritage agencies and organisations like Historic England and the National Trust. Smith detects its origins in the nineteenth century European concern with nationalist identity and the development of the "conservation ethic" which appointed small groups of experts to act as "trustees of the material past."[69] The social and aesthetic values of these trustees, who originated from elite groups in society, became normalised and internalised as the correct measures by which heritage should be judged. Abstract concepts such as "truth, beauty and goodness" were normatively applied to things so that they appeared to be inherent qualities.[70] The edifying and civilising effects of heritage encounters were emphasised, and a distinction made between those who were qualified to make judgements about heritage and those who learned from and were improved by it. The power dynamic of the discourse is predicated on cultural heritage practitioners as active agents and the public as passive recipients of edification. Management processes and terminologies were developed to stress the distance between practitioners and the public.

Smith suggests that forms of heritage which are difficult to control by the principles of the discourse - for example ugly, abandoned or marginal sites - become loci of anxiety and discomfort.[71] In contrast, places which conform to dominant ideals and can be connected to long-standing intellectual, cultural and national traditions are centralised. Rodney Harrison has identified listing, both in local and international contexts, as an example of "a regulatory process" whereby heritage is defined, standardised and categorised according to these ideals and traditions.[72] The apogee is the conferring of World Heritage status, which is given to sites of "outstanding universal value." This value, Harrison argues, represents "a totalising discourse representing a global hierarchy of value."[73] In Chapters Three, Four and Five I observe similar patterns in archival discourse, and argue that the dominant values ascribed to archives by institutions and practitioners shares ideological ground with the AHD. The dominant modes of archival management, which were established during the same

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[69] Ibid, 17-19.
[70] Otero-Pailos, Gaiger and West, "Heritage values," 49.
[71] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 36, 191.
[72] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 47.
[73] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 67.

period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, may be seen as comparable to those of cultural heritage management.

The AHD may appear to have been overtaken by the emergence of the participatory approaches to heritage management embodied in the Faro Convention.[74] The theory emerged in 2006, coinciding with the moment that UNESCO and the Council of Europe, as well as national bodies such as Historic England and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), began to shift their rhetoric towards public participation, audience development and community engagement.[75] Engagement programmes at heritage sites, museums and archives in England and Wales were peaking, as was funding for such activity. In the 2005/6 financial year the principal funder in England and Wales, the Heritage Lottery Fund, committed £322.6m to capital and revenue projects in the heritage sector.[76] Their 2002-2007 strategy had undertaken to "listen carefully to the changing ways in which an evolving society values the past", and stressed its aim to engage people not only in visiting heritage but in identifying, looking after and managing in accordance with their own values.[77]

However, Smith does not see these changes as inhospitable to the AHD. On the contrary she has mapped the ways in which the discourse is adaptive and regroups in the face of ideological challenge, such as the emergence of community engagement and participatory rhetoric. She has critiqued core texts and characteristics of the trend as extensions and continuations of the discourse rather than subversions.[78] She notes that "outreach" and engagement practices tend to be assimilationist and top down, focusing on how audiences can be recruited to dominant and existing practices rather

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[74] See Chapter One, 24-26.

[75] Arguably the most far-reaching and impactful of these shifts is embodied in the Faro Convention. Council of Europe, *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society.*

[76] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Distribution Accounts for the Year Ended 31 March 2006.* HC 1374. Accessed 14 October 2016. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/231654/1374.pdf.

[77] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage: The Heritage Lottery Fund Strategic Plan, 2002-2007* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 2002) 1; 3. Accessed Aug 26, 2018. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080610172642/http://www.hlf.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/EE1EBF13-EB5E-4C01-9492-6A007F4D1982/0/strategicplan.pdf.

[78] See, for example, the critical discourse analysis of the Burra Charter. Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith and Gary Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 4 (2006): 339-355.

than on recognising the diversity of possible heritage values. New community heritage practices are closely linked to political rhetoric about the "benefits" value of heritage in solving a range of social challenges from homelessness to radicalisation.[79] At worst Smith considers that such work "undertaken without an active sense of negotiation between community understanding and values and those of practitioners can simply become gestural politics."[80] Heritage values are instrumentalised, subjecting people to heritage engagement practice in the same way that the heritage itself is subjected to management and preservation.[81] Such practices focus on "deliverable political objectives" which manifest power through narratives about inclusion and cohesion.[82] Echoing Verne Harris, Harrison has further argued that: "Anything that an authority (such as a state) designates as worthy of conservation subsequently enters the political arena."[83] For example, archives selected for preservation at The National Archives may be seen to embody values that are "intrinsic to the character of the nation."[84]

Schofield has suggested that a true values-based approach to heritage operates around three core principles: "Heritage is everywhere, heritage is for everyone and we are all heritage experts."[85] It is further predicated on the "inevitability and universality of valued places" rather than on measures of "universal value."[86] As the concept of heritage of significance shifts away from something determined by a community of expertise on behalf of society, the role of the public in "identifying and caring for what is valued collectively" is enhanced.[87] This collective valuing may focus on social values, which Benton and Cecil have defined as heritage's capacity to act as "sources of identity, distinctiveness, social interaction and coherence."[88] Such values may have no

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[79] David Hesmondhalgh and Andy C. Pratt, "Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 1-14.

[80] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 38.

[81] Waterton and Smith, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," 11.

[82] Rodney Harrison, "Introduction," in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 1.

[83] Rodney Harrison, "What is Heritage?" in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 26.

[84] Anne Laurence, "Heritage as a tool of government" in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, ed. Rodney Harrison (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 89.

[85] Schofield, "Heritage Expertise and the Everyday," 2.

[86] Schofield, "Heritage Expertise and the Everyday," 2.

[87] Hewison and Holden, "Public Value as a Framework for Analysing the Value of Heritage," 15.

[88] Tim Burton and Clementine Cecil, "Heritage and Public Memory" in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 9.

relationship to the evidential, historical or aesthetic value of a place, but grow up from the meaning derived from collective experience. They may be modest, highly localised and change rapidly depending on circumstances.[89] Such values are "decentred" in that no single meaning is attributed to a heritage place or object, and individual memories and local stories are given as much weight as 'expert' assessments of significance.[90]

In practice, values-based approaches seek to create spaces in which multiple values can be expressed and mediated, very much like the "archival multiverse". DeSilvey has described her attempts to enact such an approach with respect to the artefacts and archives of the Moon-Randolph homestead in Montana. Having realised that the "unruly materialities" of the place would not conform to the "tidy narration" of curatorial practice, she invited visitors to gather and exhibit material from around the site in constantly shifting displays of objects in folding boxes.[91] The resulting collections "rejected any distinction between historic and contemporary artefacts…" and "opted out of the discrimination and discernment that underpins most collections schemes."[92] In the absence of professional practise the objects and the place were curated "by the emotional and experiential context and content vested in them."[93] The values acknowledged and ascribed by the visitors were not sanctioned by expertise; notably Montana University's archives practitioner had determined that the collection had little to no value and recommended wholesale disposal.[94] Rather they represented what Iain Robertson has called "the subaltern discourses of community participation."[95] Drawing on Gramsci's notion of "counter hegemony", he has argued that these alternative narratives about heritage are made possible by dominant narratives which demand opposition.[96] In this respect DeSilvey's project reflected the activist character of community archives observed by Flinn and Caswell.

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[89] Burton and Cecil, "Heritage and Public Memory," 9.
[90] Burton and Cecil, "Heritage and Public Memory," 40.
[91] DeSilvey, "Art and Archive: Memory-Work on a Montana Homestead," 888.
[92] DeSilvey, "Art and Archive: Memory-Work on a Montana Homestead," 895.
[93] DeSilvey, "Art and Archive: Memory-Work on a Montana Homestead," 888.
[94] DeSilvey, "Art and Archive: Memory-Work on a Montana Homestead," 883.
[95] Iain J.M. Robertson, "Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance," in *The Public History Reader*, ed. Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (London: Routledge, 2013), 58.
[96] Robertson, "Heritage from Below," 59-60.

Harrison has suggested that all heritage is "active" and oppositional in this way, less about permanent significance and preservation than about the assembling of objects, places and archives to "hold up as a mirror to the present."[97] Individuals and communities are motivated to ascribe values in response to their current concerns and ways of seeing the world, so that heritage is formed in the present in order to exemplify something useful from the past.[98] Historically the relationship between heritage and modernity has been exemplified by ascribed values – such as evidentiality and historicity – which reflected the distribution of power and expertise arising from the Enlightenment, nineteenth century capitalism and colonialism.[99] Community archives and social justice movements similarly ascribe values that generate heritage to serve their needs. Thinking about heritage in this way requires an attentiveness to the values-based discourses generated by nation states, institutions and communities, which are used to explain and justify heritage decisions. Heritage objects, including archives, become sites of societal contestation and conflict. Their management may be seen as either a mechanism for imposing one set of subjectivities over others, or as a process whereby competing discursive claims are made visible and mediated.

The tension between the hegemony of the AHD on the one hand and values-based approaches on the other would suggest that moments of engagement and participation between institutions and communities are particularly liable to become sites of dissonance and conflict. This dissonance may be internal, for the institutions and practitioners, and externalised in their relationships with communities. In Chapter Five I reflect on this dissonance in the context of archival engagement activities that involve the interplay of institutions, practitioners, archives and communities.

Public history and ways of knowing about the past

Shifts in historiographical practice since the mid-twentieth century have also been critical to my understanding of the relationship between archives, values and

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[97] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 4.
[98] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 14.
[99] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 23.

communities. Two strands of debate are particularly relevant: firstly, the role and significance of archival heritage in the production of history, and secondly, the public uses of the past.

Bentley has argued that the relationship between archival sources and historical practice was entrenched by the German school founded by Leopold von Ranke in the early to mid-nineteenth century. A Kantian understanding of knowledge production positioned the archive as the object of historical study par-excellence through which "truth-claims" about the past could be tested and validated.[100] Documentary sources could be assigned hierarchies of value based on pre-existing assumptions and be systematically investigated.[101] Although archives were not equivalent to the event or transaction they described, they could be understood as the "residues" of those events and thus the closest approximations.[102] The most valuable were those which were unintentionally created, conforming to Jenkinson's ideal of organic by-products. Writing in the 1930s Bloch concurred that although truth was never a given in any archival source "at least [it] has not been specially designed to deceive posterity."[103] On this basis archives have been the principal resource called upon to service what Cubitt has called history's "obligatory relationship to citable evidence."[104]

Many historians continue to be invested in an "epistemic tradition of…empiricism" in spite of the challenge to knowledge presented by postmodernism.[105] Munslow suggests that this manifests in a lack of distinction between verifying a factual occurrence – for example, that someone was born at a particular date and time – and interpreting that occurrence in a historical narrative. The latter, he argues, is always "an exceedingly complex emotional, linguistic, ideological panoptic construction" which is contingent on the values of the contemporary world.[106] This same elision of archival sources with the 'truth' about the past is evident in Jenkinsonian ideas about

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[100] Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1999), 20.
[101] For further discussion of hierarchies of historical evidence, see Chapter Three, 96-100.
[102] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 45.
[103] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 51.
[104] Geoff Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 33.
[105] Alun Munslow, *The Future of History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 2.
[106] Munslow, *The Future of History*, 20.

the evidential and objective qualities of archives. In both cases, the maintenance and interpretation of the relationship between archives and the past requires expertise.

In *Theatres of Memory* Samuel suggested otherwise, arguing that history is "a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance of a thousand different hands."[107] In doing so he envisioned historical practice as multivalent, distributed, democratic, open to debate and, by implication, non-specialist. At the same time he established a dichotomy between what he perceived to be the "esoteric form" of history practised by professional historians and grassroots and community manifestations of the past.[108] The former he saw as founded on a historiographical tradition that "fetishized" archival research and documentary sources, while the latter emerged through personal and localized forms of knowledge.[109] Archival heritage was positioned as antagonistic to these forms of knowledge and disavowed in ways that are reminiscent of the rejection of dominant archival traditions by proponents of community archives and archival autonomy.

Samuel identified a surge in "democratic" forms of knowledge in the late twentieth century, which he attributed to "a historicist turn in national life."[110] The work of constructing and sharing the past as history was increasingly dispersed through all spheres, from popular television to community activism, from family history to heritage tourism. Jeremy Black has suggested that this is related ideologically to a shift in the dimensions through which the past is understood, away from economics, politics and causality – the territories of experts - towards narratives of social and cultural experience.[111] Practically it is made possible by the distribution of history-making resources like archives through digitisation and online platforms. The public no longer requires the 'expert' to act as intercessor in finding and interpreting these archival sources but instead can navigate and discover them on their own terms. This

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[107] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Vol 1, Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. (London: Verso, 1994), 8.
[108] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 3, 160.
[109] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 160.
[110] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, 139.
[111] Jeremy Black, *Contesting History: Narratives of Public History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 9.

represents a "challenge to the power structures of Western historical scholarship" similar to the challenge that community archives present to established archival institutions.[112]

Which is not to suggest that popular histories are solely grassroots or democratic activities. The state and state-sponsored organisations routinely use the past in order to shape public discourse about the nation. As the "prime organisers of public symbolism" such as centenaries, commemorations and monuments they retain significant control over "public time and public space."[113] These historical narratives may be seen as extensions of Smith's AHD, enabling an "instructive history which celebrates and enables nationhood" and supports political agendas.[114] Archival heritage is frequently mobilised for such purposes, facilitated in the UK by the structure of national archival provision.[115] Unlike other major historical and cultural institutions, such as the British Museum and the British Library, the National Archives is a non-ministerial government department. In common with other national archival institutions in Western Europe it was established in the early nineteenth century, providing research access to the vast quantities of primary government documents that facilitated the Rankian school of history. As Black has observed: "Professional history and the modern nation state grew up in partnership", connecting the study of the past to the study of the state's own records.[116] The implications of this confluence of history, archives and the nation is explored further in Chapter Three.[117]

The relationship between historiography and archival practice has continued to be close, as practitioners have responded to changes in the perspectives and orientations of historians. Increasing emphasis on regional and local studies in the immediate post-war period coincided with the foundation of many county record offices, establishing a sense of shared purpose. Writing in 1960 Barnes described local Archives as sites of

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[112] Jeremy Black, *Using History* (London: Hodder Arnold. 2005), 184.
[113] Black, *Using History*, 16.
[114] Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: History and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2009), 21.
[115] See Chapter Three, 106-114.
[116] Black, *Using History*, 65.
[117] See Chapter Three, especially 95; 97-100 and 110-114.

apprenticeship for "raw recruits to the discipline", encouraging archival practitioners to respond by collecting "useful records" of local government and legal institutions.[118] Barnes intended that studying such records would prepare the "apprentice" historian to graduate to the archives of national government held at the Public Record Office, mirroring and shaping hierarchies of evidentiality and archival value that are discussed in Chapter Four. [119] The academic historian was positioned as the user of archives par excellence, requiring archives practitioners to collect, catalogue and index records that served their needs.

For example, since the 1960s approaches to "history from below" have expanded the range of subjects considered worthy of historical study and thus the range of valued archival sources. The expanded definitions of what constitutes archival and cultural heritage described above have developed in parallel and have served this reorientation. Archives have been collected specifically in order to make visible "the little platoons rather than the great society which commands attention" and engage "the spirit of place rather than that of the common law or the institutions of representative government."[120] Archives practitioners have also re-catalogued existing collections in order to uncover and highlight overlooked narratives, sometimes referred to as "hidden histories". This activity reflects Hilda Kean's definition of public history as historical work with "some degree of application to the needs of contemporary life."[121] The past becomes a "suite of possibilities" that can respond to the subjective needs of a given community, part of what de Groot has termed the "historicopia" of diverse available pasts.[122] Unofficial forms of knowledge such as oral traditions and popular memory may be perceived as equally valid tools in history-making disrupting assumptions about what constitutes "citable evidence."

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[118] Thomas Barnes, "The local record office and the historian's apprenticeship," *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2, no.1 (1960): 28-29.
[119] See Chapter Three, 106-114 and Chapter Four, 135-142.
[120] Samuel, *Theatres of Memory,* 158.
[121] Hilda Kean, "Introduction," in *The Public History Reader*, ed. Hilda Kean & Paul Martin (London: Routledge, 2013), xiv.
[122] de Groot, *Consuming History*, 9, 13.

Equally the 'turn to memory' - a recognition of the role of human consciousness in shaping our relationship with the past – has impacted on historical practice and ideas about archival values. Memory need not be limited to the personal but may also be social and communal. Cubitt has defined these latter forms of memory as "a knowledge or awareness of past events and conditions…developed and sustained within human societies…and through which, therefore, individuals…are given the sense of past that extends beyond what they themselves personally remember."[123] These social forms of memory may be externalised and ascribed to objects, such as places, images or texts, from where they can later be retrieved by others.[124] Archival heritage may be considered in some ways antithetical to this process because the written text or image fixes what may be known or understood. Cubitt has argued that, given the authority ascribed to texts in Western society, memory may "seem vague and unstable" in comparison to the "notions of evidence, authority, truthfulness and authenticity…of the seemingly tangible stability and objectivity of the written text."[125] The desire of communities to generate and preserve archival resources may be related to the anxiety of memory loss observed by Nora, for whom "modern memory is, above all, archival."[126] Chapter Six will consider the ways in which archives interact with memory and other forms of public history-making to generate multiple and sometimes divisive archival values.[127]

Public Value Theory

The language of value has been pervasive in public life since the election of the first New Labour government in May 1997. The period has seen an increasing political, social and cultural focus on value that transcends Party political boundaries, expressed in rhetoric that called on theorisations of "public value" to support social inclusion, civic engagement, sustainability and resilience.[128]

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[123] Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 15.
[124] Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 121.
[125] Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 190.
[126] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,' *Representations* 26 (1989): 13.
[127] See Chapter Six, especially 226-256.
[128] See also Chapter Five, 179-186.

The emergence of public value thinking can be traced to the late 1990s when the theory was first developed by social science researchers. Defined by Mark H. Moore in his book of the same name, "public value" was proposed as a tool to measure the importance and impact of public sector activity for communities.[129] It was initially associated with central and local government, and conceived as an equivalent of shareholder value for the public sector. It was subsequently extended to encompass a broader range of common good activities. In public value theory value is created through the interconnections of a matrix of relationships, social structures, authorised actions and community engagement. It encompasses the rights, responsibilities and experiences produced by the interaction of the state, business or organisation and the individual.

The language of value, and its use as a measure of success and impact, was rapidly absorbed into the documentation and practice of heritage activity. In 2002 the HLF, the largest heritage funding body in the UK, shifted its criteria for grants away from outputs and outcomes to values and impact. A DEMOS report commissioned in 2005 sought to establish the significance of the Funds' projects by developing a values-based evaluation framework that explicitly drew on the idea of public value.[130] The report cited Tessa Jowell's essay *Government and the Value of Culture* as a turning point in value-based approaches, suggesting that the word 'culture' could be readily replaced with 'heritage'. Then Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport Jowell galvanised debate by asking 'How, in going beyond targets, can we best capture the value of culture?'[131] Internationally, the 2005 Faro Convention had offered values as a mechanism to extend the definition of heritage as broadly as possible, engaging the subjectivities of diverse communities. In 2006 English Heritage organised a conference of consultants, decision-makers and practitioners to discuss the challenge of using values to create "a new language to describe the importance of the historic

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[129] Mark H. Moore, *Public Value: Strategic Management in Government* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1995).
[130] Demos, *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value.*
[131] Tessa Jowell, *Government and the Value of Culture*. Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 2004, 18. Accessed 17 October 2016
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20121204113822/http://www.culture.gov.uk/NR/rdo
nlyres/eiqcjgcqowrxfiroz242u4aprqqul5nquhvhq5dm74jq4ry3pon5pxowtiq2lx3luavif3sfhc3ptepc
4hj4gifdyle/valueofculture.pdf.

environment."[132] Subsequently, Hewison and Holden have suggested that "the discourse of heritage has become almost exclusively a conversation – even an argument – between the professionals and the politicians, and one overwhelmingly concerned with instrumental values."[133]

Giddens' structuration theory elaborates on the ways in which all human action is carried out within the context of pre-existing social structures, governed by the discursive norms and rules that are distinct from those of other social structures. These structures are constantly modified by feedback from human action, at the same time as shaping and modifying behaviour.[134] Laurajane Smith combined discourse and structuration analysis in the development of the theory of the AHD. As noted above, she posited that discourse is not just social or cultural but political, and is governed by agencies which structure and authorise heritage activity. Smith is not the first to explore the existence of such 'authorising' forces. Indeed Moore described how public value was created and stewarded in the "authorising environment", a place, he suggested, of "contestation where many views and values struggle for acceptance and hegemony."[135] However, in his conceptualisation the authorising environment is not inhabited only by the government as a rule setter but also by the "restless value-seeking imaginations" of the public.[136] This is in contradiction of Smith's position, which implies that grassroots public activity is always unauthorised by its very nature. Nevertheless, Moore does identify the government, in its role as a service provider, as the proactive shaper of the authorising environment. Some regimes of value, he admits, have "more purchase on the world" than others.[137]

Within the current political rhetoric of local and place-based identity, of resilience and diversity, Smith contends that heritage is mobilised as a safe past space in which acceptable shared stories can overcome difference. As Bennington has argued "one of

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132 Kate Clark, ed. *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage: The Proceedings of the London Conference, 25-26 January 2006* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2006), 1.
133 Hewison and Holden, "Public Value as a Framework for Analysing the Value of Heritage," 17.
134 See Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.* (Cambridge: Policy Press, 1984).
135 John Benington and Mark Moore, "Public Value in Complex and Changing Times," in *Public Value: Theory and Practice*, ed. John Benington and Mark H. Moore (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 6.
136 Benington and Moore, "Public Value in Complex and Changing Times," 3.
137 Cresswell, "Value, Gleaning and the Archive," 174.

the biggest challenges facing governments in a networked, multilevel, polycentric society is how to lead and to develop a shared vision or common purpose out of diversity."[138] Heritage policy and practice co-opts practitioners into delivering solutions to this challenge, to the extent of measuring the value of heritage work against its ability to deliver cohesion, community identity and cultural agreement. Tension may emerge "when calls for greater inclusion and plurality are placed within a context already dominated by the firmly established and authoritative discourse of the expert."[139] Related forms of authorising activity have been observed in public history. Black has warned against "underrating the importance of state action and direction."[140]

The language of values also has a broad basis in the social sciences. Kuhn, for example, has defined the paradigm as "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community."[141] Chapters Three and Four consider competing paradigms of archival practice circulated amongst practitioner communities, first in exploring documentation produced by archival organisations both internationally and nationally, and subsequently by considering how the language and rhetoric of value is expressed by archives practitioners in England and Wales. Value is also central to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the development of taste, which is built on the idea that value emerges contextually in relation to the interest of those doing the valuing.[142] This model is particularly important to the critique of engagement programmes with archival heritage described in Chapters Five and Six. Equally relevant to these chapters is Hawkin's theorisation of axes of value whereby value is produced by the passage of things in and out of different regimes of thought and experience.[143]

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[138] Benington and Moore, "Public Value in Complex and Changing Times," 37.
[139] Waterton, Smith and Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies," 346.
[140] Black, *Using History*, 9.
[141] Thomas S. C. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1970), 173.
[142] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1984)
[143] Gay Hawkins, *Culture and Waste: The Creation and Destruction of Value* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006)

Discourse, orientation and deconstruction

The theoretical challenge of this thesis is the excavation and critical analysis of ascriptions of values as expressed by archives practitioners and archivally-engaged communities. Theories of discourse and of discursive formation are central to its understanding of how these values shape what archives can be and what they can do in society.

Michel Foucault speaks of the gathering and organising of archives as "a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place", and goes on to suggest that "this whole idea belongs to our modernity."[144] The overarching presence of an archive of modernity underpins and haunts both his archaeological and genealogical methods of historical investigation. It is implicated in the creation, moderation and perpetuation of forms of discourse in society, whereby texts and language maintain systems of thought. These systems are comprised of terms, concepts, ideas, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and worlds of which they speak.[145] The archive is a medium for the promulgation of discourse about society at large, as well as being subject to discourse itself. As noted by Blommart and Bulcaen, discourse is not just text but also intertext. It is circulated and consumed in speech acts and generic conventions, as well as through hegemonic practices that arise from discursive ideologies.[146] Individuals in the context of a system of thought, be they 'experts' in that system or members of associated or adjacent communities, operate within a discursive regime. They construct their identities and values in and around it.

Foucault's theory of discourse, and its intertextual implications, underpin the arguments of Chapters Three and Four. With motivation similar to Tony Bennett in *The Birth of the Museum* they seek "to illuminate the co-ordinates within which questions of [archive] policies and politics have been posed."[147] Bennett's work identified museums as "exemplary spaces to model correct behaviour" and linked their

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[144] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces." *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 26.
[145] Moses and Knutsen, *Ways of Knowing: Competing Methodologies*, 192.
[146] Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen, "Critical Discourse Analysis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (2000): 448.
[147] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 5.

emergence and development to the governmentalisation of culture.[148] He likened them to the social technologies of the prison, hospital and asylum, which Foucault associated with the regulation of the conduct of individuals by modern government. What these institutions have in common is a mismatch between their rhetorical aim and their actual function, which leads to a constant drive for reform and change. Bennett perceives a similar mismatch between museum rhetoric around advocacy – for example, access for all and representative collections - and an underlying discourse of homogeneity, self-improvement and reform that work against it.[149] Museum practice and policy prescribes behaviour that turn audiences into the subjects of reform, the aim being the reinforcement of social harmony. This social or community cohesion is both a form of hegemony "achieved by various ways of programming behaviour" and a measure of public value.[150] Unilineal and teleological notions of time and change in the West structure the ways in which the past can be imagined, and the ways in which its remains in museums, archives and the built environment can be managed.

Foucauldian conceptualisations of discourse are used as a framework for developing the argument of this thesis, extrapolating Smith's AHD and testing it in specifically archival contexts. Subjecting the status quo to critical discourse analysis reveals how practitioners are constrained by the systems in which they operate, and by the language, symbols and processes they use. However, this approach is moderated by the application of broader phenomenological perspectives regarding the experiential universality of direction and orientation. Whereas Smith imagines an authorised discourse in opposition to an unauthorised and thus more authentic way of interpreting and managing heritage, feminist philosopher Sara Ahmed has made clear that this opposition is not straightforward.[151]   We are all shaped by our proximity to things, the accessibility of particular ideas and our experiences. The direction we face and our orientation to any given phenomena – be it an object, archive or ideology - is

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[148] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 34.
[149] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 91.
[150] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 101.
[151] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. (London: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

situated.[152] In applying orientation theory to cultural heritage Pomian has argued that the appropriate discursive co-ordinates are required to understand collections of historical and cultural objects such as archives. In order to see the invisible significance that they embody – i.e. evidence of an historical incident or a legal precedent – an individual must have access to the dominant orientation. This orientation determines the way of thinking that has shaped how the object is presented and interpreted.[153] Differently oriented individuals and communities may not ascribe the same or any values to archives; instead they may ascribe values to materials, places or ideas which do not feature in the dominant social codes. This may lead different communities to misapprehend one another's archival modus operandi.

Thus I do not seek to criticise or denigrate any orientation, perspective or range of values here, but instead to make them visible. Although I offer critique of the dominant values of archival institutions and archives practitioners I recognise that these values are positioned, both in the past and the present, in relation to compatible values in wider society. They are components of authorised sense-making stories about truth, order and the law in the West. As such dominant or 'authorised' values may undermine efforts to engage with communities who do not share these values, or who have been marginalised and excluded by them. However, that is not understood to be their conscious intention, and the purpose of making them visible is not to assign blame nor to suggest that they are incorrect or inherently negative. Rather it is to enable movement towards an "archival multiverse" in which multiple and plural perspectives can be acknowledged, validated and accommodated.

In my analysis I turn to Derrida's deconstructive approach to understand how the discursive formations of archival practice are structured around differences in orientation. These are not the diametric oppositions of expert/community, practitioner/audience, us/them which some readings of the AHD imply, but oppositions that develop when heritage territories are shared by diverse value holders. As value holders construct meanings about archives, their "views are marked by

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[152] Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 25.
[153] Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

differences that come to contour what [they] are as individuals in relation to one another."[154] Deconstruction offers a tool to disrupt the naturalisation of these meanings as exclusionary truths, recognising that archives are fundamentally unstable and multivalent and that each meaning or value ascribed is only one of many potential meanings.[155] Such a deconstruction of archival discourse requires "an exhaustive attentiveness to moments in a text where its constructed system of values is thrown into disarray".[156] In other words, "where the consistency of the underlying logic is challenged by something different."[157] Excavating and making visible these logics as values, both the dominant values and the alternative values, provides opportunities to negotiate and mediate differences.

Methods and methodologies

Building upon the literature review and my chosen theoretical framework, I have used a logic of appropriateness model to select compatible methods for three research exercises. Critical discourse analysis has been used to explore the data collected from each of these.[158]

Firstly, a sample of documents created and circulated by archival heritage organisations and institutions have been subjected to textual analysis. They have been chosen as a point of access to archival "fields, frames and networks of action", as devices that structure, contain and influence relationships between social agents.[159] In this case the documents reflect communications between authorising bodies and archives practitioners, and between archives practitioners and community audiences. Each text has been created by or arisen out of an organised project, such as the setting of a national archives strategy. They offer textually mediated access to the subjectivities of the authors and their imagined audiences, and play a key role in

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[154] Malcolm K. Richards, *Derrida Reframed: Interpreting Key Thinkers for the Arts* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 19.

[155] Rachel Hardiman, "En-mal d'archive: Postmodernist Theory and Recordkeeping," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 30, no. 1 (2009): 29

[156] Richards, *Derrida Reframed,* 20

[157] Richards, *Derrida Reframed*, 24.

[158] Samples of the raw and analysed data from each research activity is provided in the Appendices, 296-318.

[159] Lindsay Prior, *Using Documents in Social Research* (London: SAGE, 2003), 3.

making assumptions about archival heritage visible. As such they lend themselves to the analysis of discursive practices described by Foucault, as well as to deconstruction. Chapter Three is dedicated to the in-depth analysis of these texts and the role that they play in the ascription of values to archival heritage. Further analysis is provided in Chapter Five.

Texts were selected using a purposive sampling model, in which key archival agents were identified at international, national and regional levels. The agents chosen in this case were UNESCO, the ICA, TNA, the HLF and Explore York Libraries and Archives (Explore). Their current advocacy and governing documents were harvested from publically available websites and printed sources and copied into NVivo for coding and analysis. NVivo is the qualitative analysis software I have used for collating and analysing all of my research data.

Secondly, seventeen semi-structured interviews with archives practitioners and people working in archival contexts were collected, transcribed, coded and analysed. These provided access to the 'expert' audiences of the documentary texts and afforded a basis for interrogating the context in which they were read, circulated and interpreted. It also allowed for the further excavation of the discursive formations that archival practice is subject to. Exploration of this source provides the basis for Chapter Four.

Thirdly, two participatory action research projects were conducted with community partners. The first participatory project was co-produced with the YPP Facebook group, and explores the ontological values expressed during a research project using early twentieth century 'slum clearance' records. During the project between six and ten participants attended sessions at York Explore Library and Archive over the course of six non-consecutive weeks. During this time they worked together to explore, copy, organise and interpret previously uncatalogued archives. The project focused on the phenomenological experience of using the materials, the values that were ascribed to them and the ways in which participants conceived of the environment they were working in. The archive sessions took place between April and June 2016 and were followed by a period of public activity and engagement between July and December of the same year.

The second project was co-produced with members of York's LGBTQ+ community. Active in public history and heritage practice for some time, members of the community were motivated to start an archive of LGBTQ+ history, life and experience in the city. The group worked to establish a framework for collecting, preserving, describing and making available the resulting archives. The project provided an opportunity to reflect on the construction of archival values, the exclusion of certain subjectivities from established repositories and the emotional and identity needs of participants.

A participatory action methodology was chosen for these projects as being most conducive to transdisciplinarity, constructivism and the "archival multiverse". This approach requires researchers and participants to work together to examine mutually relevant questions, challenging the traditional hierarchies of researcher and researched. It recognises the "plurality of knowledge in a variety of institutions and locations" and is a "counter-hegemonic approach to knowledge production."[160] Further, it is a methodology aimed at developing "practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human processes", which aligns with the ambition of this study to use its analysis of values to propose ways to broaden the activations of archives in society.[161] The design was also motivated by the idea that value is created when "users and producers engage in creative joint development of products and services tailor made to meet unmet human need."[162] Finally, it prioritises the perspectives of community experience and the immediate social context of the research.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is the analysis method applied to all of the research data, whether documentation, transcriptions of interviews, research notes or participatory contributions. CDA is the "examination of texts in contexts", as "accounts of the world" and "clues to the subjectivity of those who wrote them."[163] Texts are interpreted as both content, for the explicit and implicit information they

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[160] Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesby, "Origins, Approaches and Methods," in *Participatory Action Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, ed. Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesby (London: Routledge, 2007), 9.
[161] Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Enquiry and Practice* (London: SAGE, 2006), 1.
[162] John Benington, "From Private Choice to Public Value?" in *Public Value: Theory and Practice*, ed. John Benington and Mark H. Moore (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 45.
[163] Greener, *Designing Social Research*, 99, 104.

contain, and as things or objects that have agency and power in context. Developed by Norman Fairclough in the 1980s, the methodology is founded in the proposition that social order and social processes are a result of shared constructions of reality rather than individual perceptions.[164] Texts reflect and encode "sense-making stories" which then circulate and develop to "underpin visions of the world and the things and events within that world."[165] CDA offers a systematic methodology that can be applied to reveal the discursive systems in written and spoken texts. It can further be used to expose the ways in which archival discourse manifests and consolidates ways of thinking about archives. Its aim is not to reveal conscious manipulations or exertions of power but to review how subjectivities are naturalised and promulgated.

CDA is grounded in the 'linguistic turn' in the humanities and primarily in the idea that language does not just reflect reality but also constitutes and shapes it. In the first instance its purpose is to identify the discursive practices and structures constructed through our speech acts and textual productions. However, it is also designed to identify the relationships between these discursive practices and structures and wider social and cultural processes. As such it responds to the poststructuralist challenge to recognise the importance of culture and context in producing speech and texts. CDA considers texts as both products in themselves, and as processes which are in dialogue with wider networks of meaning. In this case it may be used to elucidate the link between the specificity of archival practice and the wider cultural context of archival values.

The critical nature of CDA is central to its use in this thesis, as it encourages reflection on the role of power in discourse and practice. For Foucault critical approaches embody "the systematic, analytical endeavour to reveal the nature of systems of rules, principles and values as historically situated."[166] CDA requires "the systematic analysis and interpretation of texts as revelatory of ways in which discourses consolidate and manifest power."[167] Furthermore CDA is "interventionist and focuses on change and

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[164] Terry Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Continuum, 2004), 1.
[165] Prior, *Using Documents in Social Research*, 67.
[166] Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis,* 27.
[167] Locke*, Critical Discourse Analysis,* 2*.*

empowerment as a result of critical discourse analysis." It requires the researcher "to take a position, politically and socially" in relation to a topic which is not only interesting to them but has implications for social change.[168] In using CDA to make discourses of archival values visible – and to identify the figurative and literal ways in which these discourses shape thought and action – my intention is to create opportunities to improve practices. It is therefore compatible with both action research as well as with documentary and interview analysis.

However, CDA has been criticised on a number of points. Widdowson, for example, highlights the subjective interpretation of the method, asking questions about selectivity, partiality and prejudice on the part of the researcher.[169] Further Pennycook has argued that, because it suggests that texts impose ideological meaning, it elides human agency.[170] This thesis accepts and embraces the first criticism, on the basis that a values-based approach to heritage necessarily involves both the subjectivity of the researcher and of the research participant. This subjectivity is exacerbated further by my position as an archives practitioner and an academic researcher, who operates in both guises within the same geographic area. As a practitioner-researcher I occupy a conflicted position, being a consumer and author of practitioner discourses on the one hand and an investigator of them on the other. CDA encourages a form of reading and interpretation that atomises textual sources into accumulations of vocabulary, grammar and semantic or syntactical instances. It asks the researcher to alienate themselves from what may be familiar texts in order to re-approach them critically. This reapproachment requires a level of self-reflection, self-critique and honesty that moderates the risk of partiality and prejudice.

Pennycook's critique is also valid, although arguably less so in the context of research into a practice which produces texts in a regulatory genre, and in which conformity to ideological standards and principles is central to community identity (as I argue in

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[168] Emma Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 21.
[169] See, H. G. Widdowson, "Discourse Analysis: A Critical View," *Language and Literature* 4, no. 3 (1995): 157-172. Also H.G. Widdowson, *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
[170] Alastair Pennycook, "Incommensurable Discourses", *Applied Linguistics* 15, no. 2 (1994): 115-138.

Chapter Four). Indeed, CDA has been effectively used for analogous heritage research in the recent past. Waterton, Smith and Campbell applied the method in their analysis of the Burra Charter on heritage conservation, arguing that the underlying motive of the document is to "reduce all differences of opinion into a text of consensus."[171] They argue that issues of intentionality and interpretation are irrelevant, because "the power/knowledge consequences of discourse establish regimes of truth and forms of power and subjectivity that have social and material effects."[172]

CDA requires the close repeated reading of each text, coding for a range of features. These features can be categorised into two groups, the first being relevant to both documentary productions and speech acts; the second applying predominantly to the transcriptions of interviews and focus groups. The first grouping includes those categories of analysis originally suggested and developed by Fairclough, which are:

- **Interactional control**: How the document is structured, the selection and change of topics, and how it begins and ends.
- **Modality**: How strongly, weakly or otherwise the text is endorsed by language selection and the use of modifiers. For example, the distribution of words like 'maybe', 'clearly', 'possibly', 'uniquely'.
- **Force**: How the text deploys declarative statements, or makes promises or threats.
- **Identity**: How forms of social identity are implicitly signalled. For example through the use of 'our', 'your', 'my'; or of terms like 'community', 'archivist', 'official'.
- **Connectives**: How clauses or speech acts relate to one another. In particular how they extend, elaborate or support one another, through conjunctions such as 'and' or 'because', as well as through lexical cohesions like word repetition or synonyms, and through collations. Collations are words that are commonly associated with one another in the text, for example the association of the words 'accountability' and 'transparency' with the idea of evidence.

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[171] Waterton, Smith and Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies," 346.
[172] Waterton, Smith and Campbell, "The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies," 351.

- **Transivity**: How grammar is used to establish agency, causality and responsibility.
- **Word-meaning**: Not in the sense of dictionary definitions but how key words or phrase instances become indicators or signs of discursive ideas, for example the way 'hidden histories' is deployed to mean diverse histories.
- **Wording**: How, more generally, words have been chosen and how they are collated.
- **Metaphor**: How and when the text mobilises figures of speech, similes and imagery, as in, for example, the use of the metaphor of a 'backbone' or the 'spokes of a wheel' to describe the structure of archival service provision.[173]

The second grouping, designed specifically for spoken texts, was proposed by James Gee in a later iteration of the methodology. They are:

- **Prosody**: How words or sentences are said, including pitch, volume, and tonal stresses.
- **Paralinguistic features**: The incidence of hesitations, word omissions, the restarting of sentences and non-verbal vocal effects such as 'erm' and 'ah'.
- **Organisation**: How speech acts are organised coherently or otherwise into units to form stories, descriptions or arguments.
- **Contextualisation signals**: How speech acts are cued by the immediate considerations of production, such as prefacing or following statements with phrases like 'in fact', 'really', 'actually', 'absolutely', 'I guess'.
- **Thematic emergence**: How themes are developed through examples, contrasts and focal points of interest throughout the text.[174]

The methodology is iterative and responsive. This makes it especially compatible with an action approach, in which the researcher moves back and forth between data

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[173] Fairclough's work on critical discourse analysis is voluminous and dispersed. This summary of key features of analysis draws primarily on Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (Routledge, London, 2003), 21-39 and Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 46-49. For an example of intertextual analysis using CDA, see Norman Fairclough, "Discourse and Text: Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis Within Discourse Analysis," *Discourse and Society* 3, no. 2 (1992): 193-217.
[174] James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, 3rd edition (Routledge: London, 1999), particularly 62-74 and 116-126. See also Locke, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 52-59.

collection, analysis and the generation of theory in order to build a holistic response to the data. The textual analysis, interview collection, transcription, participation action and CDA methodologies have thus intersected and informed one another throughout the research journey.

Ethics

The research as described was reviewed and approved by the Arts and Humanities Research Ethics Committee at the University of York in April 2015. Procedures for consent, data handling and records management were designed to conform to institutional regulations and best practice.

Wherever possible participatory and critical practices were used. Research data and findings were available to participants at each stage of the research process. Transcriptions of all interviews and focus groups were shared via email and individuals were able to correct or append additional commentary to their texts. This ensured that consent for inclusion in the final research project was properly informed, and that the data was produced in partnership. This was particularly important given the nature of the discourse analysis that it was subjected to, which could be viewed negatively as a methodology designed to shame people for bias, prejudice or exclusionary views unwittingly expressed during a research encounter. Horsley *et al* have reflected on the ethical implications for a critical researcher, who is placed in this position of critiquing a discourse by engaging with participants who consciously or subconsciously align with it.[175] They suggest that the risk associated with this approach is mitigated when it is employed to make visible limiting discursive frameworks, in order to work towards positive changes that benefit the field.[176] Participants in the action research projects were also invited to review relevant sections of the thesis in draft, and to make additional contributions or request their data be removed.

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[175] Nicola Horsley, Val Gillies and Rosalind Edwards, "Researchers' reflections on interviewing policy-makers and practitioners: Feeling conflicted in critical research," *Women's Studies International Forum* 61 (2017): 109.

[176] Horsley, Gillies and Edwards, "Researchers' reflections on interviewing policy-makers and practitioners," 110.

The majority of participants have been anonymised. Archives practitioners who participated as interviewees were each assigned a number and were invited to give a supplementary self-identifier on their consent form, for example, 'Interviewee 07, Archivist'. All but one participant supplied an identifier; the identifiers varied in specificity from exact job titles to professional designations. Participants in the action projects were given the opportunity to be named in the research if they wished to be, to acknowledge their right to own their contributions.[177] As a result four participants in the YPP group chose to be identified by their first and last names and the remainder by their first names only. All participants in the LGBTQ+ archives group chose anonymity.

Conflict of interest has been a central ethical concern in my research. My paid work as City Archivist with Explore York Libraries and Archives (between November 2013 and October 2017), as well as my status as a qualified archives practitioner, has sometimes generated confusion and concern for participants. Practitioner interviewees and community participants sometimes made assumptions about my motives for conducting the research, or had expectations of influence. Attempts were made to mitigate this conflict with clear and honest written and verbal information provided prior to consent being given. This information firmly distinguished between my roles as a PhD researcher and as a local archives practitioner in a senior managerial position. During the action project sessions with YPP another Explore archivist was present to represent the practitioner function, and I refrained from offering advice or intervening on archival practice issues. During the project with the York LGBTQ+ group, which took place off the Explore premises, a practitioner contact was identified for any requests for 'expert' advice.

Nevertheless, slippages did occur. Analysis of several interview transcripts suggests that participants positioned me as a privileged insider, recalling our membership of a practitioner group by referring to a professional 'we'. On one occasion I unthinkingly confirmed this status in the course of conversation, telling the participant that I had done the same postgraduate diploma in Archives Management and laughing about the

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[177] Niamh Moore, "The Politics and Ethics of Naming: Questioning Anonymization in (Archival) Research," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 15, no 4 (2012): 331-340.

tendency of practitioners to open any exchange with the question "Where did you qualify?"[178]   Such perceptions about my membership of the profession may increase risks of accusations of harm or impropriety in the event that my findings are considered contentious or challenging to practitioners.

Working with community groups in York has presented a different challenge. Many of the participants in the action research groups knew me or were aware of my position as City Archivist prior to joining the projects. In both cases I had represented Explore at meetings of associated groups or organisations where participants were in attendance. Further, during the course of the project with YPP I was required to meet and work with representatives of the group – two of whom were participants – to discuss an unconnected project in a work capacity.   While I was reassured during the consent process that all participants understood the distinction to be drawn between my two roles, it is not possible to rule out an impact on the resulting data. It is possible that people were inhibited by an awareness of my practitioner role; may have believed that participating or not would have a negative or positive effect on their interactions with my employer or reacted against my assumed alignment with an authoritative institution.

In the early stages of research design another York based heritage group were approached to participate in an action project. This group was formally constituted, of long standing and had a stated interest in the city's archival heritage. They were initially open to the aims of the research, but subsequently decided they were unable to commit to the programme because of other projects. However, even at an early stage of negotiation and relationship building it was clear that some members of the group felt either pressure to participate or a resistance to participating because of my employment and status. My perceived power as City Archivist was explicitly raised as an area of concern. The experience led me to consider the added difficulties of working with participants from groups with formal or established links to Explore. YPP and the York LGBTQ+ group, while peripherally involved in Explore's activity, were informally constituted. Each was formed, to some extent, with a consciousness of the

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[178] Interview 01 (Archivist), interview with author, May 15 2015, York.

importance of independence, and with a remit to question the choices and decisions of mainstream authorities.

However, the questioning stance of both action research groups does not exempt them from dynamics of power and influence. The informal and online origins of YPP mean that internal power relations are complex. It has no committee or steering group. The founding members acted as spokespeople and were my main contact but their leadership was unofficial. By necessity my interaction with them was more frequent and they acted as a conduit to access the wider group. They were very welcoming, greeting me with hugs, friending me on Facebook and sending me messages on my birthday. It is likely that other group members considered them to have privileged access to me and to my work. Participants from the wider group occasionally expressed concern about their lack of expertise and their social difference to me as a researcher. There was also anxiety about a lack of shared terminology and disparity in levels of education. This exhibited in some cases as deferring to my opinion, and in others as a firm assertion of their opinion.

The York LGBTQ+ group was similarly complex and difficult to navigate. It was necessary to routinely reflect on heterosexist and binary gender biases and to sublimate the very assumptions from my practitioner training that this thesis seeks to analyse. In particular: the definition of archives as unique and structured; the imposition of hierarchies and fixed fields for description and cataloguing; static subject and index terms; and the benefits of archival heritage. The group was engaged in an emotive identity-focused activity, developing archival strategies to serve their particular vision and need. As such they were resistant to the application of fixed terminologies, formal processes and definitions, emphasising the importance of the emic perspective. While this provided fertile group discussion for the research enquiry, it also presented significant challenges. As a researcher it was tempting to identify wholly with the group and to foreground my own membership of the LGBTQ+ community in order to participate fully in the activity. However, to do so would have recreated the dynamic experienced with the practitioner group, implying that interactions with me were privileged in some way. LaSala has warned against overemphasising the emic perspective when working with LGBTQ+ groups, suggesting

that it may lead to the unhelpful replacement of heterosexist biases with others.[179] The multiplicity of subjectivities must be recognised, even if the motivation of the group is to privilege some over others.

Conclusion

The theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis describes a research trajectory from the analysis of expert-led ways of knowing to cooperative knowledge production. In the first instance I am concerned with excavating and critically analysing discursive regimes about archives and archives practice, through close readings of textual productions and the contextualisation of those productions in the experience of archives practitioners. However, the elements of archival discourse that this investigation reveals are not an end in themselves. Through participatory action methods the research then seeks to create spaces in which different ways of knowing about and using archival heritage can be productively understood and shared.

Broad discursive narratives provide the basis on which to address questions of institutional definitions of archives and values ascribed to them, while focused project case studies offer access to alternative subjectivities. Together the findings represent a contribution to recent shifts in archival studies towards social justice, activism, inclusion and autonomy in the "archival multiverse". Ultimately the research engages with new ways of knowing about and activating archival heritage values from the perspective of multiple subjectivities and phenomenological positions. In this is it inspired by Nancy Fraser's definition of social justice as "parity of participation" for all adults in society, requiring us to overcome mal-distribution of resources, misrecognition of knowledge and injustices of representation.[180]

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[179] Michael LaSala, "When Interviewing "Family": Maximizing the Insider Advantages in the Qualitative Study of Lesbians and Gay Men," in *Handbook of Research with Gay, Lesbian, Bi-sexual and Transgender Populations*, ed. William Meezan & James Martin (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2008), 211-212.

[180] Nancy Fraser, *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalized World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 16.

Chapter Three:

Evidential Values:

Archives as Legitimate Functioning Systems

The painter's products stand before us as though they were alive: but if you question them, they maintain a most majestic silence. It is the same with written words: they seem to talk to you as though they were intelligent, but if you ask them anything about what they say, from a desire to be instructed, they go on telling you just the same thing forever.

Plato[1]

Real evidence is usually vague and unsatisfactory. It has to be examined---sifted. But here the whole thing is cut and dried. No, my friend, this evidence has been very cleverly manufactured---so cleverly that it has defeated its own ends.

Agatha Christie[2]

It all comes back to the point I try to impress upon the organisations I work with: **if you are not evidenced, you are forgotten**. [bold in the original]

Heather Emily Roberts[3]

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[1] Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. R. Hackforth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 158.
[2] Agatha Christie, *The Mysterious Affair at Styles* (London: Harper, 1920 reprint 2010), 103.
[3] Heather Emily Roberts, "The Inspirational Delia Derbyshire", *HerArchivist* (blog), Feb 7, 2016, accessed Mar 1, 2016, https://herarchivist.wordpress.com/2016/02/07/the-inspirational-delia-derbyshire/.

This chapter begins to apply a critical heritage approach to archives by exploring and critiquing discursive systems of values that work to define and shape archival institutions and archival practices in England. Recalling Smith's theory of the AHD it argues that these values are ascribed to archival heritage through the production and circulation of discourse by authorised bodies.[4]

Archives practitioners in England operate within a reinforcing framework of government legislation, policy, professional guidance and international standards. A complex of documentation has been produced – and continues to be produced - by organisations who make claims to authority over archival practice, either by state mandate or by professional association. In this chapter critical discourse analysis (CDA) is applied to a selection of this documentation, sampled from one international and one national organisation: namely, the International Council on Archives and The National Archives of the UK Government, and England and Wales. Documentation from two further organisations, the Heritage Lottery Fund and Explore York Libraries and Archives, is considered later in Chapter Five.[5] Together they represent functions of oversight, leadership and advocacy, professional association and funding for archives. They also act as legitimising forces for archival interests in wider heritage and information management contexts.

Policies, strategies, reports, press releases and website content are contextualised and analysed here as texts in order to make visible the values they ascribe and fix to archives.[6] Following the genealogical and deconstructive methods described in Chapter Two this approach aims to

> …unpack the notion of an atemporal, universally valid form of rationality by revealing its dependence on a deep seated set of discursive realities which, in any era, determine what it is possible to think, say and experience.[7]

The relationship between archives and evidence has already been introduced in Chapters One and Two as a dominant "form of rationality" in archival theory. This

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[4] See Chapter Two, 53-54.
[5] See Chapter Five, especially 183-185; 192-213.
[6] A sample of analysed and coded documentation is included in the Appendices. See Appendices, 302-318.
[7] Lois McNay, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Policy Press, 1994), 48.

chapter argues that this centrality is reinforced by the ascription of evidential values, and a complex of associated qualities, which are privileged and naturalised by archival organisations through authorising texts. Specifically, the role of archives *as* evidence is repeatedly foregrounded. This power to be or to work as evidence subsequently acts as a prerequisite to other discursively associated uses, for historicity, collective memory-making and some forms of social justice. The analysis makes visible these discursive formations in order to theorise how they shape and impact, nationally and locally, on archives practitioners and communities in later chapters.

I begin by providing an extended discussion of the concept of evidence in the archival field. This introduces a contextualised analysis of the first text, the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Archives*. This document, which aspires to codify the value of archives and how they should be treated by signatory nations internationally, is analysed to identify terminologies and linguistic formulations. The analysis is used to explore how semantic instances of evidential value work to universalise ideas about what archival heritage is and what it can do in society. I subsequently argue that successive UK government policies on archival heritage, as well as other texts produced by The National Archives, have mirrored and reinforced these ideas, building upon long-established Western epistemologies of evidentiality.

In so doing I consider how the analysed texts use evidential value to naturalise the organisational structures of the 'archives sector' in England, positioning archival institutions as a legitimate 'functioning systems' of archival work. My analysis suggests how this system is conceived as organic, natural and sense-making. As all discourse is historically situated, the argument is set within a history of archival organisations and legislation in England, suggesting that the legitimacy of the 'sector' is based on an evidential values paradigm with foundations in the nineteenth century.

In the final part of the chapter I offer a reading of evidential value as an apparatus of governmentality, which uses archives to universalise and regulate what can be evidenced from the past. I suggest how the texts under analysis position archives as stores of expertise about the histories of diverse people, offering proof of identities and selves. In so doing the documentation implies that archives know more about people than people know about themselves and, by implication, have power over

them. The presentation of the Hillsborough Disaster Archive in one of the texts and by interviewed practitioners is offered as a case study of evidential values and governmentality in action. The ways in which the creation of the Archive acted simultaneously as a mechanism to reassert moral authority on the part of government, and as a lever to provide truth and justice to the families and friends of victims, are explored.

"…it just tells us": Archival theories of evidence

The evidential value of archives has been articulated by archival theorists since the emergence of the profession in England in the early twentieth century.[8] Jenkinson's assertion that the creed of the archivist should be "the sanctity of evidence" explicitly connected archival work with the reverence and guardianship of this value.[9] As noted in the previous chapter, a complex of qualities were developed to act as signifiers and measures of evidential worthiness for archives, including authenticity, integrity, usability and reliability.[10] These words - which are ubiquitous in the analysed texts - act to define and manage evidential quality. Terry Cook has argued that the mechanisms of intellectual control and physical preservation which comprise archival practice in the early twenty-first century have been developed for the purpose of protecting this value.[11] This, he has suggested, continues to be true despite the significant challenge to archival legitimacy and authenticity posed by the rise of postmodernism.[12]

Derrida posits that the connection between archives and evidence is as old as the archival concept itself, stemming from the aforementioned house of the Greek magistrate, the arkheion.[13] The documents kept there were tantamount to the law itself, and were given a place of privilege as part of "a patriarchic function without

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[8] See Chapter Two, 42-44.
[9] Hilary Jenkinson, "British Archives and the War", *The American Archivist*, 7, no. 1 (1944): 16.
[10] See Cook, "What is Past is Prologue,"17-63; also Luciana Duranti, "Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and their Implications" *Archivaria* 39, no. 1 (1995): 5-10.
[11] Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity and Community," 99.
[12] Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity and Community," 99. See Chapter Two, 45-51, for the impact of postmodernism in archival thought.
[13] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 2.

which no archive would come into play or appear as such."[14] In her ancient history of record-keeping Duranti suggests a longer history still, arguing that early references to archival material in Mesopotamia in 4000BC positioned them as "guardians over the arsenals of law and administration."[15] In both Derrida's theorisation and Duranti's history, the archive as evidence is seen to play a fundamental role in the institutionalisation of power by governing systems. The ascription of value to the archive is predicated on its ability to embody the rule of law; as evidence it is seen to guard against both arbitrariness and disorder by fixing and authorising reality. Once externalised as an archive reality is legitimised over and above the word of an individual or government and imbued with a signifying power to speak and tell.

Recognition of this power was instrumental to the development of recordkeeping systems in Western Europe. Michael Clanchy has demonstrated the link between the emergence of documentary bureaucracies in twelfth century England and the development and reinforcement of secular and ecclesiastical power structures.[16] A document, correctly produced and authorised, made it possible to establish continuities in the ownership of assets and the exploitation of privileges through space and time. It became a method of differentiating between competing claims on reality, as in the case of the search of York's city 'archiv' in 1473 to find evidence of a trading right which was being contested.[17] Strategies for ensuring that documents were authentic and had not been tampered with were implemented to protect against the alternative narratives of forgeries.   The genres of document most common to this period – the charter and deed – reproduced knowledge in textual format that replicated verbal understandings. Seals and signatures stood for the presence of living individuals. Archival theorist Brien Brothman has argued that such documents evidence actual events so closely that they are tantamount to the speech act itself.[18]

This assertion aligns to Jenkinson's perspective that:

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[14] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, 3.

[15] Luciana Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers, Part 1," *Records Management Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (1989): 3.

[16] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 15.

[17] *The York House Books, 1461-1490,* 10

[18] Brothman, "Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse," 331.

> The perfect Archive is ex hypothesi an evidence which cannot lie to us: we may through laziness or other imperfections of our own misinterpret its statements or implications but itself it makes no attempt to convince us of fact or error, to persuade or dissuade, it just tells us.[19]

Thus archives are conceived as having a capacity for truth, objectivity and neutrality which is only threatened by our fallible attempts to interpret them. Although the simplicity of this idea that "it just tells us" is thoroughly challenged by postmodern critics like Harris and Cook, it continues to circulate as discussed in Chapter Two.[20]

The definition of archives provided in the current *International Standard for information and documentation* in electronic environments continues to make explicit this central role of archives as evidence. It states archives are:

> Materials created or received by a person, family or organisation, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs and preserved…as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator…[21]

This exact phrasing is taken from the previously mentioned *Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* published by the Society of American Archivists in 2005, based on an earlier version of 1992.[22] It can subsequently be found quoted and paraphrased by archival institutions and projects around the world, including, for example, The National Archives.[23] It has also been widely adopted at the level of practice and integrated into the collections policies of a number of archival organisations in the UK, including York.[24]

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[19] Hilary Jenkinson, "Reflections of an Archivist," *Contemporary Review* 165 (1944): 359.
[20] See Chapter Two, 49-50.
[21] *Information and Documentation -- Principles and Functional Requirements for Records in Electronic Office Environments -- Part 1: Overview and Statement of Principles*, ISO 16175-1:2010 (Geneva: ISO, 2010).
[22] Pearce-Moses, *A Glossary of Archives and Records Terminology*, 30.
[23] The National Archives, *Scope of Archive Service Accreditation Scheme* (London: The National Archives, 2013), accessed Feb 21, 2016, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/defining-archives.pdf.
[24] City of York Council, *Collecting Policy* (York: York Explore Libraries and Archives, 2011).1, accessed Mar 20, 2016. https://www.exploreyork.org.uk/custom/web/content/Archives%20and%20Local%20History%20Collecting%20Policy%202011-03-08%20PDF.pdf. For other examples, see Glamorgan Archives, *Collection Policy* (Glamorgan: Glamorgan Archives, 2014), 1, accessed Mar 31, 2016. https://glamarchives.gov.uk/about-us/our-policies/ and University of Strathclyde, *Collections*

A "unique quality": Archives *as* evidence

The UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Archives* reflects the centralisation of evidential values observed in archival theory and practice. Authored by an international cohort of practitioners, the *Declaration* was adopted at the Congress of the International Council on Archives in 2010 and endorsed by UNESCO in 2011. The ICA describes itself as a neutral, non-governmental organisation with over 4000 members in 199 countries.[25] Founded in 1948, it is "dedicated to the effective management of records and the preservation, care and use of the world's archival heritage through its representation of records and archive professionals across the globe."[26] The organisation's influence on archival practice has been significant, including the production of the *International Standard for Archival Description*, ISAD-G. Since launching in 1994 ISAD-G has been adopted worldwide as best practice for the intellectual control and cataloguing of archives.

