RESHAPING THE ARCHIVE:
EXHIBITION AS A MECHANISM FOR CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Reshaping the Archive: Exhibition as a mechanism for change

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This thesis examines the recent phenomenon of physical exhibition-making within archives. It investigates how physical exhibitions are conceived and made in archives and their role in reimagining new ways for audiences to experience archival collections. Situated within a context of increasing digitisation, declining onsite visits to archives and progressively reduced finances, the research more broadly considers the role of exhibition in wider restructurings of archival spaces and organisations. It examines how and why archivists seek to transform the physical experience of being in public archives, thereby making archives more relevant and meaningful to people's lives.

The research uses an interdisciplinary methodology and develops a theoretical framework which draws on the spatial and phenomenological ideas of Henri Lefebvre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to re-examine archival exhibition practice. The research comprises a broad, international survey of exhibition practice and two detailed case studies. The thesis makes a contribution to knowledge by developing understanding around archive exhibition, based upon a broad yet detailed body of research findings and an innovative theoretical and methodological approach; and has potential impact both in terms of archival theory and practice.

The thesis argues that existing discussions of exhibition within archival literature are largely framed through a discourse of justification; whilst exhibition is principally conceived as a form of outreach. Drawing across a whole range of recent archival practice, the thesis shows that exhibition is, rather, part of a pluralising of experience that recognises distinct and diverse audiences and uses. In this sense, exhibition is understood not only as a form of promotion but also as a means of encounter and as a site of discussion and debate. Moreover, the thesis proposes wider implications for the space of the archive as a cultural venue and meeting place.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGMA	Association of Greater Manchester Authorities
ARA	Archives and Records Association (UK and Ireland)
BFI	British Film Institute
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BRA	British Records Association
CIPFA	The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
DCMS	Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport
GMCRO	Greater Manchester County Record Office
HLF	Heritage Lottery Fund
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ILFA	Inspiring Learning for All
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MALS	Manchester Archives and Local Studies
MCC	Manchester City Council
MLA	Museums, Libraries and Archives Council
MLFHS	Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society
NCA	National Council on Archives
NCTR	National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation
NWFA	North West Film Archive
PSQG	Public Services Quality Group
TNA	The National Archives, UK
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

VOC	*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company)
VoIP	Voice over Internet Protocol

INTRODUCTION

This research aims to understand how archivists, curators and designers are reimagining how visitors physically experience the archive. Within a context of increasing digitisation and declining onsite visitor numbers, the research is concerned with how archivists consider what it means to 'be in the archive'. More than simply broadening and diversifying audiences, the question concerns the *kind* of experience that the onsite visitor can have. Key to the investigation is an understanding of what is specific to archives themselves that can be harnessed in this process of change.

To do this, the research examines the role of physical exhibitions within the specific context of the archive. As I will show below, the archival literature has not, to any great extent, analysed the potential role of exhibitions in engaging audiences. I aim to develop this conversation further by asking, firstly, how archivists and designers conceive exhibitions, their value and purpose. Secondly, how do they use exhibitions to create meaningful encounters with archives? What are the influences on, and the implications of such decisions? More broadly, the research asks what role exhibitions play in wider reshapings of the archive. In other words, how do broader spatial and organisational changes (of which exhibition is a part), suggest a reformulation of how archives themselves are understood as being (more) relevant, meaningful and vital within society?

To investigate these questions, the research draws across several disciplines including archival science, museum studies, library studies, anthropology, phenomenology, philosophy and architecture to consider how experience is considered within the archive. The research uses Henri Lefebvre's theory of *social space* and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's theory of *embodiment* and *'being-in-the-world'* to help frame an understanding of 'lived' experience within the archive. The thesis employs a qualitative research design, using firstly a broad but detailed survey of archival institutions to examine approaches to exhibition across the sector and the broad themes arising from such activity. Secondly, the research uses two in-depth case studies – Archives+ in Manchester and the Royal Library in Copenhagen – to investigate these questions within real settings and to produce rich and detailed findings.

Definitions and Scope

The term 'archive' is complex to define since it is subject to broad concepts and discussions that have resulted in shifts of meaning.[1] Although there are variations and (an increasing) fluidity between them, distinctions can be drawn within archival theory between 'documents', 'records' and 'archives': documents hold information (communicated knowledge) and thus have content and structure, but lack context; whereas records are generated through contextual transactions. Archives are those records which have ongoing value.[2] Within a postmodern understanding of archival theory, this definition becomes increasingly complex; Tom Nesmith introduces a degree of ongoing understanding to a seemingly static definition of both archives and records, for example.[3] Furthermore, interest in the archive across other disciplines has led to broader, more metaphorical definitions as a way of conceptualising knowledge and memory, for instance.[4] These shifting concepts will be discussed in more detail later; here, it is helpful to provide a brief definition of how I am using the term.

For the purposes of this research, the term 'archive' is used in two ways: firstly, it refers to preserved documented and recorded information about the past (irrespective of age and medium); and thus, the terms 'document', 'record' and 'archive' are used interchangeably. In this definition, archives are typically textual, but may also include maps, plans, photographs and illustrations, for example.

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[1] For a discussion of the complexity of definitions themselves within an archival context, see Sue McKemmish, 'Traces: Document, record, archive, archives', in Sue McKemmish et al. (eds), *Archives: recordkeeping in society* (Wagga Wagga: Charles Sturt University, 2005), pp.1-20; Geoffrey Yeo, 'Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations', *The American Archivist*, 70 (2007), pp.315-43 (pp.315-9); David Thomas, 'Introduction', in David Thomas et al., *The Silence of the Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), pp.xix-xxvi (pp.xx-xxi).

[2] See Caroline Williams, *Managing Archives: Foundations, Principles and Practice* (Oxford: Chandos Publishing, 2006), pp.3-15. Laura Millar does not make such a clean distinction between documents and records; for her definitions of archives, see *Archives: Principles and Practice* (London: Facet Publishing, 2010), pp.1-5.

[3] Tom Nesmith, 'Reopening Archives: Bringing New Contextualities into Archival Theory and Practice', *Archivaria*, 60 (2005), pp.259-74 (p.262).

[4] For an overview, see Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Strangely unfamiliar: ideas of the archive from outside the discipline', in Jennie Hill (ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping* (London: Facet Publishing, 2011) pp.37-62; see also Louise Craven, 'From the Archivist's Cardigan to the Very Dead Sheep: What are Archives? What are Archivists? What do They Do?', in Louise Craven (ed.), *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp.7-30 (pp.12-5); Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp.44-6; Michelle Caswell, '"The Archive" is Not An Archives: Acknowledging the Intellectual Contributions of Archival Studies', *Reconstruction*, 16, no.1 (2016) <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7bn4v1fk> [accessed 25 May 2019], para.3.

Secondly, 'archive' refers to the building or repository where these records are kept. The nature of archive repositories varies across the sector. Within the UK a network of publicly-funded national and local archive services exists which holds records of local government at its various levels and which also typically collects records of organisations and individuals within a defined remit, such as geography. These archives may be organised and/or located with other organisations such as museums and libraries, especially those with a local studies responsibility. In addition, archive repositories can also be found in universities, where the records of the organisation may be held alongside collected records and special collections of manuscript, early printed and otherwise rare books. All of these archives usually offer some form of public access to visitors. Archives are also held privately, for example by businesses and charities, and here the archive is an internal body whose main function is to serve the needs of the organisation; in some cases, public access may be made available. Archival holdings can also be found in libraries which have a special collections remit, as well as museums and galleries.

For this research, I am concerned with how archives provide experiences to visitors and I therefore focus on public archives: principally national, local, university and some specialist archives such as those in museums, as well as libraries holding rare books and special collections. Where reference is specifically made to local authority archives, the term 'record office' is occasionally employed. Whilst the research is understood within a UK context, the case studies and examples draw on archives and libraries both within and outside the UK. Although institutions abroad may have contrasting national and sectoral contexts, their importance for this study lies in how they seek to engage their visitors with archival material.

The research is also concerned with innovative forms of display and, in this sense, draws on a wider range of archives, including those of businesses; as well as archive exhibitions held in other locations. Again, what matters here are the ideas and techniques that are being used and how these are designed to engage visitors (which in this context may include both internal and external audiences).

Throughout the thesis, the terms 'user', 'visitor' and 'audience' are generally employed interchangeably to refer to people who interact with archives. Whilst it may be possible to distinguish between 'users' to archive search rooms and 'visitors' to archive

exhibitions, this is unhelpful largely because it presupposes certain degrees of agency or passivity. Furthermore, it is important to recognise that terms such as 'user', 'client' and 'citizen' indicate broader social definitions; as Kenny Cupers writes, the term 'user' is one that has been 'socially constructed' within wider social and economic trends.[5] Within the context of the archive, Caroline Williams broadens the definition of user to encompass all stakeholders in an archive.[6] In acknowledging these conversations, where it is necessary to define a particular type of user, an alternative and appropriate term (such as 'citizen') is used.

The thesis is concerned with how archivists develop exhibitions in order to create meaningful experiences for visitors; and this opens the question of what is meant by 'meaning' and by 'experience'. Louise Craven draws on literary theory and cultural psychology to define a relationship between archives, use and personal notions of culture and identity;[7] and this is a useful starting point to think about what happens when a person experiences an archive. But the thesis takes a broader perspective that also uses a phenomenological interpretation of encountering archives; and an understanding of social relationships predicated on the mediating role of space.[8] In this sense, 'meaning' and 'experience' are closely tied to each other and involve overlapping phenomenological, spatial, social and personal contexts. These are themes that will be discussed in more detail later.

Plan of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. Chapter One provides a contextual overview of the archival sector today and offers a rationale for the research, arguing why this discussion has urgency. In Chapter Two I examine how exhibition has been discussed by archivists and identify the limitations in the conversation thus far. Here, I argue that the discussion has largely remained confined to an established discourse concerning the merits of exhibition as a form of outreach and learning; and has been unable to articulate any broader understanding of how exhibitions can be designed to reshape new

[5] Kenny Cupers, 'Introduction', in Kenny Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an alternative history of architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.2.
[6] Williams, *Managing Archives*, p.133.
[7] Craven, 'What are Archives?', p.17.
[8] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, David Nicholson-Smith (trans.), (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

experiences for visitors. This chapter also relates the discussion of exhibitions to broader trends in historiography and archival thinking and thus provides a contextual overview of how theory has shaped the conversation over time.

Having argued for a need to develop the conversation around exhibitions, I turn in Chapter Three to new ways of conceiving experience within the archive. Here, I place the conversation within broader contexts of archival space and encounters with archival material. This conversation is designed to provide a new frame through which to consider a discussion of exhibitions. This framework outlines the theories of Henri Lefebvre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to help think about experience within the archive, and critiques existing work discussing archival space and materiality. In Chapter Four I explain my methodology for the research and how this sits within trends of archival science. The following three chapters discuss the research findings in detail. Chapter Five examines the themes and issues arising from the survey of archives; whilst Chapters Six and Seven discuss the two case studies: Archives+ in Manchester; and the Royal Library in Copenhagen. The final chapter draws across the whole thesis to provide conclusions relating to the role of exhibitions within the archive today.

CHAPTER ONE

RATIONALE

Working for over ten years in the search room of a local authority record office in the English Midlands, I noticed how the ways in which people used the archive seemed to change. The search room was very busy when I started in the early 2000s; microfiche machines would be fully booked and there were many readers consulting original documents. But over time, this changed: the microfiche machines, once popular with genealogists, became less well used. People seemed more interested in accessing records online: the kinds of enquiries we received turned more to using websites and searching remotely for information. We acquired computers and subscriptions to popular genealogy websites, and these were regularly in use; but there were still fewer people. Meanwhile, the consultation of original records became popular: more people wanted access; they also wanted to see more records. We seemed to be retrieving more documents than we had before. Yet overall, the search room was quieter: there were fewer people; some days there was barely anyone in at all.

I also became increasingly aware of *how* people used the archive. Not just how they used it: how they were *expected* to use it too. We would always ask the visitor what they wanted to look at; what they wanted to find out. They needed a reason for visiting, a purpose to fulfil. They needed to sign our visitors' book; show identification and get a reader's ticket; navigate indexes and catalogues. I often wondered about people who did not want to use archives in this way: how might they choose to experience archives? How could we excite and interest people who had never thought of archives before? We ran an active learning and events programme: public talks, group visits, exhibitions, open days and events. How might these activities be repurposed in new ways?

* * *

The experience of being in the public archive appears to be changing. The archive is typically understood as a research institution; for those with public access, the search room is commonly the main way that users can access archival records.[1] But the way in which this happens appears to be in flux, and here I argue that these changes are largely

[1] I discuss the research role of the archive in more detail below.

driven by technology, alongside political and financial influences. In turn, such changes generate new questions in terms of how the space of the archive might be conceived and understood.

Technological developments, from the typewriter to the telephone, photocopiers to computers, have long had significant effects on how archives are created, managed and understood.[2] The role that computers can play in the archive and the profession has been an important discussion for both archivists and researchers since at least the 1960s.[3] By the late 1980s, computer technology was becoming increasingly widespread and there was a growing expectation among users for this sort of technology to be readily available.[4] Since the 1990s, technology has had a clear role in setting the agenda for archives. Within the sector, the importance of born-digital records and electronic recordkeeping have driven both theoretical and practical change.[5] Meanwhile, the formation of automated finding aids, online gateways and increasing digitisation has been understood in terms of widening access. This was heavily shaped

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[2] John Ridener, *From Polders to Postmodernism: A Concise History of Archival Theory* (Duluth, MN: Litwin Books, 2008), pp.158-9; Arthur Schlesinger Jr., 'On the Writing of Contemporary History', *The Atlantic*, March 1967, <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1967/03/on-the-writing-of-contemporary-history/305731/> [accessed 25 March 2019].

[3] For an overview, see Helen Forde, 'Archives and Success – let's keep going!', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 24, no.2 (2003), pp.133-9 (p.134); and Jenny Bunn, 'Archival description and automation: a brief history of going digital', *Archives and Records*, 37, no.1 (2016), pp.65-78. An early discussion of computers in archives is given in Michael Cook, *Archives and the Computer* (London: Butterworth and Co., 1980).

[4] John Walford et al., 'Introducing computers to the record office: theory and practice', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 9, no.1 (1988), pp.21-9 (pp.22-3). The National Council on Archives' (NCA) 1998 position paper *Archives On-Line* noted that the sector 'risks becoming progressively less visible to users as the Internet becomes increasingly the public's, and especially the research community's tool of choice for research discovery': National Council on Archives, *Archives On-Line: The Establishment of a United Kingdom Archival Network* ([n.pl.], 1998), p.9. NCA was established in 1988 to represent and lobby for the sector; it merged with the Association of Chief Archivists in Local Government and the Society of Archivists to form the Archives and Records Association (UK and Ireland) (ARA) in 2010. See National Council on Archives, *About NCA: What We Do,* 2010 <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110909164410/ http://www.nca.org.uk/about_nca/what_we_do/> [accessed 21 May 2019].

[5] See, for example, David Bearman and Margaret Hedstrom, 'Reinventing Archives for Electronic Records: Alternative Service Delivery Options', in Margaret Hedstrom (ed.), *Electronic Records Management Program Strategies* (Pittsburgh: Archives and Museum Informatics, 1993), pp.82-98; Terry Cook, 'What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift', *Archivaria*, 43 (1997), pp.17-63 (pp.40-3); Eric Ketelaar, 'Time future contained in time past: archival science in the 21st century', *Journal of the Japan Society for Archival Science*, 1 (2004), pp.20-35; Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives in the Digital Age: New Uses for an Old Science', *Archives & Social Studies: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 1, no.0 (2007), pp.167-91; on technology and post-custodialism, see F. Gerald Ham, 'Archival Strategies for the Post-Custodial Era', *The American Archivist*, 44, no.3 (1981), pp.207-16; and on technology and standards, see Bunn 'Archival description and automation', pp.72-3. This is a vast area of study and suffice to say there is only room to provide a small number of citations.

by political drivers, notably the *Modernising Government* White Paper introduced by the Labour government in 1999, which influenced the development of electronic resources for recordkeeping and archival access and promotion.[6] The Archives Task Force, a government-commissioned review of archive provision whose report was published in 2004, identified an online national archive network as a key tool in helping archives to support government agendas, including 'social inclusion, citizenship and social justice';[7] likewise the National Council on Archives' (NCA) 2005 publication *Giving Value* noted how online services could help support such policy initiatives.[8]

In 2004, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) produced a report investigating the use and non-use of archives and, whilst recognising the paucity and fragmentary nature of data relating to archive audiences, nevertheless concluded that the public use of archives (onsite or 'reader' visits) was growing. This growth was being driven by an increasing interest in genealogy; responses to government agenda concerning lifelong learning and social inclusion; and changes to the National Curriculum.[9] Interestingly, the report concluded that developments in ICT were likely

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[6] See Caroline Williams, 'Introduction', in Caroline Williams (ed.), *Archives in the UK and the Government Agenda* (Liverpool: LUCAS, 2002), pp.5-7 (p.5); Sarah Tyacke, 'E-government and Archives: Issues and Impacts', in Caroline Williams (ed.), *Archives in the UK and the Government Agenda* (Liverpool: LUCAS, 2002), pp.8-22 (p.12); Margaret Procter, 'Protecting rights, asserting professional identity', *Archives and Records*, 38, no.2 (2017), pp.296-309 (p.298). For the sector's response, see UK Government, *Government Policy on Archives* ([n.pl.], 1999). Legislative drivers such as Data Protection and Freedom of Information also began to influence the sector at this time.

[7] Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, *Listening to the Past, Speaking to the Future: Report of the Archives Task Force* (London, 2004), p.28. The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) was established in 2000 as Resource, a non-departmental public organisation with responsibility 'to promote improvement and innovation in the area of museums, libraries and archives'. It was renamed in 2004 and abolished in 2012 with sectoral responsibility for archives transferring to The National Archives (TNA). See UK Government, *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council*, [n.d., c.2010] <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/museums-libraries-and-archives-council> [accessed 21 May 2019].

[8] National Council on Archives, *Giving Value: Funding Priorities for UK Archives 2005-2010* ([n.pl.], 2005), p.5. The contribution of archives to government policy was also reiterated in the Government's updated policy *Archives for the 21st Century*, issued in 2009: HM Government, *Archives for the 21st Century* ([n.pl.]: TSO, 2009).