The first version of the *Universal Declaration* was written in Quebec in 2007 during a meeting of the International Section of Professional Associations of ICA, in an attempt to communicate the value of archives to a "universal audience."[27] Participants in the process have written that their aim was to generate "a statement of the relevance and importance of archives to the general public", as "an articulation of the specific connections between records and archives and good governance, basic human rights and entitlements, cultural and community identity, history and heritage."[28] The text was subsequently redrafted before being unanimously agreed by the ICA at Oslo in 2010 and endorsed "as a key pillar of its outreach and advocacy strategy."[29] It was

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Policy (Strathclyde: University of Strathclyde, 2011), accessed Mar 31, 2016, https://www.strath.ac.uk/archives/aboutus/collectionpolicy/.

[25] International Council on Archives, "An Introduction to Our Organisation," *International Council on Archives*, n.d. accessed Apr 1, 2016. http://www.ica.org/en/introduction-our-organization.

[26] International Council on Archives, "An Introduction to Our Organisation."

[27] International Council on Archives, "UNESCO Officially Endorses the UDA!" *International Council on Archives*, n.d. accessed Apr 1, 2016, http://www.ica.org/en/networking/unesco/unesco-officially-endorses-uda.

[28] Kim Eberhard and Colleen McEwen, "The Universal Declaration on Archives: Development and Use," (conference paper, A Climate of Change: International Council on Archives Congress, Brisbane, Australia, August 20-24, 2012), 1, accessed Apr 1, 2016, http://ica2012.ica.org/files/pdf/Full%20papers%20upload/ica12Final00074.pdf.

[29] International Council on Archives, "Universal Declaration on Archives," *International Council on Archives*, Nov 10, 2011, accessed Jun 15, 2018, https://www.ica.org/en/universal-declaration-archives.

adopted by the 36th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO on 10th November 2011. A universal declaration is not legally binding for Member States. Instead it is a "means of defining norms, which are not subject to ratification…" setting "universal principles to which the community of States wish to attribute the greatest possible authority and to afford the broadest possible support."[30]

The rhetoric around the development of the *Declaration* suggests that the key motive behind its promulgation by the ICA was as an advocacy tool for archives practitioners. A press release to ICA members claimed it as "a powerful succinct statement of the relevance of archives in modern society" and challenged practitioners to "use the *Declaration* to maximum effect, so that archives shake off outdated perceptions of their role and finally take their rightful place as a major player at the heart of public administration…"[31] At the same time the creators of the document envisioned its audience as "the common citizen."[32] Its purpose was to "express the need for the public to recognise the vital role that archives play in every aspect of their lives."[33]

Thus the ambition of the *Declaration* was significant: its endorsement by UNESCO positioned it as a statement of moral authority at the level of member States, while ICA's rhetoric conceived it as a tool to impact on the awareness of the nature and role of archives in the mind of the individual citizen. Both the language of its creators and of the ICA's press release implied that archives have not been sufficiently recognised at any level – they have yet to "take their rightful place." This lack of recognition is contrasted with the critical function archives are understood to have in "every aspect" of individual lives. The language is both urgent and totalising. Paraphrasing a colleague explaining the role of the *Declaration* at the initial writing session in 2007, Kim Eberhard wrote: "This is what we, as archivists, hold to be true, and this is how that truth affects you."[34] The claim to truth and the far-reaching aspirations of its creation are reflected in the tone and content of document itself.

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[30] UNESCO, "General Introduction to the Standard-Setting Instruments of UNESCO", *UNESCO*, n.d. accessed Apr 1, 2016, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23772&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html#name=3.

[31] International Council on Archives, "UNESCO Officially Endorses the UDA!"

[32] Eberhard and McEwen, "The Universal Declaration on Archives," 2.

[33] Eberhard and McEwen, "The Universal Declaration on Archives," 2.

[34] Eberhard and McEwen, "The Universal Declaration on Archives," 2.

It is comprised of three parts and is brief enough to be presented as an A3 poster (see Fig. 1). A short free-text preamble defining archives is followed by six bullet point "recognitions" and six "undertakings"; in the published version the latter sit opposite to one another in wide columns. The recognitions are constructed as authoritative factual statements that act as justifications for the desired outcomes described in the undertakings. Although the text is less than 1000 words long it encodes substantial statements about the value of archival heritage, grounded in the centrality of archives as evidence.

The first recognition of the *Declaration* is "**the unique quality** of archives as authentic evidence of administrative, cultural and intellectual activities…" [bold in the original]. [35] This statement is notable not only because it foregrounds evidence as the primary value of archival heritage, but also because it associates it with two qualities identified by Lane and Hill as part of the evidential paradigm: uniqueness and authenticity. "Authentic" is used here as an adjective that modifies and enhances the type and status of the "evidence". It positions archival evidence in contrast to a sub-textual spectre of evidence which is inauthentic or false. The "uniqueness" of this quality of archives as evidence places non-archival evidence outside of the circle of authenticity. Archives are positioned as especially evidential and thereby especially valuable.

The second recognition of the Declaration is the "**vital necessity** of archives for supporting business efficiency, accountability and transparency, for protecting citizens' rights, for establishing individual and collective memory, for understanding the past, and for documenting the present to guide future actions" [bold in the original]. [36] The force of this statement follows directly from the first, linking the work that archives do with their evidential qualities. It introduces the related concepts of efficiency, accountability and transparency, states of being made possible by the evidential authenticity of archival material. The phraseology elides human activity in the application of archives for these purposes. They are constructed as autonomous actors, able to do the "supporting", "protecting", "establishing", "understanding" and

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[35] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives* (Paris: 36th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, 2011), accessed Mar 16, 2016, http://www.ica.org/13343/universal-declaration-on-archives/universal-declaration-on-archives.html.
[36] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives*.

"documenting" of things independently of interpretation or application. This absence of human intervention is notable throughout the *Declaration*. In the preamble archives "record decisions" and "are authoritative", "safeguard and contribute" to our identities and enrich our knowledge. The role of individuals, nations and communities in the exercise of these abilities is unacknowledged. Similarly the processes and mechanisms whereby archives are generated, selectively preserved and interpreted are absent.

The third recognition – "**the diversity** of archives in recording every area of human activity" [bold in the original] – makes an equally strong claim.[37] This formulation leaves no space for archival lacuna or silences, for the "symbolic annihilations" observed by Caswell or for the possibility that some human activities are purposely unrecorded. It builds upon the "unique" authenticity and "vital necessity" of archives by presenting them as a totalising authority. The recognition also reinforces their agency, semantically placing archives over and above the realm of activity which they record. In this way they are positioned as objective, naturally occurring and beyond reproach.

Throughout the *Declaration* works discursively to elide the relationship between archives and people, to associate them with truth, justice and objectivity and so to collapse the distinction between archives *and* evidence and archives *as* evidence. The latter implies an inherent property and thus a "benefit" value which can be recognised and measured by expertise. In contrast, recognising the phenomenological relationship between archives and people would concede the contingency and relativity of ascribed values, including evidentiality. This conceptualisation of archives *as* evidence is in tension with the theories of evidence that are explored later in the chapter. Briefly, evidence is itself a relative descriptor, a signifier of an apparent relationship between the proposition of a hypothesis and representations of reality.[38] A thing has no meaning independent of human action, and as such it cannot be created *as* evidence or exist *as* evidence. It has no evidential status except when and where people engage it for evidential purposes. Further, evidence ceases to be evidence when it is no longer

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[37] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives.*
[38] Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1)," 324.

actively in use. The claims of evidential autonomy encoded into the Declaration do not allow for the possibility and complexity of this relativity.

Fig. 1. *Universal Declaration on Archives*, UNESCO, 2011.

"To see clearly": Evidence in Western epistemologies

Evidence is a substantial and far-reaching concept in Western epistemologies. The term is applied and interpreted variously by legal practitioners, historians, archaeologists, policy makers, scientists, journalists and the general public. It is an idea that spans both academic discourse and common parlance. The word stems from

the Latin verb 'evidere' – "to see clearly" – and, although the philosophy of evidence is complex and contested, paradigmatically it is associated with clarity, truth and just argument.[39]

It can be most simply described as that which justifies or makes reasonable a belief, and it is a paradox of evidence that the belief, hypothesis or supposition that it validates can – sometimes must - pre-exist it.[40] One of the earliest uses of the word, in the late fourteenth century, relates to "euydance" of the manifestation of God.[41] A prior belief in God is generally a requisite for interpreting such evidence *as* evidence. For example, in 1996 an iridescent human-shaped water stain on the glass façade of an office building in Tampa Bay Florida was claimed as evidence of the presence of the Virgin Mary. Over the next three weeks an estimated 500,000 people visited the stain for healing and two years later a Catholic mission bought the building to act as a ministry.[42] In this case the prior belief perceived and classified the evidence, and then used that evidence to reaffirm the belief in a cycle of validation. Evidence is therefore a value which is ascribed to phenomena. Epistemologically, almost anything can be taken and valued as evidential in this way, as evidence is defined not by its form or physicality but rather by its application and effect. Evidence has almost always been something else before it is evidence: the water stain was a water stain before it was proof of the Mother of God.

The principal effect of evidence is in establishing a consensus about the nature of external reality, be it past or present. Implicit in any use of evidence, therefore, is an "understanding of a shared external world that has elements of truth."[43] In this worldview truths are understood to be recoverable, describable and shareable if they

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[39] William L Twining, *Rethinking Evidence: Exploratory Essays.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.)

[40] Thomas Kelly, "Evidence," in *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2014 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, accessed Mar 1, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/evidence/.

[41] "evidence, n.". *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2016, accessed Mar 10, 2016, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/65368?rskey=55S2s8&result=1&isAdvanced=false.

[42] Chris Tisch, "For Mary's faith, a Shattering Loss," *St Petersburg Times,* Tampa Bay, Mar 2, 2004, accessed Feb 26, 2016, http://www.sptimes.com/2004/03/02/Tampabay/For_Mary_s_faithful__.shtml.

[43] Kimberly Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot: Archival Records, Evidence and Time," *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 354.

can be evidenced. Evidence actualises suppositions and hypotheses and supports the development of narratives about events, people and things. It validates those narratives when they are shared with others, if the burden of proof is sufficient. Once validated they become the legitimated basis for the production of future narratives. In other words, evidence is both a way of knowing and a basis for the production of further knowledge.

The burden of proof varies widely in different cultural and interpersonal contexts. In the instance of the water stain, devout Catholics may use a different measure of evidential authenticity than a specialist in patterns of mineral build-up in porous coatings on glass. It is possible to have belief in something with minimal corroboration, if you have sufficient prior trust or confidence. [44] We act on this trust every day. For example, if we tell a friend that we travelled to meet them by bus it isn't necessary to present a witness or a ticket as evidence before proceeding with our conversation. Our testimony is sufficient. However, if the ticket inspector on the journey home asks if we have a ticket our testimony will be insufficient to convince her that we do. Evidence and the need for it thus "arises out of processes of social negotiation after the fact" and is culturally constructed.[45]

In common with the word archive, 'evidence' can be activated as either a noun or a verb. As a noun it refers to the thing which is mobilised to confirm our beliefs, claims and narratives. It is the bloodied knife produced as an exhibit in the courtroom, the deed that identifies the owner of a property, the archaeological deposit that suggests an ancient settlement or the driver's license that proves we are old enough to buy a bottle of wine. Its synonyms in English are legion: proof, confirmation, verification, substantiation, corroboration, affirmation, authentication and, perhaps most notably in this context, documentation.[46]

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[44] These related terms – trust and confidence – have contested meanings in the social sciences which will not be explored here. For an introduction see Piotr Sztompka, *Trust: A sociological Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[45] Brothman, "Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse," 334.

[46] "evidence" in *Oxford English Thesaurus* (online edition), Oxford University Press, n.d. accessed Mar 9, 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english-thesaurus/evidence.

Although almost anything can be invoked as evidence recourse to documents, and so to archives, is ubiquitous in the West. This is especially true when the issue at question is the past, whether that past is recent or increasingly distant. In law original and authenticated documents (a category which includes photograph and film as well as text) are their own privileged class of evidence.[47] The primary source is afforded similar status in historical investigation. The archival focus that emerged in the work of nineteenth century historians Leopold von Ranke and Jules Michelet, and which continued to dominate the production of history throughout the twentieth century, has already been noted.[48] While technologies and shifts in ideology have radically changed approaches to it, the document and thus the archive remains central to Western concepts of legal and historical evidence.

The association between archives and evidence is strong enough that the science community has co-opted the term to denote the bodies of data, samples and specimens that provide the framework for future investigations. Thus there are geological archives of rocks, tissue archives in medicine and seed archives curated by biologists. This usage is so pervasive that, on any given week, more than 90% of all publication hits for variants on the word 'archive' delivered by the research alerts service Zetoc come from scientific publications.[49]   In these usages archives are figured as a "sealed space of authority", collations of evidence which "erase undecidability" and permit access to past or future realities in the present.[50]

Rules and limits are required to manage this "sealed authority." Evidence must be authenticated, organised and tested using underlying assumptions that affect its validity. These assumptions are encoded into the practice of both law and history, where questions about the validity and application of evidence are central. Despite inherent differences, it is possible to identify key underlying assumptions about

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[47] Jonathan Law and Elizabeth A. Martin, "Documentary Evidence" in *A Dictionary of Law*, 7th Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), accessed Mar 9, 2016. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199551248.001.0001/acref-9780199551248-e-1210.

[48] See Chapter One, 14-17. Also Bentley, *Modern Historiography,* 38.

[49] Statistical analysis of author's own email for alerts for 'archive', 'archives' and 'archival' from http://zetoc.jisc.ac.uk/, February 29 – March 11 2016.

[50] Alan Sekula, "Reading an Archive: Photography Between Capital and Labour," in *The Photography Reader*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 2003), 446.

evidence shared by these practices, each of which is also recognisable in the discourse of evidence in the texts analysed in this chapter.

Firstly, not all evidence is equal. In law, history and archival practice there is an established hierarchy of usefulness. Some instances of evidence are characterised as strong, because they directly relate to an assertion and have been generated by a source close to the event they describe. An eyewitness testimony would fall into this category, or a parchment charter dated, signed and sealed by parties to a negotiation. In the law, a test of authenticity is a requirement for submission of documentary evidence.[51] It should be first hand and empirical, reflect facts not opinions or inferences, be the product of direct knowledge and relate to external truth.[52] Signifiers of authenticity traditionally include the witnessed signature and the seal, both of which stand to authorise the content of the document. These manifestations of evidence – recognisable examples of the "authentic" archival evidence of the Declaration - are ascribed privilege and authority, and are most likely to be invoked in argument.

Other instances of evidence are weaker, because they are circumstantial or second hand. Hearsay testimony, a newspaper article or a memoir are examples. Though they may be applied in argument, they are unlikely to carry the same weight and will require other forms of corroboration. Additional care and alternative methodologies may be required in their interpretation. In any application of evidence there is a standard of proof, the measure of quality required in order to shift a deciding audience from a position of neutrality to a position of belief. It follows that if so-called strong evidence is considered to provide more authentic access to the truth, it will be easier to believe in narratives that produce or have been produced by these forms of evidence. This has significant implications for the types of events, experiences and pasts that can be verified. It also has impact on the forms of record that are judged to have sufficient value to be perceived and identified as archives and for how they are treated once selected.

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[51] Law and Martin. "Documentary Evidence."
[52] Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot," 352.

The application of tests of relevance and authenticity require that legal practitioners, historians and archives practitioners are capable of evaluating and interpreting evidential content. Both the requirements and the tests are grounded in social systems and institutions of Western culture, and in a framework of expertise. They assume the existence of a body of experts able to identify and interpret evidential values. These experts – lawyers, judges, politicians, scholars, archivists – by definition operate amidst a contrasting majority population of non-experts. A dichotomy between expert and non-expert is established, mirroring the distinction between high value 'authentic' archives and the inauthentic questionable other.

Theories of evidential authenticity in the West begin from a position of empiricism which is naturalised within an institutionalised system. Although conceptualisations of evidence in the study of history have recently become more flexible and dynamic, especially in the light of postmodern approaches to the past, modern historiographical practice remains grounded in empirical techniques of investigation and interpretation.[53] To return to ground already partially covered in Chapter Two, von Ranke has been identified as the "founding father" of historical empiricism, advocating that a historian's work should arise directly from the "primary sources" with no recourse to "intuition or grand a priori themes."[54] He considered that the past should be studied on its own terms, working from the particular detail of documentary evidence to a general theory. He further suggested that contemporary sources closest to events should be treated as superior to any others. These primary sources acted much like direct evidence in the courtroom, casting suspicion on other forms of historical knowledge and, presumably, on other possible forms of archival heritage.

The articulation of this approach coincided with and subsequently fuelled a movement to preserve and make available particular categories of archival sources. The founding of national archival repositories and canonical series of published records in turn reinforced the reach and respect this material received from scholars. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was created in what is now Germany in 1823, to publish editions of sources relevant to the study of the regions' medieval past. In 1802

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[53] Bentley, *Modern Historiography,* 1.
[54] Stephen Davies, *Empiricism and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 28.

the first Records Commission was established by the British Parliament, followed in 1838 by the founding of the Public Record Office in London. In 1857 the 'Rolls Series' was instituted to publish editions of foundational documents of English history.[55] The foci of these efforts were overwhelmingly the products of governments and ruling elites, which produced highly-structured, stable and consistent records over extended periods of time. Charters, court records, financial accounts and so on were centralised, privileged and authorised as accounts of the past. This type of historical evidence readily aligned with pre-existing ideas about the narrative of European culture in the same period, which stressed progress and the rise of the nation state.

Consequently certain types of archives were given the evidential weight necessary to establish authoritative versions of the past, in contrast with the intangibility of memory or the obliqueness of material culture. Specifically, archives could be justified as the subject of rigorous and systematic study. As Cubitt observes, in the document "notions of evidence, authority and truthfulness, and authenticity are refocused on the seemingly tangible stability and objectivity of the written text" which "tends to encourage a conceptual separation of historical knowledge from memory's continuous workings." [56] A representational mode of history attempted to approach the past "as it actually happened" through evidence-based argument.[57]

The document is a ubiquitous form in Western cultures, available for a range of evidencing activity from the personal and mundane to the national and seminal: birth certificates and house deeds, Domesday and Magna Carta, bus tickets and shopping receipts, the correspondence of Kings and the service files of intelligence operatives. The document is used to fix and externalise transactions and moments in time, so that they continue to exist by proxy in the future. Preserved as archives they enable a temporal disconnect so that the pasts they represent can exist in the present moment and on into the future.[58] As such they have been defined as "intentional, stable,

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[55] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 23.

[56] Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 190.

[57] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 27.

[58] Edward Higgs, "Record and Recordness: Essences or Conventions." In *The Concept of Record: Report from the Second Stockholm Conference on Archival Science and the Concept of Record*, ed. by Erik Norberg (Stockholm: Skrifter utgivna av Riksarkivet, 1998), 109.

semantic structures that move through time."[59] As such a key facet of their evidential value is their harmonisation with dominant systems of legal and historical use, to the exclusion of other conceptualisations or ascriptions of value. A dream, a story passed down through the generations or a pattern in the flight of migrating birds are not defensible forms of evidence and thus rarely recognised as archival, even though they may have considerable significance from alternative cultural perspectives.

Recently historians have acknowledged that the authority and evidential integrity of archives should be questioned in the light of changing cultural ideas. Carolyn Steedman has written about the ways in which the processes of selecting and collecting archives express power dynamics in the archiving society. She has noted that institutional Archives came into being "in order to solidify and memorialize first monarchical and then state power."[60] Instead she proposes reimagining these institutions in the twenty-first century as "an important location of memory", where historians will approach the collections not as "stuff" but as a process of "ideation, imagining, remembering."[61] Methodologies designed to enable reading "against the grain" of archives have also been espoused as a way to create new points of access to material which is the product of dominant power structures.[62] A document once created to record the monetary value of slaves can now be used to trace their family histories and identify the descendants of slave owners. The thing used as evidence may be fixed but its evidential uses are subject to constant change. The latter example also makes clear the extent to which uses and arguments about evidence are closely associated with the social and moral values of the interpreting community.

In this new historical paradigm the evidential value of archival material is not depleted. The multi-evidential dimensions of any single archival object is recognised, whereby it can be harnessed to answer a range of arguments, some of which may be fundamentally opposite. The archive becomes a repository of latent evidentiary potential, waiting to be put to work on any particular historical question.   From this

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[59] Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot," 362.
[60] Carolyn Steedman, "The Space of Memory: In an Archive," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 67.
[61] Steedman, "The Space of Memory," 66.
[62] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*.

perspective we could refer to archives as 'evidences', a container concept which is able to hold any number of disparate beliefs. It is not possible to construct a definitive truth: instead interpretation and argument interplay with evidence to construct a narrative. This arguably creates anxieties and uncertainties around the ways archives are conceived of and controlled as evidence in the *Declaration* and other texts. This anxiety is explored with examples from practice in Chapter Five.

"The power of archives": Archives as evidentials

The discursive formation of archives *as* evidence, and their alignment with dominant systems of social power, justifies the way in which they are to be controlled. The *Universal Declaration's* first undertaking is to ensure that the "appropriate national archival policies and laws are adopted and enforced" and the second is that the "management" of archives should be valued and carried out competently. The third and fourth undertakings reiterate the importance of this "management"; the former stating the need for the "employment of trained professionals" and the latter linking management activity to the preservation of the evidential qualities of "authenticity, reliability, integrity and usability."[63]   The association between the evidential quality of archives and the processes of management, control and policy is clearly articulated. The latter are necessary for the persistence of the former. Archives must be controlled in expert ways because of their evidential powers and should be managed by institutions as extensions of states and nations.

In England this association is embodied and expressed through three successive government documents on archives and their linked action plans. These texts codify and authorise a national position on the values, use and application of archival heritage from the late 1990s to the present. The first straightforwardly titled *Government Policy on Archives* was published in December 1999; a second iteration – *Archives for the 21st Century* – followed in 2009.[64] Both of these documents were presented as ministerial Command Papers with the status of government policy. In 2017 The National Archives published a third iteration of the document, *Archives*

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[63] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives.*
[64] Lord Chancellor's Department, *Government Policy on Archives*. CM4516, 1999; Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice. *Archives for the 21st Century*. CM7744, 2009.

Unlocked: Releasing the Potential. This effectively replaced *Archives for the 21st Century* as a national archives strategy but without policy status.[65] Two years earlier *The National Archives* had released a similarly structured document called *Archives Inspire* which set out their own organisational strategy as a state and government archival institution.[66]

These documents were intended to provide "for the first time a comprehensive statement on our [the government's] policy for archives" and set out recommendations for the strategic development of Archives in the UK.[67] Although they had no force in law, they were signed and endorsed by a government minister and formed the basis for the advocacy of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Archives and History. *Archives for the 21st Century* was developed jointly by The National Archives (in its role as the central government department responsible for archives functions) and Museums, Libraries and Archives (MLA), as the agency then responsible for development and advocacy of the so-called 'archives sector'. When the MLA was disbanded in 2012, The National Archives took over this leadership function and also assumed full responsibility for the implementation and review of the policy. *Archives for the 21st Century* was accompanied by a plan that set out how the policy should be actioned by The National Archives, by archives practitioners in local contexts and by their parent organisations.[68] *Archives Unlocked* was developed by The National Archives with the support of the Activist Group, a consultancy agency who work predominantly with the public sector. They held a series of roundtables in England, convened an "expert reference group" and undertook a public consultation between October 2016 and January 2017 with the intention of "listening to a broad range of voices from across the archives sector."[69]

The following analysis focuses primarily on *Archives for the 21st Century* and its associated action plans and documentation. This policy was current throughout the

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[65] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential* (London, The National Archives, 2017).

[66] The National Archives, *Archives Inspire, 2015-2019* (London, The National Archives, 2015).

[67] Lord Chancellor's Department, *Government Policy on Archives*, 2.

[68] The National Archives and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, *Archives for the 21st Century in Action* (London: The National Archives, 2010). This action plan was renewed in 2012 as *Archives for the 21st Century in Action Refreshed: 2012-2015* (London: The National Archives, 2012).

[69] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 18.

majority of the research period, only being replaced in 2017. However, I also touch upon the earlier 1999 iteration and on *Archives Unlocked*, acknowledging how the discursive formations observed in *Archives for the 21ˢᵗ Century* have been developed and modified in response to social and cultural shifts.

The National Archives is a relatively new construct, having been formed from the amalgamation of four governmental bodies between 2003 and 2006. However, three of its constituent parts have a long heritage. The Public Record Office was established by an Act of Parliament in 1838.[70] Initially tasked with the management and preservation of legal and court records, its remit was later extended in 1852 to encompass the administrative records of government departments.[71] In 1869 the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (RCHM) was appointed under Royal Warrant to identify, locate and catalogue equivalent archives in private ownership, primarily those held by landed families, charitable organisations and businesses.[72] Shepherd has argued that the logics of these two organisations established the separation of public and private records as a principle of English archival management.[73] Her Majesty's Stationary Office (HMSO) was originally founded in the early eighteenth century and has acted as printer of all Acts of Parliament since 1889. Finally, the Office of Public Sector Information was established by European Directive in 2005 to promote the re-use of information generated by the public sector.[74] The repackaging of these four bodies as The National Archives created a single authority for "managing and preserving government information" from both the past and the present, the objective of which was to "make the record accessible to all audiences, now and in the future."[75] As noted, TNA inherited responsibility for the leadership and development of the broader archives sector in England from MLA in 2011. This change formalised its status as a support agency with oversight of the activities and practices

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[70] The Public Record Office Act, 1838, 1-2. Vict. 1.
[71] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 23.
[72] RCHM. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Warrant* (London: The National Archives, 2003), accessed Jun 15, 2018. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/information-management/legislation/hmc-warrant/.
[73] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 25.
[74] The National Archives, "Our History," *The National Archives*, n.d. accessed Jun 15, 2018. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/our-role/what-we-do/our-history/.
[75] The National Archives, "Our History."

of other archival repositories in England. In practice this authority had been enacted to some extent already, through its responsibilities under the Public Records Act 1958 (which is discussed below) and the promulgation of standards and strategic documentation.

The Executive Summary of *Archives for the 21st Century*, in a boxed section titled "The power of archives", states that archives provide "**evidence that demonstrates the integrity and judgement of public and private decisions and actions**, which lasts longer and is more reliable than individual memory. Archives thus…have an impact on the lives of individuals by providing authentic and reliable evidence of past actions."[76] [bold in the original] It goes on to quote an earlier 2004 report of the Archives Task Force, *Listening to the Past, Speaking to the Future*:

> The archival record is…the direct, un-interpreted and authentic voice of the past: the primary evidence of what people did and what they thought... The archival record is the foundation on which are built all our histories.[77]

Further: "archival records fulfil another unique role. They can be the evidential component of the public record and are therefore essential to understanding the processes of decision-making and governance."[78] Thus the policy reflects the language of authenticity, integrity, uniqueness and reliability which is familiar from the evidential value complex, foreshadowing the language of the *Declaration* (which it precedes). Archives themselves are discursively positioned as having and exercising powers – "to impact on the lives of individuals", as "the foundation of all our histories" – which are independent of human interpretation. Further, a semantic link is made between the qualities of archival evidence and the production of "our" histories. Archives are particularly valuable because they are "the raw material of history, evidence of decisions made…"[79] The use of "raw" in this context is another appeal to the objectivity of archival heritage. The 2017 text *Archives Unlocked* continues to circulate these evidential and totalising qualities of archives. One of its central

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[76] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 3.
[77] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 6.
[78] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 6.
[79] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 9.

ambitions is that "people and institutions trust in the authenticity of archive records…" which can act as "reliable archival evidence."[80] Echoing the language of the Declaration these archives will "reflect all of society."[81]

An essential quality of the histories imagined by the texts is that they are primarily national, and associated with the mechanisms of governance (e.g. "the processes of decision-making"). This link is underlined later in *Archives for the 21st Century* which invites readers to envision what it would be like "if the true potential of publicly funded archives services were realised", arguing that "we would live in a world where: Every citizen feels a connection to their nation state and their local community…"[82] This is possible because "Archives have the power to narrate the essential record of our national and local story…" [83] The invocation of "the true potential of archives" is a precursor of the Declaration's "rightful place of archives", implying that archives are currently undervalued and under-utilised. This is in spite of their significant power which is presented as both all encompassing (reaching "every citizen") and highly relevant (the "essential record"). In the same visionary mode the text imagines that "Every child experiences history brought to life…" and that "People of all ages and abilities can explore their personal identity…" through archival heritage.[84] Thus archives systematize and narrativise government actions, making publically available histories relevant to the private lives of families and the identities of individuals. Their evidential value is seen to act as the link between the past, the state and the people.

Embedded in the rhetoric of the documents is the sense that archives serve and underpin common units of identity, from the national and regional, to the local and familial. The "shared" nature of these identities, and the stories or histories that create them, is repeatedly emphasised. Archives' power, for example, is in "shaping the shared sense of national community and individual identity" and in providing "stories of common experiences, shared struggles and aspirations."[85] The shared is a key concept– shared identities, shared histories, and shared experiences – which

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[80] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 3.
[81] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 3.
[82] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 9.
[83] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 9.
[84] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice. *Archives for the 21st Century*, 9.
[85] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice. *Archives for the 21st Century*, 3, 14.

archives are seen as contributing towards and reinforcing. The inference is that archives represent a special category of truth that supports national and community cohesion because it reveals essential commonalities across time, culture and experience.

This discursive formation is reinforced by the way in which archives are contrasted to change throughout the policy. In *Archives for the 21st Century Refreshed*, the 2012 iteration of the Action Plan, they "can provide context in a world that constantly changes, and ground us in the sometimes surprising continuity of our lives."[86] The shared-ness of archival heritage becomes a fixed point in a flux, with a quality of steadiness and safety which is outside of change and transcends discord. Any reference to the ways in which archives can be marginal, divisive or contentious is conspicuously absent. In common with the *Declaration*, the text does not engage with the complexities of human-archive interaction or diversity of values. Instead it privileges a "shared" monolithic discourse based in evidential value: because archives are direct and un-interpreted their evidence can objectively and neutrally serve both the interests of government and people.   An updated expression of the same principle can be found in *Archives Unlocked*, which claims "Archives sit at the heart of our collective understanding…" and "of our collective and individual identities".[87] The latter construct comes together to form "our collective memory."[88]

Archives for the 21st Century also states that archives are evidence that "lasts longer and is more reliable than individual memory." This strongly implies that the "collective memory" of the archive knows things that people and communities don't. In *Archives for the 21st Century Refreshed* the text invokes archives as "evidence" of "people's own identities", a phraseology which suggests that identities are actually contained in the archive.[89] *Archives Unlocked* also suggests that "once revealed, they [the archives] can tell us our stories…who we are and how we got here."[90] Not only does the archive know things that people don't; it knows more about the people than the people know

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[86] The National Archives, *Archives for the 21st Century in Action Refreshed*, 2.
[87] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 1,2.
[88] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 2.
[89] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 2.
[90] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 3.

about themselves. This has significant implications for the role of the archives practitioner, who is positioned as not only a custodian of evidence of a nation's past but of a community's identity and an individual's sense of self. In "the world without archives" envisioned by *Archives Unlocked* "we could not trace our ancestry" or "explore our collective and individual identities." [91] This serves to obscure and devalue other ways of remembering or knowing about the past and the self, such as oral histories, community and family story-telling, and folklore.

It may be useful to consider the ascription of evidential values in both the *Declaration* and The National Archives texts in light of the linguistic category of 'evidentials'.   In linguistics an 'evidential' is the particular grammatical element of language that indicates 'evidentiality' which is, in turn, an indication of the nature of evidence for any given statement. Examples in English include verb instances like 'I saw', 'I heard', 'and I read' and adverbs like 'allegedly', 'undoubtedly' or 'possibly'.[92] In the texts examined here archives are subject to a definable body of adverbs that denote their evidentiality, such as authentic, reliable and accountable. Evidence value is often explicitly invoked, but it is also recalled implicitly by this pervasive language of evidentials. This word use is not neutral, but serves to bind archival evidence to the Western epistemological positions already discussed in which objectivity, neutrality and the truthful recovery of reality are possible.   At the same time the archive itself can function as an evidential in its verb form: 'to archive' becomes an activity associated with the reproduction of certain social and political forms of power and control. The archives which are produced are understood to speak and act in the world according to dominant Western ideas about what evidence is and does.

'The Sector': Archives as legitimate systems

The conceptualisation of archives as evidentials and the dominant evidential language of values in the texts also work to naturalise ways of structuring and governing archival institutions. In its recently updated strategy *Archives Inspire, 2015-2019*, The National Archives is described as "the official archive for the UK government, and for England

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[91] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 2.
[92] Wallace L. Chafe and Johanna Nichols, "Introduction," in *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, ed. Wallace L. Chafe and Johanna Nichols (Norwood: Ablex Publishing, 1986), i.

and Wales."[93] "Official" acts as a signifier of power, a grammatically unnecessary modifier to the definite article, which implies the unofficialness of any other institution or organisation which claims to collect the archival heritage of the nation. The National Archives dual role as Archive for the government and for the nation/s is made explicit but is unexamined so that it is unclear how one is differentiated from the other. Notably, government comes first. This claim to authority is further coupled with a statement of reach and influence – The National Archives is "one of the largest and most successful archives in the world" - and of expertise as "expert advisors in information and record management."[94] The text further establishes them as "leaders of the wider archives sector", placing them at the apex of archival activity in England.[95] Government authority and professional expertise are linked with the archival endeavour and with a system of national provision that can be identified under a "sector" umbrella.

The "archives sector" or simply "the sector" is referenced six times in the short foreword of the first *Government Policy on Archives*, and frequently throughout *Archives for the 21st Century*.[96] Notably "sector" was the second most frequently used noun in the seventeen research interviews conducted with archives practitioners that form the basis of Chapter Four.[97] One interviewee referred to "the sector" 63 times during the course of an hour long conversation.[98] This "sector" is positioned as the primary agent in preserving and giving access to archival heritage in England. References are almost always preceded by the definite article – *the* sector - implying an exclusive and complete body that encompasses the diversity of institutions and groups that hold archives.[99] The concept is described in *Archives for the 21st Century* as the "nationwide network of archives services", which are "treasure chests of

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[93] The National Archives, *Archives Inspire 2015-2019*, 2
[94] The National Archives, *Archives Inspire 2015-2019*, 2.
[95] The National Archives, *Archives Inspire 2015-2019*, 2.
[96] Lord Chancellor's Department, *Government Policy on Archives*, 1-2
[97] The most frequently used was 'archive'. See Chapter Four, 135-138.
[98] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional), interview with the author, Jun 10, 2015, London.
[99] For example Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century,* 6.

information." [100] The phrase "national network" was also used to signify 'the sector' in several interviews, for example:

> the ultimate result in many cases of us talking to community archives is trying to plug them into that national network and that, going back to sector clarity, its actually plugging them into the wider sector which they probably they may not, because they're very narrowly focused, be aware of how they actually fit in to the wider landscape.[101]

Speaking about their work liaising with community archives, the interviewee drew a distinction between the "national network"/"wider sector" of county record offices and university archives that they worked with, and other groups engaged in archives work such as community archives. "Sector clarity" required that these groups be "plugged" in to the "wider landscape."

In *Archives for the 21st Century* the "nationwide network" is defined as the three hundred local authority and university archives which "form the backbone of publicly funded archival provision in England and Wales."[102] "Backbone" is a biological referent that suggests an animal or organism, which has evolved organically to support itself in the fittest possible way. It compliments "network" which is a similarly organic term, indicative of an interconnected system that functions co-operatively. This language implies that this system of Archives is connected, knowable and understandable, and distinct from other areas of heritage management. It discursively recalls Jenkinson's suggestion that archives are formed by "natural processes… as much an organism as a tree or an animal."[103]

Yet this discursive clarity is not reflected in reality. The Archon Directory of archive repositories maintained by The National Archives lists 2131 archive holding organisations in England. These include local authorities, museums, art galleries, schools, and businesses, universities, landed estates, community groups and individuals. Two hundred and thirteen of these organisations can be found in

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[100] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 1, 3
[101] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[102] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice, *Archives for the 21st Century*, 7.
[103] Jenkinson, "The English Archivist", 238-239.

Yorkshire alone, from the North Yorkshire County Record Office and the West Yorkshire Archives Service, both funded by local authorities, to the community run Horsforth Village Museum and the archive of the Knitting Crochet Guild stored in an industrial unit in Holmfirth.[104] While *Archives for the 21st Century* offers a list of generic repository types – e.g. business, local authority, university archives – it does not reflect the dispersed and varied nature of archival heritage. Nor does it address how diverse archive-holding bodies sit within the broader context of cultural and material heritage. Instead, the text assumes that the structure of archive provision is self-evident and does not require explanation, despite the stated ambitions of the document to reach a non-specialist audience.

There is a shift in the way this idea is expressed in *Archives Unlocked*. Here the "archives sector" is replaced with the "archival landscape" and the "archive ecology", the later suggesting an interdependent system of relationships between different archival groups and contexts.[105] The rhetoric continues to tap into organic and biological metaphors but appears to describe something both wilder and more expansive, implying diversity and irregularity. This reflects the increasing profile of community archives, archival activism and local heritage projects in the literature and in funders' rhetoric.[106] In this instance though the "ecology" is presented as under threat "in unpredictable ways by external factors" and requires "interventions…supported by long-term, comprehensive and detailed information."[107] Although the text recognises the "diverse and complex" possibilities of archives in a new environment, it reinforces the need for "oversight and foresight." This is to be provided by The National Archives and other sanctioned experts. Although Jenkinson's gatekeeper analogy is explicitly rejected – "Archivists…have become participants in the archive ecology rather than gatekeepers to it" – this is not a participation of equals; the figure of the zookeeper is invoked instead.[108] The metaphor of the roles of zoos in

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[104] The National Archives, *ARCHON Database, The National Archives*, n.d. accessed Oct 3, 2014, http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/find-an-archive.

[105] "ecology, n," *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2018, accessed Jun 15, 2018, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/59380?redirectedFrom=ecology.

[106] For the increasing profile of community archives and archival activism, see Chapter One, 27-29 and Chapter Two, 48-49. For government and funder rhetoric see Chapter Five, 180-185.

[107] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 4.

[108] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 4.

wildlife conservation is used to argue for the value of providing "stewardship of archives."[109] Although this new language aspires to reflect a shift towards a more co-productive environment in which power is shared, it does so by invoking symbols and relationships that reinforce established dynamics of expertise and dependence.

In England the ideal of the "national network", and thus of "the sector" and "archive ecology", arguably has its origins in the development of record-keeping legislation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This legislation established that certain types of archives were only to be kept by legitimated forms of archival institution. Primary amongst this legislation was the Public Records Act 1958, the Local Government (Records) Act 1962 and the Local Government Act 1972.[110] Elements of these Acts still remain in force, although all were partly superseded by the Freedom of Information Act 2000.[111] The institutions subject to this legislation, namely The National Archives, local government record offices and university archives, consequently operate within a framework which provides them with legitimacy, authority and 'sector' privilege.

The aforementioned Acts shaped the formation and development of the concept of a unified system of Archives in the latter half of the twentieth century in two key ways. Firstly, they established the rightness of a hierarchical network of County, City and Borough Archives with The National Archives as overseer.[112] Secondly, they introduced a clear evidential measure of archival value. The records of national and local government, and of arms-length bureaucratic agencies, were established as the most valuable aspects of the national archival heritage, worthy of legal protection.   In the Public Records Act 1958 the former were designated 'Public Records' and identified as the only types of document that must be preserved. [113] Under the Act any Public Record over 30 years old (now 20 years old) must be transferred to an Archive and made accessible unless it qualifies for an exemption. The Public Record Office (now

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[109] The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential*, 4.
[110] Public Records Act 1958, 6-7 Eliz. 2, c. 51; Local Government (Records) Act 1962, 10-11 Eliz. 2, c. 56; Local Government Act 1972, 20-21 Eliz. 2, c. 70, s224-234.
[111] Freedom of Information Act 2000, 48 Eliz. 2, c. 36.
[112] See Chapter Four for practitioners' conceptualisation of this network, 135-141.
[113] There is no straightforward definition of a Public Record, as there are numerous categories of material that qualify. However, they are primarily the records of national government departments and agencies, the Courts, the National Health Service and the military.

TNA) was granted statutory rights and duties to monitor the retention and preservation of such records, establishing and enforcing best practice standards. Under s.4(1) of the Act archival institutions within the hierarchical network were licensed as Places of Deposit, and received routine inspections to ensure national standards were being met.[114] The same Act also established the role of Keeper of Public Records, a title which is now synonymous with the role of Chief Executive of The National Archives.

The emergence of the Public Record as the highest category of archive gave regional and local Archives a responsibility mandated by central government. These Archives were accorded status and positioned as the legitimate location of archival material of value. Value in this case was ascribed by the extent to which records were considered to evidence the activities of national and local government activities. Legitimacy flowed ultimately from The National Archives as representatives of that government. Although local record offices were permitted to collect other forms of archival material by the Local Government (Records) Act 1962, and almost all did so, this material was not given protected status. Whether or not archival material is designated as Public Records can have serious implications for the way in which it is treated. This is amply demonstrated by the case of the so-called 'Migrated Archive', a large collection of records of colonial administration held by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In 1995, during discussions about the transfer of the material to The National Archives, the materials' questionable Public Records status was used as a justification for leaving them in administrative limbo.[115]

Other mechanisms have been used to establish measures of value for materials that do not qualify for Public Records status. In addition to government record offices and universities this includes material held in business, organisational or family archives, or

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[114] TNA no longer undertakes routine inspections of Archives, but continues to meet its statutory duties under the Act via the introduction of the Archives Accreditation scheme, discussed below pp 113-116. The National Archives, 'Approved Places of Deposit,' *The National Archives*, n.d., accessed Feb 15, 2019, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/our-archives-sector-role/legislation/approved-places-of-deposit/.

[115] Anthony Cary, *Report on the Migrated Archives: What Went Wrong and What Lessons Should We Draw?* (2011), 4, accessed Apr 8, 2016, https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/255562/migrated-archives.pdf.

archives collected by voluntary organisations such as antiquarian and local history societies. As already noted, the RCHM was established to co-ordinate the oversight of archives held in private hands. The Commission's original purpose was to identify archival heritage and publish information about its location and contents, with a remit of "records or archives of all kinds, of value for the study of history."[116] The Commission's focus on historical value aligned it with prevailing historiographical priorities for evidential quality, which has had the effect of making certain types of records – those of landed estates, charities and established businesses for example – more visible than others over time. The revised 2003 RCHM warrant empowers The National Archives to "promote the co-ordinated action of all professional and other bodies concerned with the preservation and use of such manuscripts and records."[117] The Commission's merger with The National Archives effectively brought archival records of "historical value" under the authority of a government department.

Like the Public Records Act, the RCHM sought to identify a canon of archives to form a national archival collection.[118] It further embedded a top-down system whereby archival value was determined by the extent to which records embodied the values of the agency. The authority to care for this system and police its values is encoded into the work of TNA, which monitors and maintains standards throughout the 'sector'. Nicholas Kingsley, formerly Head of Sector Development at The National Archives has stated that their vision for sector leadership is "based upon the belief that the myriad of individuals and organizations, which collectively preserve our national archival heritage can usefully be considered as a functional system."[119]

This status quo is reflected throughout *Archives for the 21st Century*. It addresses an ordered world in which archives and archival institutions can be systemised, categorised and controlled. The distinction between archives as records or archival

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[116] RCHM, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Warrant*.
[117] RCHM, *Historical Manuscripts Commission Warrant*.
[118] Further legislation of less relevance here sets out responsibilities for additional classes of archives, including parish and manorial records. For example, the Law of Property Act 1922 creates a 'Master of the Rolls' to take responsibility for all manorial documents and arrange for them to be placed with a suitable archival repository. The Tithe Act 1936 required that an authoritative copy of all tithe maps be placed at The National Archives.
[119] Nicholas Kingsley, "Perspectives and Priorities: The National Archives Vision for Sector Leadership," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 33, no. 2 (2012): 138.

heritage and Archives as places that preserve and give access to records is collapsed, so that one is presented as synonymous with the other. This effectively excludes alternative and broader definitions of archival organisations and archival heritage, such as those described by Bastian, McKemmish, Flinn and Caswell, and silences the values ascribed to archives by other communities or individuals.[120]

Subsequently The National Archives has developed a complex of activities focused on recording, monitoring and approving the holdings and activities of the "national network". When asked to describe their career trajectory, an interview participant positioned themselves within this elaborate system of control, documentation and management:

> Ended up joining The National Archives in an editorial position, working mainly on the National Register of Archives so I was always looking out at where archives are rather than at our own collections. And then I shuffled around within that… moving more and more towards advising the sector and less and less to looking at the stuff. So I did some work on monitoring archives sales, that led on to advice to grants awarding bodies which necessarily leads you to thinking about whether the services that are applying are performing well as well as whether the material is interesting and that led me into becoming part of our inspection team and eventually to the job that I'm in now.[121]

The participant is thus embedded in a system of control mechanisms, which have been naturalised and legitimised as necessary archives work. These include the National Register of Archives (a legacy of the RCHM function, which invites selected repositories to return lists of new deposits to be added to a national database) and the management and support of Places of Deposit. This legitimacy has found its most complete expression in the Archives Accreditation programme, launched in 2013, which seeks to establish a consistent standard of archival practice and provision in England and Wales. Accreditation is now the mechanism through which The National Archives fulfils its statutory duties under the Public Records Act. However, the scheme

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[120] Flinn and Stevens, "'It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri.'"; Bastian, "The Records of Memory, the Archive of Identity."; Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History."
[121] Interview 01 (Archivist).

is not limited to Places of Deposit, extending authority over a much broader range of archival institutions. Managed and fronted by TNA, accreditation is also supported by a UK-wide partnership of authorising archival organisations, including the Archives and Records Association, National Records Scotland, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and the Museums, Libraries and Archives Division of the Welsh government.[122] Arguably the programme acts to classify what is and is not archival, and to manage the identification of Archives as authorised places. As of July 2018 143 Archives had been accredited.[123]

The Archives Accreditation standard provides the link between the evidential values paradigm and the archive sector as a legitimate functioning system. At the outset it sought to define what archives are, using the previously quoted definition from ISO 16175-1:2010 as a baseline. A document entitled "Scope of Archive Service Accreditation scheme" expanded upon the criteria for assessment under the standard and foregrounded the importance of archives as evidence. The prospective applicant was presented with seven questions with yes or no answers; if the answer to any but one question was no then the material is "probably not archival".[124] [underlining in the original] The first question asks:

> Was it [the prospective archive material] primarily created to record information or evidence, or is it linked (physically, or in terms of prior use) to something else which conveys information when the two are taken together?[125]

Questions 2, 3 and 5 recalls the language of evidentials to identify archives, namely of authority ('Does the information or evidence it (they, if linked) contains relate to something specific…') and integrity ('Does it still convey the information/evidence originally intended?').[126] In the examples of archival material that follow archives are

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[122] The National Archives, *Archive Service Accreditation: The UK standard for archive services*. The National Archives, c2018, accessed Feb 15, 2019,
https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archive-service-accreditation-leaflet.pdf.
[123] The National Archives, "Accredited archive services, statistics and outcomes," June 2018, accessed Nov 1, 2018, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/archive-service-accreditation/accredited-archive-services/.
[124] The National Archives, *Scope of Archives Service Accreditation Scheme*, 1.
[125] The National Archives, *Scope of Archives Service Accreditation Scheme*, 2.
[126] The National Archives, *Scope of Archives Service Accreditation Scheme*, 2.

referred to "as evidence" three times. The phraseology of the document works to suggest that archives can both be created as evidence and be used as evidence. Their nature and retention is bound up with the complex of qualities associated with the work of evidencing. It is notable that there is no reference in the Accreditation scoping document to other forms of value recognised by the Faro Convention, such as social, communal or identity value. Community archives, whose motivations for collecting and preserving historic material may fall outside the evidentiary paradigm, are used to provide examples of non-archival material. For example, the "old postcards of Puddleby" and "beermats from the Puddleby Brewing Company" are not archival, except insofar as they are "evidence of the activities of the Puddleby Community History Group."[127] Thus the evidential value of its archives is used as a criteria for establishing whether or not a holding organisation can be accredited as an archives service. If the evidence value is insufficient, then the organisation is excluded from the legitimised system of "the sector."

The stated purpose of Accreditation is to recognise and encourage consistency in the "sector", but one practitioner further associated it with making archives more visible:

> I mean my mission statement for accreditation, completely unsigned off by anyone else, but it's to improve the viability but also the visibility of archives services and the viability is what standards have always been about you know. Are we running this thing well? But the visibility for me is what's different and what's really needed, in the sector but also beyond the sector.[128]

Initially the interviewee implied that this visibility was needed "in the sector" – i.e. it was a matter of confirming and circulating a membership identity – before correcting that this visibility was also required "beyond the sector". This may suggest that Accreditation will come to play a significant role in forming and maintaining hierarchies of archives practice in the new "archives ecology."

The national Accreditation scheme is mirrored at a local level by several schemes aimed at providing the same kind of structure and consistency to community archive

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127 The National Archives, *Scope of Archives Service Accreditation Scheme*, 8.
128 Interview 01 (Archivist).

activity. One interviewee cited two examples, the West Yorkshire Archives Services' accreditation scheme for community archives *NowThen* and the Cornish Archive Network, as a sign of an emerging integration between "record offices" and community groups.[129] The former example was also cited by another interviewee.[130] These schemes work to reinforce the existing archives sector as a legitimate governing system, with the:

> …record office at the very centre, the centre of the wheel, the spokes going out
> to these hundreds and hundreds of community groups, and Archives really
> being integrated into more of a framework and infrastructure there that
> provides more collective and sustainable advice and guidance…[131]

In this way the community archives movement is neutralised and brought into a professionalised sphere of influence. The same respondent explained that "what would keep the team at TNA [The National Archives] awake at night is finding Public Records in the local history centre or heritage centre which should have been collected and no one has been aware of manorial records some of these more statutory controlled collections which have been amassed."[132] Anxiety is focused on the escape of privileged classes of archival material outside of the legitimate functioning system of the 'sector'. The management of this relationship between community archives, community groups and archival institutions will be further explored in the case study of the *York: Gateway to History* project in Chapter Five.

"I know because I was there": Archives and justice[133]

Textual analysis suggests that evidential values, and the activities of preserving and controlling them, are central to the discourse of archival practice and to the structures of archives management in England. This evidentiality is further given strong ethical dimensions, because via the truth claim archives are implicated in a broad range of

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129 Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
130 Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist), interview with the author, May 15 2015, York.
131 Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
132 Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
133 Testimony of Eddie Spearitt, quoted in Phil Scraton, "The Legacy of Hillsborough: Liberating Truth, Challenging Power," *Race and Class* 55, no. 2 (2013), 2.

legal activities and justice movements.[134] When asked to give examples of occasions when the value of archives had been demonstrated to them, interview participants responded with a range of evidentially coded statements. Notable amongst these, however, was the frequency with which the Hillsborough Disaster Archive was referenced. It was also mentioned at other junctures, making it the most frequently referenced Archive or archives project in the interview sample. Its development, reception and ongoing use offers a case study to briefly explore the discursive ascription of evidential value in action.

The Hillsborough Disaster Archive is both a physical and digital archive of collated documentation relating to the Hillsborough disaster. In 1989 96 Liverpool football fans were crushed to death at Hillsborough stadium in Sheffield during an FA cup semi-final match. Later the police, the Coroner's Office, national and local government and the media came under intense scrutiny and criticism for their actions before, during and after the tragedy. After many years of campaigning by victims' families and several inconclusive investigations the Hillsborough Independent Panel was instituted in 2009. Its purpose was to manage the disclosure of government and local information; to interpret that information for the public and to create a permanent, discoverable Archive of Hillsborough documentation.[135] For the first time full disclosure was made of the records of all of the agencies involved in the disaster, including central government records which would ordinarily have been closed under the 30 year rule. In 2012 the Panel's final report coincided with the online publication of over 355,000 scanned documents and with the establishment of places of deposit for the 450,000 hardcopy records in Sheffield and Liverpool.[136]

The Panel's final report was produced from interpretation of the archival information, supplemented by recollections and submissions from survivors and the families of the victims. Although the archives are not referred to as evidence at any point in the report, the language of evidentiary value appears throughout: the archive

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[134] Elena S. Danielson, *The Ethical Archivist* (Society of American Archivists, Chicago, 2010), 13.
[135] The Hillsborough Independent Panel, *Hillsborough: The Report of the Hillsborough Independent Panel*, HC581 (London: The Stationary Office, 2012), 4.
[136] The full text of the report, as well as the online archive, can be found at
http://hillsborough.independent.gov.uk, accessed Feb 26, 2016.

"demonstrates", "confirms", "shows", "reveals" and "makes clear". The final instance particularly harks back to the Latin root for evidence, "evidere".[137] Without the 735 linear metres of archival material, which "directly informed the report", the Panel could not have arrived at their conclusions.[138] Part III of the report relates specifically to the long term future of the "Permanent Archive for the Hillsborough Disaster", which "provide[s] the most complete record of events available, disclosing the decisions taken and actions progressed by those involved throughout an extended period before and since the disaster."[139]

The role the Archive played in the Panel's investigations has been explored by Phil Scraton, a law expert and the primary author of the final report. He points out the ongoing conflict between documentation, memory and witness testimony in establishing a narrative of the event. The testimony of officials and politicians in the immediate aftermath, widely quoted and subsequently fixed by the media, were often directly contradicted by the archives.[140] It was widely reported, for example, that the Liverpool fans in the crowded pens were drunk and ticketless, and that during the crush they assaulted police officers and fallen victims. The Sun newspaper's infamous article headlined "The TRUTH" purported that this was the cause of the disaster, citing the testimony of numerous police officers. The archived records revealed that these claims were unsubstantiated and false, and that there had been a strategy of obfuscation and cover-up by South Yorkshire Police, tacitly supported by government.

However, the evidentiality of the archive was complicated. In one crucial case it was the *lack* of integrity and authenticity in the record that was most important in establishing a just narrative of events. The statements made by members of the South Yorkshire Police were shown to have been substantially altered from original handwritten notes. They had been subject to extensive review by officers and solicitors, and rewritten to fixed standards; 116 of the 164 statements were changed in this way. In the case of Hillsborough the relationship between archives, evidence and the truth was deeply problematic. The archives were not simply evidence of the truth.

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137 See Chapter Two, 92-93.
138 The Hillsborough Independent Panel, *Hillsborough,* 370.
139 The Hillsborough Independent Panel, *Hillsborough,* 370.
140 Scraton, "The Legacy of Hillsborough," 7.

They had been put to work to evidence lies, and then later acted as evidence to counter those lies. Scruton has argued that it "illustrates the capacity within state institutions to engage in discourse of denial, deceit and neutralisation that protect and exonerate those in positions of power, those who stand highest in established hierarchies of credibility…"[141] The alignment of power, state and archive was implicated in this process, highlighting the non-neutrality of evidential value.

This appears to stand in direct contradiction of the straightforward evidence-archives-truth connection identified in the *Declaration* and The National Archives' policies. In order to be activated for social justice work the Hillsborough Archive was subjected to complex interpretative activities which established that it was neither a direct or neutral resource. The "uninterpreted" existence and preservation of archival material was insufficient and the Panel had to take into account the alternative forms of knowledge held, for example, by the victim's families. Although it was valuable, the archive was not a totalising authority able to speak truth independently. It required human intervention, interpretation and the supplementation of other forms of knowledge to adequately understand the events.

In fact not just the content but also the histories of the archives, the ways in which they had been managed and used, meant that they were implicated in the injustices of the past. Scraton is clear that the Panel's activity:

> …should not be presented as 'truth recovery' because the documents were never lost… They were available to, but neutralised by, the processes of investigation, inquiry and scrutiny.[142]

The Hillsborough Archive as it now exists "curated and referenced, online and in hard copy" has served as evidence only in a particular social and cultural context. [143] What existed prior to the Panel's activity was a state of evidentiary potential, which had been overlooked or misread by the processes of scrutiny that represented a powerful

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141 Scraton, "The Legacy of Hillsborough," 24.
142 Scraton, "The Legacy of Hillsborough," 25.
143 Scraton, "The Legacy of Hillsborough," 25.

status quo. New evidential values had to be "liberated" or ascribed by an ethos of disclosure.