[9] Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, *Users & Non-Users of Museums, Libraries and Archives* (London, 2004), pp.5-6;48-52. The conclusions in the report used data primarily compiled through the annual Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA) survey of local authority archives; it noted that participation is voluntary and that 'an element of peer pressure is used to secure as high a response rate as possible': p.51; I refer to the unreliability of these data below. The report noted that the usage of local authority archives had increased from 481,075 users in 1996-7 to 853,742 in 2001-2.

to 'increase both the number of people engaging with audiences and the nature of this engagement'.[10]

Here I argue that, in the fifteen years since this survey was conducted, technological changes have continued to play an important role in influencing the sector, and one of its key effects is a reshaping of the space of the archive. Writing in relation to London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), David Luck has detailed how the record office has become a 'mixed archive',[11] holding and providing access to paper records and surrogate copies in other media, as well as digitised records available online. This increasing digital presence has had a considerable effect on use. In discussing changes in user behaviour at LMA over the seven years up to 2015, when several large-scale digitisation projects were carried out, Luck notes a reduction in onsite visits, an increase in the number of documents being produced for visitors to the search room and increased digital traffic.[12]

In Luck's account, then, one of the key effects of digitisation is a consequent reduction in onsite visitors. Although the 2004 MLA report noted a growth in onsite figures, since 2005 this trend appears to have reversed. According to the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) *Taking Part* survey, the assertion that ICT will drive use has largely proven to be correct: overall interest and use of archives has grown, and this growth appears to have been driven by digital access; but physical visits to archives have in fact fallen. *Taking Part* is a national household survey introduced in 2005; it looks at participation within the cultural sector and provides statistical data on archive usage as a proportion of the English adult population. As an ongoing survey, it enables the monitoring of trends over time. The survey shows that the percentage of the

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[10] MLA, *Users & Non-Users*, p.56. The Archives Task Force reported 85 million information requests on TNA websites in 2002/3 and 2.85 million searches and 5.95 million catalogue downloads on the Access to Archives website in 2001, for example: MLA, *Listening to the Past*, p.71.

[11] David Luck, 'Changing access needs in the hybrid archive', *Comma*, 2015, no.2 (2017), pp.39-48 (p.42). For other references to the 'hybrid state' of libraries, see Peter Hernon and Joseph R. Matthews, *Reflecting on the Future of Academic and Public Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 2013), p.16; and David Thomas and Valerie Johnson, 'From the Library of Alexandria to the Google Campus: has the digital changed the way we do research?' in Michael Moss et al. (eds), *Is Digital Different? How information creation, capture, preservation and discovery are being transformed* (London: Facet Publishing, 2015), pp.189-211 (p.197).

[12] Luck, 'Changing access needs', pp.41-4.

population visiting archives in 2005/6 was 5.9 per cent. In 2017/18 this figure had fallen by almost half, to 3.2 per cent[13] (see Table 1).

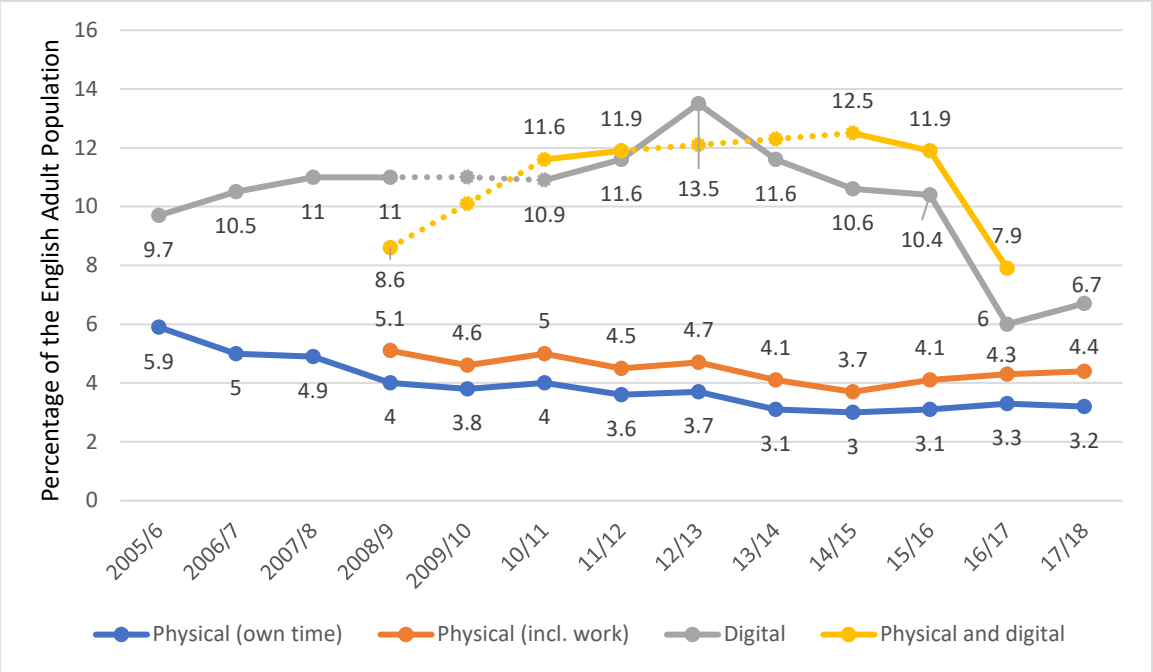

Table 1: Trends in Archive Use, 2005/6 – 2017/18. DCMS, *Taking Part 2017/18*

At the same time, the number of digital users has generally increased from 9.7 per cent of the population in 2005/6 to 13.5 per cent in 2012/13; although there has been a sharp drop in usage to just 6 per cent in 2016/17.[14] Nevertheless, the number of digital users has been consistently higher than onsite visitors.

It is important to recognise that these are general figures; and that some individual archive services in fact report increased growth in numbers.[15] Moreover, a different set

[13] Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, *Taking Part Survey: England: Adult Report, 2017/18* (London: Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, 2018) p.15.
[14] Ibid, p.2. Digital archive use comprises people visiting an archive or record office website largely to view digitised documents online, search a catalogue, find out some information about the archive, or complete a transaction: Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, *Taking Part 2017/18: Digital Engagement, Table 1: Proportion of adults who have engaged digitally with culture in the last 12 months, 2017/18, England* (2018) < https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/736888/17_18_Taking_Part_Digital_Participation.xlsx> [accessed 1 June 2019]. The question asked in the 2016/17 survey was: 'May I ask, in the last 12 months, have you looked at a website or used an app related to any of the following', with one option being 'Archive/record offices' (Email from Alison Reynolds, Assistant Statistician to author, 31 October 2017). It is not clear whether this includes commercial genealogy websites such as Ancestry.co.uk and Findmypast.co.uk, both of which make available for a fee digitised copies of records housed in many archives; consequently, the proportion of the UK population engaging with archives digitally may be higher than the figures quoted here.
[15] Janice Tullock, 'Why Aren't We Talking About Audiences? Archive audiences and how to grow them', lecture delivered at Archives and Records Association Conference, Glasgow (30 August 2018).

of figures produces a more complicated picture. The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA) Archive Service statistics record the number of visitors to local authority archive services and are produced by counting people coming into the archive. According to these data, the total number of visitors to these archives between 2011 and 2017 has grown from one million visitors to just below three million.[16] However, as Janice Tullock comments, these figures are unreliable since they are open to manipulation.[17] They may also include people who are not actually using the archives but may, for instance, be making a delivery to the building.[18] Moreover, statistics from the CIPFA surveys showing the number of visitors to local authority search rooms (namely, for research) indicate that the number of visitors across the same period has in fact fallen. Tullock has shown that the data does not currently exist to explain the difference between these figures.[19]

The data from these different surveys are problematic in that they are not necessarily accurate and are not detailed enough to indicate clear reasons for use. Furthermore, visitor figures do not give 'a true reflection of the depth of engagement'.[20] Yet the implication arising from the general trends within these data is that the archive is arguably becoming an increasingly digital environment in which the physical space of the search room has less relevance. The data suggests a growing interest in archives in themselves, but one further removed from their physicality: as Jerome de Groot writes, the archive has become 'mobile and engaged in various ways'; 'it is both embedded in people's lives and something remote from them materially'.[21]

But there is also a demonstrable effect on the onsite research visit itself. Luck analyses how research visits have changed, noting in particular an increasing trend for visitors to photograph archives which they then research elsewhere. Luck describes activity that is 'more targeted and focussed';[22] he writes: 'LMA is… a place where archive material can be accessed and captured. It is not a place where research actually takes place – that is more likely to occur away from the archive, when the notes and surrogates made

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History: Historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p.76.
[22] Luck, 'Changing access needs', p.44.

at the archives are accessed. Thus the archive is not so much a research centre, but a very clearly defined research point or node'.[23] The user has become 'increasingly distanced from the institution of the archive'.[24]

One practical effect of this change is increased user expectation for instant access, both online and physically, including higher demand for quicker retrieval of physical archives in the search room.[25] In effect, the use of ICT speeds up the process of research, generating a faster 'turn-over' of archival material and shortening the time people spend in the archive. These effects were predicted in the early 1980s by Brenda Collins[26] and, later, by Richard Cox, who concluded that 'Researchers will increasingly want precise hits of full-text documents relevant to their needs at an increasingly faster rate; the last thing they may want to do is to examine records on site… researchers want the most accessible information of the highest quality they can find, suggesting that the usual, more leisurely research in archival repositories might become a thing of the past'.[27]

This argument foregrounds a shift in how the space of the archive is experienced; it suggests that onsite access will become increasingly unnecessary. Luck notes that whilst the 'digitized archive does not exist anywhere, yet' and that the 'mixed media' archive is thus a 'significant and lasting stage', nonetheless this is inevitably what

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[23] Ibid. On how users' searching habits have changed, see David Nicholson and David Clark, 'Finding Stuff', in Michael Moss et al. (eds), *Is Digital Different? How information creation, capture, preservation and discovery are being transformed* (London: Facet Publishing, 2015), pp.19-34. See also William J. Turkel et al., 'A method for navigating the infinite archive', in Toni Weller (ed.), *History in the Digital Age* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.61-75 (pp.61-4); and Tim Gollins and Emma Bayne, 'Finding Archived Records in a Digital Age', in Michael Moss et al. (eds), *Is Digital Different? How information creation, capture, preservation and discovery are being transformed* (London: Facet Publishing, 2015), pp.129-48. On broader trends, especially within libraries, see Hernon and Matthews, *Reflecting on the Future*, pp.14-6.

[24] Luck, 'Changing access needs', p.45. For discussions on changing use, its impact on the role of the archivist and information professional and issues of decontextualization and disintermediation, see Jackie Marfleet, 'Enterprise 2.0 – What's your game plan?', *Business Information Review*, 25, no.3 (2008), pp.152-7; John Cullen, 'Catalyzing innovation and knowledge sharing', *Business Information Review*, 25, no.4 (2008), pp.253-8; Nicole Convery, 'Information management, records management, knowledge management: the place of archives in a digital age', in Jennie Hill (ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping* (London: Facet Publishing, 2011), pp.191-212 (pp. 202-3); Nicholson and Clark, 'Finding Stuff', pp.30-2; Thomas and Johnson, 'Library of Alexandria', pp.189-211; on decontextualization and budget implications, see David Thomas, 'Are Things Getting Better or Worse?', in David Thomas et al., *The Silence of the Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), pp.163-79 (p.171).

[25] Luck, 'Changing access needs', p.46.

[26] Brenda Collins, 'The computer as a research tool', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 7, no.1 (1982), pp.6-12.

[27] Richard J. Cox, 'Access in the Digital Information Age and the Archival Mission: the United States', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 19, no.1 (1998), pp.25-40 (pp.28-9); see also Tyacke, 'E-government', p.14; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.47.

archive services will become.[28] Likewise, Gaël Chenard argues that onsite access should become the normal form of access and the search room the exceptional form.[29] Michael Morris argues that users will no longer need to visit archives and libraries and, whilst they will still exist, there will be 'fewer of them' and will need to 'reinvent themselves' as online service providers.[30]

These apparent shifts in how the space of the archive is experienced, then, seem to result from an increasingly digital environment and a consequent reduction in visitor numbers. This situation becomes increasingly urgent in the light of financial reductions introduced as a result of government austerity from 2010 onwards. Cuts in funding to local government in particular have had serious effects on local authority archives; as Bruce Jackson writes, 'The current financial problem cannot be overstated. Reductions in staff and opening hours have been widespread, particularly in England, and are of such a scale that core services are now at risk'.[31] These issues provide a very real and challenging context for many local government archives. In 2017, Northamptonshire County Council proposed to reduce its archive's opening hours and to charge for onsite access outside of these hours, during which staff resources would be focused on providing online services and digitisation. The drivers identified for these changes clearly reflect the influence of all these issues: a fall in visitor numbers; an increasing demand from customers for online access to resources; and the critical and challenging climate of austerity and the financial reductions that have resulted.[32]

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[28] Luck, 'Changing access needs', pp.39;40; see also Valerie Johnson et al., 'Size matters: The implications of volume for the digital archive of tomorrow – a case study from the UK national archives', *Records Management Journal*, 24, no.3 (2014), pp.224-37 (p.229).
[29] Gaël Chenard, 'Les lecteurs qu'on mérite', *Comma*, 2014, no.1-2 (2015), pp.195-204 (p.197).
[30] Michael Moss, 'What is the same and what is different', in Michael Moss et al. (eds), *Is Digital Different? How information creation, capture, preservation and discovery are being transformed* (London: Facet Publishing, 2015), pp.1-17 (p.13).
[31] Bruce Jackson, 'Local government archives in the United Kingdom', *Comma*, 2014, no.1-2 (2015), pp.39-49 (p.49). A response of many publicly-funded archives is a process of repositioning, 'seeking to deliver, or 'spin out' services in novel ways': Procter, 'Protecting rights', p.299; see also Helen Thomas et al., *In a Spin: Guidance on Spinning Out Local Authority Archive Services* ([n.pl.]: The National Archives, 2014).
[32] Northamptonshire County Council, 'Statement on Northamptonshire Archives and Heritage Service Opening Hours', *Archives-NRA*, 2017 <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=ind1707&L=ARCHIVES-NRA&P=165223> [accessed 21 May 2019]. Northamptonshire's funding proposals received a considerable number of objections from both archive professionals and users, particularly focused on charging for access, suggesting that even a partial withdrawal of (free) physical access in favour of a paid-for service is not (yet) palatable to the wider archive and user communities.

The shift towards digital forms of engagement also opens questions about *how* archives themselves are experienced. A turn towards the 'online archive' as advocated by Chenard implies that digitisation is a neutral act; yet such actions in fact radically alter how experience happens. Writers such as Mike Featherstone, Susan Yee, Kiersten F. Latham and Brian Maidment have described the altering effects of digitisation on their experiences of archives.[33] A digitised archive invokes different forms of behaviour and a different phenomenology of the archive; it changes – both broadens and limits – the type and scope of knowledge that the archive affords. The handling of the archive and its relationship to other records is fundamentally altered. Furthermore, digitisation arguably distances the user from the material traces and marks of its creator. These are themes that I will return to later.

Yee writes of how digitisation speaks to notions of 'mass consumption'.[34] Digitisation is also seen as 'democratizing', allowing access outside the confines of the archival institution and more suited to the researcher. The internet has played a part in popularising and making family history more accessible, for instance;[35] whilst the interactivity of Web 2.0 technologies has enabled greater participation from researchers and audiences, for example in crowdsourcing projects.[36] Yet the choice of what to digitise commonly remains within the control of the institution; as Joel Taylor and Laura Kate Gibson write, far from democratising heritage, digitisation in fact reinforces established notions of heritage and inherent hierarchies of power.[37] Likewise, many

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[33] Mike Featherstone, 'Archive', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 23, nos.2-3 (2006), pp.591-6 (pp. 595-6); Susan Yee, 'The Archive', in Sherry Turkle (ed.), *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), pp.31-6; Kiersten F. Latham, 'Medium Rare: Exploring Archives and their Conversion from Original to Digital Part Two – The Holistic Knowledge Arsenal of Paper-based Archives', *LIBRES Library and Information Science Research Electronic Journal*, 21, no.1 (2011), pp.1-21; Brian Maidment, 'Writing history with the digital image: a cautious celebration', in Toni Weller (ed.), *History in the Digital Age* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.111-26 (pp.118-9;123). See also Ketelaar, 'Time future', p.4; Nina Lager Vestberg, 'Archival Value: On photography, materiality and indexicality', *Photographies*, 1, no.1 (2008), pp.49-65 (pp.59-60); Geoff N. Swinney, 'What do we know about what we know? The museum 'register' as museum object', in Sandra Dudley et al. (eds), *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.31-46 (p.35); David Thomas and Valerie Johnson, 'New universes or black holes? Does digital change anything', in Toni Weller (ed.), *History in the Digital Age*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.173-93; Johnson et al., 'Size matters', pp.232-3; Thomas and Johnson, 'Library of Alexandria', pp.193-5.
[34] Yee, 'The Archive', p.34.
[35] de Groot, *Consuming History*, pp.75-6.
[36] See Ylva Berglund Prytz, 'Crowdsourcing', in Michael Moss et al. (eds), *Is Digital Different? How information creation, capture, preservation and discovery are being transformed* (London: Facet Publishing, 2015), pp.71-93.
[37] Joel Taylor and Laura Kate Gibson, 'Digitisation, digital interaction and social media: embedded barriers to democratic heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23, no.5 (2017), pp.408-20 (p.409); see also Maidment, 'Writing history', p.113.

websites only provide access to digitised resources behind a paywall or through subscriptions, creating a market economy for 'public' records and contributing to a commodified archive.[38] In this sense, then, the act of digitising influences and shapes the archive: not only does it change the experience of being in the archive, it also alters engagement with archival material itself.

Here, then, I want to intervene in this discourse of inevitability which is implied by such writers as Luck and Chenard. Their work is valuable in drawing attention to how the space of the archive is changing; and how the digital turn is influencing the experience of the archive.[39] But rather than follow this path, I want instead to question how the physical is and might still be used to play a role in how the archive is experienced. I want to look towards examples of archives where new and innovative forms of activity are taking place within physical spaces; to examine how such activities are understood to shape new directions in how archivists can interest and engage their users, especially (but not necessarily exclusively) with the material, physical archive. This approach is not designed to position the digital as something in opposition to the physical, nor to reject the opportunities or aspirations (or, indeed, challenges) which the digital turn offers. The digital and the physical should not be seen as binary opposites but as parts of a broader, holistic process of engagement:[40] indeed, digital may play an important role within the physical space of the archive. This research, then, is designed to pluralise understanding of and approaches to experience within the archive, and to investigate what role the physical space can play alongside the digital environment.[41] It seeks to place value on the onsite visit and to

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[38] de Groot, *Consuming History,* pp.77;78. For discussions on changing business models in archives and the influence of the internet, see Bruno B.W. Longmore, 'Business Orientation and Customer Service Delivery: The tyranny of the customer', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 21, no.1 (2000), pp.27-36 (p.29); Lager Vestberg, 'Archival Value', p.60, who writes of the 'sales potential' that drives certain digitisation processes; and Sue Breakell, 'Encounters with the self: archives and research', in Jennie Hill (ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping* (London: Facet Publishing, 2011), pp.23-36 (pp.24-5). On project funding, see Ken Harrop et al., 'Bidding for Records: Local authority archives and competitive funding', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 23, no.1 (2002), pp.35-50 (p.39). On digitisation, commodification and the effects of a so-called democratisation of history on archives, see Procter, 'Protecting Rights', pp.298-9.

[39] Digital capacity remains a major priority for the sector: see The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Delivering the Vision 2018-19* ([n.pl.], 2018), pp.5-6.

[40] See Thomas and Johnson, 'New universes', pp.178-9;187; Moss, 'What is the same', pp.4,15; Jeff James et al., 'Archives matter', *Insights*, 31 (2018), pp.1-10 (p.7).

[41] On 'pluralism' in archives, see Michelle Caswell, 'On archival pluralism: what religious pluralism (and its critics) can teach us about archives', *Archival Science*, 13 (2013), pp.273-92. Caswell distinguishes between 'pluralisation', or diversifying use; and 'pluralism', the recognition of other and valid ways of knowing (p.277). Throughout the thesis, references to 'pluralising experience' largely equate to 'pluralisation', but also suggest ideas of 'pluralism' in how alternative ways of experience are equally

explore what it is about this experience that can be determined as important. An analysis of what the physical, onsite experience can offer is therefore both timely and appropriate.

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Underlying these conversations is a broader question of relevance. It is worth noting that the overall number of visitors to archives as indicated by the *Taking Part* survey is very small: only 3.2 per cent of the adult population visited an archive in their own time or for voluntary work during the twelve months between April 2017 and March 2018.[42] A wider measure, which includes visits for paid work or academic study, records 4.4 per cent of adults visiting an archive.[43] Such figures contrast with other types of cultural engagement: 32.7 per cent had visited a public library, 49.7 per cent had visited a museum or art gallery, 72.8 per cent had visited a heritage site and 78.9 per cent had engaged with the arts.[44]

What is perhaps important here are the reasons people give for why they choose not to visit an archive. The *Taking Part* surveys conducted in 2005/06 and 2006/07 asked adults who do not visit an archive in person why this was so.[45] Table 2 provides details of their responses.

These questions have not been asked of archives in later years; and the nuances of individual reasoning may be lost by consolidating answers into generalised groupings. Yet these data suggest that the archive, in its current form, lacks relevance and purpose for the majority of people; it is also not well understood. This is also indicated by data which reveal the lack of diversity amongst existing users. The Archives and Records

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valid. I also discuss 'pluralism' in the archive in the sense of polyvocalism and here 'pluralism' is closer to Caswell's second definition.

[42] DCMS, *Taking Part 2017/18*, p.15.

[43] Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, *Taking Part 2017/18: Archives, Table 1: Proportion of adults who have been to an archive centre or records office in the last 12 months, 2017/18, England* (2018) < https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/736887/17_18_Taking_Part_Archives.xlsx> [accessed 1 June 2019].

[44] DCMS, *Taking Part 2017/18*, p.2. These statistics exclude visits for the purpose of paid work or academic study. The survey provides examples of arts engagement, including 'painting, practising circus skills or attending live music or drama performances': p.3.

[45] Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, *Taking Part 2006/7: Archives Workbook, AC4: Main reason for non-attendance at an archive during the past 12 months* (2008) <https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/77343/TP-archive0607.xls> [accessed 18 September 2019].

Association (ARA) National Surveys Group survey[46] for 2018 indicates that nearly half (45 per cent) of all users are aged 65 and over, whilst only 7 per cent are aged under 25.[47] In the same survey, 96 per cent of visitors described themselves as white.[48]

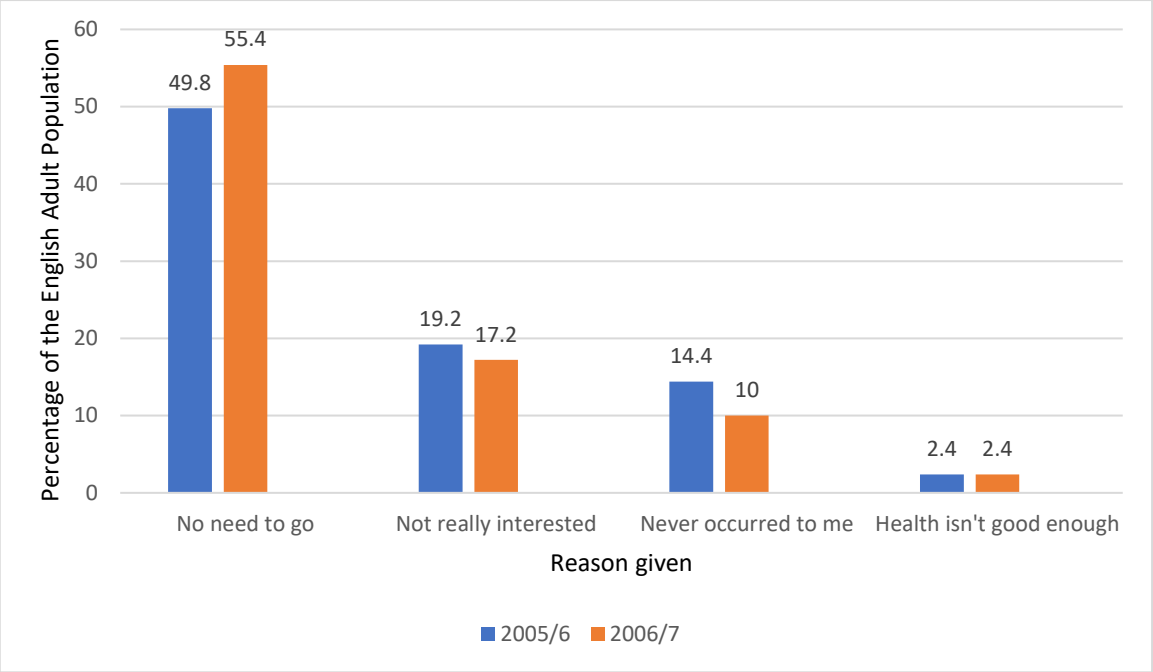

Table 2: Reasons for Non-Attendance at Archives. DCMS, *Taking Part 2006/7: Archives Workbook, AC4*

Whilst recognising that these surveys generally reflect search room use and are unlikely to include visitors to organised events or group activities, nonetheless they suggest that the archive, in its current form, speaks to certain audiences and not to others. Consequently, whilst discussions about digital access, visitor numbers and physical experience are important, fundamental shifts in how the archive is understood, conceived and made become increasingly relevant. Concerned with new approaches to physical engagement within the archive, then, this thesis sits within a broader context, one that considers wider reformulations of the archive itself. The thesis not only positions the experience of using the archive within a spatial and physical context, but also places that experience within a wider context of institutional development, as reflected through visitor-focused values and objectives.

[46] This group was formerly the Public Services Quality Group (PSQG). These surveys are conducted every two years and reports dating from 2002 are available at Archives and Records Association (UK and Ireland), *Archive Surveys*, [n.d., c.2019] <https://www.archives.org.uk/what-we-do/archive-surveys.html> [accessed 21 May 2019]. The reports are now published by CIPFA.
[47] The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy, *Survey of Visitors to UK Archives 2018: National Report* (London: CIPFA, 2019), p.24.
[48] Ibid, p.26.

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A refiguring of the physical archive implies transformational changes in how the archive is experienced and understood. In considering this approach, it is worth noting again that the main reason for existing users to visit archives is to research. In 2017-18, the *Taking Part* survey asked respondents why they were visiting the archive, and the majority of these indicated some form of research activity. Only 10 per cent said they were attending an event or talk, the only response which was not specifically research related.[49] I want to consider how archives are using alternative forms of engagement and different kinds of access as a way of engaging new audiences onsite in the archive. This position does not seek to replace the search room, but rather conceives the archive as something more than this; as a place to engage with archives in other and more ways than (just) through personal research.

Dynamic work across the sector reveals how archives are seeking to broaden, diversify and open their collections to wider audiences, including working with community groups; developing oral history projects; running events; working with schools and education groups; and exploring the idea of wellbeing through archives.[50] To these can be added the extensive learning and outreach programmes that are a common feature of most archives. The impact of archives, not just through research but also through cultural activity, is a key priority for the archive sector;[51] whilst the Explore Your Archive Campaign gives an annual focus to profile-raising work.[52] These types of activity already indicate and demonstrate broader types of engagement within the physical space of the archive and, potentially, a different and wider audience. Furthermore, sectoral initiatives seek to 'change the way that people think about

[49] DCMS, *Taking Part 2017/18: Archives, Table 1*. Two of the responses, 'To look at original historic documents' (20.6 per cent) and 'To look at collections of objects' (8.7 per cent) are unclear in terms of what type of activity they refer to; whilst 'To register a birth, death, marriage or deal with other official documents' (21 per cent) suggests either an administrative purpose or confusion with a register office. 3.5 per cent gave 'some other reason'. The total figures given here sum greater than one hundred, suggesting a multiple-choice question; it is thus possible that the number of people not visiting for research is fewer than the figures given, since these respondents may have also been conducting research during their visit.
[50] For details, see The National Archives, *Archives Unlocked: Releasing the Potential* ([n.pl.], 2017); The National Archives, *A Year in Archives 2018* ([n.pl.], 2018).
[51] TNA, *Archives Unlocked: Delivering the Vision*, pp.9-10.
[52] See Archives and Records Association (UK and Ireland), *Explore Your Archive*, [n.d., c.2018] <http://www.exploreyourarchive.org/> [accessed 13 March 2019].

archives by articulating what archives are for, rather than what they do'; to show how they 'can change people's lives'.[53]

Within this broad landscape, and drawing on theories of spatiality and phenomenology, this thesis builds on such work by examining the role of exhibition as a form of engagement with archives and, more widely, as a way of reshaping the experience of visiting an archive. It considers the motivations and influences behind their construction and design, and the implications arising from them. In this sense, the research questions how exhibition can broaden out the range of possibilities that an archival visit might hold. It also examines the role that exhibitions can play in reshaping the archive as something different, dynamic and increasingly vital and relevant.

So, how is exhibition conceived and understood by archivists? In the next chapter, I will examine how exhibition has been discussed in the archival literature and place these conversations within broader contexts and trends which have, over time, affected and shaped understanding of the archive.

[53] James et al., 'Archives matter', pp.2;8.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I introduce some of the key discussions around the exhibition and display of archives. Here I am generally using archival literature to consider how archivists and curators of archives think about and consider this work.[1] What I show is that, besides practical questions around techniques and preservation, the debate concerning exhibitions has largely been a debate around the role of the archivist and what might be considered the essential and core tasks of the archive professional. In other words, aside from a few exceptions, the conversation has not developed beyond questions of role and responsibility. Moreover, the exhibition itself has largely been framed in terms of advocacy and learning. Here, then, I show the extent and limits of this conversation and the broader trends in which it sits. I conclude by arguing how this thesis will develop the discussion by questioning how archivists conceive exhibitions in themselves; and how they use them to create new environments for visitors to encounter, experience, examine and critique the archive.

Conversations about Archive Exhibitions

The idea of displaying archives, or at least of visitors attending archives to view material in much the manner as museum objects, has been a feature of archival institutions in the UK, Europe and the USA since the mid-nineteenth century.[2] By the middle of the twentieth century, the exhibition of archives in the UK had become 'a

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[1] There is a wide literature concerning art exhibitions which incorporate archives and/or which explore the theme of 'the archive': see, for example, Alexandrina Buchanan, 'Cardiff and Miller's *Road Trip* (2004): Between Archive and Fiction', *Archivaria*, 73 (2012), pp.19-41; and Elana Sadinsky, 'Sara Angelucci: Provenance Unknown', *Archivaria*, 76 (2013), pp.161-6. Likewise, a number of studies examine the role of curation on the archive: see, for example, Nayia Yiakoumaki, 'Curating Archives, Archiving Curating' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2009) <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.514400> [accessed 25 May 2018]. These types of work are beyond the scope of this research, which is concerned with institutional archives' approach to exhibition-making and how such activity reformulates thought and practice within the archive.

[2] Lucile M. Kane, 'The Exhibition of Manuscripts at the Minnesota Historical Society', *The American Archivist*, 15, no.1 (1952), pp.39-45 (p.39); Eckhart G. Franz, *Archives and Education: a RAMP study with guidelines* (Paris: UNESCO, 1986), p.5. See also Aleksandr Gelfand, 'If We Build It (and Promote It) They Will Come: History of Analog and Digital Exhibits in Archival Repositories', *Journal of Archival Organization*, 11, no.1-2 (2013), pp.49-82 (p.53).

normal feature of the activities of Local Record Offices',[3] and overviews of many displays, not just those in local public archives but also in national and private repositories, appeared regularly in the journals of the British Records Association (BRA).[4] In 1949 the association felt that exhibiting archives was considered widespread enough to appoint a subcommittee to investigate their use and role. The subcommittee reported that 'It has been found by experience that the best means of arousing local interest in the preservation of records, and of demonstrating their educational value, is by holding displays'. The report goes on to provide some practical guidance on hosting an exhibition.[5]

These reports typically see the function of exhibitions as creating interest in archives for a wider public – in other words, as a form of advocacy – and for education and learning. The BRA's 1949 report into exhibitions commented that the 'main aim of any exhibition must be its educative value', noting 'it is essential that a large proportion of the exhibits may be readily understood by the unlearned'.[6] Many of the exhibitions organised for the silver jubilee of the BRA in 1958 showcased the work of archivists and of the association, especially in regards to preservation.[7] Interestingly, the BRA later noted that the 'value of an exhibition is qualitative, and not necessarily commensurate with the numbers of attendance'.[8]

Despite the ubiquity of archival exhibitions and the favourable descriptions of them recounted in the association's journal, attitudes towards this activity have remained mixed, with some commentators questioning the archivist's involvement in such work. In 1956, Ralph Bernard Pugh decried the archival exhibition; whilst recognising the

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[3] British Records Association, 'Report and Comment', *Archives*, 1, no.7 (1952), pp.46-50 (p.47).
[4] See, for example, British Records Association, 'Report and Comment', *Archives*, 1, no.3 (1950), pp.46-51 (pp.47;51); Erna Auerbach, 'An Exhibition of Illuminated Royal Portraits from the Plea Rolls of the King's Bench', *Archives*, 1, no.7 (1952), pp.36-9; R.L. Atkinson, 'The Lincoln's Inn Exhibition, 1951', *Archives*, 1, no.7 (1952), pp.40-2, which refers to BRA displays held in the 1930s; BRA, 'Report and Comment' (1952), pp.47-50; Daphne H. Gifford, 'The Coronation in the Public Records', *Archives*, 2, no.10 (1953), pp.65-9; British Records Association, 'Exhibitions in Coronation Year', *Archives*, 2, no.10 (1953), pp.70-3.
[5] British Records Association, 'Exhibition of Documents: Report of a sub-committee appointed by the Council of the British Records Association: 18 October 1949', *Archives*, 1, no.3 (1950), pp.42-5. See also Gelfand, 'If We Build It', p.54; Gail Farr Casterline, *Archives & Manuscripts: Exhibits* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists Basic Manual Series, 1980), p.7; Nancy Allyn et al., 'Using Archival Materials Effectively in Museum Exhibitions', *The American Archivist*, 50, no.3 (1987), pp.402-4 (p.402).
[6] BRA, 'Exhibition of Documents', p.43.
[7] B.C. Redwood, 'Silver Jubilee Exhibitions', *Archives*, 3, no.19 (1958), pp.178-81 (pp.178-9).
[8] BRA, 'Exhibitions in Coronation Year', p.73.

value of small displays and occasional larger ones, he commented that, ultimately, 'Archivists and curators ought to be scholars. They ought accordingly to be continuously engaged in listing or cataloguing their collections, revising those lists or catalogues, and interpreting or re-interpreting their material. For the archivist these activities reach their climax in the publication of a guide setting out in summary form, though scholarly fashion, the characteristics of the various record groups and classes that constitute the whole accumulation within his charge'. Is it possible, Pugh muses, that such guides have not been produced in some places because the archivists there are too busy curating exhibitions? He concludes by writing that 'It is undeniable that children and amateurs can learn much that is interesting and valuable from exhibitions of manuscripts and lectures about them. They must, however, be taught not by archivists but by teachers. The archivist's pupils are not schoolboys but scholars'.[9]

In response to Pugh's assertions, F.G. Emmison argued that exhibitions are 'not organised for the benefit of the public; they are put up primarily to win the support of those who control the repository,' and that providing lectures and exhibitions for the public are necessary to secure funds and the influence of employers.[10] This view positions the exhibition again as a form of advocacy, only here it is a means of attracting funding and support: expressed differently, it functions in order to produce material gain. Roger Ellis, writing in the mid-1960s more generally about engagement activities, took a broader and more socially-oriented approach. He still writes of the need to advocate the benefits of the archive to historians; yet his appeal goes to a wider public, not just as a matter of 'public relations', but 'to make the country's archives something which everyone accepts and knows about as a matter of course'. Whilst Ellis understands this through a (somewhat condescending) educative lens, he also alludes to the importance that archivists should place on such work, to consider how they choose the tasks 'to be tackled first'.[11] These activities are, of course, things that many archivists had been doing as a matter of course. Ellis notes this;[12] so too does Victor Gray who, writing several decades later, recalled how in the 1960s outreach was

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[9] R.B. Pugh, 'Guides or Exhibitions?', *Archives*, 2, no.16 (1956), pp.494-6 (pp.494;6).
[10] F.G. Emmison, 'Correspondence: Guides or Exhibitions?', *Archives*, 3, no.17 (1957), p.43. He made a similar argument in response to Pugh's comments some years later at the BRA's Annual Conference in 1971: see British Records Association, 'Annual Conference 1971', *Archives*, 10, no.47 (1972), pp.107-16 (p.107).
[11] Roger H. Ellis, 'The British Archivist and History', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3, no.4 (1966), pp.155-60 (pp.158-9).
[12] Ibid.

something 'you did to keep an archive in touch with its community', although neither the word 'outreach' nor the concept as understood today existed at that time (nor, indeed, the present-day idea of 'community').[13] What is interesting in all of these comments is, firstly, the importance placed on advocacy work as a promotional tool for both the employer (which in turn may translate into material benefit for the archive) and for the wider public: as I will show below, this idea continues to remain integral within the literature. Secondly, the comments of Ellis, Emmison and Gray reflect a need for the archivist to pursue advocacy work, in contrast to the concerns expressed by Pugh, who sees such work as existing beyond the scope of the archivist's core duties. This argument – whether such work is appropriate for the archivist or not – has continued to shape the conversation right up until the present.