The disconnect between the status of the Archive in the Panel's findings and the archival processes that constructed it is notable. At no point during the Report or Scraton's analysis is archival practice made visible. It is elided with the investigation itself, in spite of the impact that the arrangement and cataloguing of the materials may have had on the understanding of the documentation. Although the subjectivity of the use of archival material is recognised, the role of archives practitioner remains invisible. This same complacency about the status of the Hillsborough Archive is evident amongst archives practitioners. Although a former Chief Executive of the National Archives served on the Panel as an expert practitioner, and although many archivists were employed to work with the material throughout, there has yet to be a scholarly article on the subject of the archives' disclosure or formation. Instead the Archive was represented by interviewed practitioners as a self-validating success story. An interviewee offered the following:

> If I was talking to a councillor I would stress far more the contemporary relevance and use case studies and some examples of the contemporary relevance of archival material. Hillsborough's a traditional example which has great resonance with councillors…[144]

Only four years after its release, and without extensive consideration of the implications of the Panel's findings (which to some extent imply a criticism of archival practice) Hillsborough has become a "traditional" example of evidential archival values. The resonant effect it has on councillors is presumably twofold. First it provokes memories of tragedy and bureaucratic cover-up, which lead to discomfort and a desire for justice; second, it associates the proper preservation of archives with this justice. Evidential value is employed as a key advocacy tool, recalling the *Declaration*. The Archives' evidentiary values associate it with discourses of truth, justice and fairness, as well as authenticity and integrity. Although produced, altered and preserved by the perpetrators and agencies implicated in the injustices of the

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[144] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).

tragedy, the Archive continues to be positioned as an objective force. Its powers as evidence make it independent and able to work for both sides of history, as a symbol of restitution on the part of government and as a repository of truth for the victims and the family and friends of victims.

An 'Authorised Archival Discourse'

The textual analysis and case study presented suggest that evidence is the foundational value ascribed to archives and circulated by archival authorities. However, this value has been shown to be complex and contingent rather than singular. It is comprised of a range of characteristics and qualities that act as 'evidentials', such as authenticity, accountability, uniqueness and truth. These may be understood as constituent of a typology or plurality of linked and mutually reinforcing evidential values. These values are underpinned by Western epistemologies of evidence and are associated with established dynamics of societal power, structure and order.

Elements of the typology are expressed in the strategic and policy texts analysed in virtuous circles of evidentiality: archives are valuable because they are evidence; evidence makes archives archival. Certain types of archives, such as Public Records, are privileged over others because of their evidential superiority. This superiority stems from their creation by and ongoing relationship with government and state apparatus and, in some cases, by protection in law. Archival institutions which hold these types of records are also privileged, discursively positioned as the "backbone" of the nation's archival services. They are centralised in relation to other types of archive-holding bodies, which are connected to them in an "ecology" of dependency that is conceived to be organic and naturally occurring. The 'sector' is figured as a legitimately functioning system, a hegemonic way of structuring the world which, by necessity, privileges some subjectivities over others. In this case, established patterns of archival holding and an alignment with dominant evidentiary perspectives secure membership of the system. Consequently community archives and archivally-engaged communities are sub-textually figured as peripheral or non-expert. Although they have an increasingly accepted role in the "archival landscape" (a shift explored in

depth in Chapter Five) they do not have sufficient status to act as custodians to archival evidence. Some categories of archive, those of the highest evidential value, can only be maintained within the legitimated and authorised system.

The system identified through the analysed documentation may be read as a manifestation of Smith's AHD, in which archives are identified and understood according to a range of historically-situated values assumptions. These assumptions are not just representations of a form of knowledge, but constitute, construct and reinforce reality. Central amongst them is the truth-claim that archives are inherently evidential, eliding the relative nature of evidence and the role of human actors in activating evidential uses. A feature of the discourse is archives *as* evidence, a notion that underlines the innateness rather than the ascription of evidential values. This establishes the necessity of experts schooled in Western paradigms of evidential legitimacy in identifying and managing value. The discourse defines archives by characteristics that have to be actively managed to protect this legitimacy, promoting the experiences and beliefs of some individuals while limiting the authority of others.

Just as the AHD is rooted in the nineteenth century development of nationalism and conservationism, so its archival equivalent is grounded in the emergence of historical empiricism and modern statehood during the same period. As in Bennett's theorisation of the birth of the museum, archival institutions may be read as a manifestation of Foucault's governmentality, acting as apparatus of the state. The paraphernalia of guidance, regulation and rhetoric that surrounds archives' preservation and use is reflected in the functioning of government bureaucracy itself. The close links between the legitimated archives system and the government lead to a conflation of the short term goals of a 'sector' with the fundamental value of archives.[145] However, whereas Smith sees cultural heritage discourse as driven by broad ideals of "liberal duty for social improvement, with messages about patriotism, nationalism and certain aesthetic tastes as 'good' or 'edifying'", my analysis implies that the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' is distinct in its focus.[146] Evidentiality is fundamental to the ascription of an associated complex of characteristics, values and

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[145] For further discussion, see Chapter Four, 131-141.
[146] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 22.

truth claims. Rather than focusing on "pleasing" objects for educating future generations about the past, the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' is preoccupied with reinforcing standards of evidentiality that support juridical, governmental and empiricist historical uses of archives in society.[147]

As in the AHD, the discourse of evidential value is adaptive to allow practitioners to reconcile loyalties to institutions and nations with higher ethical principles of justice and truth. Preserving and providing access to archives of the former is understood to ensure the latter. It becomes possible for the *Universal Declaration* to pair archives' "role in protecting citizens' rights" with the need to adopt and enforce national policies and laws.[148] Evidential value thus underpins the necessity for expertise, for management and for government control of archives, and reinforces the rightness of authorised social and cultural subjectivities.

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[147] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 29.
[148] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives.*

Chapter Four

Evidentiality and Social Justice:

Practitioner Perspectives on Archival Value

And to my mind, though I am native here / And to the manner born, it is a custom / More honoured in the breach than the observance.

William Shakespeare[1]

Why are they [archives] valuable? I don't think anyone has asked me that question before.

The National Archives employee[2]

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007), Act 1, Scene 4, 16-18.
[2] Interview 04 (Cultural Heritage Professional), interview with the author, May 21 2015, by telephone.

This chapter reinforces and validates the textual analysis of the proceeding chapter, building upon my theorisation of an 'Authorised Archival Discourse'. It shifts focus, turning from the documentation produced and circulated by authorising bodies to the perspectives of archives practitioners in England, thereby extending the discussion to consider ascriptions of evidence values in practice. Grounded in CDA of semi-structured interviews with archives practitioners, it considers if and how the discursively constructed values of authorising institutions are interpreted and activated through practice. Specifically, it discusses the discursive assumptions about, and orientations towards, archival work that construct practitioner identities, shape actions and demarcate the boundaries of archival heritage. These assumptions in turn shape the relationships between archives practitioners, institutions and communities.

The chapter also considers the articulation of subaltern values in archival practice and how these alternative perspectives interact with the evidential typology identified in Chapter Three. In doing so it acknowledges that, while the authorised discourse is hegemonic, it is not monolithic. Thus, although the following analysis shows how an authorised range of values is replicated and ascribed to archival heritage in practice, it also highlights a dissonance with competing values that emerges through a deconstructive reading of the interviews. Such a reading is "an attempt to show how the conspicuously foregrounded statements in a text are systematically related to discordant signifying elements that the text has thrown into the shadows or margins..."[3]

Later in the chapter this tension is considered specifically in the context of the recent emphasis on activism in archival theory and practice. I subsequently conclude by suggesting ways in which an evidential typology of values has been mobilised to neutralise the postmodern critiques of truth and objectivity described in Chapter Two, allowing them to be absorbed into the authorised discourse.

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[3] Barbara Johnson, *A World of Difference* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 17-18.

Sources and Methodology

Interview participants were initially recruited by self-selection following an email communication to the Archives-NRA listserv mailing list on April 30 2015. The email asked for volunteers to take part in research on "archives, communities and social values." The only criteria for participation was that interviewees should have experience of archival work in England, for the reasons outlined previously.[4] Thereafter a snowball methodology was employed to widen the sample using recommendations from initial responders. An attempt was made to generate a range of responses from across England and from people with varied levels of experience of archival work. Only one participant - Interviewee 12 - was directly invited to contribute at the outset; this was because of their role in the delivery of the *York: Gateway to History* case study project (which forms the basis of Chapter Five). People identifying as 'community archivists' or undertaking unpaid archival work were not excluded from the original call, but in the event none responded and it was subsequently decided not to seek out participants from these groups. This was firstly because their varying contexts, motivations and experiences meant that the contributions of one or two representatives could not be extrapolated. Secondly, unlike those identifying as archives 'professionals' (as explored below) these individuals did not have a shared understanding of the intellectual context of their work. This would make it difficult to interpret their perspectives on archival values in comparison with others in the sample. Thirdly, the perspectives of 'community archivists' and other archivally-engaged communities were represented elsewhere in the research design, through the case studies (Chapter Five) and participatory research projects (Chapter Six).

All participants received a Research Information Sheet as well as a consent form and a pre-interview questionnaire to complete prior to interview.[5] The purpose of the pre-interview questionnaire was not to gather quantitative data for statistical analysis but to establish the basic representativeness of the sample. In total twenty interviews

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[4] See Chapter One, 33-35.
[5] A copy of the consent form and pre-interview questionnaire is provided in Appendix 2, 298-299.

were arranged, of which seventeen were conducted.[6] Three interviewees withdrew between initial contact and a recorded conversation, two due to workload and one due to serious illness. Of the seventeen respondents three were male and fourteen were female; five were aged under 35 years old and three were over 56 with the remaining nine aged between 36 and 55. While all seventeen worked in archival contexts, six respondents did not identify as 'archivists'. Interviewees 04 and 06 described themselves as cultural heritage professionals; interviewees 09, 14 and 17 as librarians or local history officers and interviewee 19 identified as an academic researcher. Sensitive personal data on the ethnicity, sexuality or disability of participants wasn't collected as it was not considered sufficiently relevant to the research aims.

While the sample was small, the interviewees broadly reflected the gender, age and specialism distribution of archives practitioners in the UK found in the 2015 Workforce Mapping exercise undertaken by the Chartered Institute for Library and Information Professionals (CILIP) and the Archives and Records Association (ARA). According to that survey women account for around 78% of all UK archive workers, while 82% of practitioners in this research identified as female.[7] Men are therefore slightly under-represented in terms of the conducted interviews, but this percentage is skewed by the fact that two of the three participants who dropped out were male. If the total sample had been conducted as envisaged there would have been a 75%/25% split between female and male respondents.   Archives specific data for age distribution is not yet available from the mapping exercise. However, overall (including librarians and other information management workers) fifty-five per cent of the information workforce is aged 45 or over. This was not fully reflected in the research sample with only a third of respondents in this category. This may suggest a distinction in the archives sector, or could be the result of self-selection bias. Younger practitioners may be more likely to have the time to contribute to a research study as they are working in

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[6] A table of interviewees and their respective identifiers is also included in the Appendices. See Appendix 1, 296-297

[7] CILIP: The Library and Information Association and The Archives and Records Association. *A Study of the UK Information Workforce: Mapping the Library, Archives, Records, Information Management and Knowledge Management and Related Professions* (CILIP: London, 2015), accessed Mar 01, 2017, https://archive.cilip.org.uk/research/workforce-mapping.

less responsible or time-limiting roles. Finally, in the survey 66% of people working in archival contexts identified themselves as archives or records 'professionals', which is in line with the 64% of self-identified archivists represented.

Six of the interviews were conducted face-to-face in either York or London; the remaining eleven were conducted by telephone. All took place between April and August 2015. The sessions lasted between 35 and 75 minutes, depending on the participants' availability and the fullness of their answers. The interviews were semi-structured into four sections.[8] Initial questions focused on the career biography of the participant, including the remit of their current work, their career trajectory and the extent to which they had been involved in public engagement activity. This section was designed to put interviewees at ease and build rapport as well as to provide the interviewer with information to contextualise the abstract questions about definition, value and strategy that followed. In several cases this section highlighted experiences which were relevant to the research and proved productive to the conversation as it progressed. Interviewee 15, for example, revealed that they had been involved in the delivery of the *Connecting Histories* project, a seminal archival engagement programme in Birmingham between 2005 and 2007 that acted as a model for the *York: Gateway to History* project.[9]

Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the interview reflected the primary research questions.[10] The second section focused on definitions of archives and the boundaries of archival practice. Interviewees were asked to consider ways of understanding archives from a number of points of view, starting with themselves ('How do you define archives?') before being asked to reflect on that definition in relation to the uses of the word and concept by the general public, academic researchers and community audiences. The third section considered the ascription of value. Again interviewees were initially asked why they thought archives were valuable, before being asked to consider if and how values might be changed by circumstances. They were also asked specifically

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[8] The interview prompt sheet is included in Appendix 2, 300-301.
[9] Interview 15 (Photographic Archivist), interview with the author, June 16 2015, by telephone. For more information about the Connecting Histories projects, see http://www.connectinghistories.org.uk/.
[10] See Chapter One, 10-12.

about the emotional and social values of archives, and prompted to give an example of when the value of archives had been demonstrated to them. Finally, the fourth section asked for their perspective on the efficacy and relevance of sector strategy in England. They were asked to comment specifically on the content (where they were aware of it) and usefulness of the then government policy on archives, *Archives for the 21st Century*.[11] Finally, they were encouraged to share their own thoughts on the future of archival practice. At the end of each interview the interviewee was asked if they had anything else they would like to add that they hadn't had an opportunity to say.

As the interviews were semi-structured the order and wording of each question changed in response to the flow of the conversation and the reaction of the participant. Some lines of enquiry prompted follow-up questions; similarly, some respondents felt unable to answer certain questions. Interviewees were more or less confident in different areas, depending on their level of experience and self-perceived expertise. For example, early career practitioners were less likely to speak at length during Section 4 but felt more able to expand when asked about definitions and values. Conversely experienced practitioners, some of whom were in senior or consultant roles, had extensive thoughts about the role of national strategy in their work but were more distant from recent debates in the field.

Certain lines of questioning proved more challenging than others. The section about values caused confusion, with the question about the contingency of values requiring extended explanation in some cases. This reflects the relative absence of values-based thinking and approaches in archival practice and the unfamiliarity of respondents with the underlying cultural heritage theories. It also suggests the extent to which values were invisible to the practitioners more generally. In addition, as might be anticipated given the discussions of terminology in Chapter One, some words and phrases required elaboration and clarification. Specifically, precise meanings of 'archives' and 'community' were questioned by a minority of participants. As the purpose was to understand how interviewees expressed and understood ideas about archives and

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[11] As discussed in Chapter Three the policy has since been replaced by a 'vision and action plan' *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential* launched by The National Archives in April 2017.

archival practice my use of terminology was deliberately non-specific, inviting participants to interpret the questions for themselves.

The interview recordings were converted into mp3 audio files and transcribed for analysis using the online transcription app Transcribe.[12] A denaturalised transcription approach was used, in which oral discourse was given primacy over written language.[13] This presented a number of challenges; specifically, it was necessary to make decisions about what to transcribe and how. Written language is an idealised system, whereas spoken language is messy, broken and syntactically confused. The translation of the latter to the former is necessarily interpretative. It may be considered a subjective act that "reflects transcribers' analytic or political bias and shapes the interpretation and evaluation of speakers, relationships and contexts depicted in the transcript."[14] In this case features of written language, such as punctuation and paragraphing, were largely omitted, except where they could be clearly identified in the speech. A full stop, for example, was inserted only when the end of a sentence was followed by a pause and then speech was resumed on a new topic. Otherwise word strings were run on without imposing structure. Features of oral expression such as 'erm' and 'ah' were retained, as were false starts and word repetitions. Pauses of longer than three seconds and other non-verbal signals such as sighs or laughter were noted in square brackets. This approach to transcription, although time consuming and less fluent to read, was selected as most suited to the needs of CDA, which considers paralinguistic features, like pauses and restarts, as well as the prosody and rhythm of speech. The transcription process was iterative and reflective, and interviews were revisited multiple times as the focus of the research shifted. An extract of a transcribed interview is provided in Appendix 4.[15]

Interview transcripts were subsequently uploaded into NVivo and subjected to two stages of analysis. Firstly, a free text 'Memo' was created for each interview which was used to record initial impressions about the scope and content of the transcript.

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[12] See https://transcribe.wreally.com/.

[13] Christina Davidson, "Transcription: Imperatives for Qualitative Research," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 2 (2009): 38.

[14] Alexandra Jaffe, "Introduction: Non-standard orthography and non-standard speech," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4, no. 4 (2000): 500.

[15] See Appendices, 306-308.

This was also used to note qualities from the interview recording that were not apparent in the transcripts but are relevant to CDA, such as changes in tone and pitch. Several elements of CDA were considered at this stage, including the structure, modality, prosody and the organisation of argument in each interview.[16] Secondly, each interview was coded using a set of nodes generated during the analysis of documentation for Chapter Three. For example, references to or related to evidence, truth or authenticity in relation to archives might be coded as 'Evidence value', 'authenticity', 'uniqueness' or 'Evidence definition' depending on the context. Where these references were related to emerging qualities of the authorised discourse identified in Chapter Three these were sub-coded, e.g. 'archives as organic, natural accumulations'. References to social, emotional, memory, identity and communal values were also coded. The coding was then used to focus on specific areas of each interview for CDA, using the attached 'Memo' to explore word choice, metaphor, the use of connective language like 'and' or 'because' and non-verbal features.[17]

The result was a set of analysed texts that could be used to test developing hypotheses about the evidential value typology and the 'Authorised Archival Discourse'. Four discursive themes were identified as key to the ascription of values by the interviewees, namely: practitioner identity; archives as organic objects; inherent or objective values; and the structuration of archival practice.

Course, cult, sector: Becoming an archives practitioner

Participants chose to provide different levels of biographical detail during the first section of the interview. Some gave highly specific and lengthy autobiographies, which have been redacted where they compromise the anonymity of the respondents, while others chose to provide only basic information. It should be noted that all interviewees knew about my own practitioner status and just under half were familiar with my career history at Explore York Archives. Archival practice is a relatively small community, especially in the north of England, and my involvement with both the *York: Gateway to History* project and the creation of the Explore York Libraries and

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[16] An extract of a sample 'Memo' is also available in the Appendices, 309-310.
[17] A coded extract from Interview 06 is included in Appendix 4, 311.

Archives Mutual had recently received widespread publicity. Consequently, responses indicated an expectation that I would share and understand archival career trajectories and work experiences. This was indicative of ways of thinking about archival practice that emerged throughout the responses, perceiving it not only as a form of work but as a signifier of identity and of belonging to a group.

Being 'qualified' for archival practice and pathways to 'qualification' were frequently alluded to, suggesting their importance for both the credibility and status of the participants. All eleven of the interviewees who self-identified as 'archivists' on the pre-interview questionnaire held a postgraduate archive studies qualification recognised by the Archives and Records Association (ARA).[18] The postgraduate diploma or Masters in Archives and Records Management (which is currently offered by seven UK universities, three of which are in England) was apparently perceived as a key factor in belonging to the 'profession'. Ten of the archivists in the sample shared their qualification stories. Interviewee 01, who qualified as an archivist after having already been employed in an Archive, explained why they had taken the course: "…it was quite important to go out to archives services with the confidence that I knew what they [other practitioners] had been trained in and that I understood things from their point of view and I wasn't just coming in with…assumptions about what an archives service should be and what archives are."[19] Qualified practitioners were positioned as having a particular "point of view" – a directionality from which they looked at things – which was different to the 'unqualified' perspective. In this response a distinction between insider/qualified and outsider/unqualified perspectives or "assumptions" was established.

Interviewee 02 suggested that "most archivists in this country who call themselves professional archivists have been through this kind of common experience of work experience the course etc. etc…so in the narrowest sense it can be about the fact that you've been through the course…"[20] This was not the only time that an archives qualification was referred to as "the course", a definite noun signifying a uniform

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[18] ARA's role in determining the culture and content of the qualification is discussed below, 133-134.

[19] Interview 01 (Archivist).

[20] Interview 02 (No Descriptor), interview with the author, June 11 2015, London.

learning experience that, no matter where or when it happened, was fundamentally the same. Subsequently the same interviewee expressed discomfort about belonging to the insider perspective and an awareness that it was limiting: "I'm having trouble with this label I don't [pause] I no longer choose to call myself an archivist…"[21] Almost immediately, however, they clarified that "I do sometimes but not all the time" and then further "particularly when I'm talking to other archivists."[22] Being able to invoke this shared experience was necessary in establishing credibility and authority amongst peers. Those without the qualification were aware of the lack. Interviewee 06, in response to a question about how they came to work in archives responded: "So I I'm not an archivist so I'm not a qualified archivist I trained as a historian and did a PhD in history…"[23] In the recording the interviewee begins positively "So I" before breaking their flow to insert "I'm not an archivist…", deciding to provide this information about what they are not prior to the positive statement about what they are. Their second repetition of the phrase and supplement of the clarifying "qualified" clearly connects the status of "archivist" and the right to work in archives with the qualification. Later, when asked about the future of archives, they returned to the issue by suggesting the "profession" needed to open up because "it's quite an intimidating place to work when you're not an archivist cos it is almost cult-like at times in terms of the importance of the qualification and that the qualification is sacrosanct."[24] Another respondent suggested that "…one of the most destructive questions that you can ask some of my colleagues who aren't qualified is where did they qualify because it goes nowhere and the conversation ends."[25] This last comment indicates a divisive gap between the qualified and the unqualified that, once revealed, effectively shuts down communication between 'archivists' and non-archivists.

The close association between practitioner identity and "the courses" is policed by the Archives and Records Association, the leading professional body for archives practitioners in the UK and Ireland. The organisation maintains an assessment and accreditation regime, monitored by a members' Qualifications Accreditation Panel,

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[21] Interview 02 (No Descriptor).
[22] Interview 02 (No Descriptor).
[23] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[24] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[25] Interview 01 (Archivist).

which determines whether a university programme meets a set of universal criteria. This partially explains the intimation of interviewees that the qualification is effectively the same across the awarding institutions. Since 1984 each of the postgraduate courses has been assessed on a five-yearly cycle, with new courses thereby aligning to pre-existing offers.[26] Those that conform to the standard are accredited and endorsed by the Association, while unaccredited courses are specifically noted on their website.[27] This effectively channels prospective applicants down narrow qualification pathways.

The criteria for accreditation are set out in the Panel's operating procedure and terms of reference, the most recent iteration of which emphasises the "strong links" between the universities and "the archives and records management professions."[28] ARA's role in maintaining these links is in ensuring that the "programmes provide professional education of appropriate content," determining what does and does not count as archival expertise.[29] This "appropriate content" includes "specific knowledge of the historical, administrative and legal context of archival materials and records," as well as national and international standards of practice. This requirement not only situates archives and archival practice within the Western epistemologies of historiography, bureaucracy and the law discussed in Chapter Three. It also serves to locate the source of legitimate expertise in the discourse of agencies such as the ICA, TNA and ARA. Authorised assumptions about where, how and why archives are managed in society are reinforced.

The accreditation criteria further specifies that students should learn "the value of archives" as "information resources, the means by which citizens hold governments and others to account, evidence for legal and moral accountability and for cultural and historical purposes."[30] Informational and evidential values are privileged, aligning archival education with the claims of the authorised discourse, and emphasising the necessity of 'qualified' experts in maintaining and managing these values. As the

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[26] Further discussion of the evolution of 'the course' is provided below, 139-141.
[27] ARA, "Careers in Archives."
[28] The Archives and Records Association, *Operating Procedures and Assessment Criteria of the ARA Qualifications Accreditation Panel* (London, ARA, 2015), 2.
[29] ARA, *Assessment Criteria of the ARA Qualifications Accreditation Panel*, 5.
[30] ARA, *Assessment Criteria of the ARA Qualifications Accreditation Panel*, 12.

qualifications standard is set by a panel of ARA members, who "shall be or shall have been practising archivists" the affirmation and circulation of authorised conceptions of archival value has become integral to a sense of professional belonging.[31]

While being part of the 'expert' group could lead to positive experiences – the supportive and cooperative nature of the 'professional' archives community was cited several times – it could also lead to a sense of loneliness and isolation. Some respondents, for example, associated their qualified status with being separated from the experiences of other people. Interviewee 05 pointed out: "I'm the only one in the whole of the borough who is qualified as an archivist…"[32] Although they went on to share experiences of working with community archives and colleagues within the local authority who were also engaged in work with archival heritage this participant felt notably different from them. Later in the same interview, while talking about engaging new audiences with archives, they suggested "we speak a different language [chuckles] we call them records and things like that they call them pieces of paper and documents you know [chuckles] we've got a set of rules that people have to stick by…"[33] The "we" here encompasses archives practitioners as a class of experts with their own terminologies and ways of seeing the world that are distinctive; "they" are community archives and audiences for archives. The difference conferred by 'archivist' status is enjoyed on the one hand, as indicated by the chuckles, but understood as a barrier on the other.   Again, the participant indicated difficulty in communicating outside archival circles: the distinctiveness of language and adherence to particular "rules" distinguish the qualified practitioner from others.

The practitioner's world and sphere of influence was defined by "the sector", a term familiar from Chapter Three. [34] It was most commonly used by respondents to denote the plural of archival repositories and archival activities. Although the term was endemic throughout interview responses, when asked directly about "the sector" all interviewees questioned its extent and nature, seeking to problematize it. Interviewee 10, for example, asserted: "There isn't a homogenous sector, I think we have some

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[31] ARA, *Assessment Criteria of the ARA Qualifications Accreditation Panel,* 3.
[32] Interview 05 (Archivist), interview with the author, July 15 2015, by telephone.
[33] Interview 05 (Archivist).
[34] For further discussion of 'the sector', see Chapter Three, 106-115.

homogenous concerns…"[35] However, uncertainty about its validity did not appear to inhibit the use of the term. On the contrary, the majority of participants went on to apply it in significant and indicative ways. Interviewee 08 offered an extended and nuanced description, using the metaphor of a rainbow:

> the sector is erm again it's a whole spectrum and it's easier to define and identify at one end of the spectrum and then it gets very erm granular and fuzzy at the other end and I think it was [named colleague] who a few years ago came up with this lovely rainbow [laughs] of the sector so at the one end you've got erm you know like county record offices that are also Places of Deposit maybe university archives so big formal professional set ups that call themselves an archival record office that have got archivists working there using international standards blah de blah de blah and then as you move across the spectrum you know and ultimately end up with archives that are still in private hands or community hands you may also have archives that don't even identify themselves as archives or see themselves as part of that spec [sibilant transition] sssector…[36]

This visualisation of 'the sector' appears to reflect an understanding of the legitimate functioning system of archival institutions identified in The National Archives' documentation and discussed in the previous chapter.[37] Although the metaphor of the rainbow invites us to imagine the equality or "ecosystem" of different types of archival custodian, the subsequent description belies this. It calls upon an ordering metaphor, the spectrum, positioning instances and locations of archival work between two extremes. The interviewee gives primacy in their description to county record offices and Places of Deposit, the legislatively authorised locations of archival heritage. The importance and centrality of these Archives is implicit in the verbal organisation of the metaphor. The interviewee goes on to categorise these institutions as "big, formal, professional", using language that signifies status and recognition. They identify two further characteristics of these "set-ups" – "archivists" and "international standards" -

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[35] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist), interview with the author June 3 2015, by telephone.
[36] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development), interview with the author, June 10 2015, London.
[37] See Chapter Three, 106-113.

to further underline their position. By employing qualified professionals and conforming to national and international standards they reflect and fulfil the requirements of the *Universal Declaration on Archives*.[38] This recognition of authority is arguably dismissed by the "blah de blah de blah" that follows, a rhetorical device that implies familiarity, boredom and perhaps impatience with the Archives described. However, at the same time it signifies the obviousness and inevitability of their position and status, so that the interviewee simultaneously asserts and mocks the modus operandi, reinforcing the hierarchy while appearing to dismiss it.

At the other end of the spectrum are archives that the custodians themselves don't even recognise as archival heritage. Nevertheless, Interviewee 08 asserts metaphorical control over them, by recognising them for what they are even though their owners or communities may not. While they may not perceive themselves to be part of 'the sector' they still fall within the definition. The interviewee was subsequently asked where The National Archives sat on the "spectrum". They responded that it was "at the end of the super mainstream", arguably occupying a point from which all archival activity and 'the sector' may be defined and controlled. [39] This ideation of the spectrum works, firstly, to define the broadest possible array of archival activity as 'the sector', and secondly, to order it from closest to furthest away from The National Archives. Qualifiedness and "professional set-ups" are proximal to The National Archives while community archives and archives in private hands are furthest away.

This interviewee used the word 'sector' 77 times during their interview, the most of any respondent (although Interviewee 06 was a close second at 66 times). They continued to express complex mixed views about what 'the sector' is and how it should be approached. Later they stated: "the big county record offices that were the backbone of the sector and the main points of collecting that's all shifting now you're getting much more integrated ecosystems but… it's like any ecosystem it's complicated." [40] This recognition of the multiple diversity of archival activity is

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[38] See Chapter Three, 90-92; 100.
[39] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
[40] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).

dissonant with the earlier metaphor of the rainbow or spectrum. The linear, structured nature of the first is unlike the rich, interconnectedness of the latter. The "super mainstream" of The National Archives and of the "big formal professional set ups" previously described is another iteration of the "backbone". The exact language of *Archives for the 21st Century* is invoked and apparently dismissed but later resurfaces. The interviewee cycled back to the same imagery a third time:

> it's not as simple as yeah the backbone of the county record offices / PODs
> [Places of Deposit] and then the universities and the branches and then the you
> know charities businesses and private owners and erm little museums it's not
> erm [hesitates]… [41]

Claims that they no longer see 'the sector' in linear, hierarchical terms are belied by their repeated use of linear, hierarchical imagery. While they reject the simplicity of this perspective, no alternative is presented except the unspecified "ecosystem". As discussed in Chapter Three, the language of the "ecosystem" replaced the "backbone" in *Archives Unlocked* but in such a way as to perpetuate 'the sector' as a natural creature or organism. This organism has an explicable biology which can be mapped and used, and which can be subject to management, an activity equated with the conservation work of the zookeeper. While elaborating an approach to a national Collections Strategy Interviewee 08 reinforced the pre-existing imagery of 'the sector' for a fourth time:

> a lot of our work's been looking at how we work through existing networks in
> the archive world or how we foster those in an erm where it makes sense. So
> then we've got a very strong sense of network and networks of networks erm
> and how how we need to work through that… [42]

These responses suggest interconnected and reinforcing discourses about the identity of archives practitioners and the structure of archival work. Taking "the course" and becoming "qualified" is a process of transformation that inducts individuals into shared

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[41] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
[42] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).

ways of thinking about archives. These ways of thinking are distinctive from those of non-qualified people, even where they may be working in the same archival context. An insider/outsider dialectic is established, which can appear hostile, even cultish, and which can act as a barrier to communication. Qualified practitioners are most likely to work in recognised archival repositories, positioned in contexts that are proximal to discursively authorised archival heritage.

This dynamic is not unique to archivists as a profession. An extensive literature on the sociology of professions and the production of professional identity exists, which asserts that identity formation is characterised by "shared educational backgrounds, professional training and vocational experiences."[43] Although previous research in this area has focused on service professionals, educators and social workers the responses of my interview sample suggest the findings are equally applicable to archives practitioners. Further, the context of the evolution of archival training and practice over the last 120 years is aligned with that of other professions in the twentieth century.

The development of archival practice has been characterised by an emphasis on increasingly specialised bodies of knowledge that demarcate "qualified" practitioners from others. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century staff were recruited to the Public Record Office (and the small number of other archival institutions in England) from an undifferentiated field of classically educated candidates. Very few had any prior knowledge or experience of working with historic records. A skills gap was recognised as early as 1902, leading to the foundation of the School of Local History and Palaeography at Liverpool, but the focus was on interpreting and understanding documents rather than the mechanisms of archival practice.[44] The creation of the National Register of Archives (NRA) and the County Committees for the survey of historic records in England in 1945 created a new market for archival skills. Haunton has demonstrated how the NRA's first director, G.E.G. Malet, actively campaigned for the establishment of local county record offices to hold

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[43] Julie Evetts, "Professionalism: Value and Ideology," *Current Sociology Review* 61, no. 5-6 (2013): 780.

[44] Elizabeth Shepherd, "Developing a New Academic Discipline: UCL's Contribution to the Research and Teaching of Archives and Records Management," *Aslib Proceedings* 58, no. 1-2 (2006): 11.

and provide access to identified archives.[45] By 1959 almost every county in England had a record office.[46] Shepherd has identified this as a significant factor in the establishment of the first postgraduate courses in archives management in the late 1940s. Five universities introduced professional qualifications for archivists in the early NRA period between 1947 and 1955.[47] The courses were established to provide suitably qualified staff to record offices outside of the management of the PRO, providing a means to conform local practices to established principles. The courses were led almost exclusively by senior professionals, mostly from the PRO, teaching central government practices for listing, indexing and administering archives that could be reproduced across the UK. The qualification became a distinctive commodity, conferring the authority of the National Register of Archives, the PRO and central government on local activity.

Notably the PRO itself did not employ a 'qualified' archivist until 1979, preferring instead to recruit civil service candidates and train them in house. [48] Indeed, this remains the case at The National Archives where only one of the current Directors has a background in archival practice.[49] This may seem inconsistent for an organisation at the 'super-mainstream', if "the course" is understood as the primary means of conferring authority through expertise. However, this ambivalence towards qualification may arise from the belief that "the course" is a way of aligning archival practices with values that are originate in and are embodied by TNA as an authorising agency.   Qualification becomes a mechanism, not unlike Archive Service Accreditation, that embeds, reproduces and circulates TNA's values throughout 'the sector'.

This may be understood as an extension of TNA's role and function as a government department. Terry Johnson has argued that modern professions are an integral apparatus of Foucault's theory of governmentality, providing the "institutions, procedures, tactics, calculations, knowledges and technologies'" that reinforce the

[45] Melinda Haunton, "County Committee to County Record Office? The National Register of Archives and the Growth of the County Archives Network," *Archives and Records* 34, no. 1 (2013), 18.
[46] Haunton, "County Committee to County Record Office?" 15.
[47] Shepherd, "Developing a New Academic Discipline," 12.
[48] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 65.
[49] The National Archives, "Executive Team," *The National Archives*, 2019, accessed Feb 16, 2019. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/about/our-role/executive-team/

activity of government in society.[50] In the case of archival practice this is particularly apparent, given the state-sponsored origins of qualification pathways. Johnson has further located the apogee of professionalism in Britain in the late 1940s, just as archival practice was becoming associated with particular ways of conceptualising and working with archives. New professionals "were increasingly located in new, corporatist structures as 'neutral experts', with the task of implementing the social and political goals adopted by the National Wartime Government and its Labour successor."[51] This appeal to neutrality and social good resonates with the archival rhetoric of truth, accountability and integrity established by Jenkinson in the 1920s. As a professional the archives practitioner is able to be both integral to government on the one hand and yet independent of it on the other.

This is further reflected in the conflicted relationship between The National Archives and the wider 'sector'. Interviewee responses implied that the sum-total of archival practice is represented by this 'sector' of disparate types of organisations and activities. It is recognised as more euphemistic than real but nevertheless is used to structure thinking about what archives are. The National Archives, which is a non-ministerial department of government, is perceived to have centralised oversight and authority over it. Although this is not a position formalised by law it is implied and reinforced by a web of legal and advocacy functions, including TNA's alignment with the RCHM, the provisions of the Public Records Act 1958 and the transfer of advocacy and support functions from MLA as discussed in Chapter Three.[52] A liaison officer was first appointed by the PRO to oversee the activity of local record offices in 1964, the forerunner of The National Archives department which is now known as Archives Sector Development.[53] Although the 'sector' has never officially constituted a national distributed archives service, the activity of the PRO and subsequently The National Archives has strongly signalled that this is the case.[54]

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[50] Terry Johnson, "Expertise and the State," in *Foucault's New Domains*, ed. Mike Gane & Terry Johnson (London: Routledge, 1993), 140.
[51] Johnson, "Expertise and the State," 145.
[52] See Chapter Three, 101-102; 110-112.
[53] Shepherd. *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 65.
[54] Shepherd, *Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England*, 90.

Membership of 'the sector' has expanded to include a much broader range of archival actors, including community archives and archives in private hands. Previously used metaphors like "the backbone" of county record offices have been recognised as inconsistent with twenty-first century reality. However, while new ways of describing 'the sector' as a rainbow, ecosystem or network appear to be a shift in perspective, the interview analysis suggests that the new language is a decoy. It is used in ways that reiterate and reinforce old patterns of thinking. Rather than dispersing authority and experience such metaphors create a hierarchy that positions archival activity depending on its proximity and likeness to The National Archives and authorised repositories. Qualified practitioners, established from the mid-twentieth century onwards as the officers of sanctioned archival work, are used as a criterion for distinguishing between kinds of institution. This structuration has implications for the relative value of archival work. We might infer that the further away from The National Archives something is on the spectrum, and the further a person is from 'qualified' status, the less validity and authority they have. The archive 'sector' as a legitimate functioning system, identified as a key feature of the authorised discourse in Chapter Three, appears to be embedded in practice.

Shedding the snakeskin: Defining archives

During the second section of the interview participants expressed their personal views about what archives are, and were encouraged to consider different points of view including academic and community perspectives. Some questions from this section may appear basic and reductive. For example, "How would you define archives?" and "Would this definition change depending on who you were speaking to?" However, responses to these apparently simple and straightforward questions serve an important function in the analysis. They provide access to the immediate assumptions each respondent has about the heritage that they work with: what it is, what language is available to speak about it, what knowledge is required to understand it and so on. As Brothman has observed, definitions of the record don't stand alone but are

wrapped up in "detailed supplementary statements" that help us to understand the conditions and processes of archival work.[55]

When asked to provide their definition of archives the initial reaction of most of the interviewees was to laugh, groan or make other non-verbal noises before offering an answer. Interviewee 18, for example, began: "Oooh god argh that's an interesting one erm…"[56] This relatively consistent response can be explained in a number of ways. Some participants seemed to be expressing frustration at having to rehearse a tired debate; others appeared to recognise that the interview was entering disputed territory and were expressing nervousness or discomfort. A smaller third group saw the question as a knowledge test and assumed that I was looking for the right or correct answer. One began honestly: "I don't necessarily think about it but maybe that's an interesting one as well the fact that I don't really think about how I define archives I just do."[57] Either way there appeared to be universal agreement that this was a challenging question. In each case the term 'archive' was left open to interpretation and only two interviewees, 04 and 19, sought clarification on whether I meant Archives as institutions or archives as records. In both cases I invited them to choose at their discretion. Everyone else interpreted the question without prompting to mean archives as records.

Interviewees broadly fell into two categories, those who attempted to offer a 'textbook' definition of archives and those who improvised their own. In the former category definitions were sometimes offered ironically, as with 'The official definition is erm records that are deemed to be worthy of preservation [laughs] see I read the text book [laughs].'[58] Or were followed up with what they perceived to be a more realistic meaning:

> …strictly speaking if you're going down the archive profession perspective it's it's something like the records of people organisations that they create in the course of their business or their creative lives that kind of thing… I think in

[55] Brothman, "Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse," 314.
[56] Interview 18 (Archivist), interview with the author, June 26 2015, by telephone.
[57] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
[58] Interview 05 (Archivist).

> practice archives is one of those terms that is used by the public and by people generally to mean generally old things that might be dusty and live in a basement and that are old I bet…[59]

In this example, Interviewee 17 used the definition to reinforce the distinction between insider 'professional' perspectives and the outsider perspectives of 'the public' identified above. They demonstrated an awareness of the correct formulation of the insider point of view. If they were being "strict" that is the one they would use; but actually the more practical is the popular image of dusty old things familiar to a broader audience. In making this distinction the interviewee appears to conceive of the differences in definitions of archives as an extension of the differences in 'archivist'/qualified and non-professional/non-qualified identities. The response further demonstrates how practitioners use their shared learning experience and core texts from "the course" to inform their perception of archives. Some, like Interviewee 07, appeared to be quoting from rote, defining archives as "material that accrues either from the creative or collecting activities of individuals or organisations."[60]

However, definitions became messy when responses were improvised beyond bold statements. Where interviewees provided longer answers they were more likely to introduce ideas that were dissonant or in conflict with their initial statements, finishing with expressions of uncertainty or asking the interviewer for reassurance that their response was correct. This type of answer was usually made up of two parts, beginning with a statement about archives as things followed by a statement about archives as actors. In this way archives were defined both by what they are and what they do in the world:

> it's a collection of items that may be paper, electronic, that come together to form a story about something.[61]

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[59] Interview 17 (Librarian), interview with the author, July 10 2015, by telephone.
[60] Interview 07 (Archivist), interview with the author, Jun 4, 2015, by telephone.
[61] Interview 04 (Cultural Heritage Professional).

> So archives are erm the erm records of organisations or individuals which have been kept safe because they've got value for history or evidence or research in simple terms [laughs].[62]

Answers like these frequently referenced the potential formats or types of archival heritage, which were then listed. Interviewee 14, for example, provided a definition entirely based on the form and content of their own repository: "the official borough records so minute books, rate books, planning records all sorts of different things like that and a whole series of deposited records from the community…"[63] Statements about archives' abilities or uses focused on telling stories, supporting research and their role as evidence, qualities that find precedent in the language of the authorising documentation considered in Chapter Three.

Several responses drew a metaphorical parallel between archives and 'the sector', by describing the former as similarly organic, natural and biological and by stressing the cumulative nature of archives. This might occur in passing, such as in Interviewee 07's textbook definition, strongly reminiscent of Jenkinson: "organic accumulations of material that accrue either from the creative or collecting activities of individuals or organisations."[64] Or briefly as in Interviewee 20's answer: "I think an archive is just the natural accumulation of of material by a person or an institution really…"[65] One interviewee, however, gave an evolved simile of archives as biological remains, explaining:

> [laughs] Ok. This is the most horrible image but it works for me. It's, for me, archives are like the… they're like the shed snakeskin they're what people left behind when they moved away [interviewer laughs] from whatever it was they were doing so that they are naturally formed and they're not needed anymore and some of them like many many snakeskins you don't really want to have hanging around forever and that's not an archive but the ones that you say 'this is fascinating, this is interesting this is something we want to preserve'… if I'm

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[62] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
[63] Interview 14 (Local History Officer), interview with the author, Jun 19, 2015, by telephone.
[64] Interview 07 (Archivist).
[65] Interview 20 (Archivist), interview with the author, Jul 16, 2015, by telephone.

> stretching this metaphor as far as it can conceivably can go it's the ones you put into a museum and say 'hey these are fascinating snakeskins please use them for reference'.[66]

This description foregrounds the naturalness of archives, which are imagined as shed organic tissue that was once part of its creator's body. This is an intimate conceptualisation that foregrounds the idea that archives are part of a biological system. The metaphor implicitly encourages us to think about how archives are selected for preservation, differentiating between the ones you "don't really want to have hanging around forever" and the ones you want to "put in a museum." The image of the chosen skins in a museum is invocative of natural history taxonomies and order. Although the metaphor positions archives as part of a natural process, it also hints at the intervention and decision-making of experts. 'The sector' is the 'ecosystem' in which such naturally occurring archival materials encounter the expertise necessary to identify and preserve them.

Only two interviewees eschewed the physicality of archives and defined them entirely by what they do in the world. One suggested they were defined by evidential qualities: "it [the archive] is an ability it's the ability to find out what happened when, who was involved, what it meant at the time and to be able to rely on that information to sort of build further, to move forward, to make a new decision."[67] The same interviewee stressed authenticity as a defining characteristic of archival material because "it has to be reliable you have to be able to trust it because if you can't trust it then you can't kind of move forward."[68] Interviewee 10 went further, offering a rights based definition: "archives are the one of the tools to enable humans to have the right and freedom of memory."[69] Their responses called upon the evidentials of truth, authenticity and rightness to determine what is and is not archival. However, both also marginalised the idea of archives as things and foregrounded their potential uses. Unlike other interviewees, whose definitions constructed archives as independent actors that did things without the intervention of human agents (a discursive

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[66] Interview 01 (Archivist).
[67] Interview 02 (No Descriptor).
[68] Interview 02 (No Descriptor).
[69] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist).

formulation introduced in Chapter Three) they recognised archives as "tools" or "abilities". They have to be activated in order to become what they are. This is a distinctive conceptual definition that may be partly explained by the particular work experiences of the interviewees involved. Both were engaged with archival theory and literature as an integral part of their practice. It may also be attributed to the development of accountability and social justice discourse in archival practice since the early 2000s, which will be discussed further below.

All but one interviewee said they would adapt their definition of archives when speaking to different types of audiences, although some clarified that this didn't mean they changed their view of what archives actually were but only the words they chose to describe them. One interviewee stressed that they would "always try and make the definition a transactional one a descriptive one of how an archive is produced rather than saying it could be digital records it could be film it could be paper it could be files because as soon as you start to say files minutes boxes it gets quite difficult."[70] However, generally, a consensus emerged that transactional or conceptual definitions of the archive, which were useful when talking to peers and in certain research contexts, were not fit for purpose for everyday encounters. Interviewees recalled having to explain their work to a lay person, like their hairdresser or taxi driver, and reverting to format-based definitions that had been previously rejected as unsophisticated or incorrect. Alternatively, they would offer a use definition of archives: "sometimes I just say that it's dealing with records and what's left of people's lives we're remembering people's lives we're remembering what they did we're remembering events we're passing things on for the future."[71]

One interviewee described approaching audiences that use archives for structured purposes, such as academic research, with a "kind of diplomatics approach, the kind of National Archivesy kind of approach", whereas:

> …other audiences they don't need to know all that that doesn't matter what they need is to be wowed. They want to see JB Priestley's shirt they want to see

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[70] Interview 01 (Archivist).
[71] Interview 05 (Archivist).

some First World War letters you know. It it's a a sensual experience it's a wow factor oh it's like Hogwarts you know it's that kind of thing and it's… if you start going on and on about all that kind of recordykeepingy kind of stuff that might [pause] that just isn't as exciting to people…[72]

Here a definition of archives associated with The National Archives was contrasted with intuitive, "sensual" responses of emotion and wonder that connect archives to significant historical figures and events in imaginative ways. In this way Interviewee 17 suggested a distinction between the values of archives to practitioners and other experts (such as historians) who understand the "recordykeepingy kind of stuff" and subaltern values held by other stakeholders. This recalled the dialectic in their previous definition of archives, between "strict" traditional notions and more permissive and expansive perspectives, intimating an awareness of two distinct ways of seeing and understanding archival heritage.

It is notable that in each of the cases cited above respondents segued unconsciously from thinking about how they would define archives to different audiences, to thinking about how they would describe their work, its purpose and effects. There was a tendency to elide ideas about what archives are with ideas about what archives practitioners do. This would imply a tendency for practitioners to identify strongly with the heritage that they work with, and to associate the definition of archives with the justification of that work. In their responses many interviewees were offering strategies about how to excite and interest people. Often this involved distancing themselves from the 'professional' or 'textbook' definitions – as Interviewee 17 put it, the "recordkeepingy kind of stuff" - offered in response to the first question. A dissonance was implied between what archives are and how they have to be presented in order to engage people. These represented attempts to talk across the qualified/non-qualified, practitioner/non-practitioner divide. On the one hand the respondents were keen to extend the reach of archives, but on the other implied a belief in the fundamental inability of the public to understand or value them for what they truly are.

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[72] Interview 17 (Librarian).

"Technically not correct": Perspectives on community archives

A related tension emerged when participants were asked how they felt about community archives and community archivists. On the surface the response appeared overwhelmingly positive and supportive. Interviewees seemed to concur with recent research on the value and positive impact of community archive activity conducted by Flinn *et al*, Caswell *et al*, Carter and others.[73] The passion of community archives work was highlighted: "I think the palpable enthusiasm is is fantastic and the democratisation of the processes is great…professionalism is a spectrum…"[74] However, at the same time, concern over the "ungoverned unregulated unmapped"[75] nature of community archives was repeated:

> '…many of these groups are going hell for leather scanning photographs and things without really any infrastructure in place for digital preservation or what's gonna happen if Maureen's shed goes up in flames and all the photos are lost or whatever else.'[76]

The question of sustainability and the physical safety of archival materials in community custody was introduced to balance or check the activity. Enthusiasm for and concerns about community archives were often expressed in the same sentence:

> I've spent an awful lot of time with community groups and volunteers and stuff and actually their knowledge and enthusiasm of what they care for is so powerful that I think that is good news for the term archives. Yes ok some of the things they do are highly questionable, and I have been on projects where I've turned round and I've said 'you can't do this' and once or twice it's had to be quite brutal when it's not acceptable…[77]

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[73] Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?" 71-86; Michelle Caswell et al., '"To be Able to Imagine Otherwise': Community Archives and the Importance of Representation," *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (2017): 5-26; Elena Carter, '"Setting the Record Straight': The Creation and Curation of Archives by Activist Communities. A Case Study of Activist Responses to the Regeneration of Elephant and Castle, South London," *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (2017): 27-44.

[74] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).

[75] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).

[76] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional)

[77] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist).

Here community knowledge and enthusiasm are placed in contrast to the proper care and management of collections. The archives practitioner, who has to intervene and "be quite brutal", is the arbiter of what is acceptable with regards the latter. The "Yes, ok" that separates the first half of the statement from the second is positioned in such a way as to undermine the initial positive assertion. It acts as a hinge, disrupting the sentiment of the sentence very much like a plosive 'but'.

Other interviewees responded by describing how they had changed their minds about the value and role of community archives over time:

> I think ten years ago partly because I was still studying and I had less experience of the real passion that these groups can feel for the records that they hold I would probably have been much sniffier about it…[78]

Some indicated that shifts in their perspective were prompted by both the changing social context of archival practice and the level of resources available for archival work. Interviewee 07 suggested that their earlier "purist" perspective had been eroded by the lack of investment in active collecting by recognised repositories:

> …that's an area where my views have certainly modified over time erm I used to be very much a purist erm and I've come to the conclusion that if if people aren't doing this then things aren't going to be saved…[79]

Interviewee 11 shared a similar perspective:

> I think I think what changed my mind really was the contact with these different community archives where people were saying well there are alternatives to a proper record office and at first I was no no no but after a while you think perhaps they can be…[80]

In both cases the dichotomy between archives practitioners and the "proper record office" and the activity of community archives was reasserted before the possibility of sharing archival work was considered. Community archives were positioned as

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[78] Interview 01 (Archivist).
[79] Interview 07 (Archivist).
[80] Interview 11 (Independent archivist and historian), interview with the author, Jul 1, 2015, by telephone.

'alternatives' to recognised repositories, the implication being that they are competing for the same space in archival practice. However, the idea of the "proper record office" asserts that their activity is improper or unauthorised.

The archive collections themselves were conceived as a source of tension. Interviewee 14 identified conflict between community and "proper" archives as one of custodianship and management:

> I know that my previous boss who has just retired really didn't agree with that she wanted to try and collect all of the archives i.e. bring them under our under our management.[81]

They distanced themselves from this tension by projecting it on to a retired colleague, recognising that the opinion was outdated whilst taking the opportunity to express it. Later in the interview they personally accepted the expediency of partnerships with community archives: "I'm [pause] we are very limited in terms of resource and space and time and so I personally feel that community archiving is actually the way that we're gonna have to manage in the future."[82] They gave the example of a local funeral director who they had worked with to provide support for an in-house business archive. However, this relationship was less than straightforward and they went on to express uncertainty about the rightness of the situation:

> …it's a corporate archive it's a business archive but on the other hand what they need to understand is that those those burial records are an extremely important family history resource and… they had a fire and it nearly destroyed all of those records so there's a kind of level of responsibility and I do feel that we are still in a kind of not a superior position but in a more favourable position in that we can we still have enough funding and have our resources in a beautiful storage environment basically.[83]

The construction of the opening phrase suggests that the business's right of ownership over the records does not necessarily equate to a right of custody because, as they

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[81] Interview 14 (Local History Officer).
[82] Interview 14 (Local History Officer).
[83] Interview 14 (Local History Officer).

"need to understand", their records may be ascribed value beyond their corporate use. The evidential potential of the record for family history should be considered over and above their role in the business. The interviewee justifies this statement by suggesting that the records are in danger of physical damage and should be transferred into the borough's "beautiful storage environment." They introduce and then dismiss the idea that the Archive is in a "superior position", replacing it with the weaker adjective "favourable". However, the spectre of superiority has been introduced and cannot be completely dismissed. The use of the terminal "basically" suggests that their reasoning is straightforward and obvious, and works to shut down debate about what they have said.

When asked to offer an opinion as to why the business chose to keep its own records they made their position more explicit, speculating:

> I think both of those people actually have a sense of ownership over those
> records that is technically not correct.[84]

The interviewee reduces the business's actual ownership to "a sense of ownership", which they then dismiss as incorrect with the invocation of the modifier "technically". Clearly the "technically" in this statement does not relate to a technicality of the law, under which they are property of the business, but to an alternate set of beliefs about the status of archival heritage. The interviewee appears to be reclaiming the originally dismissed position of their former colleague. Although the idea that community archives are valid custodians was foregrounded in their initial statements, the opposite perspective is signified throughout their responses.

Other interviewees offered similarly in-depth and dissonant narratives about their relationships with community archives. In common with Interviewee 14 narratives about interactions and partnerships emphasised a teacher/taught, mentor/mentee dynamic, stressing the knowledge of archivists as opposed to the enthusiastic ignorance of the community. Interviewee 05 described the chaos of a community archive prior to their intervention with the support of HLF funding:

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[84] Interview 14 (Local History Officer).

> they'd been collecting objects and paintings and all sorts of things from the community including erm records and they'd got to the point whereby it was just in plastic bags in the attic and on top of people's wardrobes and under beds and things like that and they were getting terribly confused and stuff was getting damaged and they couldn't control it basically so erm this project what we did from the archives point of view is we actually taught them how to…[85]

In this scenario the community archive is cast as disorganised and lacking in direction. As in the example of the business archive the risk to the physical safety of the archival material is stressed. The intervention of the archives practitioner is to teach the correct ways of thinking about and approaching the material in order to make it safe. Ultimately the archive generated by the community was transferred into the custody of the local borough Archive. The interviewee was asked who made the decisions about what was ultimately deposited:

> [plosive chuckle] Yeeeees [laughs] a moot question erm we don't as such but we've told them categorically we're not [pause] they've got a lot of rubbish in there it's got to be said, we wouldn't have necessarily collected this stuff but it was part of the project and we were stuck with it…[86]

The community archive is thus de-valued. The co-option of the community's collection into the Archive has been achieved, but the effort is revealed to have been misplaced. The difference between how the community archive and the archives practitioner define archival value is underlined, while the value of community archives activity is implicitly questioned. Interviewee 06 also described their work to co-opt and absorb community archives but at the level of 'the sector': "that's the ultimate result in many cases of us talking to community archives is trying to plug them into that national network and that going back to sector clarity its actually plugging them into the wider sector which they probably… they may not, because they're very narrowly focused, be a… aware of how they actually fit in to the wider landscape."[87]

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85 Interview 05 (Archivist).
86 Interview 05 (Archivist).
87 Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).

What appears to be emerging in these responses is a dissonance between practitioner's actions and underlying thinking. Their actions, centralised in their responses, focus on supporting community archives to preserve and safeguard their collections. However, support was mostly in the form of didactic teaching about the "proper" and correct way to do things. Doing things correctly was privileged over enthusiasm or local knowledge. This reflects Smith's critique of heritage engagement practice as a mechanism for perpetuating authorised discourse by absorbing troubling alternatives. Concerns with the physical safety, context and intellectual management of the archives emphasised their value as evidential and informational resources, the authenticity and integrity of which were under threat. In order to capitalise on this value they must be brought within the system designed to map, govern and validate this value. The emotional or social values of the community, which were implied by their "passion" and "enthusiasm", are acknowledged but marginalised. Ultimately the community archive formed around such values proves to be "a lot of rubbish", confirming the inability of the community to make sound archival judgements. The relationship with archives practitioners is characterised by an anxiety about the fitness and qualification of the community archives on the one hand, and a desire to integrate and absorb them or their collections on the other. Engagement activity appears motivated by a desire to neutralise anxiety and take back control of the boundaries of archival practice, demarcating the values, role and rules of the archives practitioner in relation to those of the community.[88]

Storytelling "at the core of democracy": Systems of values

The third section of the interviews segued from community archives to a broader discussion of archival values. Participants were encouraged to consider different facets of archival value as well as contingency factors such as time, ownership and location. As in the previous section questions were intentionally open for interpretation, allowing each respondent to offer their unmediated thoughts. The first question – 'Why are archives valuable?' – was not considered as disconcerting or challenging as 'How would you define archives?' Interviewees clearly felt more at ease

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[88] This is discussed further in Chapter Five, especially 205-210; 214-219.

with the idea of describing values than demarcating the thing valued. This may be because, as Interviewee 12 implied, respondents did not so much identify archives as recognise them: "I don't really think about how I define archives I just do."[89] Practitioners intimated that the act of recognition was intimately connected to ideas about why archives were valuable; indeed, archival status was conferred by certain types of value ascription.

Responses fell broadly into two categories: those which explicitly privileged the evidence values of archives, as tools for democracy, transparency, accountability and the defence of rights; and those which could be coded as social, identity or emotional value statements. Although these categories were not mutually exclusive, almost all respondents favoured one or the other. Interviewees articulated these positions with widely varying degrees of confidence and distinction. One respondent, for example, an academic in Archival Studies offered an immediate and rehearsed response: "records are primarily important because they uphold and produce provide evidence of rights however those rights are perceived in any given particular judicial or social context."[90]   Others, like Interviewee 20 a recently qualified participant, expressed similar perspectives but with less clarity: "I mean for me my biggest thing with archives really is archives are about democracy it's about transparency…"[91] Another respondent made significant rhetorical claims in the same vein:

> [they] strike at the very core of sort of democracy, actually they're the most democratic vehicle that you can… that certainly you can think of in many ways, in having the ability to define and help define a person's space not only in time not only in the world not only in terms of their family but also in terms of society and their relationships with other parts of that society…[92]

These statements affirm that archives are not just valuable evidentiary tools but necessary to the democratic system. As Interviewee 20 put it: "not to be dramatic about it but the foundations of society quite frankly rely on on archives…"[93] This

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[89] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
[90] Interview 19 (Academic, Archive Studies), interview with the author, Jun 17, 2015, by telephone.
[91] Interview 20 (Archivist).
[92] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[93] Interview 20 (Archivist).

interviewee went on to suggest a gamut of uses for archives, from "learning about your past" to having the residency evidence required to apply for a job or housing, creating a totalising spectrum of evidential or rights values.[94]

Other responses outlined didactic, progressive or instrumental uses of archives associated with their evidentiality:

> …so they provide some evidence of of the past particularly past mistakes past decisions erm that would hopefully teach us how not to make the same mistakes in the future.[95]

In this construction archival value is related to the capacity to provide salutary learning experiences. Thus the evidential value in archives is not just in its specific informational content, but more broadly in the potential to construct narratives about the past for the present and future. As Interviewee 14 wryly put it:

> …it's the storytelling it's the bit about how we've lived in the past and why decisions have been made that actually effect the present day and erm why the present day is the way it is and also learning from the past to ensure that the future is brighter. Awww.[96]

Ideas about the democratic and progressive function of archives were apparently an inspiration for a significant number of these respondents. Seen in the context of prior statements it is possible to discern a relationship between 'the sector' and the value of archives as the product of an authorised political environment. The democratic function of archives is inextricably linked to the idea that they are created and managed by centralised governance systems. These systems, including 'the sector', works to reinforce certain ideas about what archives are and why they are valuable based on their evidential uses.

Where cultural and social values were invoked they were enabled or activated as part of this evidential regime. Those respondents who had worked closely with communities appeared to express a more nuanced view of values. Interviewee 12, for

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[94] Interview 20 (Archivist).
[95] Interview 07 (Archivist).
[96] Interview 14 (Local History Officer).

example, described how they had started to think differently as a result of working with diverse audiences:

> So when I was on the archives course I used to think of it in terms of the very traditional ways they teach you so they're important for evidence and authenticity and all that kind of very business thing and they are important for that but in the role that I do now I would say archives are important for actual sort of cultural and local identity. There's a lot that's tied up in it in terms of emotional identity as well it's not just about how a Council evidences their activities and legal and financial stuff there is a lot about what it means to individual people you know and people's identity is part of the group that they're in and it's a little snapshot in time.[97]

This recognition that 'traditional' ways of thinking may not be fit for purpose was shared by Interviewee 01:

> I think only some elements of the value… I think if you need something to be evidential and trusted in court then yes if there's no unbroken chain of custody then you are in trouble but I think that's a relatively limited part of what I'd see as the general social value of archives.[98]

However, critical concern emerged around cultural and social values, which were seen as much harder to identify and manage than evidential value. The latter was apparently self-evident and inherent, while the former was messy. Again, it put the archives practitioner in a position of conflict with their audience:

> …obviously that is in the eye of the beholder what one person would deem to be of cultural and historical value may not be but that's one of the problems that we have in archives we try to make decisions as much as we possibly can which means that we keep records for the future and what records we keep we've got guidelines we've got you know things that we all know we should be doing and all the rest of it and sometimes that can be quite confusing for the general public what they see think is valuable may not be erm the same

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[97] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
[98] Interview 01 (Archivist).

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> prominence that we feel the value is in that area erm and particularly when it comes to family records [plosive chuckle]…[99]

While Interviewee 05 accepted that cultural and historical value were subjective, they continued to position the archivist as an authoritative decision-maker about value. The issue was not that value was multiple and disputed, but that the general public and archivists were working to different value systems. Archivists share a value system – "we've got guidelines we've got you know things that we all know we should be doing" – which is not understood by "confused" outsiders. Family records, for example, which may be meaningful to an individual would not necessarily be accepted for preservation by an Archive. The response aligns the general public with the limited interests of the individual or family, while the archivist is making decisions on behalf of a broader constituency.

The question about the contingency of value caused significant confusion for some interviewees, leading to repeated rephrasing of the question and the provision of examples. It was nearly always necessary to offer examples such as time or location; if further clarification was needed, the specific case of recent interest in archival material of the First World War was suggested. This led several respondents to talk about the First World War centenary specifically; others chose to extrapolate that example onto another archive of their experience.

There was broad initial agreement that the value of archives was changed by circumstances. One interviewee, for example, suggested that the archive of Stanley Kubrick, which currently sees heavy research use, may no longer be popular in fifty years:

> …if he wasn't as famous as he was now which let's face it people always change in popularity then I guess the value of it technically if you're looking at value in terms of usefulness and erm relevance then that would drop…[100]

Use was the most commonly cited contingency factor in changes to the values ascribed to archives. If an archive was unusable – through being uncatalogued, held privately or

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[99] Interview 05 (Archivist).
[100] Interview 20 (Archivist).

through deterioration – or if levels of interest in it fell, than its value was seen to decrease. Similarly, activity that brought archives into use were felt to increase value. Enhanced cataloguing, description and deposit in a recognised archival repository were implicitly associated with this increase. One respondent saw this process as fundamental to the creation and ascription of value:

> …value is not inherent in the things because if they do not have people like us cataloguing them caring for them making sense of them and making them available then they don't have any value because they are just lumber they're just sat there they have no value at all and one of the things that archivists and librarians do is that we add value…[101]

They were not alone in seeing a correlation between the inputs of "people like us" and value. Interviewee 06 made a similar connection between value and the location of a collection in an "approved" repository, suggesting that:

> the important stuff is in the record office, if it was that important surely it should be behind a fire proof door… speaking as a historian you usually think that or say that the material held in the repository in the approved repository is of greater historical importance in terms of the national historical narrative…[102]

Here accessibility acts as a code for practitioner intervention, linking increased historical value and authority to archives managed within an authorised setting.

However, recognitions of the contingency of the value of archival material was often immediately undermined by statements reasserting inherent or intrinsic value. For example, in the case of the Kubrick archive, in spite of the imagined future in which his films are no longer popular or relevant, the interviewee considered that "in terms of its value to erm film students and learning from the person I don't think that ever changes."[103] When prompted to take this thought experiment further and consider whether changes in value might lead to reappraisal of collections, the interviewee reiterated:

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[101] Interview 17 (Librarian),
[102] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[103] Interview 20 (Archivist).

> …I think it [pause] the value can change in terms of how useful it is at a certain time but I don't think if somethings just not being looked at at the moment I don't think that personally a good reason to get rid of an archive cos otherwise we could probably get rid of an awful lot of stuff.[104]

This direct contradiction of the use-value nexus was replicated by a number of respondents, strengthening the hypothesis that use was not always a measure of value but a kind of 'dog-whistle' establishing the value of the archivist rather than the archive.

The interviewee further justified their position by referring to the records of indigenous residential schools in Canada, which had recently been the subject of child abuse enquiries and a Truth and Reconciliation commission. They noted that records of the schools had been considered unimportant in the past and some had been destroyed, whereas now they were vital to the wellbeing of survivors. [105] In this way they diverted attention from the subjective cultural and social value of the Kubrick archive on to a body of material currently ascribed with evidential or rights value. This dimension of value helped to clarify and justify the position of permanent preservation in the face of challenge.

In this way informational and evidential qualities were situated as inherent and objective, related to higher purposes of truth and authenticity, whereas social, emotional and cultural values were accepted as subjective. This meant that, while the values of archival material could change, the core evidential value could not be lost. For example, one respondent said: "The intrinsic nature of the record it's evidential value and it's information value value will be constant but the worth assigned to the evidence and information will vary over time…"[106] One respondent argued that the treatment of archives as cultural materials, and their association with cultural values, was an aberration of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and that the changeability of these values threatened the future of the archival profession. The

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[104] Interview 20 (Archivist).
[105] Since the interview a national archive of school records and the Truth and Reconciliation process has been established at the University of Manitoba. See http://umanitoba.ca/nctr/.
[106] Interview 15 (Photographic Archivist).

same respondent went on to express a strong Jenkinsonian perspective, suggesting that Archives should not collect diverse materials but should only preserve the records of their own institutions as evidence and decision-making tools.[107]

Finally, interviewees were asked to recall an occasion when the value of archives was clear to them. Overwhelmingly the responses concerned the emotional and social values of archives to an individual or type of individuals, most often family historians. Examples seemed to stand in contrast to the evidential value systems privileged when asked the abstract questions. There was a discernible gap between the theoretical principle and lived experience that was not recognised by the participants. However, it was notable that some used their answers to disconnect personal experiences from their social and emotional contexts and reconnect them to a framework of evidential and rights value. One respondent, for example, explicitly made the link between value for individual identities and membership of the wider democratic community:

> …it was amazing seeing how emotionally invested people were with people that they'd never met who had died long before they lived and you could see that specifically changing them to learn about that erm just seeing some people actually crying reading records of [inaudible] families from hundreds of years ago I I have absolutely no doubt from witnessing them doing that that did change them…having access to these kinds of records kind of makes people trust government a little bit more erm and civilisation in that sense because erm by having this information about yourself erm made available to you it just you have a little bit more faith in the system…[108]

In this answer the emotional response to archives is figured as transforming individuals into better citizens, while the provision of access to archives that help people to know themselves establishes trust in government. Although access to archival heritage was positioned as a 'right' by other interviewees, this respondent implied that the 'making available' of information about the self was a service that government invests in rather than a moral responsibility. The archive is seen as a knowing tool for shaping social

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107 Interview 19 (Academic, Archive Studies).
108 Interview 20 (Archivist).

change, an idea explored in Chapter Five. This directly echoes the idea that archives know more about people than people know about themselves from *Archives for the 21st Century*, although this particular interviewee claimed to have no knowledge of that document.[109]

The respondents who didn't use personal or individual examples chose instead to connect the emotional value of archives back to a rights framework, citing the Hillsborough Disaster Archive (Interviewees 06, 15, 17, 19) and the work of the International Criminal Courts. (Interviewee 19)   Cases that focused on the pursuit of truth on behalf of justice tied the emotional value of archival heritage back to its use and status as authentic evidence: "Hillsborough's a traditional example which has great resonance with councillors and people people recognise the importance of good information management…"[110]   Evidentiality in this context did not displace emotion as an archival value; rather it was figured as a universal underpinning from which all other forms of value emanate.

From emotion to political imperative

The final section of each interview was concerned with the strategic context in which archives practitioners and institutions operate and particularly the objectives expressed in *Archives for the 21st Century* and associated documents. Questions were designed to consider the extent to which the values or definitions provided during the preceding sections aligned with or contested the strategic priorities for archives in England. *Archives for the 21st Century* was selected as both the most accessible, and the most immediately relevant of the documents analysed in Chapter Three. Three respondents were very familiar with the policy and its principles because of their work context (one was able to recite the objectives to me) and three had never heard of it previously. Of these three two were recently qualified practitioners and one was a senior librarian. Most respondents' awareness fell in the middle, with them having heard of the document and read it at some point in the past. It was cited as one of the tools that practitioners in local government contexts might use to leverage funds and

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[109] See Chapter Three, 104-106.
[110] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).

influence: "…we all bandy it around we all quote it when we have to we all try to baffle people in the council with it and make it sound really important…"[111]   Generally, it was perceived as a good thing to have but didn't provoke either strongly positive or strongly negative responses. Interviewee 05's impression of it as a means of "baffling" politicians appeared to suggest that it was more of a talisman than a meaningful strategy.

Talking about *Archives for the 21st Century* prompted some respondents to underline the political and instrumental uses of archives, and the importance of conforming to national and local policy in order to secure funding. The connection between archival heritage and government activity that had been drawn ideologically during Section 3 of the interview was reaffirmed as a political imperative in Section 4. Interviewee 06 explained: "the drivers of archives are going to change very significantly in the local authority sector, the increasing importance of aligning oneself to key corporate aims and wellbeing and localism. The sector I think that part of the sector will have increasingly specific audiences that it will be targeting and working in relation to specific collections due to those drivers."[112] One interviewee described the importance of aligning archives work with political strategy: "what you have to do is to align yourself with the published priorities and strategies of your employing organisation and you have to twist [pause] no twist is the wrong word you have to align yourself and demonstrate as far as you possibly can how your activities match the often grossly torturous and irrelevant local government priorities…"[113] In this case the interviewee recognised the importance of playing the strategic game while questioning the wider relevance and value of doing so. This position combined cynicism at local and national government agendas with pragmatism, suggesting that archives practitioners should follow a course of action that ensures their survival. The interviewee originally described this as "twisting" before acquiescing to the prudent "aligning". Twisting is a powerful word that suggests that government priorities

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[111] Interview 05 (Archivist).
[112] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[113] Interview 07 (Archivist).

deform or derail archival work. Underlying this dynamic is an unarticulated set of alternate priorities that politically motivated alignments stray from.

Interviewee 08 saw this dynamic at work in *Archives for the 21st Century* itself, which was developed by a partnership of The National Archives and MLA. They noted: "MLA was much more banging the drum about inclusion and the political delivering to key agendas stuff erm and and driven by culture sector things rather than information whereas TNA was more about information evidence intrinsic value beauty of collections all that stuff..."[114] Findings from Sections 2 and 3 of the interviews would suggest that The National Archives perspective is the one with most currency amongst archives practitioners. The list of qualities given by Interviewee 08 also closely echo those of the proposed 'Authorised Archival Discourse'. Although social, cultural and emotional values were expressed, they were routinely linked back to or haunted by evidential value systems. Interviewee 08 went on to suggest a correlation between the investment of public funds in archives and their evidential status by stressing the fact that The National Archives was a non-ministerial department reporting to the Ministry of Justice:

> we can also look at the advantages of us being over here, not part of culture
> which may well get a erm bit of a funding battering erm you know and we need
> to be really thinking about what advantages or strength it gives us by being
> over here with MoJ with MoJ and being about evidence and transparency...[115]

Shortly after this interview took place policy responsibility and sponsorship of The National Archives was in fact moved from the Ministry of Justice to the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), more firmly associating archives with the culture sector and aligning it with different policy agendas.[116] Two months after this move the

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114 Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
115 Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
116 At the same time records management responsibilities were transferred to the Home Office. HM Government. *Machinery of Government changes: Data protection policy; Information Commissioner's Office; The National Archives; and, Government records management policy: Written statement.* HCWS209. Sep 17, 2015, accessed May 3, 2017.
http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Commons/2015-09-17/HCWS209/.

DCMS budget was cut by almost 20% or £1bn.[117] Although neither TNA nor the 'national network' of Archives are funded by DCMS, with the result that they are not directly affected by these cuts, the priorities and perspectives of parent organisations and funding bodies may change as a result. Budgetary restrictions could filter down as archives are positioned as cultural and social assets rather than as legal and evidentiary necessities. This suggests that the tension between archives as evidence and archives as cultural heritage objects is not just theoretical or ideological but closely connected to the ongoing financial viability of 'the sector'. The authorised discourse that stresses archives' intrinsic value as sources of evidence and rights is also a key factor in the justification of the infrastructure of buildings, staff and standards that preserve the status quo. Ideas that weaken this position, like the possibility of contingent, ascribed or relative values, may be seen as deeply problematic. This accounts somewhat for the fact that although such ideas were explicitly claimed by interviewees they were marginalised, contradicted and repressed within the same texts.

The authorising discourse acts as a rhetorical and literal safety net, stressing the relationship between the organisational structures of 'the sector', the status of Archive repositories and the values of archives. Statements that reinforce the evidentiality and authenticity of organically accumulating records in a legitimate functioning system of archival practice confirm the necessity of qualified practitioners. Although it may be expedient to align practice with current strategic priorities, the discourse provides a more enduring link to overarching principles of democracy and good governance. The contingency of social, cultural and emotional values which, like policy and strategy, change are fundamentally dissonant with evidential and informational qualities which are inherent and permanently required for transparency and accountability. Interviewee 08 resolved the dissonance between expediency/contingency and endurance/inherence by positioning the experience of change in archives as actual evidence of constancy:

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[117] Patrick Steel, "Chancellor announces cuts to DCMS and DCLG," *Museums Association News*, Nov 25, 2015, accessed May 3, 2017, https://www.museumsassociation.org/news/25112015-spending-review-museums-association.

> …if you're an archivist in an institution or a local authority you kind of know back to the mists of time what happened and you know how departmental structures have shifted and changed and how policies and strategies have come and gone and so you know that big picture so to some extent you should be quite comfortable with it and understand that life is always shifting and changing…[118]

In so doing they echo the discursive construction from *Archives for the 21st Century* of archival heritage as a fixed point in the flux of change, invoking the possibility of a timeless and unchanging system of values.[119] Archives practitioners and institutions may 'align' themselves with the zeitgeist but they ultimately represent a higher principle which is organic and natural.

This is an especially comforting proposition at a time of uncertainty and challenge for Archives as institutions. The final question of the interview asked respondents to consider the future of archives. Almost all interviewees interpreted this as a question not about archival heritage or archival practice, but about the future of institutions and archivists. Given the challenging economic context this is perhaps unsurprising. For many respondents, the future was uncertain. Interviewee 07 feared the ultimate loss of archival heritage because of the "the degrading of archival institutions", including their merging with other heritage organisations. They associated this decline with "the dilution of skills…where you're going to have less people who are professionally qualified, who are competent to actually manage archives as they need to be managed."[120] The future of archival heritage was hereby firmly linked with the health of institutions and practitioners.

This position was reiterated by interviewee 10 who thought that public sector Archives (e.g. the "backbone" of local authority and county record offices) were in particular trouble. They feared that "the majority of archivists first of all don't have the political nouse to fulfil those strategic priorities and demonstrate complex relevance and

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[118] Interview 08 (Archive Sector Development).
[119] See Chapter Three, 105.
[120] Interview 07 (Archivist).

secondly they don't have the knowledge…"[121] However, community archives and models of shared custodianship were not an answer to this problem:

> I've dealt with various community archives, and some of them are very well run actually but their sense of priorities is different and actually like so many places this lack of interest in serious policy structure and procedural structure could be their undoing…[122]

While community archives were "nice to have" their different priorities couldn't provide the requisite policy and procedural framework that 'the sector' naturalises and uses to structure its work. One interviewee critically situated the future of archives within the wider future of the public sector, pointing out that there was little to no benefit to a policy on archives on its own:

> I would like to see local councils properly funded… I think certain policies in recent years have been incredibly harmful to public life erm I I don't think that archives can be turned round without turning round those things you know you can't say oh the government's going to support archives but meanwhile austerity means that local authorities are having to choose between archives and adult social care for instance…[123]

The relationship between Archives, archival heritage and government was further concreted. Only Interviewee 02, borrowing from Verne Harris, asserted that archives will and do survive without an archival profession or institutional structure, albeit on the assumption that the work was so fundamental it would re-emerge elsewhere:

> …you know archival work can go on perfectly happily if there were no archivists on the planet or nobody called themselves an archivist because it would have to, society would fall apart without this sort of work, you know companies wouldn't function, we wouldn't know who we were and couldn't prove our birth certificate and you know all of that. So archives? Pretty rosy future…[124]

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[121] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist).
[122] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist).
[123] Interview 17 (Librarian).
[124] Interview 02 (No Descriptor).

Evidentiality and the challenge of postmodernism

Taken as a body of texts the seventeen interviews reflect a broad range of perspectives and practitioner backgrounds. The mode of expression and content is diverse. Nevertheless, critical discourse analysis has suggested a persistent tension between assertions about the evidential values of records, the status of archives practitioners and 'the sector' on the one hand, and ideas about social, cultural and emotional values, community archives and engagement activity on the other. Interviewees repeatedly employed discursive techniques to modify or tame the latter and conform to a system in which evidence values are privileged. By closely reading the interviews using CDA techniques it is possible to see how alternatives to the systematic ordering of 'the sector' and established conceptualisations of archives are delegitimised and marginalised. At the same time, however, practitioners work to situate themselves within an evolving narrative of dynamic and postmodern approaches to archival practice.

A series of complex, interconnected discursive elements can be identified from the interviews. In the first instance, they construct a narrative about the organic legitimacy of archives practice that occurs in a particular way and is undertaken by particular people. Ideas about the archives 'sector' as a natural and biological entity are repeated. We have seen how the language employed – of human and animal bodies and of ecological networks – constructs Archives as a functioning ordered system. The 'qualified archivist' is identified as the 'proper' worker in this system, as they understand the theories, procedures and practices that justify and structure it. This in turn reinforces the need for postgraduate training and maintains the distance between qualified and unqualified people. Brothman critiqued this discourse as early as 1991, arguing that certain forms of narrative about archival work imply "some naturally evolved adaptive forms of structural functional integration" and pre-suppose "the documentary model in society."[125] This impacts on what archives are able to be and do in that society.

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[125] Brothman, "Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice," 84.

In turn the structure, funding and authority of 'the sector' is deeply connected to government, at both national and local levels. In order to survive the system must "align" with and serve the priorities and instrumental demands of a moment in time. Interviewees recognised this as a cynical necessity. However, their relationship with government was more than skin deep. While a participant might roll their eyes at "tedious and irrelevant" policies on localism and wellbeing, they also made significant ur-claims for the inherent value of archives for democratic transparency and accountability. Archives were invoked as evidence of decisions that held people and institutions to account and from which we could learn the lessons of the past.   This discursive element was strongly expressed across the sample in ways that resonated with the claims of the documentation analysed in Chapter Three. It explicitly casts archives as knowing actors and archives practitioners as guardians of democratic rights and accountability. Interviewees were willing to assume this role. However, there was no explicit recognition of the potential conflict of interest inherent in holding government to account while also being funded and employed by it. Jarrett M. Drake, a radical activist archivist, has recently written about government "ownership" of archival labour. Comparing archival practice to journalism he asks: "…can you imagine a world where instead of having independent newspapers and news agencies that are not connected to power, the only sources for news were the corporations and governments themselves?"[126] This question is perhaps especially prescient following the election of President Donald Trump and the developing conflict over truth and authority in the media.

This way of 'doing archives' shapes how archival heritage is defined and identified. When rhetorics of democracy are privileged, the records produced by government, governing agencies and authorities, by decision-makers and by processes of citizenship, are most likely to be legitimised by the archival institution. A hierarchical system of value is established in which certain types of archives are prioritised for their evidential and informational quality. These materials conform to core principles of archival standards and are recognisable as analogues of structured thought and activity. They stand in contrast to the "rubbish" or ephemera that community archives

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[126] Drake, "Archivists Without Archives: A Labour Day 'Reflection", para 8.

or individuals may value for social, cultural or emotional reasons. Arguably, this conceptualisation of archives would be familiar to Jenkinson and his early twentieth century counterparts.

However, as explored in Chapter Two, archival practice has been subject to the late twentieth century challenge of postmodernism. Over the last 30 years archival theory and practice have responded to the demands of relativism and multiplicity, apparently re-evaluating metanarratives. Plurality, social justice and archival activism have been repeatedly expressed in the literature, highlighting alternative perspectives that recognise the contingency of values systems and reject a Western centric view of evidence. None of the interviewees in the sample expressed the most recent and radical positions about decentralised, deinstitutionalised practice espoused by Harris, Caswell or Drake. However, most interviewees, when asked about community archives or other uses of the term archives, expressed an appreciation of the validity of different archival ideas. The passion and enthusiasm of individuals was praised. Similarly interviewees were willing to consider intrinsic or relative values of archives and their contingency. However, there was a tendency to retreat from "the wilder shores of postmodernism" (as Interviewee 19 put it) when those positions conflicted with core tenets of the 'Authorised Archival Discourse'.[127] Respondents were willing to accept, for example, that archival values were contingent on factors of time and place but not that there were any direct consequences for the permanent preservation or appraisal of archival material. Interviewee 20 could recognise the subjective values of the Stanley Kubrick archive but at the same time continue to assert that it had intrinsic value. The dissonance in their position was marginalised by recourse to an example of the repurposing of a previously undervalued collection, the records of residential schools for indigenous peoples in Canada, for social justice work.

The role of archives and archives practitioners in social justice activity is a topic of contemporary debate, and is often interpreted as a direct response to postmodern reflection. Non-institutional, 'unofficial' movements from the 1970s onwards argued against the normative, mainstream narratives that excluded diverse identities from the

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[127] Interview 19 (Academic, Archive Studies).

archives. In 1975, for example, the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives made a formal statement of purpose: "A conspiracy of silence has robbed gay men and lesbians of their history. A sense of continuity which derives from the knowledge of a heritage is essential for the building of self-confidence in a community. It is a necessary tool in the struggle for social change."[128] Forty years later developments in digital technology have made it possible for communities to build and populate online archives that "question traditional dominant archival definitions of records as impartial by-products of activity and fill in gaps in the historical record for which pre-existing documentation does not exist."[129] The archives being created by communities of identity and geography seek to redress imbalances of power, and to represent different experiences of the world. The work of creating such archives has been characterised as activism; as previously noted Caswell has described it as a fight against "symbolic annihilation". Such activities are not just about changing the past, but also "changing what we envision is possible for the future."[130]

Archives practitioners and archival institutions have been encouraged to engage with these activist and justice approaches. This may include changing collections development strategies to explicitly include marginalised or under-represented people; collaborating on archives projects with communities; and revisiting catalogues or terminologies to address inequalities.[131] Archives practitioners have been positioned as powerful "witnesses" in society and "thus instruments of social justice in witnessing to others."[132] Elena Danielson has argued that "As keepers of society's collective memory and identity archivists hold a role in society that goes beyond the letter of the law or the niceties of professional standards."[133] Work in post-colonial contexts, and particularly in Australia, South Africa and Canada, has been widely published and presented at practitioner conferences. In Australia projects to discover and make accessible the archives of Child Migrants, Forced Adoption communities and

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[128] Marcel Barriaut, "Archiving the Queer and Queering the Archives: A Case Study of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, ed. Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet, 2009), 100.

[129] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 30.

[130] Caswell, "Inventing New Archival Imaginaries," 37.

[131] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 8.

[132] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 18.

[133] Danielson, *The Ethical Archivist*, 24.

the Stolen Generations have led to radical calls for "the transformation of evidence and memory management frameworks and infrastructures into a new dynamic, distributed, participatory paradigm…more able to heal than harm."[134] As well as the right to access, it has been argued communities should also have the right to appraise, describe and disclose their own archives in a continuum of co-creation, participation and agency.

These developments are made visible in the interviews by references to the activation of archives for human rights, Truth and Reconciliation and justice activity. The activities of the Hillsborough Independent Panel, the International Criminal Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions were cited as demonstrations of the power and values of archives. They are also evident in more generic statements about the role of archives in supporting identities and engaging with marginalised communities, as for example in Interviewee 15's experiences during the *Connecting Histories* project. However, these references were often ambivalent or confused, linked most frequently to pre-existing discourses about evidence, truth and authenticity rather than connected to activist ideologies. Even where subjectivity and multiplicity were acknowledged the same interviewee would follow by expressing conflicting positivist views about values. Interviewee 14, for example, described their work with a local activist group that distributed "fake archives" to disrupt expectations about the past in their local area. Initially they spoke positively about this group and claimed a close association, but later returned to discursive formations that stressed order and the authority of the archival practitioner.

Interviewees apparently held such opposing views simultaneously in a dissonant tension. This may be because, as Cifor has suggested, even when social justice principles are accepted, the context of neoliberal inequality in which archives operate work against them. Evans *et al* states that projects in Australia have been limited by existing archival paradigms: "While the academic and professional discourse reflects increased sophistication in understanding of the multiple, complex and often conflicting role of archives in society, archival infrastructure continues to be

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[134] Evans et al., "Self-determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," 347.

representative of, and configured around, traditional orthodoxies."[135] The analysis of documentation in Chapter Three and of the interview texts may suggest that Evans makes a false distinction between "professional discourse" and "archival infrastructure". The findings here suggest that the "traditional orthodoxies" that she identifies stem not from practice but from an 'Authorised Archival Discourse' that naturalises an infrastructure and set of ideas that ultimately privilege evidential values.

The centrality of evidence and authenticity to archival work has been used to critique the concept of archivist as activist, as with Greene's argument that while the archivist can no longer be objective in a postmodern world, they should still strive for neutrality through transparency. Biases in any direction should be avoided, because "social activism in archives posits that there is some defined, universally accepted power structure against which archivists must work."[136] Interviewees appeared to be caught in a middle-ground between the possibility for activism expressed by Caswell and imagined by Cifor, and Greene's suspicion of it. In this respect they represented the current status of the archival debate.

However, their ability to marginalise the dissonance of these positions by recourse to evidential value systems suggests a distinctive discursive coping mechanism. Interviewees did not actually display the shift in perspective anticipated in a postmodern environment; on the contrary they continued to express ideas about what archive are, what they do and who should look after them of long standing. Where they shared contemporary perspectives on social, cultural and emotional values they used a convergence of postmodern and traditionalist ideas to reconfigure established modes of thinking. Ascriptions of 'softer' values by communities were in contrast to the 'hard' evidential and informational values perceived as inherent by archives practitioners. The ability to interpret and recognise these different priorities reinforced status quo dynamics of power and communication between qualified and non-qualified people. Critically, social justice activities were identified as an acceptable face of postmodernity. They fulfilled requirements to recognise the subjectivity, rights and individuality of people without eschewing the critical qualities

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[135] Evans et al., "Self-determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," 355.
[136] Greene, "A Critique of Social Justice as an Archival Imperative," 313.

of archival evidence. High profile examples like the Hillsborough Independent Panel demonstrated the continued relevance and applicability of traditional ideas about the definition and value of archives. They neutralised postmodernist ideas by reaffirming the necessity of archival ways of looking at the world.

Social justice narratives do not require practitioners to recognise a new value paradigm that includes subaltern values. Instead they make safe space for alternate perspectives within the authoritative expert-led evidence-based discourse. Dissonance is reconciled through deflection, whereby new justifications are made for existing practices and priorities. This has been expressed explicitly by Craig Gould, who argues that the core principles of archival practice, of "evidence, context, selection and aggregation", are not incompatible with the democratisation of archival work.[137] He suggests that the archivists' work of privileging certain types of information over others, whether that be to underpin dominant societal structures or fight for social justice, inserts them "directly into the moral and political discourse."[138] Democratisation and privileging actions are not mutually exclusive, and "the future of archives…lies not in democratisation or privileging but in a form of democratisation and privileging or, to be more precise, in democratisation by privileging."[139] Archives may be "of the people, for the people" while still remaining under the systematic control of 'qualified' practitioners.[140]

This complex and pervasive dynamic has significant potential impact on how archives practitioners and institutions interact with communities and public audiences. In particular, the implication that the priorities, values and motivations of community archives are different may shape relationships with community archives and groups. It may work to inhibit conversation between qualified and non-qualified people, and place strain on attempts at partnership working.

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[137] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 243.
[138] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 242.
[139] Gauld, "Democratising or privileging," 232.
[140] Max J. Evans, "Archives of the People, by the People, for the People," *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 387.

Chapter Five

Instrumentality:

Engagement and Community

What is the city but the people?

William Shakespeare[1]

Telling the story of the people of York, the archive will be for all the people of York, enriching lives in all sorts of ways.

City of York Council[2]

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[1] William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, ed. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2007) Act 3, Scene 1, 232.

[2] City of York Council's "Vision for the Archives", quoted in Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 1.

Whereas previous chapters have focused on identifying and exploring discursive assumptions about the values of archives, this chapter considers how those assumptions have impact in practice. Specifically, it focuses on the intersection of 'Authorised Archival Discourse', the evidential typology of values and the 'outreach' and 'engagement' activity that has become central to the work of public Archives. Social rather than evidentiary values are often associated with this form of work, which is typically foregrounded in discussions about the participation of public audiences in culture and heritage. 'Community engagement' has become a central tenet of approaches to diversify and broaden the user base for archival heritage. This has been driven, in part, by government agendas for inclusion, diversity and equality, and by instrumentalist rhetoric that deploys heritage and culture to tackle social issues. For example, by foregrounding the values of archives in creating or corroborating the narratives of "shared history", "cohesion" and "resilience" evoked by the documentation analysed in Chapter Three.[3]

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the sociological theory of communities and the loaded rhetoric of 'community' as an ideal form of living, particularly highlighting the politicised use of the term in England since 1997. It considers how government policy and funding programmes have mobilised archival organisations to focus on 'community' as a unit for targeted 'engagement'. Current archival approaches to engaging or participating with communities are outlined and claims about the role of archives in the formation, cohesion and sustainability of communities are explored. Finally, the chapter concludes by suggesting how ideas about social values have been adapted into evidentiary discourses.

My analysis draws primarily on a detailed case study of the *York: Gateway to History* project. This project was awarded a £1.68m grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) in December 2012, supplemented by a further £250,000 from City of York Council.[4] Its purpose was to "create a 21st century Archive and Local History service for York…which reflects all communities and cultures, past and present, in this ancient

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[3] See Chapter Three, 104-106.
[4] York Press. "£1.6m boost for York archives," *York Press*. Dec 13, 2012, accessed Oct 12, 2017. http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/10105834._1_6m_boost_for_York_archives/.

city."[5] The project was developed and delivered over a five-year period, from 2011 to 2016, initially by City of York Council (CYC), the owners and custodians of the city's civic archives, and subsequently by Explore York Libraries and Archives (Explore). Explore is a non-profit community benefit society which was contracted by CYC to provide the city's archive service after May 2014. My case study focuses on key elements of the community engagement activity which took place in two principal phases: during the consultation exercises that informed the development of the HLF bid in 2011 and 2012, and during the delivery phase in 2015 and 2016.

This example is reinforced by comparative reference to two analogous archival heritage projects in Yorkshire during the same timeframe: the £1.58m *Heritage Quay* project at the University of Huddersfield (2012-2017) and the £4.09m *West Yorkshire History Centre* project delivered by West Yorkshire Joint Services (2012-2018). These projects were also funded by the HLF, including both capital building works and engagement programmes, and thus generated similar bodies of documentation and media output.

Participation, engagement, collaboration, co-production

A suite of related but distinct terms are used to describe interactions and encounters between people, archival heritage and archival institutions within the case study projects. Some of these terms have a range of meanings, both theoretical and practical, in cultural heritage and research contexts which make it necessary to clarify and explain their use.

Throughout this chapter participation and engagement are treated as related but distinct forms of activity, which cannot be assumed to be interchangeable. Participation in archival heritage, as defined by the UK government's Taking Part survey, includes a range of actions from using digitised resources online to visiting an archival institution for research.[6] At its most basic, participation requires an awareness of the location of archives as well as a motivation to encounter them.

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[5] Jura Consultants and Taylor. *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan*. I.
[6] Taking Part is a "continuous face-to-face survey" of adults and young people and has been taking place since 2005. It provides the main evidence source for DCMS and covers the cultural and heritage sectors. For more information see https://www.gov.uk/guidance/taking-part-survey.

These encounters can be recorded, benchmarked and reported against but represent a relatively passive interaction with archival heritage. Hargreaves and Hartley have argued that Taking Part only tracks "an attenuated notion of participation", foregrounding consumption over production or creativity.[7] It further omits the interactions that people may have with archival heritage in other settings, such as in the context of community archives, local historical societies and online communities like the York Past and Present Facebook group. In contrast, engagement may be understood to involve a broader involvement with and commitment to archival activity. It further implies a range of potential mutual interactions between individuals, groups and archival institutions.

Both terms commonly feature in the bid and delivery documentation for the *York: Gateway to History* project, where they are used as synonyms. The same is true of the bids for the *Heritage Quay* and *West Yorkshire History Centre* projects. 'Engagement' is used 70 times and 28 times respectively in their Activity Plans, while participation (and its derivatives and roots) is deployed 102 times by the *Heritage Quay*. Notably participation (and its derivatives and roots) was never used by interviewed archives practitioners. Instead, engagement was the term commonly applied, with nine out of seventeen interviewees using it at least once. Two interviewees (06 and 14) used it more than 30 times each. The term 'outreach' was also used in the bid and delivery documentation. A key role in the *York: Gateway to History* project, for example, was the Community Collections and Outreach Archivist. Both Huddersfield and West Yorkshire used it 13 times each. However, it was much less likely to be applied by interviewees: only six participants used it and infrequently.

This may suggest a distinction between typologies of community/archives interaction in active use by practitioners and those used to leverage support from funding bodies and to advocate for projects with parent organisations like local authorities. Participation, a term closely associated with government benchmarking and metrics, is far more likely to be deployed for the latter. The difference could also indicate

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[7] John Hartley, "A problem of knowledge – solved?" in *The Creative Citizen Unbound: How Social Media and DIY Culture Contribute to Democracy, Communities and the Creative Economy*, ed. Ian Hargreaves and John Hartley (Bristol: Policy Press, 2016), 40.

growing awareness of the limitations of 'participation' and 'outreach' as concepts amongst practitioners. In particular, 'outreach' has been criticised as patronising, for its implicit assumption that people "need help to realise what wonderful materials we have."[8]

Collaboration and co-production are key models emerging in cultural heritage literatures as tools for engagement practice, and have recently found traction in archival studies.[9] However, while they are central to the production of this thesis, it is important to note that they were not yet in active use by practitioners in England during the period covered by my research. There is no incident of either term, in context, in the documentation, interviews or projects under analysis. Collaborate and collaboration do appear infrequently but always in relation to work between archives practitioners rather than with the public.

Consequently, this chapter employs 'engagement' as the primary term to describe a range of interactions between archives practitioners, community groups and the public. Although engagement is increasingly contested and challenged by co-productive paradigms that stress archival autonomy and agency, it is the term with the most currency in this context and therefore of most relevance.

The sociology and politics of community

In Chapter One I outlined the definitions and conceptualisations of community applied in archival studies and cultural heritage contexts, justifying its use as a unit for study.[10] However, for the purposes of this chapter it is worthwhile setting the discussion in the context of broader social and political debates. Community is a longstanding concept of sociology, in common use since the late nineteenth century. Historically it is associated with "the search for belonging in the insecure conditions of modernity" arising from the revolutions in America and France in the late eighteenth century and further compounded by industrialisation.[11] In this sense it has referred to social

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[8] Isto Huvila, "Another Wood Between the Worlds? Regimes of Worth and the Making of Meanings in the Work of Archivists,' *The Information Society* 31, no. 2 (2015): 132.
[9] Belinda Battley, "Co-producing Archival Research with Communication, Reflexivity and Friendship: Crossing the Three-Wire Bridge," *Archival Science* 17, no. 4 (2017): 375.
[10] See Chapter One, 26-29.
[11] Delanty, *Community*, 1.

groups, often focused on place and class as defining characteristics. In the late twentieth century Benedict Anderson's seminal work on the "imagined" national community shifted this focus, re-figuring communities as cognitive and symbolic structures which may or may not be place-based.[12] Consequently Cohen argued that community is not a "thing"; instead it is a boundary making tool that people use to differentiate themselves from others, as "a cluster of… ideological map references with which the individual is socially oriented."[13] For Edward Soja the cognitive construct of the community creates a "third space", in which communication and collective action are central to identification and belonging.[14]

Such a broad theorisation of community as symbolic and communicative allows for overlapping virtual, spatial and emotional understandings. So that while it is now much-contested and challenged by globalisation and the rapidly changing digital environment, community remains a meaningful designation and has a lively and broad colloquial usage, which draws on and extends the sociological designation. The people of Bishopthorpe, a village on the outskirts of York for example may refer to themselves as a community and the Bishopthorpe Local History Group may identify as a community group formed around their Community Archive.[15] At the same time, a social media group like York Past and Present on Facebook can be a community, even though its members live around the world, because it is bound together by messaging, shared resources and project activities. As Delanty has noted, all words are inadequate to complex ideas but the language of community has an accumulation of significance that allows it to be applied in multiple and shifting ways.[16]

Within studies of civic life, community has been conceived both nostalgically, as irretrievably lost, and as a utopian ideal yet to be achieved.[17] This opposition recalls

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[12] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.
[13] Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985) 57.
[14] Edward Soja. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 5; 83-105.
[15] Bishopthorpe History Group, "Welcome to Our Local History Section," *Bishopthorpe*, n.d., accessed Nov 10, 2017. http://www.bishopthorpe.net/bishnet/local-history/.
[16] Delanty, *Community*. 2.
[17] Delanty, *Community*. 11.

the discursive emphasis on archives untapped potential described in Chapter Three.[18] The community, like the archive, is a precious fragmented survival of the past whose value is nevertheless endlessly deferred into the future. Political interpretations have been equally ambiguous. Community has been positioned as both an alternative to the State, "defined against the governed, institutionalised… nature of society" and as an agent of the State that "breaks through" and influences society at the margins or edges.[19] In the latter case it has been conceived as a form of governmentalisation that co-opts individuals, families and social units into identifying with and performing the work of the State.[20] Rose has called this "government through community", describing community as a "sector" which can be mobilised to "encourage and harness active practices of self-management and identity construction, of personal ethics and collective allegiances."[21] However, as an alternative to the State it has been seen as the basis of activism, as for example in the anti-fracking campaigns in Lancashire and Yorkshire; resistance to housing developments in London; and, internationally, as part of the Black Lives Matter movement.[22] Either way, community has been located as a site of intersection between individuals and the structured institutions that shape society. It has been configured as an active space in which individuals collect to learn, share and do.

In the UK, community has been central to discourse across the political spectrum during the twenty-year period considered by this thesis. It has been consistently associated with the desirability of stability, cohesion and, most recently, resilience in society; and identified as a key to participation and "active citizenship."[23] Delanty has noted the importance of ideas of community and communitarianism to the New Labour ideal of a "stakeholder society" developed in the mid-1990s. He argues that it was used effectively in the 1997 election to break the Conservative monopoly on

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[18] See Chapter Three, 88-89; 104.
[19] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge, 1969), 19.
[20] Christine Everingham, *Social Justice and the Politics of Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 13.
[21] Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Ourselves: Psychology, Power and Personhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 176.
[22] For examples of the relationship between community activism and archival heritage, see Carter, "Setting the Record Straight,"27-44 and Mario H. Ramirez, "Being Assumed Not to Be: A Critique of Whiteness as an Archival Imperative,' *The American Archivist* 78, no. 2 (2015): 339-356.
[23] Delanty, *Community*. 73.

ideologies of the nation. The invocation of "stakeholders" created a new "technology of power and social management" which required people to self-organise as communities.[24]

Thereafter community became one of New Labour's most enduring underlying ideals, from the *New Deal for Communities* programme launched in 1997, to *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society* in 2005, the *Strong and Prosperous Communities* white paper in 2006 and *Build More Cohesive, Empowered and Active Communities* under Gordon Brown's government in 2008.[25] The insistence on community was reflected across the policy spectrum, including in heritage-relevant policies such as *Bringing Communities Together through Sports and Culture*.[26] It also had significant impacts on the priorities and objectives of funders, upon whom heritage organisations have become increasingly dependent for investment and support. The HLF, for example, publicly adopted a people and communities focus in 2004.[27]

Often described with a modifying adjective, such as cohesive, empowered, active or integrated, the community was envisioned as a powerful mechanism for delivering social change. In *Leading Cohesive Communities*, a 2006 guide from the Local Government Association, the ideal was to create a "common vision and sense of belonging for all communities" in order to build social capital between groups.[28] The purpose was to create "commonality in diversity", motivated by "the need to find unifying common ground which will inspire assent across the board."[29] The insistence

[24] Delanty, *Community*, 88.

[25] For a summary of community-oriented policy programmes between 1997 and 2008, see Paul Lawless, Michael Foden and Ian Wilson, "Understanding Area-based Regeneration: The New Deal for Communities Programme in England," *Urban Studies* 47, no. 2 (2010): 257-275.

[26] DCMS and Sport England, *Bringing Communities Together through Sports and Culture* (Oldham: DCMS, 2004), accessed Nov 6, 2018. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20050302003026/http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/publications/archive_2004/bringing_communities_together_booklet.htm?properties=archive_2004%2C%2Fsport%2FQuickLinks%2Fpublications%2Fdefault%2C&month=.

[27] DEMOS, *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value.* For an analysis of the Heritage Lottery Fund's changing values framework see below, Chapter Five, 181-183.

[28] Local Government Association. *Leading Cohesive Communities: A Guide for Local Authority Leaders and Chief Executives* (London: Local Government Association, 2006), 5, accessed Oct 4, 2017, http://flowhesionfoundation.org.uk/website/wp-content/uploads/resources/Community cohesion - Leading cohesive communities a guide for local authority leaders and chief executives 2005.pdf.

[29] Margaret Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics: Dilemmas and Challenges,' in *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Michelynn LaFléche and Robert Berkeley (London: Sage, 2007), 5.

on the potential of archives to reinforce community belonging and identity through "shared stories" found in *Archives for the 21st Century* is closely aligned to the same rhetoric.[30]

Community continued to be central to the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government between 2010 and 2015, and remains significant to the current Conservative administration (2015-).[31] Ideologically, however, there was a shift away from Labour's vision of community as a tool of the State towards the privatistic construct described by Etzioni, in which community absolves the State of social responsibilities.[32] David Cameron's 'Big Society', announced in July 2010, stressed the role of individuals and communities in solving their own problems, by being "liberated" and "empowered" to take actions for themselves rather than depending on local authorities or central government.[33] It was closely aligned to the programme of public sector cuts that was central to the Conservative's austerity policy. At the same time community was seen as the first line of defence against division in society. For example, in 2012 the Department for Communities and Local Government published a strategy, *Creating the Conditions for Integration*, which made explicit the role of community in combating extremism and intolerance. Establishing "common ground", taking responsibility and participation were key to "a strong society."[34] However, the desire to promote "shared aspirations and values" and focus on "what we have in common rather than our differences" was non-specific and elusive.[35] It became closely connected with the 'localism agenda', which focused community activity on places and stressed the value of place for identity.[36]

Archival institutions, in common with other heritage organisations, responded strongly to the centralisation of community, developing collections, engagement strategies and

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[30] See Chapter Three, 104-106.

[31] Hugh Atkinson, *Local Democracy, Civic Engagement and Community: From New Labour to the Big Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 62.

[32] Amitai Etzioni. *The Spirit of Community: Rights, Responsibilities and the Communitarian Agenda* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), 7.

[33] David Cameron, "The Big Society," Speech given at Liverpool, Jul 19, 2010, accessed Oct 4, 2017, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100810140743/http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/speeches-and-transcripts/2010/07/big-society-speech-53572.

[34] Department of Communities and Local Government, *Creating the Conditions for Integration* (London: DCLG, 2012), 4

[35] Department of Communities and Local Government. *Creating the Conditions for Integration*, 5.

[36] Atkinson, *Local Democracy*, 120.

funded programmes for working with different groups. These programmes stressed the value of engagement for promoting participation, generating cohesion and creating "common ground" through "shared stories".[37] Most recently, archives have been instrumentalised to deliver increased health and wellbeing, tackle extremism and help people find employment. In 2016 The National Archives released an *Outcomes Framework for Archives* that aligns with a framework for culture and sport developed by the Local Government Association, the Arts Council, Sport England and English Heritage.[38] It sets out how to "measure and evidence the difference archives make" to "Health and Wellbeing", "Stronger and Safer Communities" and "Learning and Education".[39] As observed in Chapter Three, key phrases that reflect these agendas (like "cohesive communities" and "shared stories") have entered archival discourse as strategic and practitioner advocacy, aligning core principles of evidentiality with the local and national government objectives which help to leverage support for institutional activities. Røyseng has argued that instrumentalism occurs when cultural and heritage institutions absorb and recycle policy as "ritual utterances" in this way.[40]

Strategic and guidance documentation produced by the Heritage Lottery Fund demonstrates the extent to which the UK's principal heritage funder has aligned its strategies and priorities with the same rhetoric. The organisation's 2002-2007 strategy *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage* envisioned that "The lives of individuals and of communities can be changed by it [heritage], not least in those very places where poverty or decay are paramount."[41] Taking explicit direction from DCMS they undertook to "reduce economic and social deprivation" and "to promote a greater appreciation of the value and importance of heritage for our future wellbeing and sense of identity."[42] The subsequent plan, *Valuing Our Heritage, Investing in Our*

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[37] For discussion of the discourse of "shared" heritage see Chapter Three, 104-106.

[38] The National Archives, *A Guide to Developing an Outcomes Framework for Archives* (London: The National Archives, 2016), accessed Nov, 10, 2017, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/22.01.16_Measuring_outcomes_for_archives.pdf.

[39] The National Archives, *A Guide to Developing an Outcomes Framework*, 2.

[40] Sigrid Røyseng, "The Ritual Logic of Cultural Policy," (conference paper, The Fifth International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Istanbul, Aug 20-24, 2008). Available at http://blogs.warwick.ac.uk/files/ccpsresearch/royseng_sigrid.doc, accessed Oct 4, 2017.

[41] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage,* 2.

[42] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Broadening the Horizons of Heritage.* 10, 18.

Future, extended these claims about the impact of heritage which "changes lives, brings people together and provides the foundation of a modern, confident society."[43] In the early 2000s they commissioned research into the 'Hidden Histories' of black and ethnic minority communities that emphasised the potential of heritage to "help create a complete picture of our collective UK heritage" and encouraged communities to "seek out their heritage stories" to add to the "shared national heritage."[44] This stressed the need to identify and value diverse heritage in order that it could be absorbed and integrated into national narratives, an ambition most fully expressed in the most recent HLF strategy: "Heritage Lottery Funding has truly broadened the horizons of heritage, ensuring that people from all communities see their heritage reflected in our national story."[45] In this framework community was centralised as a unit that benefited from HLF funds; projects should be designed to "re-energise areas, creating distinctive vibrant places to live and work, and fostering a sense of community."[46] In 2018 research commissioned by the organisation towards the next iteration of the strategy focused further on the ways "in which heritage can have an impact on social, cultural and economic issues, contributing to wellbeing and the local economy."[47] Between 1994 and 2011 the Heritage Lottery Fund awarded £281m to over a 1000 archives and library projects with some element of engagement and community activity.[48] This context is a strong incentive for archival institutions to

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[43] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Valuing Our Heritage, Investing in Our Future: Our Strategy, 2008-2013* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 2008), 3, accessed Aug 26, 2018, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20080610162840/http://www.hlf.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/A004A1AC-6A34-4BC8-A17D-D8BF90A35DE7/0/ValuingourheritageInvestinginourfuture.pdf.

[44] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Hidden Histories: Heritage and Diversity in the East Midlands* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, c. 2006), 2; 3, accessed Aug, 26, 2018. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090121212327/http://www.hlf.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/1C883028-5392-422F-8635-3C8A4630CBEB/2740/00PDFFOLDER_TEXT1.pdf.

[45] Heritage Lottery Fund, *A Lasting Difference for Heritage and People: Heritage Lottery Strategic Framework, 2013-2018* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 2013), 6, accessed Aug 16, 2018, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130808215014/http://www.hlf.org.uk/aboutus/howwework/strategy/Documents/HLFStrategicFramework_2013to2018.pdf.

[46] Heritage Lottery Fund, *A Lasting Difference for Heritage and People.* 8.

[47] Resources for Change Ltd and Hopkins Van Mil, *Heritage Lottery Fund 2019 – Planning for the Future* (London: Heritage Lottery Fund, 2018), 49, accessed Aug 26, 2018, https://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/our-strategy/national-lottery-players%E2%80%99-priorities-spending-heritage-good-cause.

[48] The National Archives, "Lottery Funding." *The National Archives*, n.d., accessed Oct 11, 2017. http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/finding-funding/lottery-funding/.

adopt "ritual utterances" and make instrumentalist claims, whilst naturalising a rhetoric that connects archival engagement with communities to government agendas.

Archival institutions in York have benefited significantly from this landscape. The York Minster Library and Archive received a grant of £967,000 in 1996; the Borthwick Institute for Archives was awarded £4.41m in 2001 and Search Engine, the Archive of the National Railway Museum received £995,000 in 2005.[49] The Yorkshire Film Archive, which is based in the city, also received over £400,000 in project funding. The same is true of the wider region. In addition to the investments made at Huddersfield and West Yorkshire, the Hull History Centre project received £7.69m in 2006 and the Treasure House, home of the East Riding Archives, was built with a £3.91m grant in 2000. The North Yorkshire County Record Office has had three engagement grants in the last five years totally over £200,000. [50] This was the political and funding environment in which the *York: Gateway to History* project was conceived, designed and delivered.

The York City Archive

York's city Archive was founded in 1957, towards the end of the boom period for local authority record offices initiated by the National Register of Archives in 1945.[51] It was initially housed in the basement of the City Library (now York Explore) before being moved to an adapted wing of the York Art Gallery in the early 1980s. Its core collections are comprised of the records of City of York Council and its predecessor bodies from the twelfth century to the present day. It has also acted as a "document museum for the local area", collecting a range of archival heritage relating to the city's businesses, organisations and people.[52] However, the scope of the Archives' collections has been limited by the dense archival economy of the city, and some types of archival heritage commonly in the custody of city and county record offices are held

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[49] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Heritage Lottery Fund Projects Database*, *Heritage Lottery Fund*, 2017, accessed Oct 11, 2017, https://www.hlf.org.uk/our-projects.

[50] Heritage Lottery Fund, *Heritage Lottery Fund Projects Database*.

[51] Rita J. Green, *York City Archives*. St. Leonard's Papers No. 1 (York: City of York Public Libraries, 1971), 4. See Chapter Four, 139-141 for a description of the development of local record offices in this period.

[52] Richard Taylor, *A New Structure for the City Archives: Final Report*. November 2008, 2, accessed Aug 4, 2017, http://democracy.york.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=16896&ISATT=1.

elsewhere. The Borthwick Institute for Archives, founded prior to the city archive and now part of the University of York, acts as the Diocesan registry for the area and thus holds local parish records. It also collects the archives of the local NHS Trust and several notable local companies, including Nestle-Rowntree. The Dean and Chapter of York Minster also maintain their own archival collections, while Search Engine at the National Railway Museum has jurisdiction over much of the city's railway history. There are also a significant number of independent archives in the area: The National Archives' ARCHON database lists 18 additional holders of archival heritage.[53] However, this number does not include community archives, of which there may be as many as 35 within the city and its hinterland.[54] At least one of these provides its own reading room and public service.[55]

Between 2000 and 2008 the city Archive was subject to a prolonged period of uncertainty following an acrimonious dispute over proposals to co-locate with the Borthwick Institute on the University of York campus. Allegations made by both sides led to the suspension of the City Archivist from duty in July 2000, after she broke protocol to write to councillors to oppose the plans.[56] Although she was later reinstated after being given a disciplinary notice, the outcry led to the formation of an advocacy group, the Friends of York City Archives (FOYCA), which effectively campaigned against any alteration to the management arrangements.[57] The objectives of the group focused on maintaining the independence and city centre location of the archives and service. Charles Kightly, the first chairman of FOYCA, wrote that a partnership with the university "would end 800 years of direct control of the archives by the city", which was essential to the "archives' separate identity."[58] He further suggested that "many ordinary users of the archives, being accustomed to the

[53] The National Archives, *ARCHON Database.*

[54] Timeline York Plus, "Local Groups," *Timeline York Plus*, n.d., accessed Aug 24, 2018, https://timelineyorkplus.weebly.com/local-groups.html.

[55] Bishopthorpe History Group. "Bishopthorpe Community Archive." *Bishopthorpe*, n.d., accessed Oct 5, 2017. http://www.bishopthorpe.net/bishnet/local-history/community-archive/.

[56] Stephen Lewis, "Archives Row Spells Tragedy for True York Asset," *York Press*, Aug 1, 2000, accessed Aug 4, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7954263.Archives_row_spells_tragedy_for_true_York_asset/.

[57] Adam Nichols, "Warning to City Archivist Angers Union," *York Press*, Oct 13, 2000, accessed Aug 4, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7951529.Warning_to_city_archivist_angers_union/,

[58] Charles Kightly, "Should the City Archives be Moved?' *York Press*, May 16, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7926133.Should_the_City_Archives_be_moved_/.

essentially open and public environment in which the archives are now available, may find the closed, academic environment of the university alien and daunting."[59]

The Friends expressed a desire for continued autonomy and a sense of ownership; they clearly positioned themselves as "stakeholders", to use New Labour language. One campaigner made the direct claim that "the archives do not belong to the council but to us, the citizens of York."[60] Throughout the campaign advocates also stressed the "friendly service" and social aspects of visiting the Archive.[61] Highly emotive language was employed to express the value of the status quo to the Friends' group. In a letter to the local press the University was accused of "attempting to steal our archives and historical documents" and "modernise" a traditional service, which was described as "a quiet, earnest but good-humoured home of research and learning" in another press report.[62] On being told that they would be consulted about the move "later", Kightly reportedly said "that is like saying you are going to be executed, but we'll discuss the way in which it is done afterwards."[63]

The use of strong emotive language and the life-and-death simile suggests the Archive evoked powerful feelings in the people who had been using the collections and volunteering there. Responses from the Council and the University that offered arguments in favour of the project - for example, that it would provide vastly improved storage and access conditions - did not engage with this aspect of the campaign. While arguments over ownership and the right to make decisions about the archives shared the same terminology, the parties appeared to be talking about different things. Although it was consistently stressed that the collections would remain in the legal ownership of the Council and that the partnership arrangement with the university would be subject to a clear contract, this did not assuage the "theft" and displacement

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[59] Kightly, "Should the City Archives be Moved?'

[60] Mary F Malden Owen, "They're Our Archives,' *York Press*, Mar 28, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7928368.They_re_our_archives/.

[61] Kightly, "Should the City Archives be moved?"

[62] Jonathan Charles Bonner, "Keep City Archives at Art Gallery…and Free," *York Press*, Feb 7, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7931063.Keep_city_archives_at_art_gallery___and_free/; Chris Titley, "It's Crunch Time for York City Archives,' *York Press*, Feb 24, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7979608.It_s_crunch_time_for_York_City_Archives/.