Shifts in Historiography and Archival Theory

The ideas expressed by Pugh can be understood when seen through the close relationship between history and archives which prevailed throughout the early twentieth century.[14] The practice of keeping archives and records developed as a bureaucratic and administrative function for governments and institutions, but from the late nineteenth century became closely associated with the developing profession of the historian.[15] As such, the development of the archive profession has been heavily affected by historiographical thought.[16]

The professionalization of history and its establishment as an academic discipline in the early nineteenth century was influenced by the German historian Leopold von Ranke.[17] Ranke was concerned with establishing an approach to history based on a scientific

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[13] Victor Gray, ''Who's that Knocking on Our Door?': Archives, Outreach and Community', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 29, no.1 (2008), pp.1-8 (p.1). The comments of participants at the BRA's annual conference in 1971, which discussed the role of exhibitions, showed broad support and a desire for archivists to be trained in preparing them: BRA, 'Annual Conference 1971', pp.108-9.
[14] Gelfand, 'If We Build It', p.50.
[15] See Ellis, 'British Archivist and History', p.155; Margaret Procter, 'Consolidation and separation: British archives and American historians at the turn of the twentieth century', *Archival Science*, 6 (2006), pp. 361-79 (p.362); Margaret Procter, 'What's an 'Archivist'? Some Nineteenth Century Perspectives', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 31, no.1 (2010), pp.15-27 (pp.19-23).
[16] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.155; Procter, 'What's an 'Archivist'?', pp.17-22; Procter, 'Protecting rights', p.298.
[17] Peter Burke, 'Overture. The New History: Its Past and Its Future', in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), pp.1-24 (pp.2-3).

model which employed an empiricist observation of primary source material.[18] In this sense, history was seen as objective,[19] a view influenced by an earlier, seventeenth-century shift in philosophy as represented by Descartes and Kant, which sought to understand the nature of reality from a neutral standpoint, a 'sublime' and thus 'transcendental' perspective.[20] In this reading, following Peter Burke, history is concerned with facts: as Ranke put it, to tell 'how it actually happened', which has been understood as 'a proud manifesto for history without 'bias''.[21] History in the Rankean tradition was concerned with national and political histories; the grand narrative seen from a bird's eye view, focused on 'the great deeds of great men'.[22] This form of history typically placed emphasis on narrative sources, principally the official archives of the state.[23]

This 'scientific' model of history played an important role in the development of archival theory in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which archives were seen as objective, neutral and evidential, the 'raw materials historians used to create their finished work'.[24] In this sense, the comments of both Pugh and Ellis in describing the archivist's work, whilst varied in scope, were both shaped by notions of how archives are used by the historian. An understanding of the historian's profession as seeking an 'objective truth', influenced by an empiricist and positivist approach to history, in turn shaped an objective approach to the understanding and management of archives. This became consolidated through the encoding of archival theory firstly by

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[18] Valerie Johnson, 'Creating History? Confronting the Myth of Objectivity in the Archive', *Archives*, 31, no.117 (2007), pp.128-43 (p.128); Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.15; see also Maynard Brichford, 'The Origins of Modern European Archival Theory', *The Midwestern Archivist*, 7, no.2 (1982), pp.87-101 (pp. 90-1).
[19] Burke, 'New History', p.5.
[20] Frank Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), pp.17-8.
[21] Burke, 'New History', p.5. The question of reality and interpretation in historical research has been the subject of much debate; see, for example, Lawrence Stone and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, 'History and Postmodernism', *Past and Present*, no.135 (1992), pp.189-208 (pp.189-90).
[22] Burke, 'New History', p.4; see also Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.16. For distinctions between metanarratives, grand narratives, general history and macrohistory, see Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon, 'The Singularization of History: Social History and Microhistory within the Postmodern State of Knowledge', *Journal of Social History*, 36, no.3 (2003), pp.701-35 (p.704).
[23] Burke, 'New History', pp.4-5.
[24] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.15.

the Dutch archivists Muller, Feith and Fruin and, in the early 1920s, by the British archival theorist Sir Hilary Jenkinson.[25]

The archival theory developed by Sir Hilary Jenkinson is important to the discussion of archival exhibitions, since much of the literature relating to the display of archives is shaped by questions of what an archivist's role ought to be. Indeed, whilst the pages of the BRA's journal note the many types of exhibition being organised by archives around the country, Pugh, Emmison, Ellis and Gray all write about exhibitions, and public relations work more generally, through a lens of criticism and justification. This continues in many of the later writings on exhibition and outreach, as I will discuss below, but it is useful to pause briefly to consider the Jenkinsonian principles inherent within these debates, and how they have been challenged over time.

Sir Hilary Jenkinson's *Manual*, first published in 1922, was 'one of the first comprehensive statements of archival theory', and the first to be published and read widely in English.[26] Jenkinson's views asserted an objective characteristic to the archive, in keeping with historical tradition at that time, and understood the archive as an accumulation, rather than a collection of records, produced by the records' creator without any consideration of their future use.[27] Custody is important, since the authenticity of the record is established through '*an unblemished line of responsible custodians*'.[28] These concepts instil the record with authenticity and impartiality, and this integrity gives archives 'the appeal which they make to students [of history]'; as long as 'the student understands their administrative significance they cannot tell him anything but the truth'.[29] This integrity naturally asserts the objective truth inherent within the archive; thus 'history can be written because archives create an unfiltered and unquestionable truth direct from record creators'.[30] The archive is thus formed

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[25] Ibid, pp.22;25-6;37-8. See S. Muller et al., *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives*, Arthur H. Leavitt (trans.) 2nd edn (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1968); Brichford, 'Origins', pp.93-9; Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival Theory and the Dutch Manual', *Archivaria*, 41 (1996), pp.31-40; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.21; Ketelaar, 'Time future', pp.2,3. For a historical overview of concepts in archival theory, see Luciana Duranti, 'The Concept of Appraisal and Archival Theory', *The American Archivist*, 57, no.2 (1994), pp.328-44 (330-4).
[26] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.41;49.
[27] Hilary Jenkinson, *A Manual of Archive Administration*, 2nd edn (London: Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. Ltd, 1937), p.11.
[28] Ibid, original emphasis; see also pp.37-8.
[29] Ibid, pp.11-5.
[30] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.55; see also pp.42;54;58; Richard Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg: A Comparison', *Archivaria*, 17 (1983/4), pp.75-85 (p.77); Reto Tschan, 'A Comparison of Jenkinson and Schellenberg on Appraisal', *The American Archivist*, 65 (2002), pp.176-95 (p.178).

from those records preserved by the creator (and thus transferred to the archivist), rather than through any (subjective) selection based on perceived ongoing value.[31] Consequently, Jenkinson's archivist was a passive, impartial custodian, whose duties could be 'divided into Primary and Secondary: the first being his duties towards the Archives themselves', concerned with their physical custody, arrangement and description; 'the second (to be considered only when the first have been satisfactorily discharged) his duties in the matter of publication and generally making available for use by students', here being understood as historians and other researchers.[32] In order to maintain the integrity and impartiality of the record, the archivist must refrain from all subjective activity: appraisal and destruction were the responsibility of record creators, rather than archivists.[33] For Jenkinson, then, as John Ridener notes, 'to interpret the intention or meaning of a record would be to change the course of the possibility of writing history'.[34] Jenkinson saw the archivist as 'the most selfless devotee of Truth the modern world produces'.[35]

Jenkinson's work helped articulate and define a fledging archival profession, and in practice he (reluctantly) recognised that archivists have to make appraisal decisions,[36] but his objective approach to archival management has shaped and influenced both theory and practice. This includes exhibition, which falls outside a tight reading of Jenkinson's primary and secondary duties and, through the selecting and interpreting of exhibits, questions the impartiality of the archivist. The BRA's reports show that exhibition has, in practice, been an important part of archivists' work and, as Aleksandr Gelfand comments, Pugh's argument was progressively challenged as archives began to widen access in response to historiographical shifts in the later twentieth century.[37] Even so, I argue that conversations around exhibition have largely continued to be

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[31] Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg', p.77; Tschan, 'Comparison', p.182.
[32] Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.44.
[33] Ibid, pp.149-50; see also pp.21-2. See also Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.23; Johnson, 'Creating History?', pp.129;130; Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.41;55.
[34] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.55; see also Tschan, 'Comparison', p.178.
[35] Hilary Jenkinson, quoted in Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.23. Although Pugh's view that the archivist should be 'interpreting' his material suggests some subjectivity, his comment that archivists should be producing lists, catalogues and guides is very much in keeping with the forms of public access that Jenkinson advocates: see *Manual*, pp.125-32.
[36] Hilary Jenkinson, 'Modern Archives: Some Reflexions on T.R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques*', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 1, no.5 (1957), pp.147-9 (p.149). See also Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.23; Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg', p.81; Tschan, 'Comparison', p.185.
[37] Gelfand, 'If We Build It', p.50.

influenced by Jenkinson's thinking, resulting in a fixed discourse of justification and merit. Before discussing these conversations in more detail below, I will briefly outline these historiographical changes and their effects on archival theory. As I will argue later, these shifts have both influenced and have implications for exhibition-making in the archive today.

New approaches in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to movements away from the national and political histories of the Rankean tradition, focusing instead, for example, on the effects of industrialisation and long-term economic trends.[38] A turn towards historical relativism in the early twentieth century, notably in the work of Beard and Becker, also asserted a more subjective view of history.[39] But further shifts away from these macro-narratives has led to more qualitative forms of research, including more personalised studies such as microhistory and historical biography.[40] The rise of social history in the 1950s and 1960s, resulting from wider socio-cultural trends such as de-industrialisation, decolonisation, the rise of activist movements and, later, neoliberalism and globalisation, as well as an increasingly widening diversity in higher education,[41] has resulted in the growth of new fields of study which focus on post-colonialism, women and black history, for example.[42]

Such movements and trends have also led to the development of various forms of public and popular history,[43] although Hilda Kean notes their roots in the nineteenth century.[44] The increasing interest in family and local history, as well as a developing sense of 'heritage' and an active historicising of the present, might be understood as a reaction to

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[38] Burke, 'New History', p.4; Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.18; Caine, *Biography and History*, pp.17;19-20.
[39] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.15-6; see also Burke, 'New History', pp.3-4.
[40] Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, 'The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Historiographic Marketplace', in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe*, Eren Branch (trans.), (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp.1-10 (p.3); Burke, 'New History', p.5; Magnússon, 'Singularization', p.710.
[41] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.107; see also pp.103;106; see also Burke, 'New History', pp.8-9; Andrew Flinn, 'Archival Activism: Independent and Community-led Archives, Radical Public History and the Heritage Professions', *InterActions: UCLA Journal of Education and Information Sciences*, 7, no.2 (2011) <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9pt2490x> [accessed 23 May 2019], para.9; Fiona Cosson, 'The small politics of everyday life: local history society archives and the production of public histories', *Archives and Records*, 38, no.1 (2017), pp.45-60 (p.55); on education, see Joanna Innes and John Styles, 'The Crime Wave: Recent Writing on Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 25, no.4 (1986), pp.380-435 (p.381).
[42] Caine, *Biography and History*, p.3; Valerie Johnson, 'Dealing with the silence', in David Thomas et al., *The Silence of the Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), pp.101-16 (pp.107-8).
[43] Cosson, 'Small politics', p.55.
[44] Hilda Kean, 'Introduction', in Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (eds), *The Public History Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.xiii-xxxii (p.xvi).

rapid and deep-seated socio-economic changes in the mid-twentieth century, encouraged by later globalisation and capitalist growth.[45] Indicative of such forms of history is a sense of identity, as individuals and communities look to the past (and an increasingly localised and individual past) to construct meaning about their role in contemporary society.[46] A defining characteristic of public history is its participatory character: whilst recognising variations in defining 'public history', Kean conceives 'a practice which has the capacity for involving people as well as nations and communities in the creation of their own histories'.[47] Furthermore, the idea of history as 'constructed' enables questions to be asked concerning *how* history is written and presented, and who is involved and represented in that process (and therefore who is omitted).[48]

A turn towards polyvocal histories is arguably reflective of Jean-François Lyotard's 'incredulity towards metanarratives',[49] a term he used to define his understanding of postmodernist thought. More a 'persuasive mindset' than an extant philosophy,[50] postmodernism emerged as a response to the political and social upheavals of the twentieth century, seeking to question established truths and existing norms of power. In questioning the 'legitimation' of knowledge,[51] a postmodern perspective opens up

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[45] W.H. Hoskins, *Local History in England* (London: Longman, 1972), pp.7-8; Jerry White, 'Beyond Autobiography', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1981), pp.33-42 (p.34); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1994), pp.146;150; Carolyn Heald, 'Is There Room for Archives in the Postmodern World', *The American Archivist*, 59 (1996), pp.88-101 (p.96); Brad S. Gregory, '*Is* Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life', *History and Theory*, 38, no.1 (1999), pp.100-10 (pp.100-1); Andrew Flinn, 'Community Histories, Community Archives: Some Opportunities and Challenges', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28, no.2 (2007), pp.151-76 (p.159); Breakell, 'Encounters', p.26; Paul Martin, 'The Past in the Present: Who is Making History?' in Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (eds), *The Public History Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp1-10 (p.2); de Groot, *Consuming History*, pp.2;74; Cosson, 'Small politics', p.55. There is an extensive literature concerning heritage; for an overview of the main discussion points, see Iain J.M. Robertson, 'Heritage from Below: Class, Social Protest and Resistance', in Hilda Kean and Paul Martin (eds), *The Public History Reader* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), pp.56-67 (pp.56-60); also Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, pp.4-5; Kean, 'Introduction', pp.xvi;xxii-xxiii.

[46] David Mander, 'Special, local and about us: the development of community archives in Britain', in Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (eds), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), pp.29-46 (p.32); de Groot, *Consuming History*, pp.5;71-2; see also Flinn, 'Community Archives', pp.158-9.

[47] Kean, 'Introduction', p.xiii.

[48] Ibid, p.xxii-xxiv.

[49] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (trans.), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p.xxiv.

[50] Terry Cook, 'Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives', *Archivaria*, 51 (2001), pp.14-35 (p.19); see also Rachel Hardiman, 'En mal d'archive: Postmodernist Theory and Recordkeeping', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 30, no.1 (2009), pp.27-44 (p.28).

[51] Lyotard, *Postmodern Condition*, p.xxiii.

the perceptions and interpretations of others, including the marginalised and underrepresented.[52] Within a historiographical context, such a position moves from the grand narratives 'that totalize human experience' to one of 'diversity'.[53]

These trends and shifts throughout the twentieth century have had a resultant effect on how archives are conceived, managed and used. The increase in public history, for example, has led to texts written by historians and archivists in the 1960s and 1970s detailing the broad range of historical sources available in public archives and suitable techniques for using them.[54] F.G. Emmison noted the increasing demand for archival material from educational institutions.[55] By the mid-1990s, family history was identified as the most popular form of research within archives, resulting in events and resources designed specifically to cater for this audience.[56]

In terms of archival theory, the most significant challenge to Jenkinson's approach came from the American theorist Theodore Schellenberg. Writing in the 1950s, he defined archives as having 'two types of values: the primary values to the originating agency and the secondary values to other agencies and to non-government users', and that archives have both evidentiary and informational value.[57] He advocated for appraisal based on these two types of value, the last reflecting the needs of the researcher, and that the archivist should play a crucial role in this.[58] This contrasts significantly to Jenkinson, for whom preservation is based on the record creators' needs and in which the archivist should not be involved.[59] Schellenberg's support of a subjective approach to appraisal shifted attention away from truth as self-evident to

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[52] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.23; Burke, 'New History', p.6; Caine, *Biography and History*, p.2.
[53] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.17; see also Innes and Styles, 'Crime Wave', p.382; Burke, 'New History', p.3; Flinn, 'Community Archives', pp.155-8; Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.106; Mander, 'Special, local and about us', p.29; Caine, *Biography and History*, p.2.
[54] See, for example, F.G. Emmison, *Archives and Local History* (London: Methuen and Co., 1966); F.G. Emmison, *How to Read Local Archives 1550-1700* (London: The Historical Association, 1973); F.G. Emmison and W.J. Smith, *Material for Theses in Local Record Offices and Libraries* (London: The Historical Association, 1973); David Iredale, *Enjoying Archives: What They Are, Where to Find Them, How to Use Them* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973). Specialist publications include J.S.W. Gibson, *Wills and Where to Find Them* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1974) and N.W. Alcock, *Old Title Deeds: A Guide for Local and Family Historians* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1986).
[55] Emmison, *Archives and Local History*, p.xiii.
[56] Rosemary Boyns, 'Archivists and Family Historians: local authority record repositories and the family history user group', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 20, no.1 (1999), pp.61-74 (p.65).
[57] T.R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p.16.
[58] Ibid, pp.28-32; see also Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg', p.82; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.27; Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.132; Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.83-5.
[59] See Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg', p.78.

truth as understood from interpreting evidence found in the archive; yet he still maintained an objective reading of history as the ultimate end-goal for the archive's users.[60] In this sense, then, and unlike Jenkinson, Schellenberg's archivist was an 'interventionist'.[61]

Schellenberg's work, although in part a rebuttal to Jenkinson's, was driven mainly by the increasing bulk of government and official records produced in the mid-twentieth century, itself the result of increasing bureaucracy and the influence of technology.[62] But reactions and criticisms to both Jenkinson's passivity and Schellenberg's selection criteria indicated changes in attitudes towards an understanding of archives as an attempt to preserve 'as complete and faithful a picture of the whole of society as possible'.[63] In turn, this indicated a shift in understanding of the archive, away from its administrative function to one more focused on 'social value', bound up in ideas of 'identity, locality, history, culture, and personal and collective memory'.[64]

Postmodernist thought has further reconceptualised understanding of the archive. A shift towards the archive as a site of interpretation has emerged as a result of the so-called 'linguistic turn' in literary studies, which developed into poststructuralist critical thought. Roland Barthes was one of the leading thinkers of this movement, arguing that texts (including archives) possess multiple inherent meanings and are hence subject to many interpretations, rather than (just) their author's.[65] In this reading, the archive does not represent the source of truth but, rather, a site open to many interpretations of the

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[60] Schellenberg, *Modern Archives*, p.236; see also Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.90;95.
[61] Tschan, 'Comparison', p.187.
[62] See Stapleton, 'Jenkinson and Schellenberg', pp.81-2; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.26; Tschan, 'Comparison', pp.179-181. It is important to note that Jenkinson's work arose from the increased volume of records resulting from World War I (see Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.20; also Tschan, 'Comparison', p.177), but his approach reflected an ordering of archives based on medieval (and thus finite) holdings. Valerie Johnson also writes of the enabling effect of legislation on archival appraisal, specifically the 1958 Public Records Act: 'Creating History?', pp.131-2.
[63] Tschan, 'Comparison', p.187; see also F. Gerald Ham, 'The Archival Edge', *The American Archivist*, 38, no.1 (1975), pp.5-13 (p.13); Heather MacNeil, 'Archival Theory and Practice: Between Two Paradigms', *Archivaria*, 37 (1994), pp.6-20 (p.12); Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', pp.24,29.
[64] Cook, 'Past Is prologue', p.44; Terry Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts', *Archival Science*, 1 (2001), pp.3-24 (p.18). On archives as a 'societal resource', see Terry Cook, 'Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms', *Archival Science*, 13 (2013), pp.95-120 (pp.102-3;112).
[65] Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', Richard Howard (trans.), *Aspen*, no.5&6 (1967), <http://www.ubu.com/aspen/aspen5and6/threeEssays.html#barthes> [accessed 23 May 2019], para.7.