[63] York Press, "Archives Look Set to Move," *York Press*, Feb 1, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7931313.Archives_look_set_to_move/.

of the archives in the eyes of the campaigners.[64] The University Press and Public Relations Officer Hilary Layton speculated that wider audiences of the archives "must be mystified by the appearance of a division [between campaigners and the Council/University] when, for them, none exists."[65] The inability of both sides to understand or recognise the others' position suggests differences in their ascriptions of values to the Archive and the archives collections. Whereas the Council and University underlined the legal position and the informational and economic potential of the move, the Friends and campaigners foregrounded the emotional experience of visiting and using the Archive and the social value of communal ownership.

In June 2002 the Council decided to withdraw from the proposed partnership and consider other options.[66] The future of the Archive continued to cause controversy for the next six years as moves to York Minster, transfer to the York Museums Trust and then an external provider were considered.[67] After the retirement of the City Archivist in 2008 City of York Council commissioned an options report on the future of the Archive. This identified its "USP" or unique selling proposition as "its continuity as the record of civic life and accountability for 800 years", invoking the language of the evidential typology of values. The report recommended merging the Archives with the Local Studies department as part of the city's library service.[68] It further envisioned a bid to the HLF of between £1.5m and £2m to relocate the Archive back to the City Library and develop access to the collections there.[69] The report suggested that a key to the success of future development was increasing "community and stakeholder involvement" and noted that the Archives were "underused", ranking 66th out of 90 record offices for visitor numbers relative to size.[70] The report was silent on previous

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[64] Alan Jones, "Case for Moving City Archives to University," *York Press*, Feb 12, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017,
http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7930856.Case_for_moving_city_archives_to_university/.
[65] Hilary Layton, "Case for Moving City Archives to University,' *York Press*, Feb 12, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017,
http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7930856.Case_for_moving_city_archives_to_university/.
[66] York Press, "Archives Options to Be Looked At," *York Press*, Jun 24, 2002, accessed Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7924490.Archives_options_to_be_looked_at/.
[67] York Press, "Solution in Sight to Archives Uncertainty," *York Press*, Aug 27, 2003, Sep 21, 2017, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/7900756.Solution_in_sight_to_archives_uncertainty/; Titley, "It's Crunch Time for York City Archives."
[68] Richard Taylor, *A New Structure for the City Archives,* 2.
[69] Richard Taylor, *A New Structure for the City Archives*, 23.
[70] Richard Taylor, *A New Structure for the City Archives,* 4.

conflicts, although members of the Friends group were consulted as part of the process. This report and its recommendations were accepted by the Council's Executive the following month.[71] It established a connection between the future of the archive and its ability to engage with communities, conceiving a virtuous circle wherein the Archive would involve communities in its development leading them to visit and use the archives in turn. The pre-existence of a passionate and engaged community of Friends was unacknowledged.

The *York: Gateway to History* project was subsequently developed to create "a 21st Century Archives and Local History Service for York – a service which serves and reflects all communities and cultures, past and present, in this ancient city."[72] The project was divided into two streams of work: the extension and refurbishment of the first floor of the City Library to store the collections and create a public service; and a two-year Activity Plan that aimed to "make the service and the collections easier to use for everyone."[73] A bid to the HLF's Heritage Grants scheme was successful in 2012, when the project was awarded £1.68m.[74] Building work began in late 2013 and was completed by December 2014. The Archive reopened to the public on 5th January 2015, providing access to archives after a closure of almost two years. During the building works a project team was recruited, including the Community Collections and Outreach Archivist as well as a Community Collections Assistant and an Education and Public Programmes Officer who were to deliver the engagement elements of the project.

The development of the *Gateway* HLF bid required a period of consultation with existing and potential users of the archives. This was overseen by Richard Taylor, the consultant who had authored the original report, and who had subsequently been employed to develop the project. He had previously led the development and delivery of the Search Engine archives project at the National Railway Museum. Jura Consultants, a firm specialising in heritage development, were contracted to conduct

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[71] City of York Council, Minutes of City of York Council Executive, Dec 23, 2008, item 139, accessed Aug 4, 2017, http://democracy.york.gov.uk/ieListDocuments.aspx?CId=102&MID=3582#AI11788.
[72] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan*, i.
[73] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan:* i.
[74] York Press, "£1.6m boost for York archives."

the consultation and review the findings. The results and analysis were written up as an Activity Plan, which also set out 13 engagement activities to be delivered as part of the *Gateway* project.

The following analysis focuses on three elements of the 13-point Activity Plan for which the community archivist, assistant and education officer were responsible. Namely, the creation of a "Community Advisory Group"; the recruitment of "Archives Champions" and the development of "community collections". These activities were selected as they represent sustained attempts by the Archive to engage with the public, and were central to the project's primary aim to "serve and reflect all communities, past and present."

An assemblage of documentation has been used to construct the analysis.[75] The Activity Plan as submitted to the HLF in 2012 provides a baseline of what the project envisioned and aimed to achieve. The appendices describing the focus groups, interviews and research that was conducted to generate the plan have been included. The evaluation report, submitted to the HLF at the end of the project in March 2016, is used comparatively as a measure of success against the initial ambitions of the project, and as an indicator of changes in approach throughout. In addition, the unpublished delivery files have been consulted to better understand the attitudes and responses of the project team. The project's blog and social media presence have also been analysed using a critical discourse analysis approach. Finally, interviewee 12 was employed as Community Collections and Outreach Archivist from January 2014 to March 2016 and their responses have been considered where they specifically referenced the project.

Comparative analysis of the Wakefield and Huddersfield projects draws on analogous documentation, to the extent that it has been available to me. This includes the bid documentation, activity plans and consultation exercises for both projects, as well as associated media reports, websites and social media activity. As both projects are still

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[75] An example extract of analysis and coding of the *Gateway to History* Activity Plan is included in the Appendices, 302-304.

ongoing, evaluations are unavailable and access to internal delivery files has not been possible.

York: Gateway to History

During the period between the 2008 Taylor report and the conception of the *Gateway* project, the virtuous circle that connected the value of the Archive and its relationship with community had developed to emphasise its potential to deliver Council objectives. In the Activity Plan which accompanied the funding bid it was conceived as a project to "drive the service forward so that it genuinely becomes a highly valued long-term community heritage asset, and one which is capable of delivering City of York Council's strategic objective to 'Build Strong Communities'."[76] The word "asset" suggests some form of ownership by communities, if figurative rather than literal. Its "high-value" implies its important role in those communities while its "capability" to also deliver Council objectives turns it into a double agent. The Archive can serve the needs of both, acting as a tool for Rose's "government through community" and recalling the discursive connection between government, archives and community noted in Chapters Three and Four.[77] Although in common with the 2008 report the fraught history of the Archive was not mentioned, the use of "genuinely" in this context gestures towards a previous state of affairs in which the community status of the Archive was not genuine. Wetherell has argued that practices that foreground shared community values and cohesion are designed to "move people on" from overly strong identifications with "the wrong kinds of solidarities."[78] Certain expressions of community value are acceptable while others are not. In this case, the existing feelings of the FOYCA group, which focused precisely on the archives as an asset for the city as a community, were silenced. As their wishes and values placed them in opposition to the Council they could not be recognised if the archives were to serve both masters.

The project was further proposed as a legacy of the city's 2012 York800 programme, which celebrated the anniversary of "when the people of York achieved local self-

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[76] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan.* i.
[77] See Chapter Three, 103-105 and Chapter Four, 154-157.
[78] Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics," 10.

government."[79]   Although this idea was very quickly dropped from communications, and is not referenced in any press release after 2013 or in the project evaluation, it underlined the role of archives in civic life at the outset of the project. Their ability to tell the history of citizenship also enabled them to create good citizens in line with Council agendas for democratic participation and cohesive communities.

Similar connections between archival engagement and government objectives are found in the project documentation of the *West Yorkshire History Centre* (WYHC) and the *Heritage Quay* projects. Neither had a background of community antagonism akin to the York case, and the *Heritage Quay* originated in a university rather than local authority context, but both nevertheless evidenced a concern with capitalising on the value of archives for social change. The *WYHC*, for example, would enable communities to develop "an increased sense of wellbeing through belonging to a community with a history."[80] The appended Action Plan lists "being mentally and physically active", "being socially responsible" and "playing an active role in community life" amongst the benefits that the project will have for communities.[81] Further, it will "form part of Wakefield Council's wider regeneration of the Kirkgate area of the city."[82] Increased use of the archive by "the community" was also a key outcome of the *Heritage Quay* project, seen as contributing to "the development of healthy, prosperous families and community development and regeneration" in the local area.[83] As in York both projects stressed the extent to which the archives were currently unknown and unused by local people, motivating them to "attract much larger numbers of people from a much wider range of community backgrounds."[84]

Building the Gateway

The consultation or market research for the *Gateway* project took place during 2011 and 2012 and included an online survey, interviews and focus groups. The process was

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[79] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan.* i.
[80] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Joint Services, 2014), 6.
[81] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 125.
[82] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 16.
[83] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan* Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, 2013), 21.
[84] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 5.

described as "inclusive" and specific attempts were made to speak to "people from different ethnic backgrounds, communities of interest…and people resident in particular geographic communities."[85]

During this process a body of "Supporting Societies" was identified, namely FOYCA, the York Oral History Society, the York and District Family History Society, the York Association of Voluntary Guides and the York Alternative History group.[86] Apart from the latter (which was founded in 2011) all of these groups had been closely involved with the Archive prior to 2008. The Oral History Society had operated out of the Archive itself, and the Friends' high level of investment in the future of the service has already been described. Despite this previous intimacy, the language surrounding these "societies" was notably formal. The project intended to develop "partnership agreements or joint working arrangements" with them "as necessary."[87] The effect was to position them semantically as outside of the communities which were to be engaged through more open and exploratory activities. By referring to them as "societies" rather than "community groups", a term which is used to refer to all other involved groups, including local history societies, they are identified as Other. At the same time, their backing for the chosen aims of the project is assumed in the repeated modifying "supporting", which is always used when they are mentioned.

In fact, the priorities and anxieties of these groups (whose input forms a significant section of Appendix B of the Plan) were often divergent from both the rhetoric and the activities of the final document. For example, the groups stressed the importance of "space the Societies can use themselves", for storage, access and volunteering; and the sociable aspects of using the collections. They also foregrounded the knowledge and expertise of their members about the archives and their willingness to share it.[88] The Oral History Society and Family History Society specifically wanted to co-locate with the new Archive to increase access to their own collections. A number of other local history groups also requested space and physical storage: "…the main priority for

[85] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan.* i.
[86] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan.* 8.
[87] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 8.
[88] Jura Consultants & Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 28.

those in attendance was to have a repository for their collections to be held", which was "more important to them than advice on how to care for the collections."[89]

In actuality the new Archive had much reduced storage capacity, and while there was more space for public activity none of this was identified specifically for use by the "supporting societies". The flexible and dynamic design did not address the societies' desire to retain their group identities while being part of the new facilities. Only the Family History Society were the subject of a specific activity in the plan (Activity 7: Enhanced Family History Services) which envisioned them delivering their service from the Archive's new Family History Room. After the funding was achieved it became clear that the expectations of the Archive and the Society about what this would look like and entail diverged significantly. The Society wanted to retain their independence, volunteering protocols and control over their collections, whereas the Archive wished to specify what would be made available and at what times. The lack of knowledge about the family history collections was consistently foregrounded in the Activity Plan, highlighting the need for cataloguing and intervention by archives practitioners and obscuring the Society members' experience and expertise.

From the project delivery files it is clear that a significant amount of effort was put into communicating with a wide range of community partners during the project. The evaluation appendices list over 80 local groups who had been contacted by the project. However, there is almost no evidence of communication with the "Supporting Societies" after the development phase of the project. By March 2016 the 48 references to them contained in the Activity Plan had been reduced to four mentions in the final evaluation. The Family History Society had formally withdrawn from participation in 2014, and the Oral History Society moved their collection to a new location in 2013.[90]   Although both groups later became involved in the project's Community Advisory Group this was considered an opportunity to heal broken relationships rather than to enhance partnerships.[91]

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[89] Jura Consultants and Richard Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan: Appendices.* (Midlothian: Jura Consultants, 2012), 51.
[90] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan: Appendices.* 58.
[91] See below, Chapter Five, 201-204.

This marginalisation of the "Supporting Societies", like the erasure of the Friends group from the history of the service, was indicative of a persistent orientation towards new audiences that was also evident in Huddersfield and West Yorkshire. The needs of potential audiences were expressed in opposition to the values of existing audiences, who were termed "current users" by both projects. Dismissive and denigrating language was used. In the case of the WYHC "current users" were described as "over 65 years old and white" six times on a single page of the Activity Plan.[92] While this is true to the demographic reality, it serves to obscure other forms of diversity and difference within this group. It also serves as a cue to dismiss the things that they value about archival heritage, namely the quiet, sociable research environment of the existing Archive, as stressed by the York Friends.[93] It does this by associating a demographic profile (white and over 65) with a negative perspective on archive users expressed by non-users during the consultation: "Archive users were pictured as old and academic and the atmosphere 'dusty', akin to a morgue."[94] This association devalues the values and potential contribution of these "old" visitors, whose presence turns the Archive into a dead and boring place.

The initial recognition and subsequent forgetting of the Friends, Supporting Societies and "current users", reinforces the idea that work with them does not constitute "genuine" community engagement. They represent the "wrong kinds of solidarities", even though their level of interest in archives is high.   In the *Gateway* project they are associated with the Archive's past, which the Activity Plan repeatedly sought to shed with references to creating a "21st century archive" for "21st century audiences."[95] The *WYHC* activity plan echoed this futuristic orientation as part of its rejection of all things "old", stating its ambition to become a "21st century heritage institution".[96]

As far as the *Gateway* project was concerned community engagement with the Archive had been almost non-existent prior to the Activity Plan consultation and would require significant work. As the Community Archivist put it: "We started from quite a low base

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[92] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 37-38.
[93] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 40.
[94] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 78
[95] For example, Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,*. 1.
[96] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*.

really here actually at York because we'd never really done community engagement…"[97] In Huddersfield it was similarly perceived that "time and effort will need to be made to work with groups who do not have a natural propensity to engage with archive material."[98] "Natural propensity" implies that some demographic groups have an innate sympathy or understanding of archival value (e.g. white people over the age of 65) while others do not. People who fall outside this category require "work" through engagement in the same way that they are understood to require state intervention to form strong, safe and cohesive communities. These two forms of work coincide when archival institutions frame engagement as an instrumental intervention, using the social values of archives to reinforce the necessity of practitioner expertise.

In West Yorkshire, the consultation with local people and communities was more extensive and involved than in either York or Huddersfield, and their contributions to the project design were included in the Activity Plan at length. Effort was clearly made to understand the demographics and social needs of two target communities: the ex-mining communities of the region and the Kirkgate community located adjacent to the new Archive site. Both had very little previous contact with the Archive and were presented as archivally unaware.[99] As a result no mention is made to the pre-existing community-generated archive and history projects amongst these groups, such as the Hemsworth Community Archive, the Fitzwilliam Archive Project, the Royston Local History Group and the South Elmsall, South Kirkby and Upton Community Archive.[100] In fact, community archives are mentioned only twice in the document and only generically as a group to work with.[101] Like the Friends, Supporting Societies and "current users" these groups and their archival values are written out of the world of the grant bid. However, in this case it is to strengthen an argument for the need for

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[97] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
[98] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 43.
[99] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 11.
[100] Community Archives and Heritage Group, "Directory for Yorkshire and Humber," *Community Archives and Heritage Group*, n.d., accessed Nov 10, 2018. http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/content/archives/england-directory/yorkshire-and-the-humber-england-directory.
[101] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 19.

funded and expert engagement "work". The implication is that such practice does something for and to local communities which they cannot do themselves.

In a higher education context, the *Heritage Quay* bid stressed the learning potential of the archives for community development. In so doing it also reinforced hierarchies of expertise and knowledge based on perceptions about the "natural propensity" to engage. Communities of interest were positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy while academic staff and student researchers were privileged. Although the university holds several specialist collections with highly expert fan bases, for example the Rugby League archive, these communities of users were to receive knowledge rather than to impart or share it.[102] Academic staff and research students were to "develop content…to signpost users to interesting and relevant content."[103] The assumption that Rugby League fans and supporters group require engagement work and intervention gives the Archive power and authority over not just the archive collections but also the enthusiasm of fans.

Keeping the Gateway

From the outset the iconography of the *Gateway* project reflected a complex dialectical relationship between the Archive, the history of the City of York and contemporary political rhetoric around community. It was inspired by a 1950s railway poster advertising the city to tourists as 'The Gateway to History'. The poster (see Fig.3) features six generic male historical figures – a Roman centurion, an archbishop, two medieval knights, a civil war soldier and an eighteenth-century gentleman – against the iconic backdrop of Bootham Bar, one of the gates through the city's walls, and York Minster.

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[102] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 17.
[103] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 92.
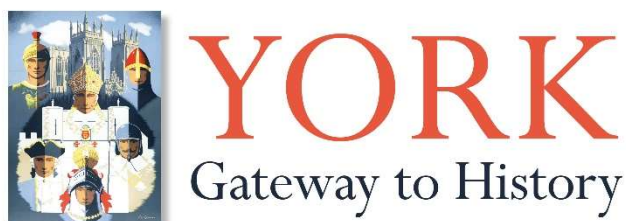
Fig 3: The original York: The Gateway to History poster   Fig 4: The adapted *York: Gateway to History* logo

In the poster the history of the city of York is presented in terms of iconic monuments and privileged men, an image in direct contradiction to the repeated ambition of the *Gateway* project to create an inclusive and representative archive. Its retro nostalgic appearance also belies the repeated promise of a "21st century archive". However, the Activity Plan made claims that it "fits well with the community-focused message of the *York: Gateway to History* project" because "it represents York's history primarily through people, with the city's historic buildings appearing only as background…indicating that the story of York is the story of its people."[104] The fact that the people represented were all "high-status white men" is presented as an opportunity for the project to refresh the city's image by redesigning the poster "as an illustration of the project concept that the archive will be representative of all York's communities."[105] People were to be invited to nominate and vote for "local heroes" to be included on a new poster, which would then be used as publicity for the Archive. This presented the project as one of transformation, social change and diversity. At the same time, it implied that the project would change the way in which the history of the city was understood and perceived. However, the poster redesign was postponed and finally dropped; the allocated funds were used to commission a piece of

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[104] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 71.
[105] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 72.

community art instead.[106]   Meanwhile the original poster was retained and used as the project logo (see Fig. 4).

The dissonance of the poster image with the project's objectives was in keeping with the ambivalence of the project name itself. The word 'archives' was notably absent from the title and instead the city Archive was made synonymous with York itself. The city is the unit of history that the project foregrounds; and it is intimately connected to its people, leading to descriptions of the archives as "...800 years of unique historical documents telling the story of the people of York and how they have shaped their city." The project "will open up the city's history through activities..."[107] Thus, the city has a history, which is made up of the stories of the people of York, which are contained in the archives. The archives thus become tools not just for history making but for city making, linking it back to discourses of cohesion and citizenship. The project was not just about the Archive but about York, with the archives positioned as agents that know more about the city and people than they know about themselves, reflecting the authorised discursive element identified in Chapter Three.[108] It also recalls the claims made about the essential relationship between the formation of community and the archive.[109] The intimation was that without the Archive the city's 'shared' identity could not be constructed.

The word 'gateway' echoes the ideal of archives practitioner as gatekeeper established by Jenkinson and lately reintroduced by Gould.[110] While 'gateway' offers a more open terminology, which is used to conjure an access route to the past, it nevertheless acts as a narrowing metaphor. The Gateway is conceived as an entrance "to the less visible archives held by other city institutions", as well as a conduit for volunteers and researchers.[111] It establishes the control of the Archive over others and positions it as a figurative and physical barrier, acting as the connection between people and the past.

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[106] This activity was heavily revised during the delivery of the project and a community artwork was designed and installed next to the new archives store instead. See David Burton and Sarah Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report* (York; Explore York Libraries and Archives, 2016), 67-68.

[107] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 1.

[108] See Chapter Three, 104-106.

[109] See Chapter One, 28; Chapter Five, 213.

[110] See Chapter Two, 43; 50.

[111] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 2.

The Archive knows about and contains the past; it also projects that knowing forward into the future through the survival of its collections.

The *Heritage Quay* and the *West Yorkshire History Centre* are also totalising names, which make metaphorical claims about the value of the archival heritage they store. Huddersfield's project was originally called *Heritage@Huddersfield* but this was poorly received by potential audiences during the consultation exercises, perceived as "old", "dated" and "local" (very much like *WYHC's* "current users").[112] The selection of *Heritage Quay* instead allows for greater nuance of interpretation: a quay is a destination and starting point, but phonetically it also recalls the word 'key' suggesting that archives unlock the door of the past. The Archive thus positions itself in a similar role to the gatekeeper. *West Yorkshire History Centre* is an apparently straightforward choice. However, the name seeks to contain and lay claim to the history of a county, overlooking the contribution of other heritage organisations and communities in the production of history. Indeed, it erases the existence of four other archive repositories in the region operated by West Yorkshire Joint Services, in Leeds, Kirklees, Calderdale and Bradford. These naming choices recall the totalising force of archives over time, place and the past established by the *Universal Declaration on Archives* and *Archives for the 21st Century*.[113]

"…the most inclusive archives service possible"

The first activity described in the *Gateway* Activity Plan is the creation of a Community Advisory Group, which was to focus on "providing guidance to the project team on creating the most inclusive archives service possible."[114] It was intended that this group would be formed at the beginning of the project and would meet from early 2013 onwards, commenting on the building designs, service redevelopment and community engagement. It was to be made up of learning providers, local archives practitioners and members of the community, as well as representatives from the

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[112] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 65.
[113] See Chapter Three, 91-92; 103-105.
[114] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 38.

"Supporting Societies" and equalities groups. This membership was to draw on a "range of disciplines and areas of expertise." [115]

However, in actuality the advisory group was not formed until October 2014, three months before the refurbished service was opened in January 2015, meaning that it had little input to the design process. The membership of the group was also more limited than envisioned. The 'Supporting Societies' made up five of the nine groups or organisations represented and the remainder were education providers or local media. This again highlighted the significant investment and interest that the Societies had in the Archive. None of the equalities groups cited, including the York LGBT Forum or the Racial Equalities Network, took part in the advisory process. In the project evaluation the delayed start of the group was justified by a change in staffing in early 2014 but the limited make-up of the group was not mentioned.[116]

It is notable that while the purpose of the advisory group was to ensure inclusivity, the group itself was neither inclusive nor particularly diverse. Almost all members of the group, with the exception of two people who attended an initial meeting, were long term users of archives and of the York City Archive in particular. A review of the minutes of the eight meetings that took place during the project indicate members' familiarity with the Archive's previous services and the archive collections. The group became a venue for discussing and debating the changes from the old to new service provision with reference to the convenience of existing users. The future of a large card index of newspaper articles was mentioned repeatedly, as was the performance of the new digital microfilm readers. It would have been difficult for a non-user or member from a radically different perspective to contribute meaningfully in this environment. In evaluating the project the chairperson suggested that it had succeeded by "get[ting] like-minded people together."[117] This may explain why several individuals only attended the group once or twice (the representative from the York Alternative History group, for example, gave apologies for all but the first meeting) and why it does not appear to have addressed its inclusivity brief.

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[115] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 38.
[116] Burton and Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report*, 27-28.
[117] Burton and Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report*, 29.

Inclusivity was considered only insofar as the group was able to imagine non-users of the collections who might want to visit. This was limited to suggestions about the difficulty of timetabling school visits and ensuring academic researchers could visit for consecutive days. At no point did the group consider the *Gateway* brief to become a more representative and community oriented Archive. Although the Community Archivist did make efforts to speak with people from minority communities, these groups remained outside the project's circle of direct influence. The low importance assigned to the equalities groups is indicated in the Activity Plan itself, where they are relegated to the bottom of the list of representatives, and in the Evaluation by the way in which they are silenced from the narrative of the project.

Somewhat ironically, the Advisory Group did fulfil the needs of the 'Supporting Societies' and particularly the Friends group, who regularly sent three or more members to each meeting, taking extensive notes to circulate more widely afterwards. As previously mentioned, the relationship with each of the Societies had been difficult following the success of the HLF bid. The advisory group did help to heal these breaches, with one member of the Oral History Society reporting that it "has re-established relationships which had broken down. It's now a different kind of relationship, but it is a relationship."[118]

The make-up, late start and foci of the group indicated a desire to maintain and control the status quo with regards different forms of expertise about the history of York and the archives. It created a forum whereby those 'Supporting Societies' which were closest to the Archive's past, in terms of knowledge and skills, were able to air their differences and experience and made to feel influential. At the same time the Archive could neutralise and quarantine the negativity that had been generated by the lack of investment in these relationships up to that point. The boundaries between the institution and the Supporting Societies were re-established following a period of uncertainty, and at the same time they were kept separate from the positive narratives about community happening elsewhere in the project. Other communities were not actively engaged with the Advisory Group, and were excluded from the

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[118] Burton and Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report*, 29.

process of shaping the service that was apparently for them. An impression of collaboration was achieved without having to engage with different ideas about what archives are, varying expertise about the history of the city and any "sense of ownership" people might feel.

The advisory group model was not used in Wakefield, but a similar concept was developed in Huddersfield. The project proposed the creation of "programming groups or advisory boards" which would focus on one area of the collections, for example music or Rugby League. They would bring together academics and "audience experts" to "exchange knowledge."[119] The purpose was different to that envisioned in York, as the groups were to act as a conduit out into the community – as "keen advocates and friends of the centre" – rather than a mechanism for the community to influence the project design.[120] This makes them more akin to the "Archives Champions" that the Gateway project set out to recruit (see below). The unique nature of the York Advisory Group may reflect the extent to which the Archive had to negotiate and neutralise the values of pre-existing communities, in order to engage the imagined communities who would transform the archives into a "genuine" asset.

The deployment of terms suggesting ownership and a stake in the archives were common across the projects, implying that one purpose of engagement is to redistribute the archive as a form of property. The *WYHC* project aimed to "generate feelings of entitlement to the records"; so that although "we store and manage them… the families and communities whose history these records reveal should feel that the records belong to them."[121]   This is echoed in the *Heritage Quay* bid, which similarly aimed to "provide people with a sense of ownership of the collections and of the project."[122]

However, there is a tension around the stated desire to share the archival asset which reflects the perspective expressed by practitioners in Chapter Four.[123] In all three cases the ownership or entitlement to the archives is "felt" or "sensed" rather than

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[119] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 80.
[120] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 80.
[121] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 6.
[122] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 78.
[123] See Chapter Four, 151-153.

actual. This recalls the way in which Interviewee 14 suggested a business "felt" they owned their archives. In their view, this was "technically not correct" even though it was legally the case.[124] It implies an underlying reality in which all archives are naturally the property and prerogative of an archival institution. When FOYCA protested their rights to make decisions about the archive based upon their "sense of ownership" it was made clear to them how unreal it was. In the case of the *WYHC* the project documentation nervously reassured the reader that work with the community was separate from the Archives other functions: "We do not, though, see its role in the community as in any way detracting from its role as a place of secure storage for and access to nationally and internationally significant archives."[125] The fact that community "ownership" is considered as a threat or in opposition to its national and internationally significant activities is indicative of an ambivalence towards claims about the value of participation. The same is true in Huddersfield, where suggestions that the project should engage with '" community archives"' required the use of inverted commas around the term questioning the validity of the idea itself.[126] In this way the rhetoric of community ownership was employed vigorously on the surface but weakened by underlying assumptions.

"...a route into communities..."

The recruitment of a group of "Archives Champions" was intended to increase the reach and profile of York's Archive with communities. The "Champions" were envisioned as community brokers, recruited from pre-existing organised groups across the city, who would act as "a two-way channel to communicate messages about the Archives and Local History service to and from the communities and the individuals that they work with." This would "provide a route into communities which are underrepresented amongst current users of the service...through trusted intermediaries within "gatekeeper" organisations."[127]

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[124] See Chapter Four, 151-152.
[125] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 5.
[126] Janice Tullock Associates, *A Report on the Focus Groups* (Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield, 2013), Section 4.6.
[127] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 44.

Thus the "champions" were positioned as conduits between the Archive and the wider community, representing organisations which were able to translate between two worlds. This is reminiscent of the interview texts in Chapter Four, in which archives practitioners expressed the impossibility of communicating the Archive across paradigmatic boundaries.[128] The communities themselves were imagined at a remove, envisioned as having their own gates and gatekeepers. There was tacit recognition that they were difficult or even impossible to access, and that trust would be an issue. Just as the archives practitioner was figured as managing and overseeing the "gateway" to the past, the "champions" were seen as necessary to negotiate the relationship of the community with the Archive. As with the Advisory Group the project thus sought out relationships that reinforced existing ways of seeing and ordering the archival world.

Statistically the activity was amongst the most successful of the programme. A "network" of 170 individuals from 78 local groups were recruited during the project, either through partnership activity, attendance at a workshop or on a one-to-one basis.[129] The Community Collections and Outreach Archivist invested significant time on making these connections between February and December 2014 and assiduously documented the initial conversations. When they were interviewed for this study in May 2015 they repeatedly stressed the importance of talking and listening to the success of the activity: "our approach has been go out there, talk to people, listen to people and be responsive to what they want. And that…that actually has worked quite well for us."[130] The Activity Plan's language of gatekeeping and control was notably absent from their description of their work and, unlike the other interviewees, they exhibited little concern for demarcating the boundaries of their practice as opposed to community practice. For example, when asked whether they defined archives differently in different contexts they interpreted the question in terms of alternate definitions circulating in local communities. In common with other participants they

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[128] See Chapter Four, 135-137; 172.
[129] Burton and Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report*, 33.
[130] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).

recognised this question as being about conflict and territory, but appeared comfortable negotiating between these territories:

> I'm quite different cos my work doesn't respect the traditions of archives…I will adapt how I talk to people and how I define things in order to build a successful relationship with somebody because I think that's more important than anything else. So I will talk to an archaeology group who will want to talk to me about all their Roman findings… if they're talking about it as their archive I wouldn't correct them because I don't think it's my place to correct them. It's a word and I don't think that my background and training should influence how they view their… the value of their collection… they're not thinking about the definition, they use the word archive because it's something that's valuable.[131]

Although they maintained their own definition of archives, grounded in the evidential paradigm of their training – "any documentation that talks about activities and evidence of activities that people are doing" – they didn't appear to impose this on the groups they worked with. Instead they made a distinction between the concept of archival heritage – which could be self-defined by the community – and what they perceived to be the limitations of archives within an archival institution:

> …they talk about a lot of physical objects and I at that point say there's nothing wrong with you defining it that way but on a very base practical level I've got to think about how you store that as an archive. How do we build the right spaces for that cos we can't do it.[132]

However, despite the uptake for this activity, the flexible approach of the practitioner and the apparently positive outcomes with many groups, the ambition to engage with members of four target communities was unfulfilled. The Activity Plan cited York's BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) communities, refugee support organisations, Roma and Traveller communities and disability rights groups as hard-to-reach audiences that would benefit from the Champion programme. Initial contact was made with a number of relevant organisations, including YUMI (York Unifying and Multicultural

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[131] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
[132] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).

Initiative), the York LGBT Forum and the Wilberforce Trust, but did not lead to further engagement during the life of the project.[133] Resourcing at these organisations was recognised as an issue in the Activity Plan, which may partly explain the difficulty in pursuing these relationships.

Nevertheless, the majority of time spent on this activity went towards reinforcing and developing contact with groups and individuals who already had an investment in managing archival heritage in discursively authorised ways. Specifically, local history groups, parish councils, local resident's associations and established organisations like the Scouts provided the majority of contacts. When asked to describe the *Gateway* engagement work generally the Archivist acknowledged that:

> I think you talk about engaging new audiences but actually when I started this project the people who were the basic, the quick wins for this project were not really the new users… well they're our local history groups, they're the people who are part of groups that already use us.[134]

These groups were almost all formally constituted, meaning that it was possible to interact with hierarchies of committee members via regular meetings and events. The ambition for inclusivity and diversity stressed in the project's framing narrative was belied by the preference for "quick wins" and those "on our side anyway." The proprietorial "our side" and the possessive "our local history groups" emphasises what is already shared between the Archive and those engaged, and the opposition of others. Existing relationships and values were reinforced and "new audiences" acknowledged but not integrated into activity. Inclusivity in both this activity and the Community Advisory Group acts as a dog whistle term that gestures to the instrumental potential of archival heritage to fulfil challenging social problems like inequality. However, the activities as they are subsequently delivered show little appetite for confronting challenging new relationships.

The design of the *WYHC* project suggests a greater willingness to accommodate diverse communities. As noted, the project activity plan recounts extensive

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[133] The relationship with York LGBT Forum is discussed at greater length in Chapter Six, 241-243.
[134] Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).

consultation with both local and geographically dispersed communities and with communities of interest, and details activities to target their particular needs and wishes, including providing space for them to meet and advice on preserving their own archives. This contrasts with the communication anxiety evidenced in the York case, a divergence which is perhaps indicative of Wakefield's different socio-economic context. The *West Yorkshire History Centre* is situated in a deprived area of Wakefield amidst the racially and ethnically diverse Kirkgate community. More broadly it sits at the centre of a circle of communities that have struggled to recover economically and socially from the collapse of the mining industry. The contrast with York is clarified in Joint Strategic Needs Assessment documents, detailing the health and wellbeing needs of each constituent population published in the years the respective HLF bids were submitted. York's population is smaller and its people are significantly more likely to be older, to own their own home and to be educated to degree level.[135] In 2012 the black and ethnic minority population was estimated as 11%, but this was "due in part to the continuing expansion of university and higher education facilities within the city."[136] In contrast almost a quarter of Wakefield residents live in social housing and almost 15% live in places designated in the top 10% of most deprived areas in England; 18% of children were considered to be in child poverty. Approximately 14% of people were from BAME communities.[137] Consequently community organisations may have been better established and inclusivity and diversity more prominent in local political discourse.

Nevertheless, the rhetoric wrapped around these ambitions for the *WYHC* reinforces ideas about the paternalistic role of the archival institution in helping people to understand the authorised uses of archives, rather than recognising the multiplicity of potential values. The bid concludes that the reason for "non-use" by communities is "that people are unaware of our services and do not know how to use archives."[138] This casts communities as blank slates who can be co-opted to use and value archives

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[135] City of York Council, *Health and Wellbeing in York: Joint Strategic Needs Assessment 2012. Full Report,* 2012*,* 7, 21, 53, accessed Aug 25, 2018.
https://www.yorkwow.org.uk/documents/attachment258.pdf.
[136] City of York Council, *Health and Wellbeing in York*, 22-23.
[137] Wakefield Metropolitan District Council. *Wakefield JSNA: Joint Strategic Needs Assessment*. 2011-2017, n. accessed Aug 25, 2018, http://www.wakefieldjsna.co.uk/.
[138] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 10.

appropriately through advocacy, thereby "encouraging them to appreciate their historical and natural environment."[139] Yet while it may be true that communities are not aware of the Archive service, there is ample evidence from the consultation exercises that they have an existing set of archival values and an understanding of how to use archival heritage. Many of the Wakefield community archive groups previously mentioned were founded within consulted mining communities, such as Fitzwilliam and South Elmsall. People who attended open days and reminiscence sessions, for example, were members and foregrounded the emotional experience of viewing photographs of former colleagues, friends and family members.[140] They were explicit that the value of the events was in spending time together and sharing stories with one another, an activity which is co-productive and does not require specialist archival knowledge. However, in order to maintain the Archive's position within the authorised paradigm, as the principal evidentiary source of identity, history and memory, as well as its role in the 'work' of community cohesion, the project frames the archival values ascribed by the community as something which need to be facilitated, taught or provided.

"…the full range of communities and viewpoints…"

This instinct is amplified in the *Gateway* project's stated ambition "to extend and enhance the breadth and scope of the archive collections…so that they represent the full range of communities and viewpoints in the city."[141] This collections development activity was designed to "increase community cohesion" and to "provide additional archive resources to further engage new audiences."[142] It combined two different kinds of work: supporting a post-custodial model of community archives by training groups how to look after their archival heritage and acquiring archival material from communities in order to diversify the Archive's own holdings. The latter is positioned in the description of the activity as a result of the former. This reflects the logic of engagement and audience development found throughout the project; namely, that

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[139] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 23.
[140] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 85.
[141] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 49.
[142] Jura Consultants and Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan,* 49.

working with communities will lead to the deposit of archives from those communities, which will in turn attract more community members to visit and use the Archive. This might be thought of as an osmosis model of representation, whereby the dominant culture of the Archive is gradually moderated by the absorption of alternative cultures. In turn communities are inculcated into the values and systems of the Archive.

As with the recruitment of Archives Champions this activity was considered one of the most successful aspects of the project, leading to the deposit of 95 new collections or additions to existing collections, and to the creation of the *Gateway to Your Archive* guidance for community archives. The guidance was published as a booklet and online in February 2015 and subsequently six workshops were held to offer structured training on its content. Later the workshop was filmed and uploaded to YouTube with added sign language interpretation. The project evaluation states that it was developed in response to the requests of "representatives from a wide range of community groups across the city" who "expressed that they needed professional support and guidance… on collecting and cataloguing their community archives."[143] This appears to be in direct contradiction of the prioritised requests for central storage and space made by the same groups during the consultation exercise.

The guidance was produced in four sections: cataloguing, storage, digital and access. Although the Archive did not suggest that attending the training would lead to any specific form of recognition, the construction of the original activity and its adaptation in delivery foregrounded the necessity of professional help and of building a relationship with the Archive service. The format of the training placed the community representatives in the position of learners and emphasised areas in which they were perceived to lack expertise such as hierarchical cataloguing and optimum preservation conditions. When asked if they "felt like an expert" the archives practitioner who delivered the workshops responded:

> I would say when I'm delivering workshops and people are asking me advice I would say they make me feel like I am an expert… And I actually don't mind

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[143] Burton and Tester, *York: Gateway to History Project Evaluation Report.* 41.

that actually, I think it's being the expert but being a none… sort of not

dictating to them how that should be delivered.[144]

The Archivist felt that "we're not saying you have to do it this way and if you don't do it this way you're not fit to look after your archive therefore we have to have it."[145] However, the content of the guidance reinforced and replicated authorised principles about collecting, preservation and access, stressing the importance of the physical safety of the records, original order and provenance. While the activity made space in which community groups could adapt and interpret these principles, it did so within parameters. In particular, it positioned the York City Archive as a legitimising institution, and structured the relationship between Archive and community in such a way as to occlude alternative forms of expertise. For example, the communities' knowledge about their own collections and the history of their organisations or places was unacknowledged.

In contrast, the provision of guidance to communities on preserving, storing and using archives, and the development of diverse collections, was not a significant part of either the *WYHC* or *Heritage Quay* projects. In the case of the former this is probably because of a pre-existing community archive accreditation programme, *NowThen*, which is discussed further below and which is equivalent to *York's Gateway to Your Archives* initiative.[146] Huddersfield chose not to pursue the idea, although a focus group report showed an interest in "working with university to extend the collection and develop "community archives"".[147] Its community orientation was focused instead on extending its user base through the programming and advisory groups, which underlined the *Heritage Quay*'s role as a legitimising institution. This role manifested itself most clearly in the project's key aim to "be an interface between the academic community and others with an interest in the subjects covered by the archives." It was to "act as a Hub", able to translate academic ideas to the public while formalising the public's interest by educating them in the use of the collections.[148] This

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144 Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
145 Interview 12 (Community Outreach Archivist).
146 See Chapter Five, 216-218.
147 Janice Tullock Associates, *A Report on the Focus Groups*, Section 4.6.
148 Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 61.

gave the Archive as institution an authority over both academic and community forms of knowledge, acting as a forum where these different expertise could meet and be validated by the archives themselves.

Authorised Gateways

To summarise, the *Gateway* project embodied three characteristics which map to the authorised discourse of archival practice explored in Chapters Three and Four, and which can be seen echoed in the *WYHC* and *Heritage Quay* projects. Firstly, the Archive was constructed as synonymous with the place and people that it documents, as though it were a naturally occurring feature of a city, region or interest group. Its form and relationship to government institutions of either the past or present was unexamined, as were its rights and abilities to represent all citizens. This recalls the organic character assigned to archival institutions and infrastructures by both authorising documentation and practitioners.

Secondly, the archives themselves were discursively positioned as a fundamental requirement of community, and specifically of a communities' cohesion and sense of identity. This assumption has been reflected in archival studies, as in Bastian and Alexander's suggestion that the relationship between community and archives is essential and symbiotic: "Through their formation, collection, maintenance, diffusion and use, records in all their manifestations are pivotal to constructing a community, consolidating its identity and shaping its memories."[149] This power of records is linked to the role they play as memory objects: "the ability of a community to conceptualise itself, now and in the future depends to a great extent on its capacity for remembrance and its ability to express that remembrance communally."[150] This language further echoes the way in which *Archives for the 21st Century* and the *Universal Declaration on Archives* position archival heritage as the foundation of not only a national past but also of the past of communities and the personal identities of

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[149] Bastian and Alexander, "Communities and Archives – a symbiotic relationship," xxi.
[150] Bastian and Alexander, "Communities and Archives – a symbiotic relationship" xxiv.

individuals.[151] Archives are conceived as active objects in the process of community formation not only providing information about the past but constructing the present.

Thirdly, that archives can be mobilised to meet political agendas, both locally and nationally. Practitioners are able to make claims about the abilities of archives which align with the objectives of government policies and, as a result, the priorities of funders. Archival heritage becomes available and useful for instrumental purposes, such as making good citizens and integrating groups into society. The way the *Gateway* project sought to develop relationships with community groups that held their own archives embodies these discursive characteristics in action.

Community archives: authorisation in practice

The emergence (or rather, the recognition) of independent community archives in the last 20 years has been facilitated by increased funding for local history and identity history projects, particularly from the HLF.   At the same time the shift in archival studies, from archives "as passive by-products of administrative activity to the consciously constructed and actively mediated archivalisation of social memory" has created a theoretical space for them in the "ecology" of archival heritage.[152] Community archives have been recognised as "collections of material that encapsulate a community's understanding of its history and identity" and have been the subject of significant research.[153] However, as has been demonstrated, they continue to occupy a contentious and ambiguous place in the authorised discourse and to evoke conflicted responses from 'the sector'.[154] Instead of confronting issues of expertise, ownership and self-determination - the concerns foregrounded by *Gateway's* "Supporting Societies" - the response of TNA and of local government Archives has focused on how community archives can be made to fit into existing paradigms. A central strategy has been to focus on the potential of community archives for helping institutions to fulfil social policy goals.

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[151] See Chapter Three, 103-106.
[152] Flinn and Stevens, "'It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri,'", 17.
[153] David Mander, "Special, Local and About Us: The Development of Community Archives in Britain," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, ed. Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet, 2009), 32.
[154] For an exploration of this tension, see Chapter Four, 149-154.

In 2003 The National Archives established the *Linking Arms* partnership in response to an Archives Taskforce report *Listening to the Past, Speaking to the Future*. This report had stated (under the heading "Contributing to community cohesion") that "archives in the community are as important to society as those in public collections."[155] *Linking Arms* envisioned a programme of activity that brought together archival institutions, the users of archives and communities to "meet wider concerns over social exclusion that were reflected in the contemporary government policy on archives."[156] The Community Access to Archives Project (CAAP) was initiated under this umbrella in 2004. CAAP was to be delivered by a partnership of national and local Archives and the online archives community Commanet, which had been founded by a local historian to help community archives to put their collections online. Led by TNA the partnership aimed "to provide a framework for the development of relationships and activities with community groups by developing a 'Best Practice Model' for community-based online archive projects."[157] The language and aims of the project resonated with Labour policies on social inclusion and community, with an emphasis on attracting "non-traditional users of archives" to participate.[158] These non-traditional users were to be brought into contact with institutions through community archives and thereby be converted into Archive visitors. At the same time community archives would act as tools to deliver public value benefits. The advocacy reports created by the MLA during this same period made this strategy overt. In 2009, for example, they commissioned a report on community archives and the sustainable communities' agenda, aiming to "establish ways in which community archives can support communities which are experiencing growth and regeneration…"[159]

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155 Archives Task Force. *Listening to the Past, Speaking to the Future: Report of the Archives Task Force* (London, Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, 2004), 43, accessed Sep 20, 2017, http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20111013140233/https://research.mla.gov.uk/evidence/view-publication.php?pubid=29.
156 Mander, "Special, Local and About Us," 34.
157 The National Archives, "Community Archives: The Answer to Social Exclusion?" The National Archives, Aug 27 2004, accessed Sep 20, 2017. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/community_archives_aug2004.rtf.
158 The National Archives, "Community Archives: The Answer to Social Exclusion?"
159 Jura Consultants. *Community Archives and the Sustainable Communities Agenda. Final Report.* (London: Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, 2009), 7, accessed Sep 20, 2017. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20090705002937/http://research.mla.gov.uk/evidence/documents/mla-community-archives-2009.pdf.

The recognition given to community archives, and the expectations placed on archives practitioners to engage with them, generated antagonisms and tensions. In particular, Mander has observed the differences in standards between "official" and "unofficial" archives and "the fear of competition."[160] In 2004 the Society of Archivists (now ARA) held a workshop called 'Building Bridges: Developing Links with the Community' to introduce CAAP's best practice model, a title implying the presence of some natural obstacle for archives practitioners to 'bridge' in the process.[161] The National Archives failed to secure funding to continue CAAP in 2005 and it was reconstituted as the Community Archives Development Group (CADG), affiliated with the National Council on Archives and funded partly by MLA. Its terms of reference were "to monitor and inform developments in the field of Community Archives, and to act as an expert body on best practice in this area."[162] The language used presented the Group as a mechanism of oversight, control and even surveillance, making clear the necessity of practitioner expertise in best practice and implying a danger that required "monitoring".

In 2006 the Community Archives and Heritage Group (CAHG) was founded by "interested volunteers and professionals", providing a new focus for community archives activity taking place across the UK and Ireland.[163] In 2009 CAHG formally adopted a constitution, which defined community archives work as both the "grass-roots activity of documenting, recording or exploring community heritage" and as "the outreach and partnership work of mainstream archive services with a wide range of different communities."[164] 'Community archives' are thus understood to include both the activities of independent, autonomous organisations and the practices of established institutions. The group has subsequently become a special interest group

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[160] Mander, "Special, Local and About Us," 31.

[161] Mander, "Special, Local and About Us," 31.

[162] The National Council on Archives. "About NCA: Affiliated Groups." *National Council on Archives*, n.d. accessed Sep 20, 2017.
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110909164439/http://www.nca.org.uk/about_nca/affiliated_groups/.

[163] Community Archives and Heritage Group, "History and Purpose," *Community Archives and Heritage Group*, n.d. accessed Sep 20, 2017.
http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/content/about/history-and-purpose.

[164] Community Archives and Heritage Group. *Constitution.* (London: Community Archives and Heritage Group, 2009), accessed Sep 10, 2017. http://www.communityarchives.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/CAHG_constitution1.doc.

of ARA, the professional body for archives and records practitioners, and has a committee drawn from community groups, practitioners and academia. Institutionally supported regional networks of community archives now also exist, including the Cambridge Community Archives Network (CCAN) founded in 2006 and *NowThen* in West Yorkshire, formed through the West Yorkshire *Our Stories* project (2009-2012).[165]

However, the currents of tension and concern described by Mander remained evident during the *Gateway* project. While practitioners were evidently willing to support community archives' work in principle, this was circumscribed by the authorised discourse in practice. The Family History Society and Oral History Society both withdrew from the project over disagreements about who should have ultimate control and power over their collections, how they were made available and what was of highest value. The Archive asserted its authority to specify the quality and type of material that could be kept in its spaces, as opposed to the bodies of material which were valued by the groups. The *Gateway to Your Archives* guidance suggested that the first step to managing a community archive was to appraise the collection. In a section instructively titled "What should you keep?" the emphasis was placed on the validity of structured content such as minutes, financial information and correspondence. It was recommended to dispose of duplicates and copies of material held elsewhere, both of which are often important parts of community archive collections.[166] Hierarchical cataloguing was also emphasised.[167]

One of the case studies highlighted in the guidance was a collaboration with Poppleton History Society, to make available a selection of their archival heritage via the local library. The society holds material from the seventeenth century to the present day, and had previously stored everything in members' homes. They wanted to share their heritage with the wider community and had approached Explore to do so. At first there was some resistance to this idea, based on practical concerns about space and

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[165] See http://www.ccan.co.uk/ and http://nowthen.org/.
[166] Explore York Libraries and Archives, *Gateway to Your Archives: A Guide on How to Identify, Use and Manage Your Community Archive* (York: Explore York Libraries and Archives, 2015), 9.
[167] Explore York Libraries and Archives, *Gateway to Your Archives*, 10.

authority.[168] The practitioner's rhetorical emphasis prior to deposit at the library was on the disorder of the records, which were physically scattered and poorly understood: "no one really knew what each other had."[169] The group was therefore "tasked" with appraising and cataloguing their collections to a template provided prior to the move into the library. In a blog post on the collaboration the group were praised, using phrasing that positioned them as good students who have been trained to complete a task, over which the archives practitioner has authority and oversight: "It was great to see them rise to the challenge and enjoy the process!" [170]

Although it stated its intention to support the community archive on the one hand, the Archive implied concerns about the validity and usefulness of their content on the other. The dissonance between these two positions was managed by recourse to core principles of archival practice, particularly provenance and order, and to evidential value. The primacy of original authentic documents (as opposed to duplicates or published ephemera) and the anxiety that these important materials were in physical danger of destruction or disorder reasserted the importance of the expertise of the practitioner and the need for expert intervention. The provision of guidance, templates and praise reinforced an asymmetric power dynamic. Huvila has suggested that this asymmetry in heritage practice is "in spite of its user-oriented and compromising flavour." As it privileges "archival or institutional regimes of worth" it "limits its usefulness for establishing a common ground between competing regimes."[171]

The same instinct can be discerned in the desire of CADG to "monitor" and provide "expertise" to community archives. The development of the CAAP best practice standard also sought to assert authority over community archive spaces, reinforcing the established hierarchy of archival institutions. The *NowThen* project in West Yorkshire replicated this, introducing an accreditation scheme for community archives. The scheme requires community archives to complete and evidence seven study units,

[168] Sarah Tester, "Something New is Coming to Poppleton," *York: A City Making History* (blog), Nov 07, 2014, accessed Oct 12, 2017,
https://citymakinghistory.wordpress.com/2014/11/07/something-new-is-coming-to-poppleton/.
[169] Explore York Libraries and Archives. *Gateway to Your Archives,* 14.
[170] Sarah Tester, "Something New is Coming to Poppleton."
[171] Huvila, "Another Wood Between the Worlds?" 134.

including caring for collections, public services and legislation, which are then assessed and certified by the West Yorkshire Archives service. It is described as "a formal process which acts to grant credit and recognition to best practice…designed to raise and standardise best practice."[172] The formality, references to best practice and standardisation serve to underline the importance of practitioner expertise. Community archives are legitimised and made safe by the process of being absorbed into the authorised paradigm.

When linked through institution-led projects to local and national government agendas this process of absorption is resonant with the assimilation of difference required for the wellbeing of communities. The practitioner discourse about the danger and risk associated with independent autonomous archives is analogous to the apparent danger and risk of minority groups implied by government social policy. Both require integration with the dominant model of practice, whether cultural or archival. The positive outcomes anticipated in communities are significant, as expressed in the documentation analysed in Chapter Three. The authorised discourse stresses the value of archival heritage for cohesion, belonging and sense of place. *Archives for the 21st Century*, for example, made sweeping claims about the effect of archives on people and the most recent iteration of the National Archives' strategy continues to foreground their social impact potential.

However, the evidential basis for these claims is sparse. Flinn and Stevens have suggested the role archives play in "enhancing self-esteem and sense of belonging in minority communities…" However, while their work with community archives has shown how "the process of generating and developing it [the archive] engenders positive regard and civic and social engagement", the data on Archives' impact consists of reports to funders and anecdotal claims rather than academic research.[173] An early study of the relationship between museums, libraries and archives and social impact expressed "concerns over the quality of 'evidence' put forward by the profession in policy documents in the form of personal expressions of conviction or practitioner

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[172] West Yorkshire Archives Service, "How to…Get involved with the Accreditation Scheme," *NowThen*, n.d. [2011?], accessed Sept 20, 2017, http://nowthen.org/assets/files/accred_web.pdf.
[173] Flinn and Stevens, '"It is noh mistri, wi mekin histri,'", 18.

studies that lack the explicit rigour shown in quality academic research."[174] Instead there is a reliance on the discursive naturalisation of the power and agency of archives established in documentation like the *Universal Declaration*.[175] Verne Harris has warned against the implicit condescension of such assumptions because:

> Truth be told…these 'memory institutions' holding the treasure of records with archival value, contribute relatively little to social memory. In my country [South Africa], the vast majority of citizens have not heard of such archives. …the tapestry of their memories, their stories, their myths, and their traditions, this tapestry is woven from other societal resources.[176]

Community and representation

A central claim of the *Gateway* project was that it would create an Archive which was representative of "all the people and communities of York."[177] Similarly the *WYHC* was to serve "all audiences", while the *Heritage Quay* wanted "all those interested in the subjects it covers to be using the service in some way."[178] This is a facet of the discourse of Archives as a totalising and legitimate system, which is able to contain the past, present and future of a city, region, subject or nation in its entirety. The *WYHC* activity plan, for example, explicitly laid claim to 12,000 years of "our shared history" with "collections representative of all citizens."[179] While engagement activity recognises a current lack or absence, it makes assumptions about the solutions and also about the virtue of the outcome: If the Archive is more representative of communities, then communities will use and value it in appropriate ways. This implies that the Archive can legitimise and mainstream minority cultures. One of the outcomes of this process, as envisioned in the *Gateway* Activity Plan, is community cohesion. Although the project does not use the rhetoric of "shared" or "common

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[174] Caroline Wavell et al., *Impact Evaluation of Museums, Archives and Libraries: Available Evidence Project* (Aberdeen: The Robert Gordon University, 2002), 9.
[175] See Chapter Three, 90-92.
[176] Harris. *Archives and Justice,* 26.
[177] Jura Consultants and Richard Taylor, *York: Gateway to History Activity Plan*, 16.
[178] Janice Tullock Associates, *Heritage@Huddersfield Activity Plan*, 35.
[179] West Yorkshire Archive Service, *Activity Plan*, 7.

ground" explicitly, it presents itself *as* common ground, a space in which all communities and cultures can be represented.

Political discourses about community are arguably related to ongoing debates about multiculturalism in British society. The underlying assumption of communitarian rhetoric, that cultural consensus exists or can be unproblematically created, is antithetical to diversity. The Labour model of "liberal communitarian multiculturalism", in which diversity is expressed in the language of cooperation, coexistence and shared values, attempted to overcome this issue by foregrounding tolerance and celebration of difference by the dominant social group.[180] However, the ability of "moralizing policy and the construction of artificial harmony" to create unity has been questioned.[181] Some critics have seen community policy as a cover for an assimilationist agenda, designed to obscure and silence real cultural and social differences in favour of dominant values and experiences. Waterton, for example, sees the emergence of discourses of community in the context of 9/11 and fears that "traditional memories [were] under threat of being swept away by continuing tides of diversity."[182] Delanty further suggests that this has led to the belief that British society is subject to cultural conflicts that have damaged the social order and inhibit the emergence of what would otherwise be cohesive communities.[183] This throws the blame for lack or loss of community on to those who are different, absolving the dominant culture and beginning the cycle of assimilation again.

As a result identity has become politically central to community formation, both as a tool to create it and a barrier to it. As noted, Wetherell has argued that policies that foreground cohesion and shared values are designed to "move people on" from what are seen as overly strong identifications with ethnic, religious and other groups.[184] Certain forms of community are acceptable while others are not. The purpose of social policy since 1997 has been "to intensify some forms of identification while loosening the power of others."[185] To achieve this, minority cultures must be brought into

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[180] Delanty, *Community*, 102.
[181] Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics," 8.
[182] Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, 183.
[183] Delanty, *Community*, 88, 91.
[184] Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics," 10.
[185] Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics," 11.

contact with dominant cultural paradigms and brought within the circle of "common ground" through engagement and representation.

The emphasis on representation throughout the *Gateway* and *WYHC* projects is indicative of this process. It reinforces the independence of archives from the people and the communities who create them. By becoming "representative" the Archive may function as an interlocutor between communities and the archives that know more about them than they know about themselves.[186] This generates a nuanced expression of the evidentiary paradigm, in which archives act as evidence of communities by representing them to the future. Since the Archive is the "gateway to history" the threat of non-representation is the threat of being excluded from history as well as from recognition in the present. Once inside the Archive the community becomes part of the "shared stories" that are considered a "cohesive" basis for a stable national society.

Conclusion

The *York: Gateway to History* project reinforced boundaries between archival experts and non-experts, recycling imagery of 'gatekeeping' familiar from the early twentieth century. In doing so it created a contradictory tension with its instrumental aims to engage communities and build new audiences. This is a reflection of how outreach, engagement and participation as concepts generate dissonance in archival practice, because they conflict with the underlying hegemony of the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' and evidentiary typology of values. The delivery of the Activity Plan was adapted to minimise this conflict. Activity which challenged the status quo or required mediation between different world-views was de-prioritised or silenced, as with the 'Supporting Societies'. Instead work was generated in proximity to the authorising discourse, such as the training and guidance for community archives. The desire to dissipate the tension of engagement was coded into the activities themselves.

Within the *Gateway* project the community archive was accepted as an alternative space but interactions between the institution and these groups was governed by a set

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[186] See Chapter Three, 104-106.

of rules. These rules, which set out how the Archive could share its expertise through training and providing support, quarantined and made safe community activity. Although the Community Archivist emphasised the importance of listening to what communities wanted, the outcomes of the project conformed to the authorised elements of archival practice. Physical preservation, safety and the order of the archives remained a key focus of anxiety, as did the evidential value harnessed by cataloguing.

The *York: Gateway to History* project sought to broaden its audience by tapping in to pre-existing community structures. By co-opting the instrumentalist communitarian rhetoric of New Labour, Coalition and Conservative governments, a schema was developed in which archives practitioners were given social responsibility and power. This schema claimed that the "genuine" value of archives was in representing and evidencing the similarities and shared stories that create cohesive communities. Robert Hewison has identified this commitment to the "social mission" of arts, culture and heritage as a constraining force, because the value potential of archival heritage can only be mobilised for specific outcomes and using limited tools.[187] In the case of the *Gateway* project the Archive became involved in efforts to represent and evidence communities in order to neutralise difference, leaving little or no space for precisely the divisive, challenging, and fragmented groups or identities it set out to reach.

Recently archival theorists have advocated for an alternative to this status quo, a "multiverse" of archival autonomy which prioritises "the ability of individuals and communities to participate in societal memory, with their own voice...'[188] This approach advocates transformation "of the way that archival and recordkeeping systems connect and communicate and are threaded into the community, organisational and social fabrics."[189] Critical analysis of the *Gateway* project, and the *WYHC* and *Heritage Quay* projects, suggests the fundamental constraints upon this liberatory work when it occurs in the context of the 'Authorised Archival Discourse'.

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[187] Robert Hewison, *Cultural Capital: The Rise and Fall of Creative Britain* (London, Verso: 2014), 132.
[188] Evans et al., "Self-determination and archival autonomy: advocating activism," 347.
[189] Evans et al., "Self-determination and archival autonomy: advocating activism," 358-9.

Chapter Six

People and Places:

Valuing the social and emotional

I found myself getting quite upset with the archives.

Lianne Brigham[1]

We cannot cut out emotion - in the economy of the human body, it is the limbic, not the neural, highway that takes precedence. We are not robots...but we act as though all our problems would be solved if only we had no emotions to cloud our judgement.

Jeanette Winterson[2]

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[1] Interview with Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham, interview with the author, Apr 4, 2017, York.
[2] Jeanette Winterson, *The Stone Gods* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2007), 142.

This penultimate chapter considers the ascription of alternative or unauthorised values to archival heritage and in doing so turns to the perspectives of archivally-engaged communities. I describe two action research projects which attempted to negotiate and moderate the authorised discursive environment, by working with autonomous communities on their own terms to create spaces in which archival values could be both ascribed and acted upon. In common with the case study of the previous chapter, the city of York was used as a 'laboratory' for research.[3] The projects were designed to explore if, how and under what circumstances archives are socially and emotionally meaningful to the people who create and/or use them, particularly exploring contingency factors such as the environment in which archival encounters occur.   They provided an opportunity to reflect further on the points of alignment and disjuncture between institutional and community archival practices, drawing on the observation of engagement activity described in Chapter Five and the perspectives of archives practitioners in Chapter Four. While the ascription of unauthorised social and emotional values to archives is shared by both practitioners and communities in principle, and while the discursive system of archival practice makes room for these values in some ways (for example through narratives of social justice), I argue that it works to limit their effects in others.

The chapter draws upon research notes, focus groups, blog posts and in-depth interviews collected during the participatory projects. The first was time limited and was hosted at Explore from April to June 2016, shortly after the *Gateway* project had been completed. This project - informally referred to as 'Hungate Histories' - was co-produced with members of the York Past and Present Facebook group (YPP) and a team of heritage researchers from the University of Leeds. Members of YPP who had never visited an archival institution but who had a developed interest in local and community history were invited to explore and document a previously unprocessed archive. It formed part of an AHRC Connected Communities Festival project called *My Future York*, which had separate and distinct but compatible research questions.[4] It

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[3] For an exploration and justification of this choice, see Chapter One, 33-35.
[4] *My Future York* has since been extended and is still ongoing at the time of writing in 2018. Further information is available at https://myfutureyork.org/.

was also aligned with the documentation and cataloguing objectives set by Explore as part of my collaborative doctoral award placement.

The second project was exploratory and open-ended, and is ongoing. Independently of Explore I became a member of a group of LGBTQ+ residents who were planning to start an LGBTQ+ archive for the city of York and North Yorkshire. Members were variously involved with other LGBT activities in the city, including the York LGBT Forum - the city's leading LGBT charity - York Pride and York LGBT History Month. The project was originally mooted in 2013 but developed gradually over the course of the research period, shifting through changes in the research group and personnel, until a more structured working group formed in 2017. The membership of the group consented to take part in my research and data was collected during five workshop meetings between February 2017 and January 2018 where the design, ambition and purpose of the LGBTQ+ archive was discussed and planned. Since January 2018 the group has worked together with Explore, North Yorkshire County Council and Barnardo's, outside of the research, to pursue a HLF bid to establish the archive and share it with LGBTQ+ communities across the region.

Both projects were designed and developed according to participatory principles, and have been shaped by the interests, needs and motivations of all the participants, including myself as the researcher. The reasons for adopting a collaborative action-based approach for this aspect of the research was explored in Chapter Two.[5] Following Evans *et al*, both projects were focused on the intersubjective actions of talking, listening, building relationships and reaching shared understanding, although they both also resulted in teleological actions.[6]

Hungate Histories: York Past and Present

The York Past and Present Facebook group (YPP) was founded by York residents Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham in 2013 during the timeframe of the *Gateway to History* project and describes itself as a "Historical Community sharing York's historical

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[5] See Chapter Two, 71-72; 81.
[6] Evans et al., "Self-Determination and Archival Autonomy: Advocating Activism," 352.

past" [capitalisation in the original].[7] It was created in response to what was perceived as a lack of safe and informal space to discuss York's history and share memories of the city's past.[8] An earlier online group Memories of York was considered divisive, with "constant arguing, constant bickering" and a lack of productive conversation.[9] Soon after starting YPP Richard and Lianne made contact with John Oxley, the City Archaeologist, and Helen Graham, an academic researcher at the University of Leeds. Along with several other YPP members they became involved in heritage and research projects around the city, combining online discussion with local action. By August 2018 the group had over 23,000 members worldwide, with posts rapidly generating a hundred or more comments. For example, a post on September 15 2017 reminiscing about the Rowntree's chocolate factory "waste shop" and "Bags full of Smarties, Rolos and Fruit Pastilles for like a quid [capitalisation in the original]" had 132 comments by September 27.[10] In these comments members shared their own memories or the experiences of family members, sometimes also including photographs or archival heritage as illustration. As a result many have reconnected with former work colleagues, neighbours, school friends or distant relatives.[11]

A conversation with Helen Graham in November 2015 led to a short two-week collaboration between myself, Explore and YPP which we called 'History behind the Headlines.'[12] The aim of that project was to consider the impact of archives on contemporary debates around housing and green space. In 2016 this pilot was extended as part of the *My Future York* project and funded by the AHRC's Connected Communities scheme. *My Future York* was designed as a six month open collaborative enquiry and comprised a number of activities, one of which – 'Hungate Histories' – was intended to engage with archival heritage as a basis for thinking about the present and

[7] York Past and Present Facebook Group, "About this Group," *Facebook*, n.d., accessed Sep 27, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/yorkpastandpresent/. NB. As YPP is a closed group only members are able to see the full page and interact with posts.
[8] Lianne Brigham, interview with Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham.
[9] Richard Brigham, interview with Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham.
[10] York Past and Present Facebook Group, "Timeline," *Facebook*, Sep 15, 2017, accessed Sep 27, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/yorkpastandpresent/search/?query=Rolos%20and%20Fruit%20Pastiles.
[11] Richard Brigham, interview with Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham.
[12] An archived blog about this project can be found at https://yorkhistoriesbehindtheheadlines.wordpress.com/.

future. It was collectively agreed that in addition to pursuing the research objectives of *My Future York*, Hungate Histories would also form part of this thesis. The interaction between YPP as an independent group, Explore as an institutional Archive and the city's collections represented an opportunity to consider the values ascribed to archives by practitioners and community members. In contrast to activities delivered during *York: Gateway to History*, the project was open and community-led in its approach, de-privileging the role of the archives practitioner and involving no preparatory training or induction for participants.

Consequently I became a participant-action researcher with the group, collaborating with Helen, Richard, Lianne and other YPP members who took part. Together we designed a six-week programme of engagement with an uncatalogued collection in the Archive. The material chosen related to the early twentieth century clearance of a part of the city known as Hungate. Although situated within the city walls Hungate was formerly part of the flood plain for the River Foss which runs along its edge, and during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was an area notorious for overcrowding, poor housing stock, dirty industry and poverty. In 1907 the York Corporation ordered an inspection of the area, condemning the majority of homes as unfit for human habitation.[13] After the First World War a programme of compulsory purchase and 'slum clearance' removed inhabitants to newly built social housing on the outskirts of the city at Tang Hall.[14] Hungate was used for light industry and commerce until 2008 when it was purchased for executive housing by Lendlease, the development company responsible for the 2012 London Olympic village and the Bluewater shopping centre.[15] When the *My Future York* project started in 2016 the redevelopment was ongoing and the irony of building expensive apartments on a former slum piqued the group's interest. In the future-orientation of the project the group were concerned about the increasing unaffordability of the city's housing stock, the difficulty of securing stable

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[13] P.M. Tillott, ed. "Modern York: Economy and the Corporation, 1900-39," in *A History of the County of York: The City of York* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1961), 293-300. *British History Online*, accessed Nov 7 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp293-300.
[14] P.M. Tillott, ed. "Modern York: The City after 1939", in *A History of the County of York: The City of York*, (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1961), 308-310, *British History Online,* accessed Nov 7, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/city-of-york/pp308-310.
[15] Lendlease, "About Lendlease," Homes by Lendlease, 2018, accessed Feb 2, 2018, https://www.homesbylendlease.co.uk/about-us.

housing for families and rising homelessness. The clearance archive was chosen to both explore the history of the Hungate area specifically and as a starting point for discussing these contemporary issues more generally.

Members of YPP were invited to participate through an invitation on the Facebook page. Although people were encouraged to commit to six weekly sessions there were no requirements for attendance, and some members attended only one or two sessions. There was a core group of six participants who came weekly, with two other intermittent attendees. No demographic information was taken from the group. This was justified not only because the small sample would make the data insignificant but because the ethos of the project focused on each participant as an individual rather than representative of a category. This was also the reason that they unanimously chose to be identified by either their full name or first name in the *My Future York* research, claiming ownership of their experiences and perspectives. Several members also published named-author blog posts about Hungate Histories on the project website. The participants all knew one another before the project began as they had socialised either via the Facebook group or at YPP events in the city. As well as Richard and Lianne two other members of the group had previously taken part in action projects and were acclimated to the idea of participation research through their previous contact with Helen Graham and others. However, none of the group had previously visited the city Archive or used archives in an institutional setting.

The project was collaboratively designed and iterative in its development over the course of six three-hour sessions, which took place between April and June. To maintain my role as a participant and a researcher, distinct from my employment at that time at the city Archive, the project was hosted by another archives practitioner (who took part in the research but elected to remain anonymous). The practitioner identified relevant collections, selected the archives that were retrieved and oversaw their use in the reading room. They also, at their request, introduced the rules and guidelines of the Archives service and were present at each session, contributing their knowledge and opinions as they saw fit. The sessions were jointly facilitated with Helen Graham. The structure of each session was loose, opening with a brief recap of the previous week and ending with a wrap-up conversation. Research, activity and

engagement with the collections was guided by the preferences and interests of the individual participants. There was a 20 to 30 minute break in each session where the group had tea and coffee and socialised together.

Research data was collected through reflective notes made after each session, recorded group discussion, the blog posts written by the participants and interviews with Helen Graham, Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham. In contrast to the documentation and interviews analysed up to this point the data was naturalised and selectively transcribed, focusing on sections of talk that were directly relevant to the research questions and themes. Other sections were briefly summarised in square brackets. Less emphasis was placed on the ways in which people expressed themselves verbatim and more on their meaning. This shift in approach was made for both practical and ethical reasons. Practically, there were significant sections of recorded discussions and interviews that were not relevant to the study because they addressed personal and social topics that arose out of the informality of the research setting.

Ethically, it would have been inappropriate to critically analyse the speech acts and syntax of the participants, who were from a variety of social and educational backgrounds. Further, unlike the archives practitioners, they did not share a linguistic or rhetorical culture informed by shared experiences or environments over and above having lived in the city of York. Finally, participatory action research focuses on "equality, reciprocity…and valuing the voices of the ordinary people as expert and authoritative on their own lives."[16] The forensic elements of CDA may be seen as incompatible with this approach, because it places the researcher in a position of authority over the participants. Instead the data was uploaded to NVivo and analysed using the broader narrative elements of CDA, namely interactional control, metaphor, organisation and thematic emergence.[17] This maintained consistency within the thesis but also acknowledged that the analysis was the result of group reflection and debate

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[16] Rachel Pain, Sara Kindon and Mike Kesby, "Participatory Action Research: Making a Difference to Theory, Practice and Action,' in *Participatory Act Research Approaches and Methods: Connecting People, Participation and Place*, ed. Sara Kindon, Rachel Pain and Mike Kesby (London: Routledge, 2007), 26.

[17] See Chapter Two, 75-77, for descriptions of these categories within CDA.

during the sessions. It was captured via free text memos attached to each data source, which were then coded.

A set of values emerged and were ascribed during this process which reflected the ways in which the participants approached, interpreted and wanted to use the archive material during the project. These were framed and, in some cases, opposed by the values and expectations of the Archive as an institution, the archives practitioner, myself as a researcher and the archives themselves.

Approaches to order

The archives that were selected for the project were records created and received by York Corporation during the inspection and clearance of the Hungate area. They encompassed printed materials, such as legislation and byelaws; reports and correspondence by Corporation officers; letters from Hungate residents or property owners; photographs and plans. The sample included a long series of records of inspectors' returns on the living conditions of residents which were formulaic but provided detailed information on individuals and families. None of the archives had been catalogued or processed since their transfer to the Archive in the 1980s. Although they had been re-boxed into archival containers the files were packaged in their original housings, for example brown paper tied with string. Their order had been partially disrupted since their creation, possibly during the transfer and boxing process, and it was difficult to discern the original filling system. [18]

Making these files available to the group was in contravention of Explore's policy that uncatalogued archives are closed to the public because of the lack of intellectual control over their content.[19] This lack of control is seen to increase the risks of theft or other damage to the collection, threatening evidential qualities of authenticity and integrity. It reflects the concerns practitioners showed during their interviews for the

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[18] The records have since been catalogued, processed and conserved as part of a two year Wellcome funded project, *Past Caring: The Health and Poverty Collections of the City of York*, which began in September 2016 and was completed in September 2018. Julie-Ann Vickers, "The Past Caring Project," *York: A City Making History* (blog), [2016?], accessed Sep 30, 2018, https://citymakinghistory.wordpress.com/past-caring-project/.

[19] Explore York Libraries and Archive, *Archives and Local History Access Policy*, July 2017, 7, accessed Apr 24, 2018, https://www.exploreyork.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/ALH-access-policy-2017.pdf.

heightened dangers caused by disorder in the archives.[20] The policy also appears to be related to the discursive tendency (observed in Chapters Three, Four and Five) to perceive archives as unready for use and lacking in value prior to the intervention of an archives practitioner.[21] Some parts of the archive had been previously opened to an academic historian during *Dig Hungate*, the archaeological excavation of the site that took place between 2008 and 2014. However, by summer 2016 the resulting project website was unmaintained and the history sections unavailable for reference.[22] Articles relating to the excavation which referred to the archival material had been published but in academic journals that were unavailable to public audiences.[23] The lack of an accessible book or website that explored the material reinforced the visual impression that the archives were being discovered for the first time.

The absence of practitioner interventions (such as cataloguing and repackaging) and of authoritative publications was productive to the research. It foregrounded a clash of expectations between 'expert' approaches to archival practice and historical research, and non-specialist interest in the past motivated variously by curiosity, personal connection and an interest in contemporary issues. At the outset the archives practitioner in attendance encouraged the group to approach the archives via the context in which they were created, foregrounding the importance of their provenance and original order. They suggested making a survey of all the boxes of records to begin with, or using the Council minutes to establish a timeline of events to structure the uncatalogued material.[24] This reflected the evidential values typology whereby records are ascribed significance as authoritative products of organisational bureaucracies. I also, unconsciously, reiterated this assumption by suggesting that we begin by establishing a chronology of national housing legislation and regulations prior to using the uncatalogued files.[25] Later, speaking in a reflective interview at the mid-point of

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[20] See Chapter Four, 151-154 and Chapter Five, 216-218.

[21] See Chapter Three, 102, 145 and Chapter Four, 152-155; 159.

[22] All except the front page of the *Dig Hungate* website is now unavailable. York Archaeological Trust. *Dig Hungate*, accessed Apr 24, 2018, http://www.dighungate.com/.

[23] For example, Jayne Rimmer, "People and Their Buildings in the Working-Class Neighbourhood of Hungate, York,' *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15, no. 4 (2011): 617-628.

[24] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 2, May 6, 2016, York.

[25] Hungate Histories, Research Field Notes, notes from May 6, 2016,

the project the archives practitioner recognised that "People aren't very interested in the lists [of archives] and sources of organised information…"[26] They continued:

> …you were talking about legislation…I don't think people are interested in that at all. I think that was you putting your perspective on it… that was how I started off doing it, that's where I came from, so there's obviously quite a consistent archivist-historian way of approaching things.[27]

This "archivist-historian" methodology was challenged by the way YPP members approached the archives using different organising principles. Instead of seeking and imposing 'original' or chronological orders the participants situated, rearranged and explained the archives based primarily on geographies of family and place. Their orientation was away from legislation, bureaucratic process and the Corporation and towards the locations and people described. The administrative history of the records' creator, which is afforded a naturalised position of privilege in hierarchical archival processing, was perceived to be less important than the subject/s of the record. These spatial and experiential factors were intuitive categories for organising and engaging with the archives that required no specialist or prior knowledge.

During the first session the group decided to focus their attention on two streets in Hungate: the eponymous Hungate itself and Garden Place, a street running parallel to it. The latter became the focus of the project. The group mobilised around this decision and began to sort and move through the archive to find references to Garden Place dispersed throughout the files.[28] In the second session participants began to digitise material they felt was relevant with their phones and other devices and in week three a Google Drive was set up to house these images centrally, to digitally re-order the material by place.[29] Two members of the group, Richard and Dave, chose to compile a collection of images of maps and plans that showed the two streets through time. A table in the reading room was set aside to display a number of these plans during sessions, in particular a 1907 coloured inspection map and an updated copy of

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[26] Interview with Hungate Histories archives practitioner, interview with author, May 6, 2016, York.
[27] Interview with Hungate Histories archives practitioner.
[28] Hungate Histories, Research Field Notes, notes from Apr 29, 2016.
[29] Hungate Histories. Research Field Notes, notes from May 6, 2016.

this plan from the 1930s when the clearance was at its height.[30] Along with Ordnance Survey maps of the area, these were used to connect the written records and photographs the group found with locations in space and time.

The group also used the maps as a bridge between the archives and the present, discussing how closely the current Garden Place overlay the old one and speculating as to the different lives and expectations of people living there. Lianne suggested that "Maybe those that are just moving in to Hungate… I think it would be nice for them to see where their house is situated maybe. I mean it would be kind of brilliant if your house was situated on Garden Place that we've been researching…"[31] This translated into a strong desire amongst the group to be *in* Hungate at the same time as experiencing the archives, with the maps acting as a not always satisfactory surrogate for being onsite. Dave decided to go and walk around the area between sessions, returning the following week with questions about an archaeological dig taking place in the vicinity.[32] Having spoken to the archaeologists he and Richard subsequently became involved in that project as well, making an immediate link between the place in the archives and the place in the world that they related to.

This spatial connecting and restructuring of the archive was fully expressed in an event held near Hungate in November 2016. As part of a collaboration between *My Future York* and event organisers Vespertine the YPP group worked with artists Reetso to design an exhibition that embodied their archival research. They recreated housing spaces, smells and scenes that the early twentieth century residents of Hungate might have experienced, taking information and inspiration from the archives (Figures 5 and 6).[33]

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[30] Hungate Histories. Research Field Notes, notes from May 13, 2016.

[31] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 6, Jun 10, 2016, York.

[32] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 2.

[33] Reetso and My Future York, "Yorktopia: Looking Backwards to Look Forwards," Vespertine event, Nov 23, 2016.

HAYMARKET: 1910's

Plan One

You are standing in 1a Haymarket.

It backed on to the old Woolpack Inn.

The ground floor consists of a kitchen and a scullery, which also did service as a coalhouse.

The water closet was outside in the yard.

In March 1936, it was judged to have 'ground damp' and to have 'many defects'.

Along with much of Hungate by the time the Second World War began, 1a Hungate had been demolished.

YARD — 11'6" — 6'6"

W.C

DOWN

13'3" — 12'8"

18'4"

L.H BEDROOM — F.P. — F.P. — R.H BEDROOM — 18'4"

C. — C. — TO ATTIC

4'X3' — 4'X3'

FIRST FLOOR

Fig 5: A plan of a house in Hungate, drawn up from the description in the archive. Reetso.

29 Garden Place

No. of Rooms: 2

– Male - 25 years, Married, Currently unemployed, General Labourer

– Female - 22 years, Married

– Female - 7 months
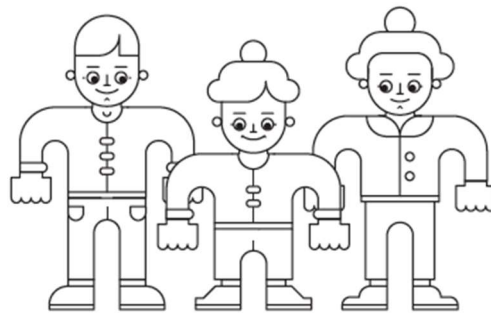
32 Garden Place

No. of Rooms: 4

– Male - 44 years, Married, Employed, Coal Boater

– Female - 41 years, Married, Housework

– Male - 18 years, Employed, Confectioner's Assistant at Cocoa Works

– Male - 14 years, Employed, Confectioner's Assistant at Cocoa Works

– Male - 11 years, Schoolboy

– Male - 2 years

Fig 6: 'Census' of Garden Place designed from inspectors' survey sheets. Reetso.

The way the group organised and explored the archives by place was historically productive and fed directly into their constructions of the past. Catherine, for example, used this approach to build detailed narratives of individual properties and their inhabitants.[34] However, it also led to frustration and unmet expectations. The archive was frequently unable to answer the questions participants wanted to put to it. Relevant records were distributed over dozens of files, some of which were unpromising, formulaic or boring to look through. When references to Garden Place were found they sometimes contained partial or confusing information. The original creators did not have the detailed grasp on the geography of area that the group had cultivated. A number of "mistakes" were found, such as properties in Garden Court being confused with properties on Garden Place or a corner pub being given the incorrect street address.[35] This led some participants to distrust the archive, or rather to distrust the knowledge of the people making it. This questioning of the trustworthiness and expertise of the historic Corporation was connected to their scepticism about the ability of the present-day Council to manage and understand the city. The archives replicated the communication barrier not only between a practitioner language of authorised values and the group's research approach but between the bureaucracy of the Council and YPP's crowd-sourced knowledge base.

As a result, the group did not accept the authority of the archive or the discursive assumption (identified in Chapter Three) that it knew more about the past of Hungate than they did. Throughout the project they used alternative strategies to supplement and correct the information they found. In addition to the site visits, members also consulted local oral history testimonies, posted questions to the YPP Facebook page and ran Google searches on their phones.[36] The archive was not prioritised over other sources of information or referred to as a fundamental basis for evidencing claims about Hungate in the past. The evidential and informational values ascribed by the group was limited, moderated by their lack of trust in the records creator and diluted

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[34] Catherine Southeran, "No 2+4 Garden Place: The Saga of 2 Owners, Some Back Windows and an Unpaid Bill,' *My Future York* (blog), Jun 12, 2016, accessed Oct 6, 2017, http://myfutureyork.org/no-2-4-garden-place-the-saga-of-2-owners-some-back-windows-and-an-unpaid-bill/,

[35] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 2.

[36] Hungate Histories. Research Field Notes, notes from May 6, 2016 and Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 2.

further by the archives' inability to respond to their needs. Instead the archives were used as one of a range of sources about Hungate that allowed the group to explore and speculate about the past.

The desire to be *in* the place that they were researching was related to the group's sense that the records were also significant and relevant to debates in the present. Knowing about the past was not an end in and of itself but a precursor to connecting with personal experiences, reflecting on change, and discussing current affairs and local political decisions. Almost a third of the talk during the research focus group sessions was reminiscence or opinion inspired by the archives. Topics covered included high rents, the quality of social housing, the new Hungate development, community spirit, students and the postal service. During a conversation about if and how 1930s Hungate residents might have tried to influence what happened during the clearance, Lianne recalled her experience of living in Council housing as a young mum:

> It was awful. Hated it. But then when I first moved in I didn't know that I could do anything about it, you know, I thought it was just a case of this is my house I have to live with it… until you know that there are places that you can go to get help you don't know because nobody advertises it. Nobody tells you.[37]

The archive became a springboard for expressing and imagining social situations and emotional states. Researching the experiences of people in the past evoked powerful responses and gave members permission to explore their own feelings. Sue H, for example, wrote about a "letter that really touched my heart" about an elderly woman who had been removed from Hungate in 1936 and admitted to an institution. She used this single item to generate sympathy for this person, imagining how it must have been to have "her pension book taken off her…her furniture deemed unfit to be sold at public auction and sent to the 'Destructor'."[38] It led Sue to make a connection to her own childhood in York in the 1940s: "We lived in Micklegate and that was classed as quite a posh area wasn't it but where we lived it was overrun with mice… We had to go

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[37] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 4, May 20, 2016, York.
[38] Sue Hogarth, "A Blog from Member Sue Hogarth," *My Future York* (blog), Jun 11, 2016, accessed Oct 6, 2017, http://myfutureyork.org/a-blog-from-member-sue-hogarth/.

to bed at night and there were all the mice. Disgusting."[39] Sue appreciated the affective potential of personal stories in the archive, explaining that "it made me so grateful for what we have today…it gave me a glimpse into the past, without the archive this wouldn't be possible."[40]

The emotion latent in the archive wasn't always pleasant or easy to deal with. Reflecting back on the experience Lianne admitted "I found myself getting quite upset with the archives. The slides [of ill residents, made by the Medical Officer of Health] were just horrific and I found myself going home after seeing the slides and it's like I'm thankful that I don't live like that but I'm very sorry that they did."[41] Other members of the group expressed feelings of anger at the social injustice experienced by the Hungate residents. This was often directed towards the Corporation who were seen as uncaring and more interested in appearances than peoples' wellbeing:

> S: It always looks nice by the Minster though.

> AP: That's because it's not owned by the Council. [all laugh]

> D: They couldn't be bothered...How many times did Hungate flood? Almost once a year.[42]

These feelings were not only related to the group's sense that the records were significant and relevant to debates in the present, but an indicator of broader concerns for disrupting and challenging the status quo or authority they signified. Working with the archives presented an opportunity to figuratively and literally enter the new Hungate development which was otherwise exclusionary, and to critique housing policy in the city. This critique could then be put to use in other areas of the *My Future York* project, in thinking about how to build better homes and better relationships between residents and the Council. In this way the archive was co-opted as a "memoryscape", as described by Caswell, becoming an active space that allowed the

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[39] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 4.
[40] Hogarth, "A Blog from Member Sue Hogarth."
[41] Lianne Brigham, interview with Richard Brigham and Lianne Brigham.
[42] Hungate Histories, Focus Group Session 4.

YPP researchers to construct aspirations for the future through thinking about the past.[43]

The term "houses of memory" was first used to describe Archives in 1991 by Jean-Pierre Wallot, invoking both their physical and metaphorical role as "memory spaces."[44] This terminology has since been widely adopted and the relationship between memory and archives extensively explored, often in the context of engaging the public with archival heritage. Terry Cook, for example, has offered a poetic reading of the link between archives, memory and community: "Archives are about memory, continuity, linkages, community, heritage, humanity – about allowing the solace of remembering and the balm of forgetting to move the spirit, to open us evermore sensitively to the possibilities of justice."[45] However, as Blouin has noted, the relationship between archives and memory is not straightforward. For him "the archive is relational and suspect… as one contested element in a variety of tangible and intangible elements that help construct a sense, an image, a theory or a representation of a particular past."[46] Verne Harris has reinforced the limits of the archive to represent the fullness of community and societal remembering:

> Truth be told, archives narrowly defined, these "memory institutions" holding the treasure of records with archival value, contribute relatively little to social memory.[47]

This ambivalence was also evident in the memory role the archives assumed during the Hungate Histories project. While the archive could be used to stimulate debate and generate powerful emotional responses, its ability to speak authoritatively about the past was subordinated to grassroots history-making that drew on YPP's collective memories and online resources, as well as individual's opinions and experiences of living in York. This challenges practitioners' assumptions that archives have an

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[43] Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable*, 14-17.
[44] Bastian, "Locating Archives Within the Landscape," 48.
[45] Terry Cook, "Archival Music: Verne Harris and the Cracks of Memory", in *Archives and Justice: A South African Retrospective* by Verne Harris (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007), xiii.
[46] Frances X. Blouin Jr., "Archivists, Mediation and Constructs of Social Memory," *Archival Issues* 24, no. 2 (1999): 109.
[47] Harris, *Archives and Justice,* 26.

evidential value in learning and remembering the lessons of the past.[48] Although this dynamic was at work during Hungate Histories it was not straightforward. Arguably, although the relationship between the 'evidence' of the archive and YPP's communal remembering was productive, this productivity was generated through a form of resistance to archival authority rather than a process of learning through and from it. In a debate with Richard, Lianne and Helen Graham a year on from the project, this resistance was characterised as a form of counter-authority grassroots insurgency.[49] The value of the archive was as a body of information around and against which the group was able to form ideas, creating a space to discuss urgent issues.

The team's collective response to the archive foregrounded the personal, affective and place-based connections they shared with it, suggesting that the dominant values ascribed were emotional and social. Emotional values were generated when the archive led people to express and share their feelings, and subsequently to use those feelings to reflect on personal and communal experiences. Not all the feelings were positive; on the contrary the experience was challenging and painful as well as thought-provoking. Social values emerged thereafter in the unauthorised and insurgent use of the archive to reflect on the housing crisis of the 2010s in the context of the housing policy of the 1930s. The policies and approaches of modern-day national and local government could be questioned and disrupted by learning about the Corporation's actions in the past. This impulse ran counter to the discursive assumption identified in Chapter Three and elaborated in Chapter Four that archives are tools in the production of "shared stories" that work to unite diverse perspectives in the interests of "community cohesion." The response of the participatory group would suggest that instead the breakdown of relationships between government and community evident in the Hungate archives was the basis for exploring the conflict and tensions inherent in the imbalance of power between local people and local government today.

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[48] See Chapter Four, 156; 169-170.

[49] Lianne Brigham et al., "Archive Utopias: Linking Collaborative Histories to Local Democracy," in *Communities, Archives and New Collaborative Practices*, ed. Simon Popple, Andrew Prescott and Daniel Mutibwa (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019) (forthcoming).

Developing the history of Garden Place turned all group members into 'experts' and created a basis for sharing their minds more broadly, contributing to a redistribution of this power. As a result, during workshops held after the project was complete, participants were able to debate with planning and local heritage officers on a new basis. The archive channelled the emotional immediacy of their responses, and mediated their personal experiences, acting as a basis from which to make political statements. This basis did not even need to be factually correct, but could be patchworked from archives, family histories, hearsay, opinion and online articles. In contrast to an archival institution like Explore, YPP was under no obligation to maintain a discursive illusion of neutrality based on an ideology of evidence. They were free to mobilise the archives, even in ahistorical or 'wrong' ways, to "imagine and reimagine different trajectories into the future."[50]

This orientation strained against systems of control, order and research approaches that emphasised linearity. The groups preferred an approach to sense and meaning-making that was often at odds with the limited possibilities offered by the records themselves.   Such limitations arise out of the way of seeing the world that the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' imposes, from the creation, selection and management of the records through to the environments and technologies that are interposed between the archives and the individual or community. When archival heritage is presented, described and assessed within the evidentiary paradigm then the assimilationist, instructive and expert led approaches to engagement seen in Chapter Five become necessary, because participants cannot make sense of the records without them. The Hungate Histories project at least partially disrupted this authorising environment, making it possible to redeploy bureaucratic archives as a tool for community activism.

Our Footprints: An LGBTQ+ Archive for York and North Yorkshire

York's LGBTQ+ community was identified as a target audience for engagement by Explore in the *Gateway to History* activity plan. The limited extent and focus of this

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[50] Caswell, "Inventing New Archival Imaginaries," 49.

engagement was briefly touched upon in Chapter Five.[51] In addition to the work already described the Archives carried out a collections survey, which highlighted the absence of LGBTQ+ archival heritage in the city's collection. On March 13, 2014 the Community Collections and Outreach Archivist and the City Archivist (my predecessor) attended a meeting of the York LGBT Forum to discuss this gap and invite them to participate in the HLF funded project.[52]

The York LGBT Forum ('the Forum') is a charity and an advocacy organisation that describes itself as "a strong voice for York's Lesbian, Gay, Bi and Trans communities. [capitalisation in the original]"[53] It subscribes to an inclusive definition of LGBT "to include all other minority sexual orientations and gender identity groups."[54] It is a membership organisation which offers free full membership to anyone who identifies as LGBTQ+ and affiliate membership to allies and supporters. It also has a corporate membership programme, encouraging local organisations and businesses to engage with and support the city's LGBTQ+ people. It is managed by a committee and is structured around small working groups focused on hate crime, older, Trans and bisexual people, schools, and health and wellbeing. Founded in 2006, the Forum now functions as the principal channel for LGBTQ+ advocacy and activity in the city. As such it was identified as one of *Gateway's* "gatekeeper" organisations.[55]

However, the 2014 meeting did not lead to action. Explore York Archives and the Forum didn't work together or meet again during the *Gateway* project, nor were there any deposits of archival heritage created by or relating to the LGBTQ+ community. In a search made in August 2018 the online archive catalogue returned no results for the terms 'LGBT', 'gay', 'lesbian', 'trans*', 'bisexual', 'gender' or 'sexuality'.[56] This is despite an active and growing LGBTQ+ history and memory movement in the city during the *Gateway to History* period. In 2014 the Forum already had a section dedicated to

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[51] See Chapter Five, 208.

[52] York LGBT Forum. Meeting Agendas and Papers. Members Access via GoogleDrive. 2013-2018. Agenda for March 13 2014.

[53] York LGBT Forum, "About Us," *York LGBT Forum*, n.d., accessed Jan 5, 2018, https://yorklgbtforum.org.uk/.

[54] York LGBT Forum, "About Us."

[55] See Chapter Five, 205-206.

[56] This was true as of August 25 2018, based on searches conducted via the online catalogue using the 'Archives' filter. Explore York Libraries and Archives, *Library and Archives Catalogue*, *Explore York Libraries and Archives*, n.d., accessed Aug 25, 2018, https://cyc.sdp.sirsidynix.net.uk.

library and archive work; indeed, the initial contact with Explore was initiated by the Forum's secretary rather than vice-a-versa. They had emailed the city archivist to express an interest in establishing an LGBTQ+ archive.[57]

York LGBT History Month, another independent charitable organisation, was also founded in 2014, with a mission to "increase public awareness of the place of LGBT people in history."[58] Although the organisation is not focused solely on York's LGBTQ+ history, the annual programme includes locally-relevant events. For example, a 'Rainbow Plaques' day has run each February since 2015, bringing together people to create, celebrate and remember LGBTQ+ histories, which are unrepresented by the city's 70 commemorative 'blue plaques'.[59] During the event temporary rainbow plaques are written by attendees and placed on buildings in a 'guerrilla' take-over of the town centre. The plaques are diverse in content, expressing different motivations for telling and making visible LGBTQ+ histories. Some have focused on high profile individuals or events, such as the marriage of Anne Lister and Ann Walker at Holy Trinity Church, Goodramgate in 1834, aligning narratives with established commemorative practices.[60] Others have recognised the personal experiences of the people taking part, establishing the value of deeply personal stories.[61] Kit Heyam, for example, placed a plaque outside Specsavers opticians where he had first asserted his Trans identity by defying the expectations of the gendered displays of glasses.[62]

An LGBT History Month event hosted by the York Museums Trust at the York Castle Museum in January 2015 encouraged members of the local community to contribute

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[57] LGBT Forum secretary, email message to York City Archives, "Invitation to the LGBT Forum," Jan 14, 2014.
[58] York LGBT History Month, "About," *York LGBT History Month*, 2017, accessed Jan 5, 2018, http://yorklgbthistory.org.uk/.
[59] Kit Heyam, "Rainbow Plaques: Mapping York's LGBT History," *Notches – (Re)marks on the History of Sexuality* (blog), Jul 23, 2015, accessed Jan 5 2018, http://notchesblog.com/2015/07/23/rainbow-plaques-mapping-yorks-lgbt-history/.
[60] This is the site that has subsequently been nominated to host the first permanent LGBTQ+ commemorative plaque, selected in partnership with the York Civic Trust. BBC News, "Plaque in York Honours 'First Modern Lesbian' Anne Lister," *BBC News*, Jul 24, 2018, accessed Aug 25, 2018, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-york-north-yorkshire-44938819.
[61] A virtual tour of the 2015 plaques is available on HistoryPin. Plaques from the 2016, 2017 and 2018 events can be found on Instagram. York LGBT History Month, "Rainbow Plaques, 2015," *HistoryPin*. n.d., accessed Jan, 5, 2018, https://www.historypin.org/en/york-s-lgbt-history-rainbow-plaques/. York LGBT History Month, "Rainbow Plaques, 2016 – 2018," *Instagram*, accessed Sep 28, 2018, https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/rainbowplaques/.
[62] Heyam, "Rainbow Plaques."

LGBTQ+ objects, archives and memories to the city's museum collections.[63] During the planning stages I became involved as a researcher, interested in the possibility of a community project to establish an archive. Participating in such a project represented an opportunity to engage with archival values from a community perspective, at a critical juncture in the city's debate about memory, identity and history. From November 2014 onwards I discussed the idea with members of the York LGBT History Month committee and the Forum. We agreed to form a working group based around a proposal for a participatory action project, recording the process of founding and developing a community archive over the course of a year.[64]

Unfortunately, due to other commitments and personal circumstances the group members were unable to meet. Although there was a strong will to undertake the work it proved difficult to co-ordinate the effort on a voluntary basis. When two of the key members of the proposed working group moved away from the city the impetus was lost and the project fell into abeyance. It was rekindled by a research event I hosted during LGBT History Month 2017. This was held after an LGBTQ+ history conference at York Explore on February 11 and employed an open roundtable in which participants were invited to debate and discuss the possibility of an LGBTQ+ archive for the city. It was facilitated and recorded, and all participants gave consent to take part. It was designed as a forum in which self-selecting attendees, responding to an advert in the History month programme, contributed their thoughts and opinions on if and how an LGBTQ+ archive was valuable and what it might look like.

The themes emerging from this workshop subsequently informed a renewed relationship with the Forum. After attending a meeting on June 8, I submitted a renewed project proposal to initiate an action research project that would recruit team members via the Forum newsletter.[65] This was accepted and an initial working group meeting was convened on August 22, 2017. Three further meetings were held

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[63] York Press, "Gay History Roadshow to be Staged at York's Castle Museum," *York Press*. 26 Jan 2015, accessed Sep 28, 2018, http://www.yorkpress.co.uk/news/11748904.Gay_history_roadshow_to_be_staged_at_York_s_Castle_Museum/.

[64] Victoria Hoyle, "Proposal to participatory project partners for LGBT Archive research," 29 Jan, 2015.

[65] Victoria Hoyle, "LGBT Archives project proposal to York LGBT Forum," Jun 9, 2017.

between September 2017 and January 2018, the purpose of which was to discuss and design an approach to establishing the archive. All members of the working group were consenting research participants and again meetings were recorded and transcribed. In this case everyone who participated chose to be anonymous, not only to preserve their privacy but also in recognition that they were attempting to represent a community rather than themselves. The same transcription and analysis protocol was used as in Hungate Histories.

During this timeframe contact with Explore was renewed and a relationship was also formed with the North Yorkshire County Record Office (NYCRO) in light of decisions made by the participatory action group. Consequently, on January 31, 2018 the group met with representatives from Explore, NYCRO, North Yorkshire County Council young people's unit and Barnardo's to discuss a partnership bid to the HLF for an ambitious intergenerational LGBTQ+ archive project across the region. The project launched informally with a consultation on February 24, 2018 as part of the History Month programme, at which point my involvement as a researcher ended. This was both to limit the amount of data collected and in recognition of the practical difficulty of obtaining consent from an increasing and changing cohort of volunteers and supporters. I remained involved in the project in a personal capacity, as a member of the bid development team.[66]

Prior to taking part in the project only one of the group members had any experience of working with archives in institutional or organised settings: GM4 had previously volunteered at a feminist Archive in England and had been involved in an oral history project elsewhere in Yorkshire. However, GM1 had their own extensive personal archive, including a series of diaries which they had considered depositing with an archival institution. Their motivation for becoming involved with the project partly arose from their dissatisfaction about leaving their personal papers to an institutional archive.[67] GM2 and GM6 had attended some of the LGBT History Month heritage events which had taken place since 2014 and so were aware of the ongoing

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[66] A first round bid for the project was submitted to the HLF on Aug 16, 2018. Yasmeen Sharif, email to the author, "FW: Heritage Lottery Fund Application Submitted," Aug 16, 2018.
[67] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes), Aug 22, 2017, York.

conversation about preserving archives and artefacts in the city. Both were also active in LGBTQ+ advocacy. GM3 and GM5 were students who were involved in LGBTQ+ communities at their universities. The group identified with a diversity of sexualities and gender identities, including non-binary and asexuality, but nobody was asked to label themselves for demographic purposes. Non-judgemental inclusivity was one of the values that emerged most strongly in discussion about the proposed archive and this was reflected in the approach to data collection. The other principal themes that emerged were visibility, autonomy, intergenerational solidarity and the role of archival heritage in consolidating and furthering LGBTQ+ civil rights.

Valuing LGBTQ+ stories

From the outset there was consensus that "the community should decide" what York's LGBTQ+ archive looks like, ensuring that its contents, management and values are produced by the needs and experiences of LGBTQ+ people.[68] The group imagined this would generate a mix of tangible and intangible archival heritage, from 1980s disco posters, to ephemera collected from attendees at Pride; as well as memories and oral histories created specifically for the purpose of preservation.[69] The proposed archive thus fits within the definition of a community archive established by Flinn, Stevens and Shepherd, the defining characteristic being "active participation of a community, on their own terms."[70] GM2 envisioned the content would be collected primarily by project volunteers, who identified as LGBTQ+ themselves and would exercise control over the decisions that were made. The archives would be an 'own voices' collection that would value LGBTQ+ perspectives and make them visible. This further aligns with the conceptualisation of community archives as a form of social activism that works against marginalisation in mainstream society.[71]

Being seen or making visible was expressed as a core motive for establishing the archive. This was not just a matter of historical visibility as a result of having been 'hidden' from history (as it is expressed, for example, in the HLF and TNA's strategic

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[68] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).
[69] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).
[70] Flinn, Stevens, and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?" 73.
[71] Flinn, Stevens, and Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives?" 74.

position on engagement) but part of a broader societal experience of not being seen. As GM1 put it: "We're invisible normally. We're not counted. There isn't anything on the census…they took it off the last census and I was very cross about that…so I want to be counted…that's why I need an archive, to be made visible."[72] The group did not feel this invisibility was an accident or an unconscious omission but an expression of dominant social values. GM2 felt strongly that the city's LGBTQ+ history "has been deleted, it has been destroyed…there is a lot of LGBT history in York that people don't know about but it's been eroded."[73] Bringing the archive into existence was understood to be what Rebecka Sheffield has termed an "archival intervention", in which the process of researching and documenting a community or subculture calls attention to what is absent or distorted in institutional Archives.[74] The group's feelings also align with Caswell's argument that the absence of marginalised groups from mainstream archival repositories is an act of "symbolic annihilation".[75] An LGBTQ+ archive would not only have the effect of evidencing the historical presence of LGBTQ+ people in the city, but would also begin to address deeper social and cultural erasure.

Since the 1970s the LGBTQ+ rights movement has recognised the social values of archives in raising awareness, building solidarity and making LGBTQ+ people and communities visible. In 1973 the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives (CLGA) was founded because "a conspiracy of silence has robbed gay men and lesbians of their history…", further arguing that "a sense of continuity which derives from the knowledge of a heritage is essential for the building of self confidence in a community."[76] The motivation for collecting archives was not just about the past, but "a necessary tool in the struggle for social change."[77] More recently LGBTQ+ archive projects in other parts of the UK have foregrounded the change and recognition potential of such "archival interventions." In Plymouth the *Pride in the Past* project specifically envisioned its archive as a way for LGBTQ+ people to "share their

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[72] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes). Sep 26, 2017. York.
[73] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[74] Rebecka T. Sheffield, "The Bedside Table Archives: Archive Intervention and Lesbian Intimate Domestic Culture," *Radical History Review* 120 (2014): 111.
[75] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 27.
[76] Barriaut, "Archiving the Queer and Queering the Archives," 100.
[77] Barriaut, "Archiving the Queer and Queering the Archives," 100.

memories and take pride in their own past and contribution to the city."[78] The York group also imagined the archive in this way, as a tool for social and cultural recognition that extended out from the past and into the present. This understanding of the potential of archives echoed the contemporary uses of the Hungate archive by YPP, in using archival heritage to make visible otherwise marginalised perspectives and viewpoints that counter authorised narratives.

This had been briefly achieved through a community-curated exhibition on post-1970 LGBTQ+ life hosted by York Castle Museum as part of the 50th anniversary commemoration of the decriminalisation of sex in private between consenting adult men. The Forum, Pride and History Month had collaborated to collect a small number of oral history testimonies and objects, and curated a display in the 1960s pub gallery which opened in June 2017. However, this was not permanent and the material was returned to the contributors in December 2017.[79] The lack of permanence afforded the exhibition and the collections it generated was understood to be emblematic of institutional attitudes to LGBTQ+ heritage. Efforts were made for specific purposes, which were often linked to anniversaries, but the outputs were not seen as part of the ongoing and acknowledged history of the city. The community archive was perceived as an antidote to this problem, because "that's it, it's there then for the longer term."[80] However, the objective was not to influence the collecting behaviour of mainstream repositories. The prior experience with the museum, and with Explore during the *Gateway* project, suggested a lack of genuine and consistent commitment. As a result of their involvement with these projects GM1, GM2 and GM6 all expected that archival institutions would want to interact with the LGBTQ+ community according to their own fixed parameters. GM2 dryly commented that "it [LGBTQ+ history] does seem to be flavour of the month at the moment", later suggesting that part of what archival institutions wanted was the appearance of LGBTQ+ collaborations to leverage diversity-linked funding.[81]

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[78] Pride in Plymouth, "Plymouth LGBT Community Archive," *Pride in Plymouth*, n.d., accessed Apr 12, 2018, http://prideinplymouth.org.uk/lgbt-archive/.

[79] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes). Nov 4, 2017. York.

[80] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

[81] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).

Instead the group asserted the right of LGBTQ+ people to collect and determine what constituted archival heritage, applying their own regimes of values. GM2 highlighted the importance of posters, flyers and personal photographs as heritage which might not be prioritised under authorised archival regimes. Almost anything, through its association with a LGBTQ+ person, was seen as valuable and useful to the community archive. [82] This aligns with Barriaut's characterisation of LGBTQ+ archives as "total archives", in which collections function as the collective memory box of communities.[83] It also echoes the collections policy of the Lesbian Herstory Archive, which will accept any "materials that are relevant to the lives and experiences of Lesbians."[84] As a result the Herstory Archives collects and preserves material that might be discarded by mainstream archival repositories, the kind of unstructured and de-contextualised "rubbish" which Interviewee 05 was forced to take by a local history project.[85] This might include badges, banners, clothing, furniture and personal items, as well as erotica and pornographic materials. Laurin has argued that pornographic photographs may be particularly important in LGBTQ+ archives, as they represent friendships and relationships which are not captured elsewhere and as such are evidence of "queer family life".[86] Caswell suggests that this diversity of ephemera, artefacts and formats is reflective of the multiplicity of voices that such archives contain.[87]

There was implicit recognition of the lack of interest in such material from mainstream repositories in York. GM1, for example, mused on what Explore "would want" from the work of the Forum. Having done some research they suggested that minutes and accounts were most likely to conform to the requirements of a collecting policy, whereas they felt less confident that non-bureaucratic records such as feedback forms from training programmes, event photographs and promotional material would be selected.[88] This may be indicative of messaging received during initial contact with

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[82] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).
[83] Barriaut, "Archiving the Queer and Queering the Archives," 101.
[84] Lesbian Herstory Archive, "History and Mission," *Lesbian Herstory Archives*, 2017, accessed Aug 25, 2018, http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html.
[85] See Chapter Four, 153-154.
[86] Daniel Laurin, "Contains Nudity: Experiencing the Erotic in the Queer Personal Archive" (conference paper, Without Borders: LGBTQ+ Archives, Libraries, Museums and Special Collections, London, June 22-24 2016).
[87] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 31.
[88] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).

Explore practitioners during the *Gateway to History* project, and reading the "Gateway to Your Archives" training programme online.[89] However, it was the latter records that had most personal and community significance in GM1's view. They gave the example of feedback forms from a programme that captured opinions on LGBTQ+ issues from people who worked in care homes for older people. [90] These opinions would otherwise be lost, and were seen as vital because they showed shifts in perceptions of LGBTQ+ communities as they happened.

Such autonomy in collecting has been a central theme of the LGBTQ+ archives movement. In 1975 CLGA refused an offer to acquire their collections by the Archives of Ontario, electing to remain an independent organisation.[91] The Lesbian Herstory Archive similarly rejects amalgamation or absorption by an institution. Their principles state that the archive must be "housed within the community", so that the community can collect, manage and provide free and open access to the collections.[92] They further radically reject the "elitism of traditional archives" by advocating for the transfer of archival skills through teaching "one generation of lesbians to another."[93] For Caswell this is an assertion of their power to "document their own commonalities and differences outside of the boundaries of formal mainstream institutions."[94]

The project team's strong feelings about the independence of their archive fits well within this history and ideology of archival independence. However, they recognised that there were practical limits to this position that necessitated some form of relationship with a mainstream Archive. For instance, they accepted that the community did not have facilities for keeping archival materials. Hiring and paying for storage space of any kind was identified as a practical problem. This was notably the unmet concern shared by other York community archives during the consultation phase of the *Gateway to History* project.[95] The group didn't want to collect an archive without a long-term plan for looking after it. GM2 recalled visiting an independent

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[89] See Chapter Five, 210-212; 216-218.
[90] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 2 (post-it notes).
[91] Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, "About Us," *Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives*, n.d., accessed Jan 19, 2018, https://clga.ca/about-us/.
[92] Lesbian Herstory Archive, "History and Mission."
[93] Lesbian Herstory Archive, "History and Mission."
[94] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 31.
[95] See Chapter Five, 194-195.

LGBT history centre where the archives were kept "in some kind of attic dive with boxes with paper poking out…and I thought no."[96] This, combined with an emphasis on "wanting stuff to last", meant that there was a desire for the archive to be "in a place where it's well looked after."[97] The group also felt that working together with an institution like Explore would give the archive a public profile and visibility over and above what could be achieved in the community itself.[98] This reasoning was contextualised by the experiences of a number of prominent LGBTQ+ community archives in the UK, which had started from a position of radical independence and latter been forced to negotiate deposits with mainstream institutions.

The solutions had not always been ideal. When the Hall-Carpenter archive ran out of funds in 1989 its collection could not find a home with a single repository. Instead they were divided according to the collecting policies of three institutions: the oral history recordings to the British Library; archives and grey literature to the London School of Economics and the press cuttings to the Bishopsgate Institute to form the Lesbian and Gay Newspaper Archive, LAGNA. The low status of the cuttings in the hierarchy of evidential value had meant that LSE felt unable to accept them with the rest of the archival material.[99] The Brighton OurStory Archive, founded in the 1970s, was forced to close in 2013 and only small parts of it were subsequently deposited at The Keep, the Sussex County Record Office.[100] In comparison, although the London Lesbian Archive had similar beginnings it was able to retain its coherent identity under the umbrella of a larger independent organisation, the Glasgow Women's Library. Founded in 1984 as the London Lesbian Information Centre, its funding was withdrawn in 1995 and, threatened with dispersal akin to the Hall-Carpenter archives, it moved to Scotland.[101]

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[96] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[97] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[98] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[99] Sue Donnelly, "Coming Out in the Archives: The Hall-Carpenter Archives at the London School of Economics," *History Workshop Journal* 66, no. 1 (October 1, 2008): 182.
[100] Brighton OurStory, "It's Over…" *Brighton OurStory*, April 2013, accessed Apr 24, 2018, http://www.brightonourstory.co.uk/.
[101] The Glasgow Women's Library, "The Lesbian Archive," *The Glasgow Women's Library*, n.d., accessed Jan 26, 2018, https://womenslibrary.org.uk/explore-the-library-and-archive/the-archive-collection/the-lesbian-archive/.

The lessons from these experiences highlighted a tension around the group's desire for control and the apparent constraints imposed by an archival authority. GM3 expressed concerns about "easy access and ownership and all that sort of stuff."[102] This was envisioned as a long-term issue which stretched beyond the involvement of the current project team or Forum stakeholders. There was a need for something "which is there, which is held, in trust for *us* and *our* generations that come in the future." [emphasis in the spoken word][103] This "holding in trust" implied a relationship between an archival institution and the community that was ideologically and practically different from the ownership-transfer model described, for example, in Explore's Collections Management Policy.[104] Trust emerged as a key word that embodied a mutual understanding that went beyond the language of custody and property expressed by archives practitioners.[105] GM3 wanted to know "Who will be the gatekeeper of it?" suggesting that "you would want it to be at least one person who had a vested interest in LGBT people being able to have access to their stuff."[106] GM4 shared a negative experience where permission was refused to display archival material held by a northern university at an LGBT film festival. The practitioners who were responsible for the collection told them that "we only lend things out to other museums."[107] This led to concerns that the LGBTQ+ community would have to accept a contractual inequality of power in return for the benefits of longevity and security for the archive.

The vulnerability of being 'in the power' of a mainstream institution was compounded by the emotional, personal and intimate nature of the archives' content. GM1 highlighted the position of people who were not 'out' to family and friends or Trans people who were 'passing' and might not want to "give their stories to the world."[108] GM2 was concerned about the implications for members of the Forum who were

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[102] GM3, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

[103] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

[104] Explore York Libraries and Archives, *Collections Management Policy*. July 2017, Section 2.5, 9, accessed Apr 24, 2018. https://www.exploreyork.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Archives-Collections-Management-Policy-2017.pdf.

[105] See Chapter Four, 151-152 and Chapter Five, 204-205.

[106] GM3, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

[107] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

[108] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).

visiting York from countries where making their sexuality public could cause serious harm to them or their families.[109] There was also recognition that donated archives would contain information about people other than the donors, who may not want or be able to give consent to their actions, opinions and feelings being preserved. These issues were relevant not only to people who were still living but also those who had passed away, who may not have wanted their private lives to be shared.[110] Unlike the archives practitioners in Chapter Four, who asserted public historical value over and above the interests of the individuals who owned or were in the archives, the project group emphasised the absolute necessity of protecting peoples' right to self-determination.[111] A debate about how to manage the multiple rights in the archives led GM1 to express a concern that content could be "screwed up and misused" in the public domain, particularly via social media.[112] On the one hand the sensitivity of the material meant that the access restrictions and controlled use imposed by Explore might help to assuage the fears of wary donors.[113] On the other it might mean relinquishing LGBTQ+ control over the transmission and circulation of material as part of the archiving process. Cataloguing and indexing, for example, would have to conform to international standards such as the ICA's ISAD-G, limiting the extent to which community members could describe and organise the collections on their own terms.

Given the strong emphasis the group placed on self-determination this was seen to be a particularly troubling challenge. The protections afforded by Data Protection legislation and Explore's existing policies were not seen as sufficient to cover these eventualities and the group subsequently discussed alternative regimes of differentiated control and access. GM4 gave an example of an LGBTQ+ archive elsewhere in the north of England that marked certain files as "For use by lesbians only", a level of protection that would work against the desire to use the archive to raise awareness of LGBTQ+ histories with the wider public.[114] GM1 suggested

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[109] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[110] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[111] See Chapter Four, 151.
[112] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[113] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[114] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).

redaction of names prior to deposit as an alternative solution that would allow people to see what happened and when without revealing the identity of the individual involved.[115] There was a consensus that any collecting and donations process would need to be carefully planned, so that the ramifications were understood by everyone. GM4 suggested a donations form that included a range of privacy options for different levels of sharing, including anonymity and pseudonymity, so that each donor could personalise their relationship with the Archive.[116] A nexus of complex issues emerged around privacy, public identities and Data Protection, which in turn generated tension between the desire to be seen and recognised and an underlying uncertainty about full disclosure.

One solution to this problem was for the community to omit certain types of information from the archives, actively deciding to allow parts of recent LGBTQ+ history to be forgotten or lost.[117] Discussion centred around a defining period in the evolution of the York LGBT Forum, a time of intense internal conflict which involved some individuals who were no longer members of the organisation. Authorised archival logic places the responsibility for determining if and how these individuals' actions should be remembered on the Forum as the archive-creating body. However, this became a meaningless status in the context of York's LGBTQ+ community, in which organisational identities and individual identities are blurred. Any decision the Forum made would be personal and require some individuals to make decisions concerning other individuals.