past; one in which use becomes increasingly important.[66] As a result, the archive, far from an 'objective truth' is, in fact, 'socially or culturally 'constructed''.[67]

Further, rather than the natural and impassive accumulation of information, as Jenkinson suggested, archives are, in fact, shaped and controlled for specific political, historical and social purposes.[68] In this sense, then, the archive presents a selective view of the past. A key thinker in this regard was Michel Foucault, whose philosophy concerns the shaping of meaning and knowledge, and the power relations that are enfolded within this. Foucault argues for the study of discourse in its own right, rather than the concepts and ideas which such discourse is about: to 'not treat discourse as *document*, as a sign of something else… [but] in its own volume, as a *monument*'.[69] He argues that meaning is expressed according to certain conventions which are governed by rules or 'statements' defined within specific temporal and geospatial contexts; this he terms 'discursive practice'.[70] In Foucault's reading, then, the archive is not that which is written and preserved but rather that which enables a given society or civilisation to formulate understanding and meaning: 'The archive is the first law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events… [it] defines at the outset *the system of its enunciability*' – of how thought and meaning is made.[71] For Foucault, archives were 'not pure repositories of a historical past… but were themselves saturated with theories'.[72]

The concept of the archive as active in the shaping of knowledge is embodied, as Jacques Derrida writes, in a process of 'archivization':[73] 'Archivable meaning is also

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[66] Brien Brothman, 'Orders of Value: Probing the Theoretical Terms of Archival Practice', *Archivaria*, 32 (1991), pp.78-100 (p.79); Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.26; Andrew Prescott, 'The Textuality of the Archive', in Louise Craven (ed.), *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp.31-51 (pp.33-4); Breakell, 'Encounters', p.29;
[67] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.24; Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', p.17; see also Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, 'Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.1-19 (pp.3;5); Eric Ketelaar, 'Cultivating archives: meanings and identities', *Archival Science*, 12 (2012), pp.19-33.
[68] Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', pp.7-8; Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.26; Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.3; Verne Harris, 'The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory and Archives in South Africa', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.63-86 (pp.64-5); Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.131.
[69] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, A.M. Sheridan Smith (trans.), (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002), p.155, original emphasis.
[70] Ibid, p.131; see also Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.231-2.
[71] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp.145-6; original emphasis.
[72] Alan McKinlay, 'Following Foucault into the archives: clerks, careers and cartoons', *Management and Organizational History*, 8, no.2 (2013), pp.137-54 (p.138).
[73] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, Eric Prenowitz (trans.), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p.17.

and in advance codetermined by the structure that archives'.[74] Whilst the archive may 'point toward the past', and is thus something 'closed' and 'sealed', the archive should, in fact '*call into question* the coming of the future'.[75] In this sense, archives are not neutral and passive records of the past, but rather 'active and ever-evolving agents… in the formation of human and organizational memory';[76] indeed, the archive creates the past, rather than simply documents it.[77] Further, as active entities within the world, the archive is implicated in shaping the decision-making of the future.

In turn, the archive becomes implicated in modes of power through the formulating of thought and meaning. As Derrida writes, 'There is no political power without control of the archive';[78] whilst Paul Ricoeur, in considering the 'evidentiary proof' which the archive gives to 'testimony', writes that 'the archive has assumed authority over those who consult it'.[79] Terry Cook observes that, 'the archive is now seen increasingly as the site where social memory has been (and is) constructed – usually in support, consciously or unconsciously, of the metanarratives of the powerful, and especially of the state'.[80] The archive thus becomes an instrument of power, both liberating and oppressing.[81]

Derrida describes the process of 'consignation', which 'aims to coordinate a single corpus, in a system or a synchrony in which all the elements articulate the unity of an ideal configuration'.[82] In this reading, the process of archiving is designed to construct meaning through a process of ordering, arranging and describing, to stabilise supposedly inherent truths about the world.[83] By contextualising (and thus fixing) the

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[74] Ibid, p.18.
[75] Ibid, pp.33-4, original emphasis; see also Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives as Spaces of Memory', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 29, no.1 (2008), pp.9-27 (p.12).
[76] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.29; Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', p.4; see also p.22; and Schwarz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.2; Harris, 'Archival Sliver', p.65; Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.135-6.
[77] Tom Nesmith, 'Still Fuzzy, But More Accurate: Some Thoughts on the "Ghosts" of Archival Theory', *Archivaria*, 47 (1999), pp.143-4; Stoler, *Archival Grain*, pp.22;32-3.
[78] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p.4; see also Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.4.
[79] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (trans.), (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.169.
[80] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.27; see also Rodney G.S. Carter, 'Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence', *Archivaria*, 61 (2006), pp.215-33 (p.217); Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.129.
[81] Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002) pp.221-38 (pp.224-31); Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.13; see also Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, pp.125;127.
[82] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p.3.
[83] Brien Brothman, 'Declining Derrida: Integrity, Tensegrity, and the Preservation of Archives from Deconstruction', *Archivaria*, 48 (1999), pp.64-88 (p.74).

meaning of the archive to a given instant, the archivist accords a particular meaning to the past and thus refutes or silences other perspectives.[84] The archive is full of silences: those whose voices are marginalized, omitted, hidden.[85] The archive acts as a representative of 'the totality of state power and or the exclusion of non-sanctioned, ex-centric voices and narratives'.[86] In turn, the archive prohibits the stories of those communities from being remembered or told.[87]

Consequently, the archive is not neutral, but active in shaping meaning; not objective and fixed, but open to interpretation. According to Terry Cook, meaning is situated in the context, power relations and interpretations which have shaped the archive, rather than its content; the archive is thus open to constant re-interpretation; it is dynamic and shifting.[88] Likewise, the archivist is not a passive and impartial figure, but active in interpreting, mediating and shaping what and how the record of the past will be collected, preserved, understood and used.[89] Each re-shaping of the archive is a change of context which thus alters how the record is understood, and thus the record itself.[90] In such a reading, truth within the archive is replaced with 'a whole range of positions which situate the artefact within a socio-cultural framework'.[91]

Further, postmodern thought seeks to activate the voice of the 'other'; to restore the voices of those who have been marginalized through historical metanarratives.[92] In this reading, then, the pluralising of the archive becomes increasingly urgent. Indeed, the development of community archives, especially from the early 2000s, indicates underrepresentation in formal archival practice; they can be understood as sites of

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[84] Ibid, p.80; Nesmith, 'Still Fuzzy', pp.141-2.
[85] Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.14; Simon Fowler, 'Enforced silences', in David Thomas et al., *The Silence of the Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), pp.1-39 (pp.17-8).
[86] Ridener, *Polders to Postmodernism*, p.134; see also Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.4.
[87] Carter, 'Things Said and Unsaid', pp.217;220. As Valerie Johnson writes, however, silences also arise because archives are, in themselves, only 'a fragment of the whole'; that 'no record can possibly capture everything': 'Dealing with the silence', pp.109-10.
[88] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', pp.24,25; Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', p.17; see also McKemmish, 'Traces', p.14.
[89] Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.46; Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', pp.25-8; Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', pp.4;7;17;22; Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', p.2; Nesmith, 'Still Fuzzy', p.144; Harris, 'Archival Sliver', p.77; McKemmish, 'Traces', p.20; Victoria Lane and Jennie Hill, 'Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? Situating the archive and archivists', in Jennie Hill (ed.), *The Future of Archives and Recordkeeping* (London: Facet Publishing, 2011), pp.3-22 (p.10).
[90] Nesmith, 'Still Fuzzy', p.144.
[91] Ibid, p.12; see also Fowler, 'Enforced silences', pp.1-2; Johnson, 'Dealing with the silence', p.102.
[92] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', pp.23-4; Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', pp.16-8; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', pp.18-9;44.

activism in redressing such absences.[93] Writers such as Andrew Flinn and Terry Cook have advocated for a more 'pro-active', 'flexible' and community-oriented role for the archivist as facilitators and mentors within the community, rather than as institutional custodians.[94]

Within this dynamic context, exhibition has the potential to take on new and different roles; to open up and question how the archive is reinterpreted, re-contextualised and reused. These are themes that I will draw on later in the thesis. The literature, however, has largely remained static, a result, despite these shifts in thinking, of the continuing influence of Jenkinson's work.[95] Furthermore, Jenkinson's thinking remains significant across many aspects of the archive profession, with notions of the supposed objectivity of the archive and the neutrality of the archivist providing an undercurrent to much in archival theory and practice.[96] Consequently, much of the literature around audience engagement work, including exhibitions, has largely remained fixed within a broader question of the archivist's – and archive's – role and purpose.[97]

Archive Exhibitions: arguing for and against

Focusing on the discussion of archival exhibitions, I will here turn to an article written by Nigel Yates in the late 1980s. Yates was writing at a time when the archive was no longer being viewed as an administrative function for its parent organisation, but rather

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[93] Flinn, 'Community Archives', p.167; 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 Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (eds), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), pp.3-27 (pp.4;6).

[94] Flinn, 'Community Archives', pp.168-9; Flinn, 'Archival Activism', para.37; Cook, 'Four paradigms', p.114.

[95] Lane and Hill, 'Situating the archive', pp.5-6. For a critique of the postmodern position, see Hardiman, 'En mal d'archive'.

[96] Lane and Hill provide a sharply-worded critique of this situation: see 'Situating the archive', pp.4-5; see also Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.131. For discussions on neo-Jenkinsonianism, see Tschan, 'A Comparison', pp.192-3; Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', pp.25;36-7; Lane and Hill, 'Situating the archive', p.6. For arguments in favour of neo-Jenkinsonianism, see Duranti, 'Concept of Appraisal'; Michael Moss, 'Opening Pandora's Box: What is an Archive in the Digital Environment?', in Louise Craven (ed.), *What are Archives? Cultural and Theoretical Perspectives: A Reader* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), pp.71-87. For a critique of the neo-Jenkinsonian position, see Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', pp.14-6.

[97] For discussions on the role of the archivist see, for example, Gabrielle Blais and David Enns, 'From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives', *Archivaria*, 31 (1990/1), pp.101-13 (p.104); Barbara L. Craig, '"What the Papers Say": Archives in the English-Language Canadian Public Press, 1989-1994', *Archivaria*, 40 (1995), pp.109-20 (pp.110;116); Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.140; Procter, 'What's an archivist', p.23.

as a public-facing 'service'. Since the late 1970s there had been an increasing tendency for local authority archives to be relocated as part of internal local government reorganisations. Archives were commonly moved from central, administrative departments to education, culture, heritage or leisure services.[98] Similarly, the development of local studies centres, originating in the 1970s, and which in some cases saw a merging of archives with libraries and museums, can likewise be seen as an emphasis on 'heritage'.[99] Within this context, Yates sums up that viewpoint which typifies the traditional role of the archivist, in which exhibition does not play a part:

> An archivist should confine his or her attentions to the arrangement and classification of the archives and to making proper provision for their preservation and security. Clearly it would be difficult to justify this stand without some element of public use, so provision of access to records is regarded as an acceptable part of the archives service. It is, however, possible and indeed philosophically justifiable to stop at that point. We need not get involved in the business of interpretation or promotion at all.[100]

This model closely matches the principles and duties outlined by Jenkinson in his *Manual*. As Yates goes on to mention, however, many archivists would not align themselves with such a view today, even if for no other reason than an expectation on the part of funders, who see their archives as having an important public remit.[101] Such a viewpoint reflects the changing expectations of employers, funders and users over access which, in turn, challenges the Jenkinsonian ideal that has shaped much archival thinking.[102] Consequently, Yates argues that exhibitions (and publications) have an important role to play as both promotional and educative tools, and as part of a broader public relations policy.[103]

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[98] Mark Stevens, 'Local Authority Archives: places and perceptions', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 20, no.1 (1999), pp.85-92 (p.85); Boyns, 'Archivists and Family Historians', p.68. By 2002 they were seen as 'remote from the political, managerial and policy drivers of the parent authority': Harrop et al., 'Bidding for Records', p.41.
[99] David Rimmer, 'Record office or local studies centre?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 13, no.1 (1992), pp.9-17 (pp.11-2); see also Stevens, 'Local Authority Archives', p.86; Christopher Marsden, 'Sectors and Domains: Some reflections on cooperation and integration', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 22, no.1 (2001), pp.17-23 (p.17).
[100] Nigel Yates, 'Marketing the record office: new directions in archival public relations', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 9, no.2 (1988), pp.69-75 (p.70). See also Gelfand, 'If We Build It', pp.58-9.
[101] Yates, 'Marketing the record office', p.70.
[102] See Gelfand, 'If We Build It', p.50.
[103] Yates, 'Marketing the record office', pp.71-2;74-5.

Importantly, Yates writes that exhibitions, as expensive and time-consuming activities which help form a public image of the archive, should only be produced if the record office is fully committed to doing so; 'If one is intent merely to preserve the archives for posterity and allow controlled access to them then one should not venture into the fields of either exhibitions or publications. I would not condemn anyone for taking this view… If, on the other hand, one is prepared to abandon the traditional role of the archivist and to see the service as an essential ingredient in the growing concept of heritage, then there are certainly rewards to be enjoyed from the investment one must make'.[104] For Yates, then, promotional work is optional: he might see it as important; but he does not argue for it as an essential or core function of the archive.

The idea of the exhibition (and of promotional and marketing more widely) as an optional task is common to the literature; in most cases writers seem unable to classify it as a core function. Joan Rabins, for example, notes that 'the archivist's primary charge is to care for those materials worthy of preservation' and should exhibition 'jeopardize the quality of service to users', its 'ancillary benefits' would not be worth pursuing.[105] Gareth Haulfryn Williams argues that promotional and marketing work has always been important for archives to maintain a high public profile, since even though the archive's core activity continues to be 'locating, listing and producing documents for research purposes' it should not 'degenerate into a warehouse of inaccessible material'.[106] He sees this work through a purely economic lens and, in a seeming riposte to Yates, argues that archive exhibitions cannot compete with the better funded work of museums, preferring instead such alternatives as newspaper, television and radio marketing.[107]

Chris Weir responds to both Yates' and Williams' articles by acknowledging the growing importance of public relations work, supporting the need for a planned strategy, but advocating for a broad range of activities including exhibitions.[108] In a later article he advocates more strongly for a coordinated marketing strategy. Although

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[104] Ibid, p.74.
[105] She is also concerned with the security and preservation of archival materials: Joan Rabins, 'Archival Exhibits: Considerations and Caveats', *Georgia Archive*, 8, no.2 (1980), pp.29-40 (pp.29,32-3).
[106] Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'Local Archives and the Media: I: The Press', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 10, no.2 (1989), pp.57-65 (p.57).
[107] Ibid, p.58. See also Gelfand, 'If We Build It', p.59.
[108] Chris Weir, 'Selling yourself: Outreach & Promotion in the Nottinghamshire Archives Office', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 12, no.1 (1991), pp.15-25 (p.15).

he writes, 'we do not, of course, have to do any [advocacy work]', he clearly supports the need for outreach: 'if we do not at least consider them, are the title deeds in our humidity- and temperature- controlled storage areas ever going to be used by anything more than a tiny minority of users?'.[109] His view of exhibitions is again considered largely through an economic perspective, considering how much time and resources they take.[110] The economic lens is a powerful one in framing the argument around exhibitions, questioning the deployment of resources at the expense of other parts of the archive. How those different parts of the archive are viewed will likely affect where the investment is made.

Importantly, Weir's argument for a holistic and planned advocacy strategy, rather than outreach as a luxury, is indicative of the shift towards an increasing interest in and importance of public relations work.[111] Indeed, Ian Wilson argues that, in archives, arrangement, description and conservation seem to be privileged over access, use and promotion, whereas in museums, exhibitions are used to attract visitors and, in turn, help justify the museum's others activities: 'How far can we exploit this technique to introduce a broader audience to our documentary heritage?'[112]

This question of access, use and outreach formed a key debate in North America in the 1980s and early 1990s. Here, writers such as Elsie Freeman, Bruce Dearstyne, Gabrielle Blais and David Enns argued for increased importance on the use of archives, with Blais and Enns suggesting use as a factor in acquisition and appraisal.[113] Timothy Ericson advocated for outreach to be considered 'as part of our normal work', suggesting it should be placed (alongside access and use) as the 'goal', with all other activities – acquisition, description, preservation – as the 'means' to achieve this;[114]

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[109] Christopher Weir, 'The Marketing Context. Outreach: luxury or necessity?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 25, no.1 (2004), pp.71-7 (p.72); see also Weir, 'Selling yourself', p.16.
[110] Weir, 'Marketing Context', p.75.
[111] On planned strategies and marketing techniques, see also Elsie Freeman Frievogel, 'Education Programs: Outreach as an Administrative Function', *The American Archivist*, 41, no.2 (1978), pp.147-53; Ann Pederson, 'User Education and Public Relations', in Judith Ellis (ed.), *Keeping Archives*, 2nd edn (Port Melbourne: D.W. Thorpe, 1993), pp.306-49 (pp.307-14); and Williams, *Managing Archives*, pp.146-7.
[112] Ian E. Wilson, 'Towards a Vision of Archival Services', *Archivaria*, 31 (1990/1), pp.91-100 (p.96).
[113] Elsie T. Freeman, 'In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the User's Point of View', *The American Archivist*, 47, no.2 (1984), pp.111-23; Bruce W. Dearstyne, 'What is the *Use* of Archives? A Challenge for the Profession', *The American Archivist*, 50, no.1, (1987), pp.76-87 (pp.77;84-6); Blais and Enns, 'From Paper Archives', pp.101;105;107-8;109.
[114] Timothy L. Ericson, '"Preoccupied with our own gardens": Outreach and Archivists', *Archivaria*, 31 (1990/91), pp.114-22 (pp.114-7).

whilst Ian Wilson argued for an approach to archive provision based around notions of democracy, accountability and personal rights.[115] Conversely, Terry Cook warned of focusing attention on the user to the extent that all aspects of the profession become shaped by user needs: for Cook, the record remains key and, whilst public programming is important, the management of archives should not be influenced by contemporary trends.[116] Barbara Craig argued for greater recognition of the shifting contexts in which records have been managed over time and that, through all, the record itself remains central; advocacy programmes should focus on engaging people with the record, 'to expand the archivally literate public'.[117]

What is interesting about this debate is the relationship between outreach and other parts of the archivist's work. Although outreach here seems to be more accepted, it remains entangled with concepts of acquisition and appraisal, which in turn limits how it is ultimately conceived. The concept of use-driven appraisal is influenced by Schellenbergian thinking;[118] yet Jenkinson remains prominent: as Ericson writes, 'Many of the issues and problems surrounding the profession's attitudes toward outreach are deeply rooted in the attitudes and beliefs of our custodial heritage'.[119] Indeed, in 1998 William Maher defined the 'nobility of our calling as guardians of historical truth and authenticity', rejecting an interpretive role for the archivist and, in effect, reaffirming an objective and Jenkinsonian image of the profession.[120]

In Britain, the question of outreach seems to have remained an issue for the profession even through the 1990s and early 2000s, where questions still continued concerning whether the archivist should be doing promotional work at all. Such conversations took place against a backdrop of increasingly user-oriented practice,[121] including the opening

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[115] Wilson, 'Vision of Archival Services', pp.92;96.
[116] Terry Cook, 'Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming', *Archivaria*, 31 (1990/91), pp.123-34 (pp.124;126-7;129-31); see also Ham, 'Archival Edge', p.8; Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.141.
[117] Barbara L. Craig, 'What are the Clients? Who are the Products? The Future of Archival Public Services in Perspective', *Archivaria*, 31 (1990/91), pp.135-41 (pp.138-41). For summaries of this debate, see Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.29; Bryan Bance, 'Outreach in the Academic Community: Enhancing the Teaching Role of University Archives', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 2012), <http://hdl.handle.net/1993/8481> [accessed 23 May 2019], pp.18-24.
[118] See Cook, 'Past Is Prologue', p.29.
[119] Ericson, 'Preoccupied', pp.115-6; see also Ham, 'Archival Strategies', p.207.
[120] William J. Maher, 'Archives, Archivists, and Society', *The American Archivist*, 61, no.2 (1998), pp.252-65 (pp.262-3).
[121] See Boyns, 'Archivists and Family Historians', pp.68-9.

of the Family Records Centre in 1997[122] and the development of new educational resources.[123] Despite Sarah Tyacke's discussion around the 'categories of new user' prevalent within the archive and the need to 'structure services' around their needs,[124] many writers questioned this turn to user-focused services and the implications this had for engagement activities. One commentator, writing in 1993, queried if outreach was an acceptable use of time: 'Can we properly fulfil our core functions of listing, conserving and making available our holdings, and still do the outreach?'[125] Gareth Haulfryn Williams' 1995 discussion of archival exhibitions is, like his earlier debates on the subject, concerned with an economic perspective which places value on the exhibition only 'if there is a pay-off in creating an environment where the archives in our care can prosper, other archives can be saved, and the interests of our searchers can be protected'.[126] His article is very strongly concerned with the professional role of the archivist which, focused on selection, preservation and then on access and use, closely follows Jenkinson's ideal: 'by putting energy into displaying material, [we may] be stepping beyond the bounds of our professional duties; while we are being document displayers we are not being archivists'.[127] For Williams, the exhibition must produce material value which supports the traditional role of the archivist and, indeed, of archives themselves; otherwise, they are not viable activities for archivists to engage with. In this sense, his argument does not develop the notion of the exhibition as anything more than a tool to secure funding.