Passing on the past, knowledge and memories to future generations of LGBTQ+ people was a key motive for the working group. There was a strong feeling that the loss of older people, particularly those with personal experience of criminalisation and gay rights activism in the 1960s and 1970s, meant that the community archive should be established as a matter of urgency. The recent death of an older gay man in the city, for example, had led to the loss of both his historical research and of his memories and expertise. The rainbow plaque events held during LGBT History month were given as

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[115] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[116] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[117] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).

an example of how ephemeral the past could be. The necessity of "passing on" the history was aptly demonstrated within the group when GM1, GM4 and I reminisced about the York Lesbian Arts Festival (2000-2008).[118] As younger and newer arrivals in the city neither GM3 or GM5 had been aware of this event, which for a time attracted over 2000 lesbian, bi and trans women from across the world.[119] This genealogical dimension to preserving archives emerged from a recognition that members of the community do not usually inherit their sexual identity from their parents and need to build a sense of self from resources outside of the family unit:

> A lot of communities, you'll grow up in a family most of the time…people of colour ordinarily grow up with people of colour…and you can sort of hand down oral histories of family, whereas most of the time LGBT people don't grow up with LGBT families….you feel isolated growing up. So having that kind of archive that, like you said, says people have always been here, getting that sort of continuity is, I think, really important.[120]

GM2 was active in a group that considered issues affecting people aging without children, and drew a connection between archival activity and more generous interpretations of family in society. Conversely GM4 felt they wanted to record in the archive their experience of trying to adopt a child in York in the early 2000s.[121] Archival work could be interpreted as a form of community parenting and as a way of exploring queer family, establishing affective connections between people who might otherwise feel isolated.

This was most completely expressed in the values ascribed to intergenerational communication, particularly in the form of oral history work. This was seen as an opportunity not only to collect archival heritage but to acknowledge and celebrate the lives of older people: "it's just amazing the stories that people have…it's amazing what

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[118] GM1, GM4 and author, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[119] Kit Heyam, "York Lesbian Arts Festival, 2000-2008: 'It Was like We Took over the City…,'" *QUEER BEYOND LONDON* (blog), May 24, 2017, accessed Jan 26, 2018, http://queerbeyondlondon.com/sources/york-lesbian-arts-festival-2000-2008-it-was-like-we-took-over-the-city/.
[120] Marcel Barriaut, "Archiving the Queer and Queering the Archives," 104.
[121] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

people will share with you."[122] Such testimonies might create a continuum of experiences as in, for example, the ubiquity of coming out stories. This continuum was also the basis for a network of personal connections that was implicitly understood to be the way in which the archive would collect and grow. Throughout the workshops individuals from the York and North Yorkshire communities were named as vital people to speak to, often to a chorus of agreement followed by the suggestion of further names.[123] Pre-existing social and support groups were suggested as an obvious way to collect oral histories: "people talk about history anyway, in just in conversation you know."[124] However, membership of the LGBTQ+ community was necessary in order to develop and activate these relationships. These were not "shared stories" in the cultural and political sense implied by *Archives for the 21st Century*. In fact they were categorically unshared, in that they were what differentiated and demarcated LGBTQ+ experience in the twentieth century. The act of 'sharing' such stories was about foregrounding struggle and injustice rather than cohesion, and for the purposes of community rather than societal solidarity.

Further, it was not just the LGBTQ+ past that needed preserving. The LGBTQ+ present was also being rapidly lost. GM5 pointed out that the ephemerality of the community's archival heritage was only increasing as "night club flyers are now all Facebook events and that's very transient."[125] The issue of digital preservation was seen as very pressing, but was understood to be on a continuum of disappearing heritage that went back to the underground word-of-mouth networks of the mid-twentieth century. As I observed: "It's almost like LGBT archives have been having the social media experience since forever."[126] This underlined the importance of the collection of oral testimony, both from the past but also from LGBTQ+ people in the present. Whereas this would ordinarily represent a relatively small part of an archive, in the case of the LGBTQ+ archive it may be the largest and most significant component. GM1 observed that "traditional archiving" would only be possible for York's LGBT charities "with sets of minutes going back to 2006 and the constitution

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[122] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[123] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[124] GM2, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[125] GM5, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[126] Author's own observation, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).

and all that...kind of what traditional archivists look for, but that's not really the history of LGBT people."[127]

Going digital

Project team members consistently imagined the LGBTQ+ archive as a 'doing thing', a tool that would be active in the community and with which people would interact. There was enthusiasm for an archive that would literally go out to meet people, either in a converted "LGBTQ+ History bus" that would travel around the region or in the form of pop-up exhibitions in unlikely places.[128] The idea of an online digital archive was suggested, as was the creation of "digi-stories": oral histories enhanced by video, photographs and archival images.[129] Whereas the physical archive might be "held in trust" by an institutional repository, the digital platform was seen as an opportunity for the community to activate the archive on its own terms. As Explore did not have an institutional digital archive it could be entirely led by LGBTQ+ people.[130] It was seen as a site of potential, in which the values of the LGBTQ+ community could be represented and modelled. In this sense it embodied Caswell's ideal of "an alternative venue for communities to make collective decisions...and to control the means through which stories about their past are constructed."[131] This was described by GM4 as a historical and psychological "safe space for people to share their stories and experiences."[132]

Both YPP and the LGBTQ+ group recognised the potential of digital media, particularly social media, for capturing dynamic, ephemeral and oppositional archival productions in this way. Online spaces like the YPP Facebook group, the Hungate Histories Google drive and the imagined space of the LGBTQ+ online archive were seen as hospitable to collaboration and participation in ways that traditional archival spaces were not. In the communities' view, they enabled the operation of an autonomous archive, curating new materials as well as re-purposing archival heritage from institutions. The digital environment was particularly powerful, as it allowed the groups to order and

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[127] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[128] GM4 & GM6, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).
[129] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[130] GM1, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 3 (recording and post-it notes).
[131] Caswell, "Seeing Yourself in History," 31.
[132] GM4, LGBTQ+ Archives Project Workshop 4 (recording and post-it notes).

juxtapose archives with other forms of knowledge, such as community stories, personal documents and memories. For example, YPP has consistently demonstrated the potential of such online spaces in moving rapidly to share, reuse and play with archival heritage using Facebook.

This potential of the digital to facilitate new and radical uses of archives has long been recognised by family historians, who are similarly motivated to reorder and reuse records in ways that are most valuable to them. Like members of the YPP group genealogists have found traditional, provenance based approaches to archival description limiting. The focus of their interest is the individual and family which, like the scattered references to Garden Place, cannot be immediately discovered in provenance based catalogues. Prior to the advent of digitisation and indexing technologies an infrastructure of genealogical and local family history societies was established to index name-rich records, reorganising the information at the granular level that was required. Subsequently these efforts have migrated online, where their economic potential has been exploited by businesses like Ancestry and Find My Past.

These services allow researchers to manipulate vast archival resources according to their personal needs, harvesting and combining information in ways that recall YPP's Google drive. This occurs beyond the immediate control of the archives practitioner and without expert intervention. Indeed, YPP members downloaded, cropped and manipulated census data from Ancestry in this way during the Hungate project. Archival institutions have embraced this opportunity to distribute their collections, although some have expressed concern that it prioritises one sub-group of the "recreational history market" over the needs of academic historians and other researchers.[133] However, the commercial dimension of such services means that the selection and availability of resources is dictated by institutions, and the ability to download and reuse materials is only available for a significant fee. The archival content available for reuse is thus still determined and mediated from within the authorising environment.

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[133] Ian Mortimer, "Discriminating Between Readers: The Case for a Policy of Flexibility," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 23, no. 1 (2002): 66.

Feminist and other activist archives have provided alternative digital models. The Women's Liberation Music Archive, for example, was launched in 2011 to collate digitised music, film, photographs, oral histories, personal narratives, flyers and other ephemera without mediated access. The material that came together to form the archive was partly in private hands and partly to be found "languishing in an archival basement."[134] The collection is now hosted in a blog format and supplemented by the memories and memorabilia of people who were involved in the movement.[135] It does not conform to the requirements of evidentiality established by the authorised discourse, in that it is not authenticated or unique, and is only loosely controlled, without preservation in mind. However, one of its founders has argued that this is precisely what gives it power. The archives are seen by the people to whom they had (and have) meaning, organised by categories of lived experience. The ephemeral, unfinished and iterative nature of the collection resists the "temporal logic" of the past, allowing for a "liveness". Visitors experience the archive "as a present rather than as a past time" which can be continued through engaging with the content.[136] Subsequently parts of the archive were deposited at the University of Bristol, where Withers argues it is "far more difficult for people to have chance encounters with marginal cultural histories."[137]

Like the Women's Liberation Music Archive, the YPP page and the York LGBTQ+ community archive seek to distribute and share cultural and social histories that may not have had stable or recorded referents. These images, memories, stories and material cultures – such as the Rowntree's factory 'waste shop' or the Rainbow Plaques - were always ephemeral. In this way blogs and other forms of social media "offer unfunded and oppositional cultural histories a vital porthole into the world", connecting archival heritage with people's social and affective experiences.[138]

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[134] Deborah Withers, "Re-enacting Process: Temporality, Historicity and the Women's Liberation Music Archive," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 7-8 (2013): 691.
[135] *The Women's Liberation Music Archive* (blog), 2011-2018, accessed Oct 17, 2017, https://womensliberationmusicarchive.co.uk/.
[136] Withers, "Re-enacting process," 689.
[137] Withers, "Re-enacting process," 694.
[138] Withers, "Re-enacting process," 699.

Emotionality: Archives and the affective turn in history

The values ascribed to archives by YPP members suggests a typology of values which, like the affective turn in history, make room for "acknowledging the importance of emotions and the central role they play in social communication and moral judgement."[139] The LGBTQ+ archives project also centralised this idea, by associating the act of archiving with the visibility and acceptance of the community in the city. It was predicated on an understanding that extending ideas about what constituted valuable archival heritage would reinforce socially-just conceptions of what constitutes a valuable and respected member of society. Participants in both projects understood the value of archives in ways that recall Agnew's definition of the affective as: "less concerned with events, processes or structures than with the individual's physical and psychological experience."[140] In this context the archive "is not necessarily a retreat from the physical traces of the past; in fact, it could be seen as another way of encountering and indeed handling 'pastness'…' in the present."[141] Marika Cifor has suggested that archives are about creating, documenting and maintaining the relation established by affect between the body and the world across time and space.[142] This echoes Cvetovich's argument that as "cultural texts" archives are "repositories of feelings and emotions" with affects coded into their content.[143]

However, Archibald has described how challenging it is to integrate emotion into heritage practices: "perhaps because the personal is emotional and the emotional is suspect as a source of knowledge and in our culture, it smacks of non-professionalism."[144] The authorised discursive alignment of the management of archives with evidential values described in Chapters Three and Four produces knowledge and activities that prioritise objectivity or neutrality over emotion, which is

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[139] Mark Salber Phillips, "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of Sentimental History for Life," *History Workshop Journal* 65 (2008): 53.

[140] Vanessa Agnew, "History's Affective Turn: Historical Re-enactment and its Work in the Present," *Rethinking History: Journal of Theory and Practice* 11, no. 1 (2007): 310.

[141] Emily Robinson, "Touching the Void: Affective History and the Impossible," *Rethinking History* 14, no. 4 (2010): 506.

[142] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 7.

[143] Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings,* 14.

[144] Robert R. Archibald, *A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community* (Oxford: Altamira Press, 1999), 22.

perceived as inherently subjective and therefore biased. Buchanan and Bastian agree that practitioners "need to understand the affective contours of users' relationships to records" but lack a framework for emotional, ethical and experiential responses.[145] This was evident in Chapter Four, where interview participants were able to describe numerous emotional encounters with archives but could not articulate their emotional values when asked directly. In contrast they were almost universally able to describe evidential and historical values, using a common language that was related to their professional identities and training.[146] This may suggest that respondents instinctively recognise these values as individuals but do not have a framework within which to describe or activate them as practitioners.

Although recent theory has challenged the archive for sexism, racism and heteronormative assumptions, Cifor has noted how many inequalities continue to be underexplored and unrecognised.[147] The experiences of the LGBTQ+ group with the *Gateway to History* project and the York Castle Museum embodies this contradiction. The rhetoric of community cohesion and social justice evidenced in the literature, in engagement projects and discussed in Chapter Five has served to obscure the ways in which archival institutions continue to act, and to be instrumentalised, as sites of social authority and control. The discourse on community has sought to improve and socialise an unruly population of non-users, by representing and thereby assimilating them into the archives. As Harris has observed, one of the impacts of current forms of engagement activity by institutional repositories is the tendency to over-package information about what archives are and do. This contributes to "the commodification of knowledge" so that no space is available for counter or sub-narratives even when they are supposed to be the subject of the activity.[148] The disjunction of values between groups like York Past and Present, the Forum and the Archive are therefore discursive as well as practical and personal.

In response Harris argues that:

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[145] Buchanan and Bastian, "Activating the Archive: Rethinking the Role of Traditional Archives," 430.
[146] See Chapter Four, 155-158; 161-162.
[147] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 23.
[148] Harris, *Archives and Justice,* 18.

> We need to embrace process rather than product. And we need to foster the contestation of social memory, seeing ourselves, conducting ourselves, not as referees but as contestants.[149]

Ketelaar has also called for "a living archive as a place of contestation", so that the archive is not only a storage technique but "a force for de-legitimation of mythified and traditionalised memories."[150] He envisages this living archive will allow for the co-location of alternative views with the records, so that archivists care not for certainty but "protect uncertainty."[151] This is what the Facebook post or digital community archive allows. Posts by members of the community are subject to the memory work and responses of other members of the community. Each poster approaches from their own authority, while the group self-manages its archival ethos.

Equality and social justice activists have also identified the autonomous rather than authoritative archive as central to political mobilisation. Mid and late twentieth century movements such as feminism, the peace movement, gay rights and environmental campaigns made collective independence central to their politics.[152] More recently Black Lives Matter, fourth wave feminists, Trans' rights and child sex abuse survivors have galvanised support through independent movements which resist or actively fight co-option by government agencies. Long-term preservation and physical safety is not necessarily paramount for the autonomous archives generated by these communities. For example, the significance of the Interference Archive in New York is not its permanence but its "function as a social space for learning" and "for organising in the present."[153] An equivalent archive in the UK is the MayDay Rooms, "a safe haven for historical material linked to social movements, experimental culture and the radical expression of marginalised figures and groups."[154] Its founders consider it to be less a repository and more of "an active social resource" where "the

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149 Harris, *Archives and Justice,* 19.
150 Eric Ketelaar, "A Living Archive, Shared by Communities of Records," in *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory*, ed. Jeannette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet, 2009), 110.
151 Ketelaar, "A Living Archive, Shared by Communities of Records," 121, 124.
152 Delanty, *Community*, 122.
153 Alycia Sellie et al., "Interference Archive: A Free Space for Social Movement Culture," *Archival Science* 15, no. 4 (2015): 463.
154 The MayDay Rooms, "About," *The MayDay Rooms*, n.d, accessed May 31, 2017, http://maydayrooms.org/about/.

future can be produced more than the past contemplated."[155] The communality of the space, the recognition of varied forms of expertise and the circulation of knowledge are key. Recalling Soja's "third space" these archives provide a venue for archival work between the private individual and the large-scale institution, where people can gather independently. In this context archival heritage doesn't generate universally "shared stories" or contribute to simple communal identities but acts as a basis to connect different points of view, even where those points of view are painful or divisive. Caswell had positioned community archives as mechanisms for imagining different futures from this basis. The orientation of both YPP and the LGBTQ+ archives project team expressed a desire to create and activate archives that do more than evidence or represent the past. Although imagining the past is an important activity, and a key to initial curiosity, the primary motivating value of their engagement is "changing what we envision is possible for the future."[156]

Conclusion

Thus the Hungate Histories and LGBTQ+ archives projects suggested an orientation towards emotion and social action as the dominant values of archives. Participants engaged these values and generated meanings from the collections in spite of the difficulties in navigating the limits that bureaucratic production and archival processes placed upon them.   YPP members turned the archives reading room into an oppositional space in which a community could "construct collective identities and discourses apart from dominating groups."[157] They produced counter-memories, finding "legitimacy in local and vernacular forms of heritage" through telling stories about their own lives, walking the streets and imagining the past.[158] By selecting and reordering the archive digitally they used the material to create their own new community archive, with Google Drive acting as an autonomous space to "forge new relationships between parallel histories, reshape and reinterpret dominant narratives

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[155] The MayDay Rooms "Archives," *The MayDay Rooms*, n.d, accessed May 31, 2017, http://maydayrooms.org/archives/.
[156] Caswell, "Inventing New Archival Imaginaries," 37.
[157] Shauna Moore and Susan Pell, "Autonomous Archives," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 4-5 (2010): 256.
[158] Moore and Pell, "Autonomous Archives," 256.

and challenge conceptions of the archive itself."[159] In so doing they fulfilled Sellie et al's definition of an autonomous archive, enacting and modelling the politics of their community.[160]

The York LGBTQ+ archive team expressed a similar determination, in their desire to make visible the memories and experiences of their community in the form of archival heritage. As a marginalised group, erased by York's mainstream repositories, they were especially concerned to be as inclusive and open as possible. In common with other LGBTQ+ archives they acknowledged the value of a multiplicity of archival heritage, which could reflect the differences of sexual and gender identity within the community. As representatives of the originating community they felt confident in making independent decisions about what should and shouldn't be collected because their decision-making criteria was based on personal and social recognition rather than evidential or historical criterion. Their appreciation of value was not hierarchical or informational but dynamic and fluid. Akin to the Lesbian Herstory Archive, appraisal in the new archive will be based on affective values.[161]

However, autonomy in these cases did not require absolute separation from the activity of institutional archives like Explore and the North Yorkshire County Record Office. Although the relationship between institution and community was uneasy and subject to discursive tension, this did not preclude the negotiation of partnerships or collaborative spaces. In the case of Hungate Histories power over the acceptable uses of archives reading room was ceded to YPP and the research group. A notionally sacrosanct space, embodying the rules of archival discourse, was recalibrated. Similarly, the LGBTQ+ archives project team recognised the practical necessity of accessing the resources and specialist equipment that an archival repository could provide. They were prepared to trust their archival heritage to Explore if their autonomous and independent right to interact with it on their own terms could be recognised. This required breaching practitioner control of the archives strong-room,

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[159] Sellie et al., "Interference Archive," 454.
[160] Sellie et al., "Interference Archive," 457.
[161] Lesbian Herstory Archive, "History and Mission."

sharing responsibility for the selection, care and provision of access to the community's collections.

Such negotiations require archives practitioners not only to accommodate community needs but to cede power to communities as a preliminary act of engagement. This is necessary if community work is to move beyond recovering marginalised histories to activating archives as tools for building more equitable futures. Similarly, the representativeness of the archive on its own is insufficient to capture its emotional and social potential. Archival practices are discursively constructed around authorised values, of evidentiality, legality and historicity, which counter-act, co-opt or dismiss these activities. They take place within spaces that embody such values. Engagement which is apparently designed to move archival institutions towards more just and inclusive practises consequently take place within a discursive and spatial frame that depreciates affect.

The progress and outcomes of the Hungate Histories and LGBTQ+ archives projects strongly suggests the importance of an affective typology of archival values. A discursive framework that depreciates such values in comparison with expressions of evidential values reduces the potential of archival heritage for "developing and sustaining cross-cultural collaborations and dialogues", as well as its capacity to "disrupt dominant power structures and provide justice."[162] A different dynamic and participatory approach is therefore needed to navigate and mediate the evidential and affective typologies within archival discourse, recognising the validity of different value orientations.

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[162] Cifor, "Affecting Relations: Introducing Affect Theory to Archival Discourse," 8.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions:

Negotiating Discursive Landscapes

One way or another we must try to recognize the illusory nature of archives as repositories of truth waiting only to be uncovered.

Hugh Taylor[1]

There is no guarantee that in struggling for justice we ourselves will be just. We have to hesitate, to temper the strength of our tendencies with doubt; to waver when we are sure, or even because we are sure.

Sara Ahmed[2]

There is no need to be a voice for the voiceless; instead listen to those who are already speaking.

Greg Bak, Tolly Bradford, Jessie Loyer and Elizabeth Walker[3]

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[1] Hugh Taylor, "The Archivist, the Letter and the Spirit," in *Imagining Archives: Essays and Reflections*, ed. Terry Cook and Gordon Dodds (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 2003), 236.
[2] Sara Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life* (London: Duke University Press, 2017), 6.
[3] Greg Bak et al., "Four Views on Archival Decolonization Inspired by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action," *Fonds d'Archives* 1 (2017): 17.

This thesis set out to investigate three principal questions: What are the values ascribed to archives? How are they ascribed? By whom are they ascribed? In its original conception the research was intended to consider the extent to which "social values", as understood in the context of cultural heritage studies, informed strategic policies for archives. The focus was to be archives' role in meeting local and national agendas for community cohesion and social inclusion. However, because value has been differently theorised and understood within archival studies, the research was broadened. Instead it has sought to examine ascribed or ontological values in the English archival field more generally, while remaining attentive to the rhetoric of social and cultural agendas. The concept of the Authorised Heritage Discourse was transposed from critical heritage theory and used as a tool with which to interrogate this field.[4]

The inquiry has been historically situated in the discourses of public value and community which characterised the period between 1997 and 2017.[5] During this time political rhetoric and cultural heritage practice adopted value as a measure for making decisions about heritage, and for managing relationships between institutions, communities and the public. Academic discourse also shifted towards an inclusive and participatory orientation to both heritage and the past.[6] Archival practice, in common with other heritage specialisms, responded by combining ideas about value with calls for community engagement in order to align with the priorities of funders and their parent organisations.[7] These shifts theoretically widened the scope of archival heritage to include materials with local, communal and personal significance to people, challenging assumptions as to format and origins. Community archives, for example, were acknowledged as grassroots manifestations of the value of archives in generating sense of place and belonging, in supporting community memory and in contributing towards the wellbeing and self-development of individuals.[8]

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[4] See Chapter One, 23-26 and Chapter Two, 53-56.
[5] See Chapter Two, 63-66 and Chapter Five, 179-186.
[6] See Chapter One, 24-25 and Chapter Two, 54-58; 60-63.
[7] See Chapter Five, 181-184.
[8] See Chapter One, 18, 27-29 and Chapter Two, 48-52.

However, although this shift had roots in a progressive literature, in practice engagement has been more strongly associated with the instrumentalisation of culture and heritage in meeting the political aims of successive governments. These agendas may be seen to bind archives to established infrastructures of power and oppression, and to dominant epistemologies of value that belie the focus of the literature on social justice and activism for equality and liberation.[9] The dissonance inherent in this situation – in the juxtaposition of progressive, inclusive ideologies and dominant epistemologies of power – sits at the heart of my analysis.

Drawing on literatures from a number of disciplines and data from a diversity of sources enabled me to explore archival heritage from multiple perspectives and orientations. Critical discourse analysis of the values expressed by institutions, practitioners and archivally-engaged communities revealed patterns in the ways that value shapes how archives are understood, managed and used. It also underlined the potential for tension and miscommunication between values-holders, reflecting a dissonance observed in key documents produced and circulated by archival authorities.[10]

In providing a discussion and summary of my arguments, this final chapter aims to delineate, explain and negotiate that dissonance. It draws conclusions and sets these in the context of a discussion of the contributions my work makes to critical approaches to archival theory and practice. I suggest that a values-based approach generates insight that may inform the future design of archival processes and activity. In particular, I comment on the potential of cultural heritage perspectives to support mutually beneficial engagement between institutions, practitioners and communities. Further, I suggest that my work speaks to what Evans, McKemmish and Rolan have identified as a global "grand challenge" for recordkeeping institutions and archives practitioners.[11] Namely, the negotiation of plural archival orientations that enable

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[9] See Chapter Two, 47-53. For example also see Chapter Four, 170-175.

[10] See especially Chapter Three, 88-92; 103-106.

[11] Evans, McKemmish and Rolan, "Critical Approaches to Archiving," 4. See also Anne Gilliland, and Sue McKemmish, "Recordkeeping Metadata, the Archival Multiverse, and Societal Grand Challenges," (conference paper, International Conference on Dublin Core and Metadata Applications, Kuching, Sarawak, Malaysia, 3-7 September 2012), accessed Sep 30, 2018, http://dcpapers.dublincore.org/pubs/article/view/3661.

people of different values to engage with the past in ways that are just, equitable and socially conscious.

Summary of research and findings

In designing my methods and methodologies my aim was to identify the discourses of archival values expressed at international, national and local levels; and by different communities with variant expertise, knowledge and skills. Principally, I applied cultural heritage approaches to firstly make visible and then critique archival values, theorising the discursive systems which reinforce and enable them. Each chapter has represented an attempt to generate and build upon this critique, shifting from macro to micro focus. The sample of documentation produced by the heritage organisations UNESCO, the ICA, TNA and the HLF provided the basis for the description of overarching discourses of archival values. Subsequently, interviews with archives practitioners afforded an opportunity to test, validate and extend this understanding in the national context of English practice. A focus on the City of York through an in-depth case study and two participatory action research projects offered access to alternative values ascribed by members of local archivally-engaged communities. Observing the interplay between institutions, practitioners and communities during engagement activities provided the basis for a discussion of how values impact on archives' potential uses in society. Taken together the research activities supported an exploration of recent shifts in archival theory towards social justice, activism, inclusion and memory work, in the context of the instrumentalisation of heritage by government.

Throughout I aimed to retain a consistency in my analysis, both through the application of CDA and through a persistent engagement with critical heritage thinking. In drawing these strands together I intended to demonstrate the fruitful cross-pollination of archival studies with cultural heritage studies and public history in the production of critical responses. Exploring my sources at the intersection of these disciplines led me to three related conclusions.

Firstly, I argued that there is a distinct, identifiable discourse of archival values encoded in, and circulated through, authorising texts and practices in England. In

Chapter Three I argued that this discourse is closely aligned to an evidential paradigm of archival value, which has its roots in the development of archival principles and infrastructures in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have called this the 'Authorised Archival Discourse', following Smith's AHD.[12] Chapter Four demonstrated the extent to which archives practitioners identified with the discourse, which led to the naturalisation of certain ways of thinking and acting. At the same time, alternative approaches were sublimated or marginalised. Where the underlying tenets of the discourse came into conflict with either current archival thinking or with government policy on community, practitioners experienced a sense of dissonance which had to be managed. They were seen to co-opt recent ideas about the social justice role of archives in society, adapting traditional evidential values in order to neutralise autonomous or liberatory perspectives.[13]

Secondly, I contended that archival institutions and archives practitioners predominantly ascribed a typology of evidential values to archives, in contrast to archivally-engaged communities who primarily expressed a complex of affective values. The former emerged clearly through the analysis of Chapters Three and Four, while the latter was explored in collaboration with communities in Chapter Six. Both typologies were seen to be complex and contingent. The evidential typology was inextricably bound up with the authorised discourse. Thus it was connected to nineteenth century ideologies of heritage, to contemporary political rhetorics and to conceptualisations of power, time and evidence in the West. The affective typology, in contrast, appeared to be generated (both individually and communally) in response to sense of place, personal experience and local networks of relationships. The two were not mutually exclusive and the analysis of Chapter Six suggested that the dynamic between the typologies was not straightforwardly antagonistic but could be constructive.[14]

Thirdly, and finally, my research suggested that the difference in ontological values ascribed by communities may create tension or conflict when they come into contact

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[12] See Chapter Three, 121-123.
[13] See Chapter Three, 116-120 and Chapter Four, 160; 170-172.
[14] See Chapter Six, 257-263.

with practitioner designed and led engagement activities. This was observed through the case studies in Chapter Five. The *Gateway to History* project in York, and its counterparts in Wakefield and Huddersfield, were seen to reinforce the communication barriers between archives practitioners as 'experts' and communities as 'non-expert'.[15] The stated aims of the projects to engage communities, and to diversify both audiences and collections, were incompatible with elements of the authorised discourse. These problems were seen to be compounded by national and local agendas to instrumentalise archives as agents of social and cultural change.[16]

I explore each of these conclusions further below, considering the contribution to archival studies and other disciplines and the implications of my findings for archival practice.

An 'Authorised Archival Discourse'?

In drawing on Laurajane Smith's theory of the AHD, I have sought to identify characteristics of a related but distinct discourse within archival practice. Related, because it shares a genealogy with nineteenth century ideas of social order, historicity and expertise; and distinctive because of the particular emphasis it places on the evidentiary and informational qualities of archives.[17] In common with Smith I have argued that specific ways of defining, interpreting and engaging with archives have been embedded through theory and practice so as to appear inherent and self-evident. Central to this discourse is the ascription of evidential values as an "atemporal, universally valid form of rationality", which is sanctioned by the political and cultural contexts in which archival institutions operate.[18]

I envision the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' as a tool of power. This power is not merely material or institutional, but may be categorised as what Bourdieu has called "symbolic power", which is exercised by "constituting the given through utterances."[19] These utterances are encoded in the documentation produced and circulated by

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[15] See Chapter Four, 134-135.
[16] See Chapter Five, 179-183.
[17] For the former see Chapter Three, 95-98, 102; for the latter see Chapter Three, 121-123.
[18] McNay, *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, 48
[19] Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (London: Polity Press, 1991), 170.

institutions who have political and cultural authority in England and the West, such as UNESCO, the ICA and TNA. Consequently it may also be read as a manifestation of Foucault's governmentality, in which archives are constructed in such a way as to manifest the will of the state. In England the close links between the "legitimate system" of archival institutions and state power is indicated by the position of The National Archives as both a non-ministerial department of government and sector leader and advocate. The analysis of Chapter Three implicated the bodies of guidance, regulation and strategy that TNA generates in the circulation of key features of the discursive system.[20]

Interrogating this documentation using CDA I demonstrated the elision of the categories of 'archives' and 'evidence' into archives *as* evidence. Through the presentation of archives as autonomous agents, which are able to 'do' things in the world independent of human actors, their unique and objective evidentiality is established. This evidentiality is seen to be total, encompassing "every area of human activity", while at the same time being intimately connected to the management and governance of nation states.[21] Thus the *Universal Declaration on Archives* explicitly makes the link between the safeguarding of the former and the interests of the latter. Similarly, *Archives for the 21st Century* constructs a narrative that positions archives at the intersection of the histories and identities of individuals, communities and the nation. From here archives may be conceived as repositories of "shared" stories, the basis of a communal memory that serves to homogenise the histories of diverse peoples into an acceptably "cohesive" narrative.[22] This story can then be put to work in alignment with social and political agendas, to move people on from the "wrong kinds" of solidarity and subjectivity.[23]

The persistent claim that archives represent "shared" stories and identities also seeks to establish dominant understandings of the past. Waterton has described such narratives as "consensual substitutes for what would otherwise be a range of highly

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[20] In particular see Chapter Three, 103-109; 113-115.

[21] UNESCO, *Universal Declaration on Archives*.

[22] Lord Chancellor's Department and Department of Justice. *Archives for the 21st Century*, 3, 14. See Chapter Three, 103-105.

[23] Wetherell, "Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics," 10. See Chapter Five, 192-193.

emotive and dissonant experiences."[24] Archives thus become a mechanism for evidencing certain interpretations of events over others; namely those which highlight the positive and productive qualities of existing power structures and sublimate the controversial and traumatic. Although this discursive element is grounded in the rhetoric of inclusion and diversity it works to contain these ideals within an authorising environment.

The discourse was evident in the orientation and values of the interviewed archives practitioners, who reinforced key ideas about expertise, order and power. The development of professional identity appeared to be an important mechanism whereby such assumptions, grounded in evidential values, were absorbed and embedded. As Ibarra has argued, the initiation of newcomers to any given work role doesn't just involve the acquisition of skills but also "adoption of the social norms and rules that govern how they should conduct themselves."[25] The discourse is bound up with identity claims about being an 'archivist' and in the ways that this identity is signalled to others. In turn, the origins of the qualifications pathways in government, and their policing by the Archives and Records Association, bind professional identity to the standards of authorising agencies.[26]

Which is not to argue that the discourse completely circumscribes what an individual practitioner can think and feel about archives; on the contrary participants expressed thoughts and emotions that were clearly divergent. For example, there was a general expression of positivity around the emergence of autonomous community archives, and the levels of dedication and passion of archivally-engaged communities. However, these divergent statements were generally followed by either a reversing or moderating statement, which indicated a cognitive dissonance between underlying values and expressed opinions.[27]

This revealed that while the discourse is hegemonic it is not monolithic or static. On the contrary, it is adaptive to intellectual, social and political challenges. In particular I

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[24] Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage*, 6.
[25] Herminia Ibarra, "Professional Selves: Experimenting with Image and Identity in Professional Adaptation," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 44 (1999): 764.
[26] See Chapter Four, 136-137, 143.
[27] See Chapter Four, 154; 165-166; 170-174.

observed the discursive response to changing conceptualisations of archives and the role of the archives practitioner in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[28] The paradigmatic shifts of the 2000s, which saw the expansion of the definition of the archive and a recognition of the power dynamics of archival practice, occupied the same mental space as the authorised discourse. This generated dissonance. If archives are accepted as "one contested element in a variety of tangible and intangible elements" used in the subjective construction of the past, then their totalising and objective evidentiality is called into question. [29] In response practitioners must find ways to reconcile incompatible approaches to archival work, especially at points of contact with communities when alternative values are brought to the fore. This is the case, for example, with the rise of community archives and the theorisation of archival autonomy.

My analysis of both the interviews with practitioners and the case studies suggested that while new ideas are expressed and highlighted on the *surface* of texts and talk, they are routinely re-marginalised by the assertion of discursive assumptions. In this way, for example, community archives are made the focus of archival engagement at the same time as community practices and values are depreciated. A conviction as to the proper stewardship of archival resources leads practitioners to seek control of materials which they subsequently label "rubbish".[30] As the value of archives is seen to be contingent on the work of the practitioner, in generating order and providing security, archival heritage which falls outside of their control and expertise is in danger.[31] Where such authorised practices and communities come into conflict archival heritage becomes a site of anxiety or contestation, much in the same way as the ugly, marginal or difficult heritage sites described by Smith.[32] Strategies to manage this contact were observed during the *Gateway to History* project: activities which were proximal to the authorised discourse were prioritised above activity that challenged its assumptions.[33]

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[28] See Chapter Two, 45-53.
[29] Blouin Jr, "Archivists, Mediation and Constructs of Social Memory," 109.
[30] See Chapter Four, 153-154.
[31] See Chapter Four, 152-153 and Chapter Five, 216-219.
[32] Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, 36, 191.
[33] See Chapter Five, 217-219.

My analysis also suggested that the dissonance was moderated by recourse to narratives of higher principles of justice and truth.[34] Truth is an established rhetoric of archival practice, grounded in the Jenkinsonian tradition. Justice is associated with dominant values through the evidentiary practices of the English legal system. However, notions of objective truth and neutral justice have been challenged by post-modernism, so that Fowler can state that: "Archival institutions are not neutral places. Nor are their archives neutral."[35] Nevertheless, both truth and neutrality resurface in debates around the role of archives in the pursuit of social justice, and the refiguring of the archivist as activist. This is exemplified by Proctor's assertion that, although archives have been turned into a "cultural commodity" for community engagement, "the persistent core function of archival activity" must be "the upholding of rights."[36] Interview participants were able to realign the qualities of archival authenticity, integrity and authority with these debates, recalling the use of archives in national inquiries, such as by the Hillsborough Independent Panel, and justice forums, like the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for indigenous peoples in Canada. Archives were seen to play a vital role in evidencing and informing these processes, and also in justifying the narratives of those who have been forgotten or unheard. They made safe the idea of diverse subjectivities by reaffirming the necessity of an authorised way of looking at archives within a juridical framework. At the same time they also allowed practitioners to divert attention away from archival institutions' own culpability in the enablement of injustices. Waterton has observed a similar phenomenon in the cultural heritage field: "the most important and perhaps most ardently concealed attempts to sustain the AHD have occurred within the context of multiculturalism and calls for social inclusion."[37]

Such social justice activities may serve the needs of communities but in limited ways that reinforce the rightness of authorised values. For example, the prerequisite of expertise, and for professionalised management and control of archives. It becomes

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[34] See Chapter Four, 169-174.
[35] Simon Fowler, "Enforced Silences," in *The Silence of the Archive* by David Thomas, Simon Fowler and Valerie Johnson (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), 1.
[36] Margaret Proctor, "Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity," *Archives and Records* 38, no. 2 (2017): 3-4.
[37] Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, 5.

possible to reconcile the *Universal Declaration's* claim for archives' "role in protecting citizens' rights" with the wishes and needs of marginalised communities, so that archival activism is envisioned in familiar terms. In the literature this reconfiguration of established modes of thinking is best represented by Gauld's argument for "democratisation via privileging." He suggests that while the move towards justice has implicated archives practitioners in moral and political discourses, they are still required to act as "gatekeeper, as privileger of the historical record and narrative…" because "authentic and verifiable records" act as "a representation of truth and factual occurrences."[38] He goes on to argue:

> It is by retaining and emphasising principles such as evidence, context, selection and aggregation that will enable the profession to be a gate opener as well as a gate keeper through encouraging participation…democratising while privileging.[39]

As Punzalan and Caswell have pointed out such approaches to social justice adopt a rights-based framework that privileges Western perspectives on the law and evidence.[40] These are also the perspectives encoded by the 'Authorised Archival Discourse'. Arguably this has limited utility in the fight against "more subtle, intangible and shifting forms of oppression."[41] I suggest that this attempt to reconcile Jenkinsonian principles with social justice actions works as a discursive coping mechanism to marginalise the threat of postmodern subjectivities and to maintain the status quo. Change is perceived as an existential threat to the archives practitioner themselves: "…it is precisely our continuing reliance upon filtering information for dissemination and preservation that will keep the profession relevant and important for the 21st century."[42] Speculations as to the diminishing role of the archives' practitioner expressed by interview participants suggested that this concern was widely shared.[43]

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[38] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 232, 237, 242.
[39] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 243.
[40] Ricardo L. Punzalan and Michelle Caswell, "Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice," *The Library Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (2016): 31.
[41] Punzalan and Caswell, "Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice," 32.
[42] Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging," 231.
[43] See Chapter Four, 166-167.

Examples of archival heritage in the context of the Hillsborough Independent Panel and the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions of South Africa and Canada were used to establish the idea that without archives there could be no justice. This is despite the fact that, in each of these cases, archives were formerly implicated in the perpetuation of *in*justice.[44] This difficult contradiction was sublimated in the narratives around them. Instead the inherent power of archives to tell the truth was foregrounded. Such an inability to see or acknowledge the negative as well as the positive affordances of archives is symptomatic of what Drake sees as the oppressive characteristics of the "traditional" Archive, which is configured to silence and marginalise difficult heritage.[45]

The need to understand the role of the authorised discourse in this process of marginalisation is particularly urgent in context of discussions about "post-Truth" and "fake news" following Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as US President in 2016. These changes in the political landscape have once again foregrounded the archival work of protecting and championing authoritative fact. Commisso has argued: "The information professions have a vital role to play in equipping people to navigate the murky waters of an information ecosystem that is constantly changing and increasingly complicated."[46] While this has led some, like Findlay, to call for practitioners to engage in WikiLeaks style exposés and to prepare to act as whistle-blowers, it has led others – Proctor and Gauld amongst them – to re-centre authorised evidential values.[47]

Typologies of archival values

In theorising the authorised discourse using a values-based approach I identified two interconnected typologies of values ascribed to archives. Each of these was seen to be associated with a complex of related concepts and contingencies. An evidential

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[44] See, for example, Chapter Three, 116-120.

[45] Jarrett Drake, "Liberatory Archives: Towards Belonging and Believing (Part I)," *On Archivy* (blog) Oct 22, 2016, accessed Feb 2, 2017, https://medium.com/on-archivy/liberatory-archives-towards-belonging-and-believing-part-1-d26aaeb0edd1.

[46] Corrie Commisso, "The Post-Truth Archive: Considerations for Archiving Context in Fake News Repositories," *Preservation, Digital Technology and Culture* 46, no. 3 (2017): 99.

[47] Cassie Findlay, "People, Records and Power: What Archives Can Learn from Wikileaks," *Archives and Manuscripts* 41, no. 1 (2013): 7-22; Gauld, "Democratising or Privileging"; Proctor, "Protecting Rights, Asserting Professional Identity."

typology was identified as fundamental to the authorised discourse itself, encompassing legal, historical and rights values and circulated by archival authorities since the medieval period.[48] It was repeatedly observed in the documentation analysed in Chapter Three, embedded both explicitly through the use of '*as* evidence' formulations and implicitly via the language of 'evidentials'. These 'evidentials' – authenticity, integrity, truth, authority and so forth – acted to recall particular ways of understanding archives which, in turn, underlined the rightness of specific archival practices. These practices both identified and preserved evidential values, which were seen to be inherent.

Evidentiality intersects with dominant historiographical and juridical ways of understanding the past, being conceptually dependent on Western epistemologies of time, space and property.[49] The development of early archival systems in both classical Greece and medieval Europe established a fundamental relationship between records and evidence, while the dominance of document-focused historiography during the nineteenth century further highlighted the role of archives in making available the past.[50] In England the development of the principles of archival practice under the influence of Jenkinson and the PRO consolidated the relationship. The status of archives was understood to arise from and be guaranteed by their evidential values. These qualities were generated under specific conditions, namely as a result of the administrative processes of government or business which were indifferent to posterity.

Within the typology records which are most able to conform to these qualities (i.e. those produced by aligned bureaucratic and administrative systems) are most readily valued. This was seen to be the case even with regards to records of community groups, as expressed in the *Gateway to Your Archives* guidance.[51] Consequently the recognition or ascription of such values is seen as a specialist skill, as is the management of archival heritage valued in this way. Judges, lawyers, historians and archives practitioners are inculcated in ways of seeing archives which reinforce the

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[48] See Chapter Three, 85-86; 95-100.
[49] See Chapter Three, 92-97.
[50] See Chapter Two, 58-60 and Chapter Three, 97-99.
[51] See Chapter Five, 210-212; 217-219.

need for their own forms of expertise and knowledge. This was demonstrated in the participatory action research context by my own "archivist/historian" instinct to impose an empiricist structure of legislation onto the archives as a pre-requisite to understanding them.[52] This is what makes it possible for Fowler to claim "Some [business] records cry out to be kept…" whereas others, such as luncheon vouchers and payslips, can "clearly" be discarded.[53] The notion that the latter may be of equivalent or greater value to the former from other perspectives is unconsidered. Although alternative values may be acknowledged and different approaches to collecting and managing archives nominally accepted, these are subordinate to authorised values. Other forms of value are recognised but as subjective, transient and context dependent, while evidential values are naturalised as fundamental. In this way the typology was observed to shape how archival heritage is recognised and legitimated, and how it can be activated for use.[54]

In contrast, an affective typology of values was seen to be at work in 'unauthorised' or less authorised encounters between archives and communities. This was visible, for example, in the emotive campaign of the Friends of York City Archives.[55] However, it was most completely expressed during the participatory action projects, which sought to create spaces conducive to alternative, personal and communal responses to archives. Both the LGBTQ+ group and YPP recognised and engaged with archival heritage, in its broadest definition, through social, emotional and identity values. In the case of YPP these were generated through a sense of place and space, through lived experience and in response to contemporary issues.[56] The LGBTQ+ group ascribed the same values but differently, concerned less with place and more with autonomy, ownership and a 'family history' of marginalised sexualities.[57]

The subjectivity of these values and their context-dependent ascription challenged truth and objectivity claims by archives practitioners as well as the practices that arise from them. During Hungate Histories participants used the archive as one amongst

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[52] See Chapter Six, 232-233.
[53] Fowler, "Enforced Silences," 15.
[54] For recognition and legitimacy see Chapter Four, 142-148; for activation and use see 154-158.
[55] See Chapter Five, 186-189.
[56] See Chapter Six, 233-241.
[57] See Chapter Six, 246-257.

many sources of information about the former 'slum', giving equal evidential credibility to websites found via a Google search. Their desire to digitally cut, paste and reorder, and to map the archives using geographic rather than administrative or legislative structures, severed the "organic" evidential link between creator, context and value. Decontextualized in this way the records became available for a wider range of uses, from recalling personal memories to generating ideas about future housing policy.[58]

However, social and emotional values were not exclusive of evidential values. Both YPP and the LGBTQ+ group expressed a yearning for archives which did not exist, and which could have told them stories which they wished to hear. In the latter case the LGBTQ+ project sought to bring these archives into being. This was expressed as a determination to become "visible", a value that arguably sits on the evidentiary spectrum.[59] As self-identified activist archivist Heather Roberts has suggested: "It all comes back to the point I try to impress upon the organisations I work with: **if you are not evidenced, you are forgotten**." [bold in the original][60] However, my research intimates that making visible and being evidenced are different. The act of making LGBTQ+ people visible is driven from *inside* the community, by those who have been forgotten. They wish to make autonomous choices about what to archive, what to disclose and how.[61] In contrast communities are evidenced from the *outside*, in a way that recalls the claims made by Bastian and Alexander about the ability of archives to construct communities.[62] These claims reflect the authorised formation found in *Archives for the 21st Century*, wherein archives are configured as knowing more about people than they know about themselves.[63] This is also an expression of the autonomous agency of archives to "do" things claimed in the *Universal Declaration*.[64] This would suggest that the evidentiality – the visibility – wanted by the LGBTQ+ group is distinct from the form naturalised as inherent in the authorised discourse. To some extent the group saw it as arising in opposition to mainstream archives, from their own

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[58] See Chapter Six, 237-241.
[59] See Chapter Six, 246-249.
[60] Roberts, "The Inspirational Delia Derbyshire."
[61] See Chapter Six, 252-254.
[62] See Chapter One, 28; Chapter Five, 212.
[63] See Chapter Three, 104-106.
[64] See Chapter Three, 91-92.

'unshared' stories, growing out of the experiences that made them different to others rather than the same.[65] Similarly YPP's need for 'evidence' was grounded in an activist mode, which framed itself against both the archival institution and the Council that it represented. This value could only exist and be ascribed outside of authority.[66] This observation has significant implications for the benefit of engagement activities that seek to assimilate or include groups in line with the authorised discourse.

Instrumentality, discourse and engagement practice

I have argued that the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' works by privileging certain values-based subjectivities over others. As a result, my analysis proposes that it establishes and reinforces an oppositional tension between archival institutions and communities, and between 'professionals' and publics. These groups may ascribe different archival values or ascribe the same values differently. Whereas some values of archives are given greater legitimacy by the discourse, others are excluded or misrepresented. In particular, the affective typology is relegated or sublimated. This appears to limit the broader uses of institutional archives by communities on their own terms, as in the case of the Friends of York City Archives. It also hinders communication between different value holders as in the case of the York LGBT Forum and Explore during the *Gateway to History* project.[67] Although audience engagement, public participation and public history are now understood to form an integral part of archival work, activities are dissonant with the discursive assumptions of institutions and practitioners.   My research has demonstrated that the aims of Archives in relation to engagement are often mismatched to the authorised values and ways of seeing that underpin their modes of operation.[68]

This was expressed during the *Gateway to History* project by the prioritisation of certain activities above others. Those which challenged ideas about what the Archive should be and do, or which required the consideration of different world views, were de-prioritised. Communities who ascribed significant affective values to the city

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[65] See Chapter Six, 255-256.
[66] See Chapter Six, 239-240; 261-263.
[67] See Chapter Five, 206-208 and Chapter Six, 241-243.
[68] See Chapter Five, especially 220-223.

archives, including the Friends of the City Archives and the Family History Society, were disregarded to the point where relationships with them broke down.[69] In contrast, activities which could be reconciled with the authorising discourse and the evidential typology, such as the production of training and guidance for community archives, became a focus.[70] The desire to neutralise and absorb community groups by aligning them with archival principles was coded into the activities themselves. The project reflected at a local level Interviewee 06's ambition at a national level "to plug them into that national network…because they're very narrowly focused [they won't] be a aware of how they actually fit in to the wider landscape."[71]

In this way the engagement process was used as a mechanism to reinforce rather than overcome the boundaries between 'qualified' archival experts and non-experts. Non-experts had to be taught a system of values and beliefs in order to integrate with the Archive. Those groups who claimed their own expertise and retained their own divergent ideas about both the values of the archives and how they should be managed were seen as troublesome and obstructive. In this way, despite its apparent successes, the project highlighted a critical antagonism between its aim to engage communities and build new audiences and its sub-textual preoccupation with maintaining institutional power.

The alternative approaches which YPP and the LGBTQ+ archive group took to working with and interpreting archives suggest that the infrastructures of archival practice are unnecessary for meaningful engagement. Provenance, context and order – principles normalised by the evidential values typology – were either less relevant or irrelevant to participants. As communities they brought their own values frameworks with them, including an understanding of the histories within which the archives might be situated. Although the archives they worked with or imagined were fragmentary and disordered, the groups found ways to integrate and absorb them into pre-existing and new narratives that held social and emotional meaning.[72] This process reflects

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[69] See Chapter Five, 194-198.
[70] See Chapter Five, 210-212.
[71] Interview 06 (Heritage Professional).
[72] See Chapter Six, 237-241; 252-256.

Derrida's "becoming" potential of the archives.[73] As Withers has observed, because they are not "finished representations that embody or enact a particular temporal logic" they can be made available for "playing with time."[74] Although archives may be dateable and textually fixed (as in the case of the Hungate clearance records) they can be activated by a community such as YPP in ways that collapse linear time. Thus the experiences of a Hungate resident in the 1920s can become relevant to the lived experience of an inadequately housed single mother in the 2000s.[75] The two are juxtaposed, closing the distance between long-ago past (Hungate), recent past (2000s) and the present (the Hungate Histories project). This potential is independent of the interventions of archives practitioners. Archival heritage is brought into being and activated not through institutionalisation and control, as perceived by practitioners, but through encounters with values-holders. Both the Hungate Histories project and the LGBTQ+ project foregrounded the predominance of affect in these encounters. The emotional connection between the archives and the individual or community was what drove their perceptions of what archives were and could be, and how they should be treated.

An ontological values perspective admits the possibility of plural valid engagements because it recognises all archives as constructed. Archives practitioners themselves are reconfigured as values-holders, who activate archives' potential in the same ways as communities. The decisions and actions arising from the evidential typology are not inherently negative, although their alignment with dominant systems of power are problematic. It may be recognised that evidential values enable a range of sanctioned, normative engagements such as those of academic historians, family and local historians, students and education providers. However, my research does suggest that the naturalisation of such values constrains and limits the possibilities for interplay between archives and communities beyond these socially and culturally endorsed activities. The 'Authorised Archival Discourse' produces a practice that packages archives "in a form where affect and sensory pleasure can hide behind professional

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[73] See Chapter One, 30.
[74] Withers, "Re-enacting process," 689.
[75] See Chapter Five, 237.

codes and disciplines."[76] This manifests in protocols that control how archives are to be found, seen, touched and shared.

The action research projects suggested that respect for the priorities and ascriptions of communities are powerful tools to overcome these values-based differences. Members of both groups of participants had previously had negative experiences when approaching heritage authorities with ideas and comments. They felt either ignored or needlessly obstructed. As Richard from YPP has explained in another context: "The point is we've got annoyed so many times with wanting to do something in York…And you can't seem to break through that barrier to get there. You say "I want to do this" and you're just looked at as a member of the public. It's like it doesn't really matter what you want."[77] This attitude can be discerned amongst the archives practitioners in Chapter Four, who considered the opinions and feelings of community members to be less important than archival principles.[78]

Although such principles do not necessarily arise out of the conscious ascription of evidential values (although some, like preservation rules, do) they are rooted in values-based assumptions. When community archives do not conform to these protocols their actions are perceived to be dangerous and thoughtless, as in the contributions of Interviewees 06 and 10. Both felt compelled to intervene and "be quite brutal" about the imposition of proper behaviour.[79] Programmes of training for community archives in the correct ways of thinking about and caring for archives are developed, as during the *Gateway to History* project and by the West Yorkshire Archives Service.[80] As Smith argues, this is based on the assumption that communities must be taught the values of dominant heritage practice.[81] It does not recognise the alternative practices which arise out of different experiences and sets of values.

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[76] Robinson, "Touching the Void," 506.

[77] Lianne Brigham et al., "Living with History in York: Increasing Participation From Where You Are," in H*eritage, Conservation and Communities: Engagement, Participation and Capacity Building*, ed. Gill Chitty (London: Routledge, 2017), 147.

[78] See, for example, Chapter Four, 149-152 or Chapter Five, 252.

[79] Interview 10 (Consultant Archivist). See also Chapter Four, 149-150.

[80] See Chapter Five, 217-219.

[81] Smith, *Uses of Heritage,* 208-209.

In Chapter Five I sought to demonstrate how these processes of assimilation are focused and instrumentalised by central government policy on heritage and community.[82] The New Labour agenda to integrate arts and heritage into the "system of government" and as "a kind of fuel to drive the vehicle of social improvement" led to the emergence of public value metrics for community cohesion, social inclusion and sense of belonging.[83] This agenda was rebranded under the 2010-2016 Coalition government as the "Big Society" and "localism", and then subsequently under the current Conservative government as "community resilience". Underpinned by the focus of funders such as the HLF on local heritage, volunteering and community engagement, this rhetoric was circulated by The National Archives and adopted by archival institutions. Policy and strategy emerging from government, such as *Archives for the 21st Century* and *Archives Unlocked*, reinforced it, while also merging it with dominant evidential values. A connection was made between community engagement and the instruction of communities in the right ways to think about and use archival heritage. This recalls Bennett's theory of the museum as a "governmentalisation of culture" and as a Foucauldian technology of power, which seeks "to rhetorically incorporate the people within the processes of the state."[84] As Hewison puts it: "they [policymakers] see culture as a source of social instruction rather than of self-development."[85] It is possible to see an alignment between the instructive tone of government policy and the instructive qualities of institution-led engagement activities.

Heritage practitioners have been assigned responsibility for mitigating societal inequalities by working with marginalised communities, encouraged by diversity and inclusion linked funding. Speaking broadly, Hewison has identified this commitment to the "social mission" of culture and heritage as a constraint on practitioners and institutions, because their potential can only be mobilised along narrow lines and using limited tools. [86] I similarly argue that such engagement is inhibited by the limits of discursively acceptable practices available to archives practitioners.   For example, in

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the case of the *Gateway* project the Archive acted to represent and evidence communities in ways that moderated difference and emphasised cohesion and sharedness. In doing so it left little space for precisely the divisive, challenging, and fragmented groups or identities it set out to reach. This is because engagement which is designed to move archival institutions towards more just and inclusive practises takes place within a discursive and political space that depreciates affect and autonomy.

Implications, actions and future research

The theorisation of the 'Authorised Archival Discourse', and of the typologies of evidential and affective values, both represent contributions to the new "critical archival studies" recently proposed by Caswell, Punzalan and Sangwand. In applying a critical heritage lens this thesis has sought to make visible a discursive basis for "what is unjust with the current state of archival research and practice."[87] Namely, that a dominant system of values works to marginalise and de-legitimate the expression of a broader range of alternative values. Making visible this discursive system is fundamental to the "analysis of power in all its forms", which in turn is "crucial to understanding the context of record creation, of archival functions, of the formation of archival institutions, of archival outreach and use, and advocacy."[88] My aim has been to add to the intellectual toolkit at the disposal of archival theorists and archives practitioners. At the same time as an action researcher it has been my intention to examine a problematic situation to change it for the better.[89] Like Ahmed: "I decided…theoretical work that is in touch with the world is the kind of theoretical work I wanted to do."[90] Thus my critical approach has surfaced assumptions about archives in order to begin the process of negotiating a discursive environment that is more hospitable to a wider range of values. In this final section of my conclusion I consider both the practical and intellectual implications of this, as well as future directions for research.

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[87] Caswell, Punzalan and Sangwand. "Critical Archival Studies: An Introduction," 2.
[88] Caswell, Punzalan and Sangwand, "Critical Archival Studies: An Introduction," 3.
[89] Kindon, Pain and Kesby, *Participatory Action Research Approaches*, 1.
[90] Ahmed, *Living a Feminist Life*, 10.

In considering the potential for impact it is important to recognise that, by pursuing an ambitious inquiry across numerous source genres, the current work does have limitations. Some of these have been inevitable due the scale of a thesis, while others have revealed themselves throughout the course of the research itself. Principally, my use of CDA has meant a deep but narrow approach to analysis. I have focused my attention persistently on a core sample of texts and case studies. In validating findings from one source to another – from documentation to interviews, from case studies to action projects – the number of examples had to be limited. This enabled me to take a synoptic view of discourse and practice from multiple perspectives, but it is not a broad view. Further, my focus on England, and then on York, is open to accusations of exceptionalism; that these places have particular characteristics that accentuate my findings. This may seem particularly valid in the context of my argument that archival values are plural, contingent and situated in time and place. Extrapolating the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' to other contexts may seem like a contradiction.

However, it has never been my intention to be definitive. Recalling the arguments of Chapter Two about orientation and direction, I have accepted the limitations in scope as a function of my position as a researcher and an archives practitioner.[91] Within the logic of my constructivist and phenomenological approach it is not possible (or desirable) to produce a universalised narrative of archival value. My ability to see and make visible must always be partial, a fragment rather than a totality, grounded in my personal experiences, beliefs and values. What I have constructed, therefore, is a proposed framework or apparatus for thinking about archival values which can be further tested and developed elsewhere.

Nevertheless, my conclusions do ask questions of current archives policy, strategy and engagement in England. I have suggested that just archival practices, to which political and funding agendas apparently aspire, cannot be delivered within systems that perpetuate and enable inequalities of power. Chief amongst these inequalities are manifestations of evidential values which obscure or marginalise the needs of diverse communities. They include the focus of archival practice on order, authenticity,

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[91] See Chapter Two, 78-81.

accreditation and the systematisation of processes.   In identifying the 'Authorised Archival Discourse' I have sought to demonstrate that this status quo cannot be transformed at the level of the individual or even organisation. Broader social and cultural change is required to destabilise the legitimacy of the system. This is a significant undertaking: as I have argued, the discursive landscape is a function of broader currents of power in society and as such cannot be easily dislodged. Further, it is unhelpful to think about replacing one typology of values with another, or of creating a shared narrative of values. Instead, this research suggests ways in which many diverse and divisive values may be accepted, respected and activated.