Conversely, Victor Gray places the issue of outreach within the context of community archives and challenged archivists to see themselves not only as keepers of archives, but also as guardians of knowledge and expertise: 'if we come to focus more strongly on this wider role… [then] the mantle of outreach… would sit more easily on our

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[122] See The National Archives, *FRC Services*, 2000, https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20000706194714/http://www.pro.gov.uk:80/about/frc/services.htm [accessed 15 December 2018]; de Groot, *Consuming History*, pp.73-4.
[123] Tyacke, 'E-government', p.11.
[124] Ibid, pp.11;19.
[125] Anon, 'Comment: Archives, heritage and leisure', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 14, no.2 (1993), pp.109-10 (p.110).
[126] Gareth Haulfryn Williams, 'The role of archival exhibitions', *Janus: Revue Archivistique*, 1995, no.1 (1995), pp.91-4 (p.94).
[127] Ibid, p.91.

shoulders'.[128] He also places emphasis on the user, arguing that, whilst resources are scarce, such work 'simply has to be pursued'.[129]

Other arguments in favour of outreach seek to rehabilitate such promotional work as fundamental to the archivist's role. I have previously argued not only for outreach as an essential function of the archivist, but also for exhibition as a crucial method of doing this.[130] In a similar way, Larry Hackman expresses a more assertive view towards outreach, arguing that 'advocacy is part of [archivists'] core work, not an add-on or a 'nice to do''.[131] Whilst Charlotte Berry and Lucy MacKeith comment that the 'core work of archivists remains the management and cataloguing of the collections in our care', they also recognise an increasing need for an interpretive role, and for 'education and outreach posts… [to] be integrated into the core work of an archival repository, and should not be seen as an additional and optional appendage'.[132] Jessica Lacher-Feldman is more assertive in describing exhibitions as 'a fundamental part of our professional mandate', seeing them essentially as outreach tools for promotion, audience interest and education, as well as encouraging further use; interestingly, she also sees them as creative and scholarly outlets for archivists themselves.[133] Yet these discussions are still presented through a lens of merit and justification, and the influence of Jenkinsonian thinking is still apparent: in promoting a new exhibition in 2018, Jennifer Hunt notes that 'in some cases the archivist must take on the role of the curator and interpret information form [sic] their collections making them user friendly and telling a story to the public. I am sure Jenkinson is turning in his grave but… it is now time for us to move away from the traditional theory and look to a new way of thinking'.[134] Likewise, Anna-Maria Hajba comments that exhibition 'requires archivists to move away from a traditional role as neutral custodians towards more

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[128] Gray, 'Knocking on Our Door?', p.7.
[129] Victor Gray, 'Relating into Relevance', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 24, no.1 (2003), pp.5-13 (p.10).
[130] Peter Lester, 'Is the Virtual Exhibition the Natural Successor to the Physical?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 27, no.1 (2006), pp.85-101 (pp.86-8).
[131] Larry Hackman, 'Love is Not Enough: Advocacy, Influence and the Development of Archives', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 33, no.1 (2012), pp.9-21 (p.12).
[132] Charlotte Berry and Lucy MacKeith, 'Colliding Worlds in the Curatorial Environment: The Archivist and the Activist', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28, no.2 (2007), pp.139-49 (pp.147-8).
[133] Jessica Lacher-Feldman, *Exhibits in Archives and Special Collections Libraries* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2013), pp.7-11. See also Rabins, 'Archival Exhibits', pp.31-2.
[134] Jennifer Hunt, 'Archives and Museums: the merging of Heritage roles?', *Royal Voluntary Service: Heritage Bulletin Blog*, 2018 <https://www.royalvoluntaryservice.org.uk/about-us/our-history/archive-and-heritage-collection/heritage-bulletin-blog/archives-and-museums-the-merging-of-heritage-roles> [accessed 5 June 2018].

active engagement with the use and interpretation of collections'.[135] Both writers clearly advocate a move forward in thinking and practice, but the influence of Jenkinson clearly remains significant both within the literature and the profession.[136]

Importantly, then, the discussion of the archival exhibition, and of outreach more generally, remains cast within a discourse of merit, value and justification. The other main focus within the literature concerns practical considerations, including the care and preservation of documents whilst on display;[137] and the need for appropriate planning, policy and best practice procedure.[138] There has also been greater attention to practical concerns such as selection, arrangement, layout, accessibility and the use of text and colour, some of which draws on museum literature.[139] Several writers discuss the difficulty of exhibiting books and manuscripts and offer practical design solutions to help with this.[140] Writers such as Emma Howgill and Sarah Colborne have explored the evaluation of exhibitions, drawing on both practical design issues as well as visitor studies.[141] Colborne in particular acknowledges how museums (and therefore, by extension, archives) can contribute to concepts of learning and social inclusion.[142] Several writers have discussed the development of online exhibitions, again typically

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[135] Anna-Maria Hajba, ''It's a Long Way to Tipperary': using an estate collection to develop an online presence', *Archives and Records*, 40, no.1 (2019), pp.55-72 (p.56).
[136] Kate Theimer's discussion suggests that, in practice, outreach is today largely understood as an accepted and increasingly important part of archivists' work: Kate Theimer (ed.), *Outreach: Innovative Practices in Archives and Special Collections* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014). An interestingly similar perspective on exhibition-making in Japanese archives is provided by Shirai Tetsuya, 'Exhibitions in local archives in Japan', *Comma*, 2014, no.1-2 (2015), pp.185-94.
[137] See, for example, Farr Casterline, *Archives & Manuscripts*, pp.19-22; Joan L. O'Connor, 'Conservation of Documents in an Exhibit', *The American Archivist*, 47, no.2 (1984), pp.156-63; J.G. Bloodworth and M.J. Parkinson, 'The display of parchment and vellum', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 9, no.2 (1988), pp.65-8.
[138] See, for example, Lacher-Feldman, *Exhibits in Archives* and Freda Matassa, *Organizing Exhibitions: a handbook for museums, libraries and archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2014).
[139] See Farr Casterline, *Archives & Manuscripts*, pp.9-56; Allyn et al., 'Using Archival Materials Effectively', pp.403-4; Rabins, 'Archival Exhibits', pp.33-8; Pederson, 'User Education and Public Relations', pp.315-20; Emma Howgill, 'New methods of analysing archival exhibitions', *Archives and Records*, 36, no.2 (2015), pp.179-94 (pp.180-1); on exhibition catalogues, see Herbert J. Sanborn and Nelson R. Burr, 'Exhibition Catalogs', *The American Archivist*, 17, no.3 (1954), pp.265-71.
[140] See Greg Olson, 'Where History Begins: A Low Tech Document-based Interactive Exhibit', *ExhibitFiles*, 2008 <http://www.exhibitfiles.org/where_history_begins_a_low_tech_documentbased_interactive_exhibit> [accessed 6 June 2018]; Karina White, 'Beautiful Science: Ideas that Changed the World', *ExhibitFiles*, 2014 <http://www.exhibitfiles.org/beautiful_science_ideas_that_changed_the_world2, [accessed 6 June 2018]; see also Sarah Colborne, 'Evaluating the Success of Exhibitions in Promoting Archives: A Case Study' (unpublished MA dissertation, Aberystwyth University, 2010), p.14.
[141] Howgill, 'New methods'; Colborne, 'Evaluating Exhibitions'.
[142] Colborne, 'Evaluating Exhibitions', pp.19-22.

focusing on practice and method.[143] Each of these conversations are important in shaping new approaches to exhibition-making, although they largely focus on practical methods in these areas.

In this way, the literature is largely tightly focused on the merits of exhibition and practical considerations to their curation and design, with little attention in moving beyond these questions to consider how exhibition might be used to reshape audience engagement with archives. Moreover, exhibitions continue to be understood within the wider context of outreach and advocacy. Howgill, for example, sees the use of exhibitions 'in outreach programs [sic] to increase visitor numbers to institutions'; she is mainly concerned with the exhibition's role in supporting learning.[144] Exhibitions are seen as promotional and educative tools, albeit ones that can entertain;[145] and whilst these are important motivations, there is little question of other roles for the exhibition, whilst any deeper analysis of the exhibition's potential in shaping meaningful encounters for audiences remains limited. In this thesis I aim to extend the conversation further; to consider if and how exhibition is conceived as something more than a promotional tool. In this sense, I aim to move beyond static notions of outreach, which promote an existing representation of the archive, and consider its role as part of a wider transformation of archival experience.

Potential New Directions

Although the literature generally conforms to the framework described above, several writers have pointed to potential new areas of discussion. Conversations about exhibition open up questions about interpretation, and these have inevitably been shaped by Jenkinsonian thinking regarding objectivity, although in some discussions the influence of postmodern thinking is more apparent. Ian Wilson writes of the anxiety that archivists feel when interpreting their holdings, but comments that 'in

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[143] See, for example, Martin R. Kalfatovic, *Creating a Winning Online Exhibition: A Guide for Libraries, Archives, and Museums* (Chicago: American Library Association, 2002); Sarah Goodwin Thiel, *Build It Once: A Basic Primer for the Creation of Online Exhibitions* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007); Hajba, 'Tipperary'. Although Kalfatovic's is a largely practical guide, it does define different types of exhibition, including 'aesthetic', 'emotive' and 'evocative' displays: p.3; this suggests a wider remit certainly for archival exhibitions.
[144] Howgill, 'New methods', p.179; see also Pederson, 'User Education and Public Relations', p.315.
[145] Nigel Yates writes that 'If we can entertain the public in our exhibitions, we should end up educating them as well': 'Marketing the record office', p.72; see also Lacher-Feldman, *Exhibits in Archives*, p.9.

selecting documents they were [already] imposing an interpretive framework'.[146] Sarah Colborne draws attention to debates around the subjective and interventionist nature of the archivist and relates these specifically to the role of interpretation in archival exhibitions, considering the fragmentary nature of the archive, the biases implied through its display, and the democratising effect of co-production, for instance.[147] However, she also sees the exhibition as a promotional tool to draw visitors' attention to the 'unmediated access' to archives available in the search room,[148] which again implies a neutral and objective archivist. This argument ignores the inescapably mediating role of the archivist;[149] nevertheless, the question of mediation and coproduction within the exhibition are valuable and warrant further attention.

Berry and MacKeith's discussion of interpretation stresses how archives 'are not 'neutral' or 'value free''[150]: their original approach to the exhibition of records relating to a Jamaican sugar plantation, which included text designed to provide a ''clear neutral historical context' whilst allowing the documents to speak for themselves', in fact reinforced their 'implicitly racist' and 'inappropriate' content.[151] This discussion highlights the issue of supposed claims to neutrality: not only that 'biases permeate all views and interpretations', as Jessica Lacher-Feldman comments,[152] but also that a 'neutral' standpoint should, by definition, include perspectives which may be unpalatable, distasteful or contrary to indisputable histories.[153] Expressed differently,

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[146] Wilson, 'Vision of Archival Services', p.95. Writing in Canada, Wilson refers to the influence of the Dominion Archivists Douglas Brymner, Arthur Doughty and his colleague Adam Shortt, who asserted a 'neutral' perspective on archival management.
[147] Colborne, 'Evaluating Exhibitions', pp.17-8;61-4.
[148] Ibid, p.59.
[149] On mediation within the search room, see, for example, Brothman, 'Orders of Value', p.85; Gillian Rose, 'Practising photography: an archive, a study, some photographs and a researcher', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26, no.4 (2000), pp.555-71 (pp.558-62). On the mediating effect of 'registers' and other documentation in the museum, see Swinney, 'Museum 'register'', pp.42-3; and on archive boxes as non-neutral spaces, see Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photography and the Material Performance of the Past', *History and Theory*, 48, no.4 (2009), pp.130-50 (p.146).
[150] Berry and MacKeith, 'Colliding Worlds', p.141.
[151] Ibid, p.140. For a discussion of this issue in the context of photographs and the 'act of viewing' in exhibitions, see Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), pp.195-6.
[152] Lacher-Feldman, *Exhibits in Archives*, p.15. Lacher-Feldman nevertheless advocates for a cautious approach to avoid 'undermin[ing] broader goals and objectives', recommending collaborative displays which enable the archivist to act as 'a facilitator, maintaining a more neutral interpretive stance and perhaps mediating among competing perspectives': p.16.
[153] Verne Harris questions this when he considers how archivists invite the 'other' into the archive, including those 'one wishes to resist': 'Archival Sliver', pp.85-6. The point here is that claims to neutrality must necessarily open up such questions, but these are not typically considered when exhibitions are described as 'neutral'.

exhibitions which claim to be 'neutral', or which let the document 'speak for itself' are, in fact, interpreting or taking a position, however implicit this might be. Exhibition-making is necessarily imbued with 'values', which in turn 'define hierarchies, equivalences, and criteria of quality and worth and shape ideologies and politics related to identities'.[154]

The concept of interpretation has largely been shaped by questions of objectivity and neutrality in the archive and represents, again, discourse concerning the role of the archivist. Yet these conversations also indicate potential discussion points for how exhibitions can be used to examine the nature of the archive. Rather than debating further these questions of interpretation and objectivity, the thesis instead seeks to develop the conversation by examining how interpretation is used within exhibitions to open up and address questions about the archive; and thus how exhibition is understood to engage visitors in experiencing the archive in new ways.

I have previously discussed the question of the material archive and how exhibition shapes an understanding of the archive as informational and physical, especially when compared to virtual representations online.[155] Colborne suggests that whilst some visitors place value on seeing the 'real thing', they are often equally impressed by seeing facsimiles, implying that access to originals may not be important.[156] Although the thesis seeks the views of archivists in regard to exhibiting originals, it aims to push beyond questions of value to examine how exhibition can be used to accentuate the intellectual and material characteristics of archives. It draws on phenomenological and anthropological research to unpack how exhibition can be designed to activate emotional, sensory and embodied as well as cognitive forms of engagement.

Critical reviews can help shape thinking around archival exhibitions; the only archive journal to feature these on a semi-regular basis is the Canadian journal *Archivaria*. These reviews necessarily focus on form and content, but they do open up potential areas of analysis. Amy Tector and Simon Patrick Rogers, for example, comment on

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[154] Corinne A. Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value: Constituting Worth and Meaning through Cultural Display', *Visual Anthropology Review*, 27, no.1 (2011), pp.21-48 (p.38).
[155] Lester, 'Natural successor', pp.89;94-6; see also Peter Lester, 'Of mind and matter: the archive as object', *Archives and Records*, 39, no.1 (2018), pp.73-87.
[156] Colborne, 'Evaluating Exhibitions', pp.55-6.

notions of truth and selection;[157] whilst Carolyn Vega considers new perspectives on archives afforded through exhibition techniques such as juxtaposition.[158]

Several writers such as Rodney Carter and Joan Schwartz explore how exhibitions are used to examine questions around recordkeeping, such as archival silences.[159] They also explore the relationship between the practice of exhibition and archival theory. In particular, Carter considers the decontextualization of the archive when exhibited in isolation from other records in its *fonds*,[160] an issue also discussed by Robert VanderBerg, who writes that 'It is by now common criticism that when archival records are included in art, history, or science exhibitions, archival bonds are broken, context is lost, and not enough information is supplied to establish meaning'.[161] From a different perspective, J. Keri Cronin and Jessica Bushey have respectively discussed how exhibitions of archival photographs have sought to examine socially purposeful themes concerning the experience of Indigenous peoples in Canada.[162] These exhibitions have sought to encourage 'dialogue and healing'[163] and a 'reclaiming of identity';[164] and have thus involved archives in an examination of urgent contemporary issues.

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[157] Amy Tector, 'Painting the Rocks: The Loss of Old Sydney', *Archivaria*, 71 (2011), pp.153-5 (p.155); Simon Patrick Rogers, 'Arthur S. Goss: Works and Days', *Archivaria*, 77 (2014), pp.159-63; see also Simon Patrick Rogers, 'An Infectious Idea: 125 Years of Public Health in Toronto', *Archivaria*, 70 (2010), pp.219-21 (p.221). For a brief but similar discussion, see also Richard J. Cox, 'The Documentation Strategy and Archival Appraisal Principle: A Different Perspective', *Archivaria*, 38 (1994), pp.11-36 (p.27).

[158] Carolyn Vega, 'Blue: Color and Concept', *Archivaria*, 78 (2014), pp.222-5 (pp.222;5); see also Amy Marshall Furness, 'Vera Frenkel: Cartographie d'une pratique/Mapping a Practice', *Archivaria*, 71 (2011), pp.155-60 (p.157).

[159] Rodney G.S. Carter, 'Isabel McLaughlin (1903-2002): Painter, Patron, Philanthropist', *Archivaria*, 65 (2008), pp.195-9 (p.197); Joan M. Schwartz, 'Medieval Archive meets the Post-modern World: The Inaugural Exhibition of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona, Spain', *Archivaria*, 64 (2007), pp.199-209.

[160] Carter, 'Isabel McLaughlin', p.197. See also Rodney G.S. Carter, 'Betty Goodwin: Work Notes', *Archivaria*, 71 (2011), pp.160-5 (p.164). The General International Standard for Archival Description defines '*fonds*' as: 'The whole of the records, regardless of form or medium, organically created and/or accumulated and used by a particular person, family, or corporate body in the course of that creator's activities and functions': International Council on Archives, *ISAD(G): General International Standard Archival Description* (Ottawa: ICA, 2000), p.10.

[161] Robert VanderBerg, 'Black Ice: David Blackwood Prints of Newfoundland', *Archivaria*, 72 (2011), pp.255-60 (p.259). See also James Roussain, 'Life on the Grid: 100 Years of Street Photography in Toronto', *Archivaria*, 77 (2014), pp.163-8 (p.167). For a broader discussion from a museological perspective, see Mary Leighton and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, 'Breathing Life into the Archives: Reflections Upon Decontextualization and the Curatorial History of V.G. Childe and the Material from Tószeg', *European Journal of Archaeology*, 7, no.1 (2004), pp.41-60.

[162] J. Keri Cronin, 'Assimilation and Difference: Two Recent Exhibitions of Archival Photographs', *Archivaria*, 54 (2002), pp.130-41; Jessica Bushey, 'Speaking to Memory: Images and Voices from St. Michael's Residential School', *Archivaria*, 78 (2014), pp.209-14.

[163] Cronin, 'Assimilation and Difference', p.134.

[164] Bushey, 'Speaking to Memory', p.211.

These approaches to exhibition are uncommon in the archival literature but provide a useful direction for considering the role that exhibition can play within the specific environment of the archive. The role of exhibition has largely been understood as a form of outreach or advocacy; or as a mechanism to create learning opportunities for visitors. Exhibitions do perform these roles and this standpoint arguably reflects how they are commonly employed by archivists; the thesis investigates how they do indeed conceive this work, and whether this extends beyond the limits outlined in the literature. But it also seeks to push beyond these conversations to consider *how* exhibitions can be and are designed to produce new kinds of encounters for visitors. I aim to consider how exhibitions present, critique and unfold the archive; what can be learnt from innovative practice; and how exhibitions are designed to open up the wider space of the archive and reshape experience that happens within it. To do this, I want to draw on a different theoretical lens which is largely unexplored in the literature: one based on notions of spatiality and phenomenology. These are areas that have been studied within museology, and so the thesis is located within a museum studies discipline to help shape the conversation around archives. Further, to help develop this lens, I turn to two key writers to examine how their thinking can help contextualise new understanding around exhibition and the broader experience of the archive.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this thesis, I am examining how archivists use exhibition to shape visitors' physical experiences of the archive and how such approaches reflect and indicate a wider reformulation of what the archive itself can be. The key element that I want to turn to here, then, is the notion of experience, of what it means to 'be' in the archive. By focusing on this concept, I want to consider exhibitions by looking beyond questions of objectivity and interpretation; of practical conventions and guidelines; and instead think about how they can and are being used to open out new ways of thinking about and encountering the archive.

In considering how exhibition-making happens in the archive today, I will draw on archival, historiographical and museological thinking to consider the influences on, directions for and implications of this kind of work. Underpinning these discussions are questions about the nature of experience, of how activity is (deliberately or otherwise) shaped to encourage certain kinds of experience within the physical space of the archive. For this research, then, I develop a framework that utilises both spatial and phenomenological epistemologies as a way of understanding how experience happens. In other words, I argue, firstly, that the entire experience of being in an archive, as in all spaces, is necessarily predicated on space: the very act of 'walking into' an archive indicates a spatial encounter. Henri Lefebvre has argued that space is the product of social and political forces and is thus active in shaping how experience happens.[1] An understanding of space in this reading, then, is helpful to consider how exhibitions are designed within a physical environment.

Secondly, I want to draw on the study of phenomenology to help understand how experience happens for the individual within the world. Exhibition provides an encounter between user and archive. In this sense, it is helpful to think about *how* this encounter happens, in order to understand how exhibitions can be and are designed to shape experience. Maurice Merleau-Ponty developed an understanding of the individual's encounter with the world through the theory of embodied experience. For

[1] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

Merleau-Ponty, human beings can experience objects around them because they are themselves part of the wider world, and thus both the body and the mind work together in forming awareness and understanding.[2] This provides a useful lens through which to consider how exhibitions are designed to encourage individual encounters with archival material. Together, the work of Lefebvre and Merleau-Ponty are helpful for understanding new approaches to exhibition design in archives.

In this chapter, then, I will draw on the writings of Lefebvre and Merleau-Ponty to help shape a framework for the thesis that utilises both spatial and phenomenological lenses. In so doing, I intend to position the experience that exhibition affords within a broader context and thus discuss how their design and use can help (re)shape experience within the archive. Broader still, this framework is designed to open up approaches that can be used to help reconceptualise thinking about the archive as both institution and record, and thus help shape wider processes of change. With this in mind, then, I will briefly discuss throughout this chapter how the archive, as space and as record, is discussed within the literature; and re-examine these conversations through these alternative theoretical lenses.

Conversations about Space

Henri Lefebvre writes of how space is commonly understood in two distinct ways, each of which reflects the mind/body split that characterises Cartesian-influenced thinking. The first of these is the space that is thought about in the human mind, the abstract space of architects' plans and blueprints: 'mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians)'.[3] The second way is that of space experienced in physical form, the spaces that human bodies inhabit or pass through: 'physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature')'.[4] Lefebvre sought to theorise a new way of thinking about space, one that overcomes these distinct mind/body concepts. Rather than separating and reducing notions of space to either mental concepts or physical forms, Lefebvre instead argues that experience of space is at once

[2] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, Donald A. Landes (trans.), (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).
[3] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.27.
[4] Ibid.

intellectual and physical;[5] space is lived: not only do social relationships and experiences shape space, but space also, in turn, shapes them.[6] Lefebvre termed this new understanding as 'social space'.[7]

Lefebvre also aimed to overturn the idea of space as neutral and passive. He writes that understanding around space has oscillated between 'objects in space or else a space without objects, a neutral space'.[8] Lefebvre's 'social space' conceived 'an approach which would analyse not things in space but space itself, with a view to uncovering the social relationships embedded in it'.[9] He understands social space as something produced by society. Whilst space is not in itself a 'thing',[10] nor is it an empty backdrop against which life is played out.[11] Space is a 'lived experience',[12] essential to human social relationships: 'Human beings… are in space; they cannot absent themselves from it, nor do they allow themselves to be excluded from it'.[13]

In this sense, space is something which 'subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity… social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others'.[14] Through this reading, space has a political agency; it is shaped by political and ideological forces and, in turn, reinforces or sculpts certain forms of behaviours, activities or thoughts. As such, space is neither pure nor neutral.[15] As Jeremy Till writes, 'space is "produced" through a complex set of overlapping societal agencies: the representational, the economic, the phenomenological, the conceptual, the spatial practice of the individual, the collective practices of the political, and so on'.[16]

According to Edward Soja, Lefebvre's work in its broadest conception seeks to position the notion of spatiality as an ontological construct, one which is co-equal to established

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[5] Ibid, p.16: Lefebvre sought 'to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory'.
[6] Lefebvre writes that space, 'in addition to being a means of production… is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power': Ibid, p.26.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid, p.91.
[9] Ibid, p.89.
[10] Ibid, p.82; see also Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p.272.
[11] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.93-4; see also Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p.272.
[12] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.93.
[13] Ibid, p.132.
[14] Ibid, p.73.
[15] Ibid, pp.26;94.
[16] Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), p.126.

social norms of 'historicality' and 'sociality', of temporality and existence, which in turn enables new formulations where space is not 'an "external" container, stage or environment for social action', but an active part of shaping and being, affording new ways of constructing and understanding knowledge.[17] In this sense, then, the notion of space plays an essential and fundamental part in how we understand the world around us: '*there is no unspatialized social reality*'.[18] Soja defines this concept through the term 'socio-spatial dialectics';[19] as Suzanne MacLeod writes, 'space is entwined with human experience… people and spaces exist in a dialectical relationship';[20] as such, 'social relations exist, and only exist, in and through space'.[21]

In order to develop his concept of social space, Lefebvre developed a 'conceptual triad'. The first node of this triad is termed spatial practice, or perceived space, 'which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of spatial form';[22] as Lefebvre notes later, 'the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space'.[23] The second node of the triad is defined by Lefebvre as representations of space, or as conceived or conceptual notions of space.[24] Representations of space may 'derive from accumulated scientific knowledge',[25] and may incorporate 'ideological apparatuses' in the conception of knowledge.[26] To these two forms of understanding Lefebvre adds a third, which he defines as representational spaces, 'spaces as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'… This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects'.[27] Importantly, these ideas of space are 'interconnected' so that any one person within a society 'may move from one to another without confusion', but they may not

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[17] Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp.44;46;71-2.
[18] Ibid, p.46, original emphasis. See also Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: a new biography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.27.
[19] Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), pp.76-9.
[20] MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, p.27.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.33.
[23] Ibid, p.38.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid, p.40.
[26] Ibid, p.44.
[27] Ibid, p.39.

necessarily 'constitute a coherent whole', and thus each different space may influence or dominate one or both of the others at any given time.[28] Where political and social circumstances allow, it is through the notion of 'lived space' that an individual may be able to shape their experience of space through appropriation and use.[29]

When examined through the lens of Lefebvre's thinking, the space of the archive is, like all spaces, tightly bound with social relationships, both influencing and affecting the other. This relationship is closely entwined with notions of professional identity. Adrian Forty writes of a close link between the rise of new professional groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the design of buildings.[30] Likewise, Anthony King notes how these professional groups, with 'an interest in the development of specialised knowledge… in order to establish their professional identity – and monopoly – as professionals',[31] influenced how buildings were made: they 'gave rise to built environments which could not be understood without reference to the beliefs and ideologies of these groups'.[32] The experience of users within those spaces is shaped by the ideologies inherent within their design and form: 'Built environments encode or give expression to a particular set of cultural rules and also influence both social and cognitive environments. How people build not only results from but also influences how people think'.[33] This professional shaping is thus enfolded within notions of power: as MacLeod writes, buildings are 'an embodiment of the politics and values of those who have the authority to shape them'.[34] In this sense, they are 'active in the making of social relationships and the division and physical occupation of space is identified as key to the production of (unequal) social hierarchies'.[35]

In this reading, the space of the archive is shaped by accepted professional notions concerning the value of recordkeeping. Jenkinson's primary duties of the archivist, what he termed the 'physical' and 'moral defence of archives', were focused directly on

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[28] Ibid, p.40.
[29] Forty, *Words and Buildings*, p.312; see also Jonathan Hill, *Immaterial Architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp.53-5.
[30] Adrian Forty, 'The modern hospital in England and France: the social and medical uses of architecture', in Anthony D. King (ed.), *Buildings and Society: Essays on the social development of the built environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp.61-93 (pp.72-7).
[31] Anthony D. King, 'Introduction', in Anthony D. King (ed.), *Buildings and Society: Essays on the social development of the built environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp.1-33 (p.17).
[32] Ibid, p.28.
[33] Ibid, p.27.
[34] MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, p.26.
[35] Ibid.

the record, which should be protected from 'all kinds of dangers'.[36] In this sense, archival theory has been shaped around the record. As discussed above, conversations about use in the 1980s and early 1990s were framed through an understanding of the record's evidentiality and integrity; indeed, user studies is a relatively recent development within archival science.[37] With a focus on the integrity of the record, the space of the archive is thus conceived and perceived as a space of management and control; and thus of power: it establishes hierarchies in terms of access and use. The archive, as a lived space, is shaped by these forces and as such gives little room for appropriation; it reduces the agency of its users, both archivists and, especially, archival users.

Drawing on the work of Lefebvre, and writing in relation to architecture and use, Jonathan Hill defines three types of user: passive ('predictable and unable to transform use, space and meaning'); reactive ('modifies the physical characteristics of a space as needs change but must select from a narrow and predictable range of configurations largely defined by the architect'); and creative ('creates a new space or gives an existing one new meanings and uses').[38] The space of the archive is active in shaping the extent to which users can influence *how* they experience the archive. Hill's model suggests the user's experience of the archive is likely to be passive, shaped by a conformity understood and developed through professional archival principles.

This concept of a 'passive user' emerges, for example, in Christopher Kitching's standard reference works on the design of archive repositories. Whilst Kitching acknowledges the needs of users and the importance of flexibility in occupancy and use, he writes 'the care of the archives themselves claims prior attention'. As such, he is concerned with controlling public access and defending archives from theft and damage; the user is reduced to a largely abstract and passive form.[39]

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[36] Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.44.
[37] See Isto Huvila, 'Participatory archive: towards decentralised curation, radical user orientation, and broader contextualisation of records management', *Archival Science*, 8 (2008), pp.15-36 (pp.16-7), Anneli Sundqvist, 'Archival Mediation: Studying Users' Interaction with Access Systems', in Anne J. Gilliland et al. (eds), *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 2017), pp.558-80 (pp.560-1).
[38] Jonathan Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.28.
[39] Christopher Kitching, *Archive Buildings in the United Kingdom 1977-1992* (London: HMSO, 1993), pp.11-2;37-8; Christopher Kitching, *Archive Buildings in the United Kingdom 1993-2005* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), pp.13;15.

Kitching's discussions of archival buildings are important reference works on the practical design and construction of archive repositories; but the focus on form, function and structure infers a passivity to buildings as largely neutral spaces. Other writers consider the space of the archive as active and thus involved in shaping social relationships and wider understandings of the archival record. In tracing the origin of the word 'archive' to *arkheion*, the Greek 'superior magistrate' in whose home official documents were filed, Derrida at once correlates the space of the archive with a site of political power and custodianship.[40] For Luciana Duranti, the archive building plays a key role in authenticating and thus 'conferring authority' on the record through the act of custodianship.[41] Her call for the reconstruction of ('powerful, imposing'[42]) archive buildings as emblematic symbols within the urban landscape is concerned with the integrity of the record as the 'pulsating heart of civic life',[43] but reinforces notions of a 'social power structure'[44] of authority and control.

Duranti's argument also captures the relationship between a professional ideology and the design of spaces, articulating how coded messages become embroiled within built structures. The hierarchies that such readings reinforce are fundamental in fashioning the archive as an active site of power. This notion has been critiqued by Eric Ketelaar, who discusses archives as temples, bound up in an architecture and ceremony of 'submissive awe' and 'silent obedience'; and as prisons, panopticons of invigilation, regulation and control.[45] Ketelaar reframes notions of security and preservation through a lens of power, writing how the spatial processes of the archive, designed 'in the interest of the security and integrity of the archival documents… [and] inscribed in the archivists' code of ethics – are to a large extent rationalizations of appropriation and

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[40] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p.2; see also Adrian Cunningham, 'Archival Institutions', in Sue McKemmish et al., (eds), *Archives: recordkeeping in society* (Wagga Wagga: Charles Sturt University, 2005), pp.21-50 (pp.26-7); Michelle Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces: the personal-political sites of community archives', *Archival Science*, 18 (2018), pp.73-93 (pp.74-5).
[41] Luciana Duranti, 'Archives as a Place', *Archives and Social Studies: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 1, no.0 (2007), pp.445-66 (pp.447-8;450); see also Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces', p.75.
[42] Duranti, 'Archives as Place', p.456.
[43] Ibid, pp.465-6.
[44] See King, 'Introduction', p.4. For a detailed critique of Duranti's position, see Cunningham, 'Archival Institutions', pp.44-5; see also Michel Duchein, 'The History of European Archives and the Development of the Archival Profession in Europe', *The American Archivist*, 55, no.1 (1992), pp.14-25 (p.15).
[45] Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples', pp.233-6. See also Cunningham, 'Archival Institutions', p.46; Sigrid McCausland, 'Temporary or 'temple'? Archive buildings and the image of archives in Australia', *The Australian Library Journal*, 62, no.2 (2013), pp.90-9 (p.91); Fowler, 'Enforced silences', p.2; Valerie Johnson, 'Solutions to the silence', in David Thomas et al., *The Silence of the Archives* (London: Facet Publishing, 2017), pp.141-61 (p.144).

power'.[46] Writers such as Jarrett Drake and Lilly Koltun offer similar analyses, critiquing the supposedly static and neutral archive as a contested site of discrimination and control.[47] In each of these readings, the space of the archive is conceived as a site of empowerment but perceived as a site of control.[48] Here, then, is Lefebvre's lived experience of the archival space as inherently political, giving the user little room to express individual agency.

These examples concern the space of the official or institutional archive. Such spaces reflect professional concerns with the record and embody the political relationship between the archivist, managing and controlling access, and the user. In other words, following Lefebvre, archival space is bound up in the power relations of the archival profession; it is the product of these theories and practices, and it in turn shapes modes of behaviour which reinforce these power relations.

Community and grassroots archives have typically developed due to a lack of representation; they also question notions of authority and legitimacy in representing individual and community histories.[49] Ann Cvetkovich has analysed the space of such archives, and has understood them through notions of community, emotion and feelings.[50] She describes how such archives often develop in people's homes which serve as 'safe havens' to document histories at risk of loss and which in turn are made accessible through an interrelationship between the 'private' and 'semipublic'.[51] Likewise, Drake considers community archives as spaces which can engender 'belonging' and 'believing'.[52] More recently, Michelle Caswell et al. have discussed the concept of space from the perspective of the community archive user. They draw

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[46] Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples', p.236; see also Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.133.
[47] Jarrett M. Drake, 'Liberatory Archives: Towards Belonging and Believing (Part 1)', *On Archivy*, 2016 <https://medium.com/on-archivy/liberatory-archives-towards-belonging-and-believing-part-1-d26aaeb0edd1> [accessed 6 September 2018]; Lilly Koltun, 'The Architecture of Archives: Whose Form, What Functions?', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.239-61. On barriers and access, see Ian Wilson, 'Vision of Archival Services', pp.97-8; also Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.133. See also Elaine Heumann Gurian, 'Threshold fear', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: architecture, design, exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.203-14 (p.203).
[48] See Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples', p.235.
[49] Flinn, 'Community Archives', p.167; Flinn and Stevens, 'Telling our own story', p.6.
[50] Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp.241-4.
[51] Ibid, pp.244-5; see also Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces', p.75.
[52] Jarrett M. Drake, 'Liberatory Archives: Towards Belonging and Believing (Part 2)', *On Archivy*, 2016 available at <https://medium.com/on-archivy/liberatory-archives-towards-belonging-and-believing-part-2-6f56c754eb17> [accessed 6 September 2018]; see also Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces', p.75.

attention to how 'people from marginalized communities imagine community archive spaces to be symbols of survival, homes and extensions of homes, and politically generative spaces'.[53] King considers how built forms and uses function as an expression of society's needs, ideas and values; buildings change as society changes, reflecting shifts in social needs and understanding.[54] Community archives, as spaces to 'empower people who have been marginalized by mainstream media and memory institutions',[55] can be seen in this light. This suggests that existing archival institutions do not fulfil the needs of all communities, resulting in alternative archive spaces.