The experience of the cultural heritage sector suggests that this begins with critical readings of current practices (like this thesis) which are then subsequently recognised and absorbed at an international and national strategic level.[92] In the English context this would indicate the key roles of the ICA and TNA in critically reflecting on the alignment of their goals with their underlying values. In particular TNA's status as both a government department and a sector leader has significant impact on how policymakers activate archives and archival institutions for their agendas. Given the institution's new alignment with DCMS, and the emphasis of the current government on public sector austerity and community self-sufficiency, a reappraisal of priorities from a values-based perspective would be an opportunity to activate archives in socially conscious ways. Further, in the context of Brexit and of the political "death of truth" observed by Kakutani, it seems imperative to critically reflect on the subjectivities of both national and local government archival institutions.[93] A consensus on the need for this is now emerging elsewhere, particularly in Australia, Canada and the USA where global efforts to redistribute archival power have gathered pace.[94]

My research also suggests the necessity of critique and reflection amongst communities of archives practice. In training practitioners archival educators have a

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[92] See Chapter One, 24-25.

[93] Michiko Kakutani, *The Death of Truth* (London: William Collins, 2018).

[94] See Chapter Two, 50-53. Most recently Caswell and colleagues have launched *Archivists Against History Repeating Itself*, a web resource that gathers together critical readings and activities for practitioners and academics. See http://www.archivistsagainst.org/.

central role in this, both in circulating values-based critiques and in denaturalising 'expert' assumptions. I am not the first to suggest this: Findlay has also advocated for "a recalibration of our professional identity" and specifically the embracing of decentralised models.[95] By making discourse visible, particularly in relation to engagement practice, this thesis makes such assumptions available for deconstruction and debate. However my work also underlines the deep challenge this represents. Although the literatures of social justice, archival activism and community autonomy have been integrated into 'the course', the curriculum as a whole continues to be framed by authorised discursive values.[96] To reiterate Drake: "We are entrenched within power. We are trained and prepared within our graduate programmes to see no other options."[97] As noted in the Introduction, *A Manual for Archives Administration* remains a key text in teaching on all of the postgraduate training routes available in the UK, and its core tenets are then reinforced through training in the principles and practices that are grounded in the evidential typology.[98] The status that the *Manual* and its author continue to be afforded is indicated by a message circulated to the ARCHIVES_NRA listserv mailing list in which a student in the 2017/18 cohort of English archives graduates asked for the location of Jenkinson's grave. Their intention was to visit him in honour of finishing their training.[99]

The teaching of authorised values is arguably embedded and reinforced in the UK by the ARA Qualifications Accreditation standard, which reproduces authorised discursive assumptions about the role of archives in society.[100] The requirements of the standard determine the route into 'professional' work, direct the emphasis of university teaching and limit the range of potential archival practices. A critical reappraisal of archival education in the UK, by both university educators and ARA, in light of the authorised archival discourse would support the disruption of practitioners' "entrenchment within power."

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[95] Findlay, "Archival Activism," 158.
[96] See Chapter One, 44. For further examples see Chapter Four, 139-142.
[97] Drake, "Archivists Without Archives: A Labor Day Reflection."
[98] See Chapter One, 44.
[99] Email circulated to ARCHIVES-NRA jiscmail list, Sir Hilary Jenkinson's grave," Mar 19, 2018.
[100] See Chapter Four, 133-134.

The impact that a grounding in dominant Western archival values has on future practitioners in relation to work with communities is evident in Chapter Four. It has led some critics to suggest that any archival practice within or in collaboration with an institution is complicit in authorised actions and agendas. Explaining his decision to leave the profession Drake dismissed the possibility of change from within:

> The purpose of the archival profession is to *curate* the past, not *confront* it; to *entrench* inequality, not *eradicate* it; to *erase* black lives, not *ennoble* them. Tigers cannot change their stripes. They are merely adept at blending into their surrounding environment until it is time to strike, and strike it will. [italicisation in the original] [101]

This suggests there can be no shared ground on which archival institutions, archives practitioners and communities can meet. Put in the language of this thesis, the authorised discourse is too fundamental to the conceptualisation of archives and the work of archival institutions to be disrupted. Disruption or negotiation is therefore impossible. Without the discourse there is no archival practice; without the discourse there is no *need* for archival practice. This is not the conclusion here. While the findings of Chapters Three, Four and Five do bear out Drake's argument that much community engagement activity is instrumentalised "in the context of incomplete, neo-liberal notions of diversity," the outcomes of Chapter Six offer grounds for hope in alternative approaches.[102]

In seeking these approaches I return to McKemmish, who has proposed the "archival multiverse" as an alternative to a complete disruption of the status quo. In the "multiverse" multiple positions, orientations and subjectivities can emerge and be recognised, including both practitioner and community perspectives. This thesis has acted as a 'micro-multiverse', focused on the heritage city, and inspired by Foucault's quest for a "more general space", in which familiar things are disrupted in order to construct new theories about them.[103] This has been framed by the progressive activist position described by Findlay. I have been similarly "interested in themes of

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[101] Drake, "I'm Leaving the Archival Profession: It's Better This Way."
[102] Drake, "Archivists Without Archives: A Labor Day Reflection."
[103] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 29.

equality and anti-discrimination, of claiming a place in history for those who have been hidden or voiceless."[104] Except, in this case, it was not so much a matter of claiming a place in history as claiming a role in ascribing value to archives, and thus in how archives should be identified, managed and used.

The action research projects of Chapter Six acted like Sheffield's "archival interventions."[105] They were attempts to negotiate the discursive landscape I have delineated, by working with autonomous communities on their own terms to make spaces in the "multiverse", where alternative models of archival values could be generated, ascribed and activated. Both YPP and the LGBTQ+ group created figurative and literal spaces that were oriented towards affect and social action. Participants identified these values and produced meaning in spite of the challenge of navigating the limits that were encoded into the archives themselves. They did not require an archives practitioner to communicate this value to them through engagement; the engagement came *from* them. As Greg Bak and colleagues have argued: "There is no need to be a voice for the voiceless; instead listen to those who are already speaking."[106]

The success of these interventions (even on such a small scale) suggests that it is possible to refigure archives as dynamic objects and Archives as dynamic spaces which are adaptive rather than resistant to the values of different communities. These spaces permit the creation and re-creation of archival heritage from the perspectives of different subjectivities and phenomenological orientations. Such an interplay of archives and community embodies Derrida's conception of the archive as a site of becoming and constant renewal.[107] The practitioner is decentralised as their values become one set of ascriptions amongst many possible ascriptions. This intervention does not require the total disavowal of existing archival practices advocated by Drake. Notably, autonomy in both of the action projects did not represent absolute separation or rejection of the institutional setting or infrastructure. However, it did involve breaching practitioner control of the Archives' spaces, including the strong

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[104] Findlay, "Archival Activism," 155.
[105] See Chapter Six, 247-248.
[106] Greg Bak et al., "Four Views on Archival Decolonization,"17.
[107] See Chapter One, 19-20, 30.

room, and sharing responsibility for the selection, care and provision of access to the community's collections. Fundamentally, it also involved the construction of some values in opposition to others, suggesting that dissent and disagreement itself was a key part of the process. Engagement was most productive at the intersection of expectation and resistance. The values ascribed by archives practitioners played a role in generating other values and vice a versa, which could co-exist so long as adequate space was made for them.

These projects required me – a "qualified archivist" - to enter into co-productive relationships with communities on an equalised basis, and for us to work together to build these 'adequate spaces'. Our aim was to make such spaces as hospitable to the values of the individuals involved as possible while also being practicable. The objective was not to replace authorised values, but to see what emerged in parallel when they were recognised not as inherent but as one set of subjectivities amongst others. Together my participants and I negotiated and questioned the discursive landscape, using a values-based approach to interpret and understand our actions. This was akin to the "dialogical" approach advocated by Harrison, who sees the production of heritage and its values as a process that "emerges from the relationship between people, things and their environments as part of a…collaborative process of keeping the past alive in the present."[108]

The relative success of these engagements seems to have arisen from the interlocutionary logic of the co-production process itself. This logic assumes that the act of speaking and discussing the doing of something, including asking questions, asserting values and declaring beliefs, acts as a force in shaping a relationship. Annalisa Sarinono has dubbed environments in which this is encouraged as "change laboratories", as they provide participants with the opportunity to "jointly analyse disturbances in daily work practices and identify contradictions in the reality and vision of their practice."[109] I suggest that grounding this research in critical heritage studies,

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[108] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 215.
[109] Annalisa Sannino, "From Talk to Action: Experiencing Interlocution in Developmental Interventions," *Mind, Culture and Activity* 15, no. 3 (2008): 235.

and specifically a historicised reflection on the structures, standards and values of archival practice, enabled York to (briefly) become a 'heritage change laboratory'.

Such an approach to archival practice demands the questioning of the key discursive principles discussed above, and a recognition that they "are not natural, but formed out of systems of values."[110] The dissonance between evidential and other value typologies must be centralised, making it visible for consideration and action in the design and delivery of archives work generally and engagement activity specifically. The distance between 'expert' and 'non-expert' perspectives should also be collapsed. I suggest this requires institutions and practitioners to become epistemically "sceptical" about archives: what they are, how they should be kept, and how they can be managed. Historian Alan Munslow distinguishes this kind of "scepticism" from relativism, arguing that it is not a disavowal of "well verified factual knowledge" but an acceptance that we don't know what this knowledge means.[111] In the context of my argument this could be rephrased as: while archives may be recognised as a category of heritage object, we don't know what these objects are, how to manage them or use them until we understand the values that are being ascribed to them. This position allows for the archivalisation of both 'traditional' objects – charismatic examples in York might include the city's twelfth century charter and Freeman's register – and of community collections, such as photographs of a York sweet shop digitised and posted on Facebook by a YPP member. Both become archival heritage through the ascription of ontological values.

The position I have established in this thesis opens up several opportunities and ambitions for future research, in extending and testing the application of values-based thinking and critical discourse analysis. There is a need, for example, to consider the values of other communities, which have been inferred here but are unsubstantiated. This should include historians, previously unengaged communities, policy-makers and local and national government officers. This would offer additional nuance and context to my arguments. There is also further scope for comparative studies. To what extent, for example, does the ascription of archival values differ in Scotland, Wales and

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[110] Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, 221.
[111] Munslow, *The Future of History*, 3-4.

Northern Ireland? Is it possible to discern regional differences in England itself? If, as I argue, discourse is socially and culturally mediated then the varied political, social and cultural systems in the home nations will have an impact on values. These differences may be subtle, given the dominance of broad Western epistemologies, but mapping them would help us to better understand the relationship between international, national and local understandings of archival heritage. It would be equally productive to consider differences in discourse internationally, particularly looking at other Western archival nations such as Canada, Australia and North America in comparison to non-Western traditions in China, Thailand and South Korea.   At the same time, at the other end of the scale, there is a need for micro-studies of values in local places and communities. As the analysis in Chapter Six indicates the highly personal and localised nature of affective values, these kinds of studies would help to validate and justify the typologies that I have theorised.

Finally, there is undoubtedly scope for deeper consideration of the intersection of social and political agendas and the 'Authorised Archival Discourse', reframing the question which my collaborative doctoral project first imagined. It would be fruitful to examine more closely the interplay between heritage funders, the literature on heritage engagement and participation, and the actions of archival institutions. The historical and current role of TNA in shaping values and beliefs also warrants further analysis. It is an issue which is touched upon frequently in this thesis but which would bear further scrutiny.

Who *do* Archives think they are?

While it has been possible to draw conclusions from this research, and also to suggest actions that should arise from it, there is a sense in which it, like archives, must always be becoming. The implication of my work is that the values ascribed to archival heritage will never be fixed, either through time or in a place; and if values are constantly evolving then our responses to them must also be. It is therefore not possible to offer a single protocol or straightforward methodology for working with archives for practitioners, institutions and communities. Instead, a values-based approach must be responsive, dialogic and interlocutionary, based on respectful

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relationships that create literal and figurative spaces to bring groups together to discuss their values.   The interrogatory "Who *do* Archives think they are?" from which I started may be reasonably changed to "Who might Archives be becoming?" The answer to this question is limited only by the range of perspectives and values that can be imagined, expressed and negotiated.

Appendices

1 Schedules of Participants

1.1. Interviews: Archives Practitioners

Number	Descriptor	Date	Location
Interviewee 01	Archivist	May 5, 2015	York
Interviewee 02	No Descriptor	June 11, 2015	London
Interviewee 03	Number assigned but interview cancelled.		
Interviewee 04	Cultural Heritage Professional	May 21, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 05	Archivist	July 15, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 06	Heritage Professional	June 10, 2015	London
Interviewee 07	Archivist	June 4, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 08	Archive Sector Development	June 10, 2015	London
Interviewee 09	Archives and Library Manager	June 11, 2015	London
Interviewee 10	Consultant Archivist	June 3, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 11	Independent Archivist and Historian	July 1, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 12	Community Outreach Archivist	May 15, 2015	York
Interviewee 13	Number assigned but interview cancelled.		
Interviewee 14	Local History Officer	June 19, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 15	Photographic Archivist	June 26, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 16	Number assigned by interview cancelled.		
Interviewee 17	Librarian	July 10, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 18	Archivist	June 26, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 19	Academic, Archive Studies	June 17, 2015	Telephone
Interviewee 20	Archivist	July 16, 2015	Telephone

1.2. Interviews: Participation Action Research Groups

Name	Descriptor	Date	Location
Anonymous	Hungate Histories Archives Practitioner	May 6, 2016	York
Richard Brigham	Founder of York Past and Present	April 4, 2017	York
Lianne Brigham	Founder of York Past and Present	April 4, 2017	York
Helen Graham	Academic, Cultural Heritage Studies	February 6, 2017	York

1.3. Hungate Histories Participatory Group

Name	Present
Archives Practitioner	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Catherine	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Christopher	May 6, 2016, June 10 2016
Dave	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Gaby	May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Helen Graham	April 29, May 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Lianne Brigham	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Richard Brigham	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Sue H	April 29, May 6, 13, 20, June 3, 10 2016
Sue M	April 29, May 13 2016

1.4. LGBTQ+ Archives Participatory Group

Number	Present
GM1	February 11, August 22, September 26, November 4, 2017; January 18, 2018
GM2	August 22, September 26, November 4, 2017; January 18, 2018
GM3	September 26, November 4, 2017
GM4	February 11, September 26, November 4, 2017
GM5	September 26, November 4, 2017; January 18, 2018
GM6	February 11, November 4, 2017; January 18, 2018

2 Data collection forms

2.1. Example consent form

Participant Identification Number:

Group Number (if appropriate):

CONSENT FORM
Who Do Archives Think They Are? Archives, Community and Value in the Heritage City

Name of Researcher: Victoria Hoyle, PhD candidate, Dept. of History, The University of York

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study.

2. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

4. I understand that any information given by me may be used in the researcher's PhD thesis, and in academic articles or presentations relating specifically to this research.

5. I understand that I will be anonymised in the researcher's PhD thesis and in any academic articles or presentations. Instead I will be identified by my participation identification number and a self-designated descriptor. For example, 'Primary School Teacher, 59'; 'Family Historian'; 'York resident of 20 years'.

I would like to be described as: _____

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   Date   Signature

When completed, please return in the envelope provided (if applicable). A copy will be given to the participant and the original to be kept by the researcher.

2.2.   Pre-interview questionnaire (Archives Practitioners)

Interviewee Number	Interview date	Interview Location

Pre-interview Questionnaire

Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this research. Your answers to the questions below will help to contextualise your interview responses, and also provide basic demographic data on my interview sample.

Your gender:

Female ☐   Male ☐   Other ☐   Prefer not to say ☐

Your age:

18-25 ☐   26-35 ☐   36-45 ☐   46-55 ☐   56-65 ☐   66-75 ☐

Prefer not to say ☐

Do you hold a professional heritage qualification/s? (e.g. Archives and Records Management, Conservation, Cultural Heritage Management)

Yes ☐   No ☐

If yes, which qualification/s do you hold?

………

………

Do you have an undergraduate or postgraduate qualification in another subject?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If yes, in which subjects do you hold qualifications?

………

………

Do you identify yourself professionally as an archivist?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If no, how would you identify yourself professionally?

………

2.3.   Semi-structured interview sheet (Archives Practitioners)

[Intro:

Thanks for your time.

Brief outline of the structure of the interview – will last about an hour with questions in 4 sections. First we will talk a little about your background and experience, then about the ways in which you define and understand archives. We will then move on to talk about the values you ascribe to archives, before finishing on your views of current strategic priorities for archives in England and Wales.

Any questions?

Consent form signed. Recording.]

At the beginning of recording state: Interview number, Victoria Hoyle with [insert name of subject], at [location] beginning at [time] on [date].

Prompt Sheet

Section 1: Background and Experience (5-10 mins)

1. Could you describe your current or most recent job role?
2. How did you get you get involved in this kind of work?
3. Do you consider yourself to be involved with engaging new audiences with archives/heritage? If so, how?

Section 2: Definitions of archives (15-20 mins)

4. How would you define 'archives'?
5. Would this definition change depending on who you were speaking to? For example, an archivist or other heritage professional vs a layperson.
6. Are you aware of any alternative or conflicting understandings of archives, in popular culture or academia?
7. Is the definition of archives an important issue for you in your work?
8. How do you feel about the application of the word archives or archivist in new, perhaps unfamiliar contexts? For example, when they are used by community historians, IT professionals or artists.

Section 3: The value of archives (15-20 mins)

9. In your opinion, why are archives valuable?
10. Do you think the value of archives is changed by circumstances? For example, where they are kept, who looks after them, their relevance to contemporary events like centenaries.
11. Can you recall an occasion when the value of archives was very clearly demonstrated to you?
12. Do you think about the social or emotional value of archives when you are working with them? Could you give an example?

Section 4: <u>Strategic priorities for archives in the UK and your local area</u> (15-20 mins)

13. Again, off the top of your head what do you consider to be the strategic priorities for archives in the UK? (Follow-up: How familiar are your with any relevant strategic documentation issued nationally or locally and how does it relate to your working life?)
14. How important do you think it is to engage people with archives? Benefits?
15. Do you think that 'outreach' and engagement by archives works and why? Examples?
16. What do you think of the community archives/history movement?
17. Finally, how do you perceive the future of archives in the UK and your local area?

Conclusion

18. Is there anything else you would like to add on these topics?
19. Is there anyone else in particular you think I should interview as part of my research?

State to recording: End of interview at [time] on [date].

[Outro: What happens next: transcription, shared with you via email for further comment or edit. I am to get this to you within two weeks.

Thanks again.]

3 Data Sample (Analysis): Documentation

3.1. Extract from preliminary free-text analysis of the *York: Gateway to History* Activity

Plan (memo, extracted from NVivo)

--Beginning of extract

Executive Summary

[para 1]
"21st century archive" is a key phrase throughout *Gateway to History* documentation and marketing material. Interesting construction that implies that a) the 21st century archive is markedly different to any previous incarnations, and b) makes assumptions about what a 20th century archive was. It juxtaposes 'the past' of the archives themselves and the 'ancient city' that created them and the future orientation of the institution. Use of 'York800' legacy argument lost very early in the project - dropped from publicity. However, at the time it clearly tagged the archive development into narratives about the value of participation in public life and democratic process.

[para 4]
"The Activity Plan will make the service and the collections easier to use for everyone, whatever their previous level of experience with archives." Use of the words 'easier' and, later in this paragraph, 'wider' stresses the importance of broadening use of the archive collections, but also implicitly recognises the current narrow audience and the difficulty of using them prior to the project.

Introduces the idea of "a network of community links and outreach champions" - which brings the community into the equation but nevertheless continues to hold the broadest possible audience at arms-length. Focuses on the creation of intermediaries and translators.

Links the value ascribed to the archive to its ability to support the City Council's objective around community: "a highly valued long-term community heritage asset, and one which is capable of delivering City of York Council's strategic objective to "Build Strong Communities"" The construction of this sentence effectively draws the line between the two - one leads to the other.

1.1. Introduction

[para 3]
The city is the unit of history that the project foregrounds; and it is intimately connected to its people, leading to formulations like "...800 years of unique historical documents telling the story of the people of York and how they have shaped their city. It will open up the city's history through activities..." Ownership here is complex. The

city has a history, which is made up of the stories of the people of York, which are contained in the archive. The archive then becomes a tool not just for history making but for city making.

[para 4]
Introduces the thinking behind the 'gateway' concept. This is a very ambivalent word to use in the archives context, recalling the Jenkinsonian concept of 'gatekeepers' of archives. While 'gateway' is a more open terminology, which is used here to suggest a more open access route to the past, it nevertheless acts as a narrowing mechanism. The Gateway is conceived as an entranceway "to the less visible archives held by other city institutions", as well as a conduit for volunteers and users. It is a metaphor of control.

[para 5]
Reflects back on the "21st century Archive" by citing the need to create a service for "21st century audiences". Recognition of poor knowledge of not only the content but also the 'value' of the archive collections at present – knowing what the Archive holds, through archival practices such as cataloguing and indexing – not only reveals value but also generates it.

1.3 Current Access to the Archive

Generally this section assumes that the 'Archive' is its collections - when it talks about access it focuses on the abilities of people to use original archival material and makes assumptions about the mechanisms that enable to that to happen. This collapses any distinction between the collection and the institution, which then makes synonymous the activity of "opening it up" and "revealing' what is inside."

[para 2]
Returns to gate/doorway imagery in describing the importance of cataloguing as "the key that unlocks the door to increasing access." This key, of course, is in the hands of the archives practitioners, for whom cataloguing is a form of expertise.
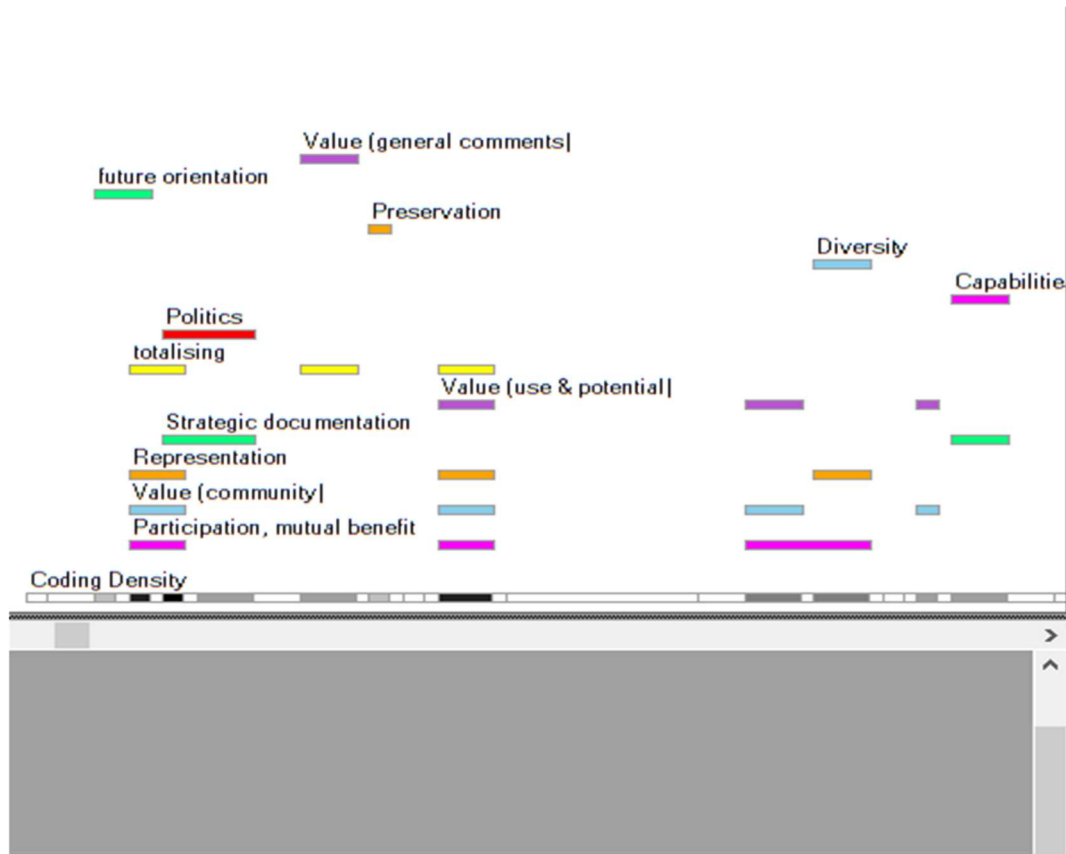
[para 6]
First use of the word "meaningful", e.g. "Create meaningful ways for people to become actively involved in the development of the collections and for diverse communities to be represented in the archive." Of all the words used in the project documentation this is the construction that seems to have had most traction and sticking power, re-emerging in publicity and evaluation document. Continued emphasis on work with communities and specific reference here to 'raising "archive awareness"', which is put into quote marks without a reference, as though this refers to something understood. Again, representativeness is foregrounded, and the phrase "comprehensive cross-city archive" is introduced. The comprehensiveness and representativeness of the archive are clearly understood to be necessary in order to develop and build networks of community relationships. Note there is no reference to engagement here, but lots about "making the archive more accessible". The emphasis is all on creating an archive

service which is useable, suggesting that opening the gate is synonymous with people coming inside.

--End of extract

3.2. Example of coded documentation (extracted from NVivo, Activity Plan)

future orientation
Value (general comments)
Preservation
Diversity
Capabilitie
Politics
totalising
Value (use & potential)
Strategic documentation
Representation
Value (community)
Participation, mutual benefit
Coding Density

Executive Summary

York: Gateway to History is an exciting project to create a 21st century Archive and Local History Service for York – a service which serves and reflects all communities and cultures, past and present, in this ancient city. The project will be the long-term legacy of the "York800" celebrations of 2012: commemorating the year when the people of York achieved local self-government.

The project includes the bringing together on one site of the city's internationally-important archives with its regionally-significant local history library collections by the creation of a new city-centre archive conservation repository, one of the first to meet the new PD5454 standard, at York Explore (the Central Library). A sympathetic refurbishment of the first floor of the grade 2 listed York Explore building will create new public spaces suitable for a much wider range of archive users than before. Hand in hand with these physical improvements will be a series of strategic service developments to ensure that the heritage user experience is transformed to the same degree as the building.

This proposed two-year Activity Plan represents an investment in building people capacity in the Archives and Local History Service: in its current and non-users, its staff, its volunteers and in the wider communities it exists to serve directly and indirectly.

The Activity Plan will make the service and the collections easier to use for everyone, whatever their previous level of experience with archives. The Plan will build a network of community links and outreach champions across a much wider range of York citizens than the service has ever engaged with before. This will give the service the broad base of community support that it needs to create a long-term virtuous cycle of continuous improvement. The plan will drive the service forward so that it genuinely becomes a highly valued long-term community heritage asset, and one which is capable of delivering City of York Council's strategic objective to 'Build Strong Communities'

4   Data Sample (Transcription and Analysis): Interviews

4.1.   Transcription extract from Interview 06 (pp4-6)

TRANSCRIPT

INTERVIEW 06

Conducted in person in London, June 11, 2015

Duration: 01h 20m 09s

---Beginning of Extract

Victoria

Yeah, the other context in which the word [archive] is quite frequently used particularly at the moment is in community contexts so community archives community archivists and I wondered to what extent you had come across groups like that in your work in the regions?

Interviewee 06

Massivesly and I'd probably add citizen archivists in there as well which comes from the citizen scientists sort of way but certainly community archivists we see a lot of and particularly in the south west I work a lot with and [hesitates] what's been really interesting there is many of these have received quite major public funding particularly through the HLF you see large numbers and I work very closely with the HLF regional offices advising on archival applications and frequently I will get an email from a community heritage group or a heritage centre saying we're putting in this HLF application and they said we contacted the HLF and they said you should speak to the guy at [named archival institution] who can supply some advice cue [interviewee's name]. [Interviewee's name] goes out to community archive. I think the palpable enthusiasm is is fantastic and the democratisation of the processes is great, professionalism is a spectrum and I think there are some ethical elements as well which is a spectrum. One of the thing that I've noticed a lot particularly working with community archivists is around digitisation in that the the digitisation of content is is is given great importance amongst many of these groups who are going hell for leather scanning photographs and things without really any infrastructure in place for digital preservation or what's gonna happen if Maureen's shed goes up in flames and all the photos are lost or whatever else. So these are a lot of the issues I find myself advising both the funders and and the individual groups and I think it's I think it's really important but it is an area with which we've struggled to get a real sense of activity. It is quite an ungoverned unregulated unmapped part of the sector and some of the work that I'm doing in the south west is to try and lessen that and bridge that gap because we… it's not an area we've been particularly close to, it's been the work of CADG [Community Archives Development Group] and our colleagues in the ARA [Archives and Records Association]. It's not an area we've engaged closely with until more recently and I can talk a bit about some of the things that we've been doing which are emerging now as we speak.

Victoria

We'll stick with the community archives for the moment and go back to sort of the beginning with them, what you have observed to be their motivations in the work that they do?

Interviewee 06

The motivations? Erm local prestige is and sense of place is clearly incredibly important and there's a tale to tell and a pride in the location certainly on the visits that I've done you are I regularly hear the local worthy who did some great things so there's obviously a real pride in that sense of place and that real desire or the belief that the story isn't being kept by institutionalised heritage I suppose we tried to give this stuff to the museum and they didn't want it and this is really important it's not being recognised so that sense of untold narrative I don't want to use victim status but's it's an untold narrative it's not being institutionally recognised and that gives that democratic aspect the citizen archivists. So there's there's there's that sense and I think also I think for the the volunteers or the community archivists themselves them and their absolute labour for love and passion and this sense of wellbeing and purpose that they share with many archive volunteers and others engaged in the sector that they get from it so I think that sense of place that sense of not being recognised and a lack of recognition of their story and that sense of erm personal accomplishment and the passion of individuals which brings us to one of the other key areas of community archives their vulnerability. Once that passionate individual passes and the sustainability of these things erm so yeah we see that.

Victoria

I have observed myself in my own kind of area this this the potential for antagonism between community archives and institutions because of this sense that the value placed on material is different. The archive doesn't want it they don't respect us they don't think well of us we're not important enough therefore we will keep that material. And so I wondered on a more national level how these community archives respond to you as a figure of authority from [named institution]?

Interviewee 06

It's… I think always I've always experienced… it's always been some of the most enjoyable work because the welcoming and warm reception that you all get and actually like that how appreciated I don't know that moment to share that local story with somebody whose come from [named archival institution] whose come from London cos when you're in the middle of Cornwall or Devon incredibly remote places it can take a long time to get down there. So I think the appreciation first of all that you made the effort even if you do come from [named archival institution] that you've made the effort to go out there. It gets trickier when those when those concerns are voiced well it doesn't happen that much it's usually the local museum but the local record office haven't helped us with this that's tricky as these are relationships I'm very close to but generally it's been incredibly welcoming incredibly open and I think it comes from that relationship that this contact with us has come as a recommendation from the HLF so go and speak [named archival institution] because they're there to help and I think what has always gone down very well and which works well is we do this with all the organisations we work with is pinning together and the end result of many of these meetings is getting that small institutions to be plugged into that wider sector so you're thinking of creating your archive of your local hero or whoever do you know actually all their personal

papers are held at Gloucestershire record office you may want to speak to them see whether you could do something they could maybe offer your advice or you could do a joint exhibition or you could do something like that or have you thought about joining ARCHON when ARCHON was Finding Archives as it is now. Have you to spoken to your local record office? So I think those areas that's the ultimate result in many cases of us talking to community archives is trying to plug them into that national network and that going back to sector clarity its actually plugging them into the wider sector which they probably they may not because they're very narrowly focused be a aware of how they actually fit in to the wider landscape. Have you heard of the ARA [Archives and Records Association]? No we haven't heard of it. Or the south west Fed [Federation] of museums and galleries which we work with quite a lot to reach many of these smaller organisations so erm so yeah that is a very warm reception but the ultimate aim is to try and plug into that wider…[unfinished sentence].

Victoria

One opinion I have heard expressed is that community archives are a fad and I wondered to what extent you see them having a long future of really becoming part of archival provision?

Interviewee 06

I think erm I think it would be naïve to say they were a fad because they've been around a long time and there are multimillion pound investments that have been made of lottery public money into their foundation so I think some will fade away I think some are unsustainable inevitably as they usually rely on the impassioned whoever person but I don't think they're a fad though and I think really already you're seeing the integration or the greater integration of them within the archive network coming from both directions so obviously what they did in West Yorkshire with the community archive accreditation scheme what they're doing in Cornwall with the Cornish Archive Network which is record office at the very centre, the centre of the wheel the spokes going out to these hundreds and hundreds of community groups and archives really being integrated into more of a framework and infrastructure there that provides more collective and sustainable advice and guidance etc etc. so I definitely think they're going to be here to stay I think there will be increasing integration I think arguably with the retraction of public funds and the squeezing of parts of the sector they are likely to grow in importance in certain areas and the availability through groups like the HLF and others of small scale funding for these initiatives I think you'll probably see their proliferation and maybe even their increase. We're not gonna give our collection to our local record office now it's only open 2 and a half days a week when we could actually apply to start our own. So I think you may actually see the increase so I think the opposite I don't think they're a fad I think they're around to stay there are issues with that and it only increases the need for greater integration because I think the key challenges being where they have been seen as a fad and people haven't engaged with them so you have uncontrolled collecting and from a corporate point of view and what would keep the team at [named archival institution] awake at night is finding public records in the local history centre or heritage centre which should have been collected and no one has been aware of manorial records some of these more statutory controlled collections which have been amassed.

---*End of extract*.

4.2. Extract from preliminary free-text analysis (memo extracted from NVivo, Interview 06)

---Beginning of extract

Interviewee has a clear sense of place within [named archival institution]'s organisational structure. Notes that traditionally the recipients of the sector development work have been local authority archives. Quotes the large number of archives on his patch - which is probably taken from ARCHON - but clarifies that most of his work is with the places of deposit, e.g. the recognised repositories, which hold public records (c. 50).

Uses an analogy of the telephone operator to describe what he means by engagement - a form of facilitation, of bringing people together "who wouldn't otherwise be coming together". This is a rather passive analogy, as it positions [named archival institution] not as an engager but as the middle man who connects engagers together. Assumes a rather neutral position. This conforms to the interviewee's next comment that as an engagement manager he is a "conduit of conversation". Then goes on to describe it as "[named institution] lite" - he is drawing a distinction between the corporate or governmental face of [named archival institutions] and the personal contacts with engagement managers like himself.

Points up the difficulty of collapsing the category of "archives institution" with the category of "archives" and instead offers a collections based criteria for identifying an archival repository, one that doesn't exclude libraries and museums. Noting the geographical differences in archives - lived experience conflicts with the "national network" rhetoric of the strategic documentation.

Starts out very bold with his definition [of archives] and then completely fizzles out. Doesn't use the 'e' word [evidence] but substitutes the idea of contemporary relevance for talking about evidential value. He connects this to practical advocacy conversations with "councillors" (the most frequently referenced people to advocate to by far), and links it to the example of the Hillsborough archive. There is a lot of stuff wrapped up in this Hillsborough example - he calls it a 'traditional example' referencing the way that it has become a touchstone for the archival community, which also has great resonance with councillors and people.

Raises the issue of accreditation and how the standard requires you conform to certain 'tests' as to whether or not you constitute an archive. Appears to say that this can suggest a measure of value when he demurs that just because something can't be accredited, doesn't mean it's not important. (Except, what does it mean then?)

As he begins talking about community archives he breaks off to interpose an anecdote about HLF funding which immediately reasserts the interviewee's expert authority. He is just saying that he works with them a lot, when he interrupts that thought to talk about how often he is asked to advise on community archives' funding applications. The HLF refers community archives to talk to 'the guy at [named archival institution] who can supply some advice cue [interviewee name] [interview name] goes out to community archive'. The construction of these sentences is ironically jovial - 'cue [name redacted]' - but predicated on a power dynamic in which access to HLF funding is linked to the drawing down of expertise from TNA. Creates a sort of dependency?

Interviewee then goes on to say that the 'enthusiasm' of community archives is 'fantastic' and that professionalism is a spectrum. He draws in the issue of ethics, and gives a longish

example of how community archive activity could be - by implication - unethical or unsustainable. E.g. he follows up how fantastic enthusiasm is with what he perceives to be a key failure. The way he expresses this failure is interesting. He says that some community archives are 'going hell for leather scanning photographs and things' but without any long term plans for sustaining either the digital surrogates or the originals, which are under threat of 'Maureen's shed going up in flames'.

He then expresses several related anxieties - first that community archives are "ungoverned unregulated unmapped" (an unusual instance of rhetorical three in his interview, that stacks concerns quite dramatically) and so have been outside the influence of [named archival institution] (because, presumably, [named archival institution] can only work in an environment that is governable?). Second, that community archives have previously been the purview of CADG and ARA, and out with the sector development function. Would be useful to investigate the development of this apparent distinction further.

Speaks eloquently about the motivations of community archives, but at the end of his answer turns all of the positivity on its head by asserting that it "brings us to one of the other key areas of community archives their vulnerability." This effectively links many of the qualities of community archives with issues of sustainability and vulnerability. "Once that passionate individual passes..." - seems to link membership of community archives with imminent death!

Spatial power dynamics - draws a distinction between London (his point of origin) and rural Cornwall (where he has imagined the community archive to be). There is a taste of 'gratefulness' about being visited from on high in his comments about how appreciated his visits are - echoes of the visiting dignitary from the capital.
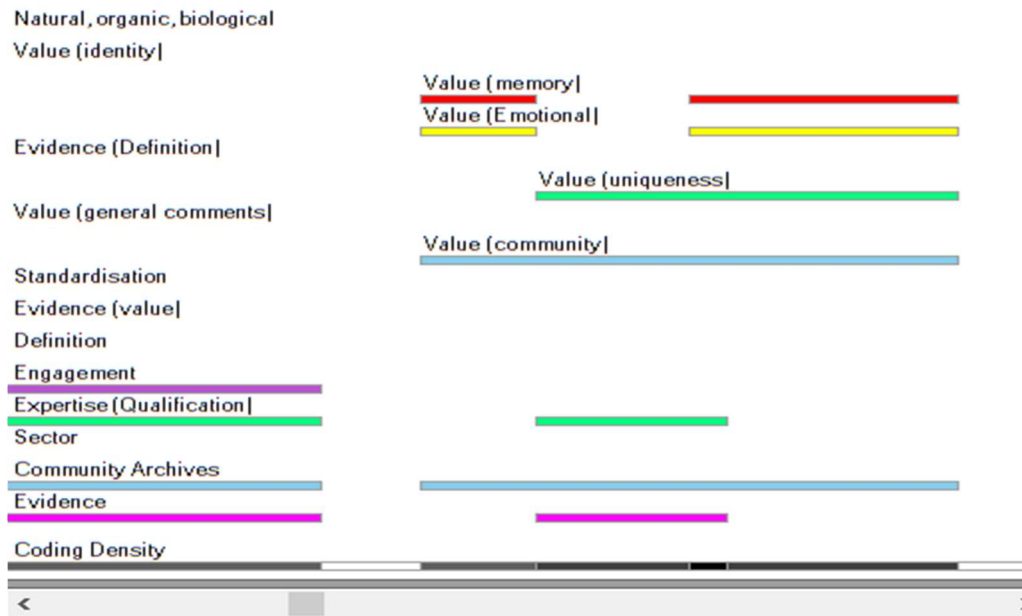
The outcome of visits to community archives is to "plug them in" to the national network of repositories, connecting them to other collections and organisations that might be related to their work. Interviewee links this back to the issue of "sector clarity" but implies that this is not so much about broadening the definition of the sector, but about absorbing as much of the conflicting fuzziness into existing paradigms as possible.   This is born out in the answer to a later question in which he constructs a future for community archives within the "archives network" with record offices as the hubs of the wheels of which CAs are spokes.   This is necessary because a lack of regulation has led to "uncontrolled collecting" and the thought of statutory public records or manorial records in community archives "keep the team at [named archival repository] awake at night."

In the final construction of that same paragraph interviewee opposes two apparently unopposed statements. First "so yeah that is a very warm reception" with "but the ultimate aim is to try and plug into that wider..." As a semantic instance this begs the question of why the "but" links these two in his mind - that the warm reception is all very well but he has an ulterior motive?

In talking about archival value interviewee engages in a significant piece of rhetoric, again engaging rhetorical threes – "not only in the world, not only in their family, but also in terms of society and their relationships with other parts of that society". Again, does not use the 'e' word [evidence] but instead employs 'information' and 'democracy' as partial synonyms, plus 'transparency' and 'accountability'. These are all border terms, associated with the evidential regime of value.

--End of extract

4.3. Example of coded transcript (extracted from NVivo, Interview 06)

Natural, organic, biological

Value (identity)

Value (memory)

Value (Emotional)

Evidence (Definition)

Value (uniqueness)

Value (general comments)

Value (community)

Standardisation

Evidence (value)

Definition

Engagement

Expertise (Qualification)

Sector

Community Archives

Evidence

Coding Density

up in flames and all the photos are lost or whatever else. So these are a lot of the issues I find myself advising both the funders and and the individual groups and I think its I think it's really important but it is an area with which we've struggled to get a real sense of activity it is quite an ungoverned unregulated unmapped part of the sector and some of the work that I'm doing in the south west is to try and lessen that and bridge that gap because we it's not an area we've been particularly close to its been the work of CADG and our colleagues in the ARA it's not an area we've engaged closely with until more recently and I can talk a bit about some of the things that we've been which are emerging now as we speak.

V: We'll stick with the community archives for the moment and go back to sort of the beginning with them, what you have observed to be their motivations in the work that they do?

I: The motivations erm local prestige is and sense of place is clearly incredibly important and there's a tale to tell and a pride in the location certainly on the visits that I've done you are I regularly hear the local worthy who did some great things so there's obviously a real pride in that sense of place and that real desire or the belief that the story isn't being kept by institutionalised heritage I suppose we tried to give this stuff to the museum and they didn't want it and this is really important it's not being recognised so that sense of untold narrative I don't want to use victim status but's it's an untold narrative it's not being institutionally recognised and that gives that democratic aspect the citizen archivists. So there's there's there's that sense and I think also I think for the the volunteers or the community archivists themselves them and their absolute labour for love and passion and this sense of wellbeing and purpose that they share with many archive volunteers and other engaged in the sector that they get from it so I think that sense of place that sense of not being recognised and a lack of recognition of their story and that sense of erm personal accomplishment and the passion of individuals which brings us to one of the other key areas of community archives their vulnerability. Once that passionate individual passes and the sustainability of these things erm so yeah we see that.

5   Data Sample (Transcription and Analysis) Participatory Action Research

5.1. Example of research field notes (memo extracted from NVivo, LGBTQ+ Archive project)

--Beginning of extract

Tuesday August 22, 2017

LGBTQ+ Project Meeting 2**,** 6.30pm-8.00pm

6.30pm-8.00pm, Brierley Room, York Explore

Attendees: Me, GM1 and GM2.

The workshop was advertised via the York LGBT Forum newsletter and the York LGBT History month Facebook page, following the discussion I had had with the Forum committee at their meeting in June. Prior to the event four people who were unable to attend got in touch with me keen to be involved. As this was an open event to find out more information people may have been unwilling to commit to it.

I took the following notes immediately after the meeting – between 8.10pm and 9.05 pm while I waited for the train - but I didn't audio record the session. Firstly, because I didn't have GM1 and GM2's consent to participate at the outset. Secondly, because I didn't feel it was necessary given the planning context. The notes that I took immediately afterwards are a reflection both of what was discussed during the meeting and my immediate thoughts and feelings about themes that were emerging. I have transcribed them verbatim below (a photograph of the originals is also in the project file) and then added additional comments that have emerged on reflection.

_____

- Gave GM1 & GM2 participant info sheet and they signed consent forms.

- Talked about what PAR is, why I'm a participant and a researcher, what the outputs of the project will be.

- Both active members of LGBTQ+ community groups.

- GM1 has significant personal archive, including organisational papers of LGBT Forum and their own diaries "from aged 13." I assumed they had LGBT content, specifically lesbian, because they mentioned having considered giving them to Glasgow Women's Libraries' Lesbian Archive. But they corrected me by giving a short history of their life up to 1986 as an "asexual loner", before meeting their partner and becoming a "political lesbian". This made me think of authority files and specifically the terminologies that are used to lock things down. GM1 said they chose not to deposit at GWL because they "saw their storage" and didn't feel it was good enough.

- GM1 asked a lot of questions about what the archive (York City) "would want" and gave some examples that suggested what they would want – minutes, accounts – and things they wouldn't, e.g. event reports, original feedback forms from 'Free to be Me' sessions. May suggest the impact of their previous contact with the Gateway project. They didn't specifically say they disagreed with the value assessments but also didn't agree. Their tone suggested in particular the value ascribed to 'Free to be me'.

- GM2 specifically said "the community should decide" what is valuable. They gave examples of things like posters and flyers, like a CHE [Campaign for Sexual Equality] disco poster from the 1980s that might seem inconsequential to wider York history but imp. to LGBT. They also introduced the value of intangible heritage, like "personal stories" and referenced the LGBT exhibition at the Castle Museum (to mark the 60th anniversary of the decriminalisation of sex between men.) They collected "speakers" from 1970s onwards and had recordings in the exhibition.

- GM1 raised the issue of data protection – an issue the LGBT forum is aware of because they have a new policy for it. They said specifically that "some people don't want their names out there" but that's often "where the value is." I talked about DP legislation as it relates to archives. They talked about their diaries and asked if they "should wait until I'm dead." I said it was up to her. Throughout the discussion GM1 was looking for advice for appropriate ways, rather than having fixed ideas about what they did and didn't want.

- I raised the issue of terminologies and sensitivities – neither GM2 nor GM1 really ran with that one at the time but seemed to accept it as an issue.

- We talked about funding and potential for collaboration. I mentioned the possibilities of HLF funding and described the different grant schemes. We talked about other projects in the region, and how we might work together. We talked about the practicalities of a grant and I said I would be happy to write it but would want to be collaborative by design. LGBT Forum and History month might be partners. Events in History month in February.

- Agreed next step would be a workshop with an agenda of themes, discussion points and decisions to be made. 26th Sept. Noted the imp. of not clashing with other LGBT meetings in the city (Weds and Thurs).

- Showed them the archive store [at York Explore] very briefly. GM1 didn't like the design but said it was "much better" that the GWL. There was a moment when they touched the cemetery records and seemed visibly moved. GM1 asked about the codes on the boxes, assuming they were to do with the dates of the documents. I explained "hierarchical" cataloguing and series referencing, which I felt resistant to do. I was struck by how quickly the conversation cast me back into archivist mode.

- After the meeting we walked most of the way 'home' (railways station) together and I hugged them both on parting. (I had hugged GM2 in greeting as well.)

Wednesday, August 23, 2017

Since the meeting last night I have noted several things as emerging from the discussion we had.

1. There might be several LGBTQI+ organisations in the city (LGBT Forum, History Month, Pride, Mesmac) but they are staffed by a relatively small number of people. This fragmentation is interesting, and I'm not sure why it is. Possibly something formal to do with charity rules, types or objects of each organisation. But why doesn't the Forum do Pride and History month? Why separate bodies? It creates administrative complexity, but it's a system that seems to make sense to the community. It makes it difficult for institutions to communicate effectively though, because you end up contacting lots of places but the same people in different capacity. It's a landscape that is easiest navigated from inside and when individuals are personally known to you.

2. There is an expectation that authority/institutions want to interact with the community within parameters that are known to them but not clear to the community. Hence GM1's attitude of "what do you want?" (Associating me with the institution, at least for the moment).

3. There is a nexus of issues around privacy, public identities and data protection, which is also a tension between the desire to be seen and recognised and an underlying misgiving about full disclosure.

4. We didn't talk about audiences or why people might be interested in using an LGBTQI+ archive but GM2 did point out "it seems to be flavour of the month at the moment" (in the context of funding given to LGBT projects by HLF) and it would be useful to explore any conflict around the co-option of LGBT archival and heritage work to fulfil diversity criteria or tick boxes.

--End of extract

5.2. Transcription extract from workshop/focus group (Hungate Histories)

--Beginning of extract

Research Session 2, 6th May 2016

Catherine: Well I found in previous sessions that I spent half an hour reading one document so this time I'm basically photographing them and then I'll read them at home [laughs] at my leisure. That way I go through more things.

Victoria: Sometimes it's hard to know what you're looking at without...because you can look at something in a lot of detail and you can look at it for a long time but you don't have a sense of...

Dave: You miss it, you miss what you're looking at.

Catherine: The context of what it's related to.

Richard: That's true.

Sue: It looked like a census but it wasn't. I didn't understand that bit.

[Dave asks when the censuses were in the early 1900s. Victoria answers 1901 and 1911.]

Dave: Something was going on around that time. A lot of the pubs were being taken over by the health agency or something like that. [*Dave was particularly interested in pubs during the research sessions.*]

[*In the background two members of the group are having a conversation about their own health, prompted by a discussion of the archives*.]

Victoria: Looking at these records you don't always get a sense of what is going on in the wider world, you know, it would be interesting to know when the major flooding is between 1900 and 1930s and whether or not that prompts action because you know like when we have big floods these days immediately the Council kind of gets on something and it would interesting to know if that's the same here if there's something that pushes them into doing something.

Richard: You've got a great picture in your archive. Me and Dave were looking at it, taken from Lime Street the corner shop looking down Hungate and it's got that picture on the wall hasn't it that says 'this is not owned by the corporation'.

Dave: Oh yeah yeah.

Richard: A sign on the wall.

Archivist: I think it means the street's not been adopted.

Victoria: Not been purchased?

Archivist: No no the road. Highways. I can't remember the wording but it's something like this street has not been taken over by the Corporation.

Richard: Yeah. It's very interesting.

Dave: It means to me it's private land.

Archivist: I think it's like today when the owners of houses are responsible for maintaining the street and the drains.

Dave: Like the Rowntree Trust and things.

Victoria: Round where I live rurally there's quite a lot of unadopted highway where you're responsible for tarmacking it and fixing potholes and all that.

Archivist: Councils had a way of adopting to if it suited their purposes and not adopting it if it didn't. It's one of the problems with modern housing estates, so when they are building new

developments the Council has to adopt it and if the Council says no we won't adopt it then the people who've bought the new build houses are responsible for all the bad drains and things and you don't really think about it being a problem but it can be.

Victoria: I think something that Helen had said in her you know if the blog post she said about what's really interesting is that the extent to which it doesn't seem like the Council knows who owns what who's responsible for what like this is in a way their own attempt at taking control of what is I guess a really like complicated and higgledy-piggledy arrangement where properties are owned by all sorts of people.

Richard: Yeah like we came across that in the archives last week where Councils were writing letters to people saying do you know any previous occupants let us know because they had no idea.

Dave: They were writing to the occupants but not the landlords cos they were trying to figure out who the landlords was. [laughs]

Victoria: Yeah. I noticed in your Garden Place spreadsheet that it looked as though a lot of the properties were owned by the same person. Like blocks of ownership.

Catherine: Yeah yeah. This is one thing I'm sort of trying to work through for those properties. Who owned them and who lived in them? Erm yeah things like that.

Archivist: Last week we had that one where it was owned by a woman in New Earswick. Was it two or just one? Why would she have a New Earswick house if she already owned property?

Catherine: I don't think that was part of mine.

Dave: There's also this thing that I found out when I was doing this thing about the railways a couple of years ago is you had where the landlord or a person who owns the land owned the land but you can build on it and rent it to the god knows who and forty years later no one knows who built it. Everyone just washed their hands of it including the landlord 'it's nothing to do with me'. That's the problem they had.

Archivist: And there's no land registration act until 1955 but it didn't actually get done formally till the 70s or the 80s and so there's just no record whatsoever of loads of things.

Dave: This is where you're going back to 1700s and that sort of thing just to find out who owns this piece of land.

Archivist: If you look at the land registry today look at their maps a lot of land isn't coloured in because it hasn't been registered. I was really shocked because the Council own quite a lot but they're selling it off because that's what they do these days.

Dave: They're selling it off if they can flog it. [laughs] I noticed those cottages that are at the top of Hungate yep Bailey's cottages or something...

Catherine: Hewley's, Hewley's alms-houses.

Dave: I talked to a guy who was there. *[Dave had been walking around Hungate with Richard the previous day.]* They're actually owned by the York Archaeological Trust or something but there's a house or plot next door to it or directly behind...

Victoria: Hiscox?

Dave: No.

Victoria: Priors?

Dave: Yeah Priors which is Hungate. There's one area and he said yeah that's owned by the Council. What the hell are they going to do with it? It's 12ft by about 12ft behind Priors behind Hungate.

Archivist: But who'd buy it? It'd only get sold if someone wants to develop it and then they'd need permission so...

Dave: Basically it's set in the middle of nowhere.

Archivist: There's a whole team of people whose job it is to keep track of all that it's crazy. It's interesting what you were saying about how it's not as useful looking at occupants because they change so quickly.

Dave: Oh yeah…

Archivist [talking over Dave]: So you're looking at things that are more stable. People might have stayed in the same area but they might move house every year.
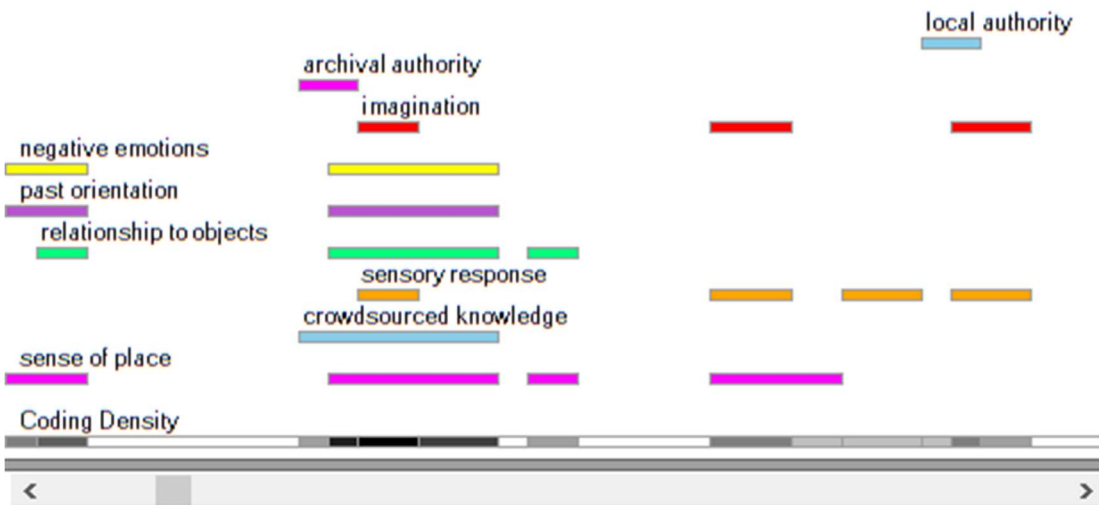
Dave: I'm not sure if when they were doing the yearly record it was just whoever owned up to living there.

Archivist: You mean the electoral rolls?

Dave: The electoral rolls, yeah. Did they just find who they catch in and say what's your name blah blah blah? [Archivist starts to talk over Dave.]

--End of extract

5.3. Extract from coded transcript (extracted from NVivo, Hungate Histories)

local authority

archival authority

imagination

negative emotions

past orientation

relationship to objects

sensory response

crowdsourced knowledge

sense of place

Coding Density

Sue: I've always thought that I wanted to go back in time and live in York but I wouldn't want to do it now. I also read something that they had to get the gas van, the fumigator.

[Sue's comment about the fumigator takes the conversation away from Victoria's question, on to the gas towers in Hungate.]

Richard: There were a couple of reports concerning the gas works and how many alerts they had for gas leaks around housing and things like that. There was a fair bit of it.

Dave: It was leaking....

Richard: Well I was just reading this thing today that I'd never come across before but I just found it on my phone and they talk about Hungate and they're talking about all the brick yards and things like that yeah and they were saying that the dust from the brickyards and from the flour mills just fell you know just like snow from the sky so covered in that and the slaughterhouses they were just filth ridden traps they were disgustingly horrible that itself was a health hazard.

Victoria: Yeah when you look at garden place ironically named because it's not is it but there's a slaughterhouse right opposite a grocer's shop.

Richard: Yeah.

Sue: Yeah yeah.

Victoria: And then I was looking at the slaughterhouse that 1933 schedule for businesses? It says the slaughterhouse has a room for cattle, a room for pigs and a room for sheep so they're obviously bringing animals in probably through the street.

Dave: Well Stonebow was the big thoroughfare.

Richard: The thing I'm just reading when it says about slaughterhousing it says that the stench is that bad you can smell it thoroughout every street you know.

Dave: Remembering again around this time what was York known for? Was it chocolate? No it was tanneries. What do tanneries use? Skins and urine. So you can imagine you've got various tanneries and then you've got open air butchers in Hungate...

[Dave continues to talk about this in the background. Both Richard and Dave are animated by this part of the conversation.]

List of Abbreviations

AHD	-	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AHRC	-	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ARA	-	Archives and Records Association
CAAP	-	Community Access to Archives Project
CADG	-	Community Archives Development Group
CAHG	-	Community Archives and Heritage Group
CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CYC	-	City of York Council
DCMS	-	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
Explore	-	Explore York Libraries and Archives
FOYCA	-	Friends of York City Archives
HLF	-	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICA	-	International Council on Archives
MLA	-	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
OED	-	Oxford English Dictionary
PRO	-	Public Record Office (now TNA)
RCHM	-	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
TNA	-	The National Archives for the UK Government, and England and Wales
WYHC	-	West Yorkshire History Centre
YPP	-	York Past and Present Facebook group

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