This difference in understanding is reflective of how space itself is produced. As Lefebvre argues, space is a product of social and political relationships.[56] As considered above, the institutional archive is reflective of a professional ideology in which the archival record is the focus of theoretical and practical concern. In this reading, the user must also be managed and controlled. The power hierarchy that arises is thus influential in shaping the space of the institutional archive and how the user's experience takes place. The community archive, in contrast, has largely developed organically by users themselves, constructed and managed in a way that is meaningful and relevant to them. The space that has been created here is the product of very different social relationships, not of power and control, but of equity, expressed through generative acts of self-archiving. As such, the spatial experience is (for the community, at least) one of equitability.

Lefebvre's work is helpful in rethinking how the space of the archive, as the product of social and political relationships, is active in shaping users' experience. Here, I am concerned with how archivists are seeking to open up the (physical) archive, to make it more relevant and accessible to broader audiences. This in turn indicates a need for rethinking relationships within the archive, to consider a flattening of established hierarchies and an instilling of greater agency in the user's experience of the archive. I suggest that exhibition can play a role in this process. According to Lefebvre, human relationships exist only through space;[57] as such, space plays an essential role in discussing how experience in the archive can be reformulated in new and diverse ways.

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[53] Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces', p.90.
[54] King, 'Introduction', p.1.
[55] Caswell et al., 'Imagining transformative spaces', p.76.
[56] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.
[57] Ibid, p.132.

Lefebvre's thinking produces a new ontology for how to conceive space.[58] Significantly, at the centre of his triad is the person, active in conceiving, perceiving and living space. This introduces a distinctly phenomenological character to the experience of space. I want to expand on this concept of a phenomenological encounter with the archive by turning now to the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

Conversations about Phenomena

The research examines how archivists create meaningful experiences for visitors; thus, the encounter between the individual and archival material itself becomes significant. To help develop understanding around the nature of this experience, I will here draw on the work of Maurice Merleau-Ponty, which focuses on the study of phenomenology. For Merleau-Ponty, phenomenology is

> an account of "lived" space, "lived" time, and the "lived" world. It is the attempt to provide a direct description of our experience such as it is, and without any consideration of its psychological genesis or of the causal explanations that the scientist, historian, or sociologist might offer of that experience.[59]

Merleau-Ponty's approach to phenomenology therefore resembles Lefebvre's understanding of space: one which focuses on a 'lived' experience and which seeks to transcend the interventions of language and psychology: a sense of how life itself actually happens. He aimed to examine phenomenology as the 'primordial' experience of the world before or without applying a lens of disciplinary reasoning.[60] Merleau-Ponty also sought to unpick the specificity of experience for the individual.[61] This perspective lay in contrast to an empirical and objective understanding of a 'constant' perception, as suggested by such writers as René Descartes and Francis Bacon.[62]

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[58] See Soja, *Thirdspace*, pp.45-6.
[59] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.lxx.
[60] Ibid, pp.32;131-2; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Primacy of Perception and other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*, James M. Edie (ed.), (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964), pp.5-6. In this endeavour he followed Martin Heidegger's approach to phenomenological understanding: see Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (trans.), (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1962), pp.32-5.
[61] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.28.
[62] Ibid; see Jonathan Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p.10.

Furthermore, Merleau-Ponty sought to overcome the dualism developed in the work of Descartes and Kant,[63] that is, between a subject's consciousness and the thing that the subject is conscious of.[64] Merleau-Ponty writes that 'The Cartesian tradition has taught us to disentangle ourselves from the object… one exists as a thing, or one exists as a consciousness'.[65] In a similar impulse to Lefebvre's thinking, which aimed to address the mind/body split predicated in a Cartesian understanding of space, Merleau-Ponty sought to overcome this 'subject-object dichotomy'.[66] He argued that the body itself is not an object of consciousness[67] but, rather, a means of understanding the world: 'my body is that by which there are objects. It is neither tangible nor visible insofar as it is what sees and touches'.[68] Rather than a detached entity which perceives the world from afar, Merleau-Ponty argues that the body is in fact integrated within the world and it is through the body that a person perceives and thus understands the world. He writes that 'the perceiving mind is an incarnated mind';[69] he sought 'to re-establish the roots of the mind in its body and in its world, going against doctrines which treat perception as a simple result of the action of external things on our body as well as against those which insist on the autonomy of consciousness'.[70]

In unpacking this concept, there are two key aspects which it is useful to draw attention to. Firstly, the notion of embodiment focuses on how individuals understand and know the world through their bodies: 'I observe external objects with my body, I handle them, inspect them, and walk around them'.[71] The only way that it is possible to experience and know the world is through the body, which through its spatiality and materiality facilitates an awareness and understanding of the wider world, including of other material things within space.[72] Because the body occupies space, it is possible to understand how the world is itself spatial: 'there would be no such thing as space if I

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[63] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, pp.lxii-lxiii. See also Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.11; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), pp.16-7.
[64] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.123; see also Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.63.
[65] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.204.
[66] Ibid, p.179
[67] See Ibid, p.73 for how Merleau-Ponty considers how the body has typically been understood as an object of consciousness.
[68] Ibid, p.94.
[69] Merleau-Ponty, *Primacy of Perception*, p.3.
[70] Ibid, pp.3-4.
[71] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.93.
[72] See Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, pp.12-13;66; see also Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p.34.

did not have a body'.[73] Likewise, experience of the material happens only because we are material beings. The body, through its materiality and spatiality, is the centre of experience, it is 'the pivot of the world' through which experience takes place.[74]

Secondly, leading on from this concept, Merleau-Ponty shows how the body 'inhabits space and time';[75] he writes 'I am not in space and time, nor do I think space and time; rather, I am of space and time'.[76] Expressed differently, rather than reinforcing a bilateralism between a perceiving consciousness and a perceived world, Merleau-Ponty sought to show how the body is fundamentally *of* the world, and it is through this sense of being a part of the world that the body enables perception to happen. Through the concepts of the body schema, a proprioceptive system of bodily self-awareness;[77] and of motor cognition and motricity, through which the body is 'geared'[78] for action in the world, Merleau-Ponty demonstrated the fundamental inhabitation of the body as a form of engagement and action within the world.[79]

So, in contrast to Cartesian thinking, Merleau-Ponty writes that: 'the system of experience is not spread out before me as if I were God, it is lived by me from a certain point of view; I am not the spectator of it, I am a part of it, and it is my inherence in a point of view that at once makes possible the finitude of my perception and its opening to the total world as the horizon of all perception'.[80] The world is not an object, but 'the field of our experience'.[81] He described a notion of 'being-in-the-world', a term he borrowed from Martin Heidegger[82] to articulate a sense of 'emplacement' or 'embeddedness in a social and spatial context out of which our individual subjectivity is gradually constituted'.[83] Thus, experience of the world is one which is 'lived' through the body[84] and, as Jonathan Hale writes, the notion of 'being-in-the-world' underpins

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[73] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.105.
[74] Ibid, p.84.
[75] Ibid, p.140.
[76] Ibid, p.141.
[77] Ibid, pp.103;142;144-6;154. For a detailed examination of the body schema, see Shaun Gallagher, *How the Body Shapes the Mind* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005); and in relation to archives, Lester, 'Of mind and matter', pp.78-80.
[78] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.261.
[79] Ibid, pp.140-1;143; see also Merleau-Ponty, *Primacy of Perception*, p.5.
[80] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.317.
[81] Ibid, p.428.
[82] See Heidegger, *Being and Time*, pp.78-90; also Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.23.
[83] Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.16.
[84] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.205. See also Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p.19; and Olga Belova, 'The event of seeing: A phenomenological perspective on visual sense-

'the idea that we cannot study the nature of human 'being' in isolation from the rest of the world'.[85] Again, as Hale describes, human thinking 'happens in the curious nexus created by the interaction of brain, body and world'.[86]

The perception of objects is understood through bodily engagement with the world: 'I engage myself with my body among things, they coexist with me insofar as I am an embodied subject'.[87] Merleau-Ponty developed the concept of 'flesh' to articulate how the body 'is not an obstacle… [but a] means of communication'.[88] He considered the interrelationship between that which touches and that which is touched, most clearly described in the image of one's left hand touching one's right: both touching and touched simultaneously; yet in fact perceiving only their 'outer covering'.[89] As Hale writes, 'what we have actually experienced is not simply the thing in itself, but rather our own bodies in the *act* of experiencing the object'.[90] Perception of objects within the world is thus a coherence, a 'coupling of our body with… things';[91] an interconnectivity between person and object. An object is not a site onto which the person projects their preconceived understanding; but rather a part of the world which is perceived as it is: the 'sense' of the object 'animates' it, and is 'embodied in it'.[92] In this sense, the object and the person become entwined with one another in a mutual encounter: 'the seer and the visible reciprocate one another and we no longer know which sees and which is seen'.[93] As Hale writes, 'objects perceive us as much as we perceive them, and that we both carry the marks of our encounters with the other… the key difference between these two histories of interaction is that, as 'minded' bodies, we have the ability to reflect on our experiences, to remember them and to learn from them, and (at least partly) assimilate them by rational means'.[94]

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making', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.116-33 (p.121).

[85] Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.23.

[86] Ibid, p.36; see also Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, p.17.

[87] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.191.

[88] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Visible and the Invisible*, Alphonso Lingis (trans.), (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p.135; see also Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.13.

[89] Merleau-Ponty, *Visible and Invisible*, pp.133;148; see also p.142.

[90] Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.69, original emphasis.

[91] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.334.

[92] Ibid, p.333.

[93] Merleau-Ponty, *Visible and Invisible*, p.139.

[94] Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.70. Hale clarifies this concept further: the sense of mutual awareness of perceiver and object, of an object's 'aliveness', references a 'sense of… possibilities and limits', rather than of 'vitalism' or agency: pp.83-4. In this sense, Merleau-Ponty contrasts with notions of agency as suggested by Alfred Gell: see Alfred Gell, ''Things' as social agents', in Sandra H. Dudley

Merleau-Ponty's approach to phenomenology is a helpful lens through which to consider how archives are perceived, as both sources of information and as material objects. Historically, archives have attracted interest from scholars not just for the information they record, but also for their physical and material properties. The disciplines of palaeography, diplomatics and sigillography, developed in the seventeenth century in Jean Mabillon's treatise *De re diplomatica libri sex*, focus attention on the 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' elements of the document, specifically for authenticating purposes: these sciences attest to the importance of the material form of archives.[95] Moreover, archival material was routinely collected by researchers and antiquarians because of its appearance and material characteristics rather than (just) for its content.[96] Yet in time these disciplines were 'reduced to the status of mere ancillary sciences' following a shifting 'historiographic focus on *content*', and from the early twentieth century, 'media-technological *textual* analyses were made to assist historiographical *factual* analyses'.[97]

The materiality of the archive has thus largely lost precedence in favour of its informational significance: as Maryanne Dever writes, 'dominant practices for literary and historical research conducted within archival collections privilege the texts found on documents and pay considerably less heed to the material supports for those words and markings, as though papers and pages can be understood as neutral containers or platforms for the transmission of such texts'.[98] Dever explains this neglect of the archive's materiality as a result of various research and management practices, including an emphasis on transcription and cataloguing standards that largely ignore the

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(ed.), *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.336-43. For a riposte to Gell, see Howard Morphy, 'Art as a mode of action: Some problems with Gell's *Art and Agency*', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.344-62. See also Belova, 'Event of seeing', p.122.

[95] See Luciana Duranti, 'Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science', *Archivaria*, vol. 28 (1989), pp.7-27; Luciana Duranti, 'Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science (Part V)', *Archivaria*, vol. 32 (1991), pp.6-24; Caroline Williams, 'Diplomatic Attitudes: From Mabillon to Metadata', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 26, no.1 (2005), pp.1-24 (pp.3;5); Cornelia Vismann, *Files: Law and Media Technology*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), pp.73-5; Jakub Zouhar, '"*De Re Diplomatica Libri Sex*" by Jean Mabillon in Outline', *Listy filologické/Folia Philiologica*, 133, no.3/4 (2010) pp.357-388.

[96] Vismann, *Files*, p.39.

[97] Ibid, original emphasis; see also Lester, 'Of mind and matter', pp.75-6.

[98] Maryanne Dever, 'Provocations on the pleasures of archived paper', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 41, no.3 (2013), pp.173-82 (p.176); see also Ala Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance: materiality and meaning in historical records and their digital images', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 42, no.3 (2014), pp.238-47 (p.238); Lester, 'Of mind and matter', p.75.

material forms of archives.[99] As a tradition of historical discourse has come to dominate the interpretation of archival material, thus its informational role has been asserted, resulting in a perceptive weakening of the archive's physicality.

An anthropological perspective provides further clarification by showing how archives are considered as 'neutral purveyors of discourse' rather than as 'mediators' that shape the information that appears on them.[100] The mediating properties of documents also remain hidden as a result of 'the tendency of media to disappear in the act of mediation. In fact, media can only function as such if in the act of conveying something they are also capable of drawing attention away from their own materiality and technicality in order to redirect attention to what is being mediated'.[101] The 'conventions that govern the organization of page space' are the result of 'long tradition' which have effectively become absorbed into common linguistic understanding; it is only when these conventions are 'disrupted' do they come into view.[102] Ben Kafka observes that historians have 'discovered all sorts of important things looking *through* paperwork, but seldom paused to look *at* it'.[103] In other words, a purposeful shift in focus is required to perceive the material; as Merleau-Ponty writes, to perceive an 'isolated sensoriality' (such as materiality, in this case) is to 'untie the link between my vision and the world or between myself and the world in order to catch [my vision] in the act [of seeing] and describe [that act of seeing]'.[104]

A greater awareness of the material properties of archives has arisen in light of the 'digital turn', which produced an imminent sense of the loss of paper resulting from the

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[99] Maryanne Dever, 'Photographs and manuscripts: working in the archive', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 42, no.3 (2014), pp.282-94 (p.286); see also Alice Yaeger Kaplan, 'Working in the Archives', *Yale French Studies*, no.77 (1990), pp.103-16 (p.103); Ala Rekrut, 'Material Literacy: Reading Records as Material Culture', *Archivaria*, 60 (2005), pp.11-37 (pp.28-9); Johanna Drucker, 'Entity to Event: From Literal, Mechanistic Materiality to Probabilistic Materiality', *Parallax*, 15, no.4 (2009), pp.7-17 (pp.7-8); Karl Magee and Susannah Waters, 'Archives, Artists and Designers', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 32, no.2 (2011), pp.273-85 (p.277); Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, Thomas Scott-Railton (trans.), (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p.16; Dever, 'Provocations', pp.176-7; Lester, 'Of mind and matter', p.76.

[100] Matthew S. Hull, *Government of Paper: The Materiality of Bureaucracy in Urban Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p.13.

[101] Patrick Eisenlohr, 'The anthropology of media and the question of ethnic and religious pluralism', *Social Anthropology*, 19, no.1 (2011), pp.40-55 (p.44). See also Ibid; Dever, 'Provocations', p.175; Dever, 'Photographs and manuscripts', p.286; Lester, 'Of mind and matter', pp.76-7.

[102] Drucker, 'Entity to Event', p.14; see also Don Brenneis, 'Reforming Promise', in Annelise Riles (ed.), *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp.41-70 (p.43).

[103] Ben Kafka, 'Paperwork: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 12 (2009), pp.340-53 (p.341), original emphasis.

[104] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.236.

increased digitisation of archival records.[105] Ala Rekrut has questioned 'how much of the materiality of the source record [digital images] can capture'.[106] In considering the photograph as 'a document which has played an active role in history', Joanna Sassoon questions the effect of digitisation on its contextual interrelationships; commenting on 'the dissonance of the relationship between the ethereal and liminal digital representation of [the photograph's] tangible and material source' and its 'dematerialising, dehistoricising and decontextualising'.[107] These questions concerning the effect of digitisation on the material archive, be it photograph or paper, has been accompanied by a greater interest in what materiality itself can mean: in effect, 'a culture of co-existence has emerged… not the death of paper, so much as paper's long afterlife'.[108] Ala Rekrut, for example, has articulated a sense of 'material literacy' which considers the informational value of archival materiality on the creation, use and archival management of records, as well as noting the sensory and affectual experience of engaging with material archives.[109] Maryanne Dever articulates a 'thinking through paper', advocating for 'a renewed sensitivity to the work that paper does'.[110] Moreover, there has been increasing recognition of the emotional power of the archive;[111] and a growing body of research concerning archives and affect.[112]

These arguments focus on how the materiality of the archive can help shape cognitive, sensory and emotional forms of understanding and experience.[113] Crucially, I argue

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[105] Dever, 'Provocations', p.180; see also Lester, 'Of mind and matter', p.76.
[106] Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance', p.239.
[107] Joanna Sassoon, 'Photographic Meaning in the Age of Digital Reproduction', *LASIE: Library Automated Systems Information Exchange*, 29, no.4 (1998), pp.5-15 (pp.10;12;13).
[108] Dever, 'Provocations', p.174; see also Featherstone, 'Archive', pp.595-6; Richard H.R. Harper, *Inside the IMF: An Ethnography of Documents, Technology and Organisational Action* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1998), pp.22-4; Lester, 'Of mind and matter', p.76; and, for a summary, Katherine Biber, 'In Jimmy Governor's archive', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 42, no.3 (2014), pp.270-81 (pp.277-8).
[109] Rekrut, 'Material Literacy', pp.11-37. See also Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance', pp.244-5; and, for a discussion of materiality and archival theory, Ala Rekrut, 'Reconnecting Mind and Matter: Materiality in Archival Theory and Practice', (unpublished MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 2009) <http://hdl.handle.net/10680/21> [accessed 23 May 2019]. On the materiality of photographs see Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart, 'Introduction: Photographs as Objects', in Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (eds), *Photographs, Objects, Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp.1-14.
[110] Dever, 'Provocations', p.180.
[111] See, for example, Buchanan, 'Between Archive and Fiction', p.19.
[112] For an introduction, see Marika Cifor and Anne J. Gilliland, 'Affect and the archive, archives and their affects', *Archival Science*, 16 (2016), pp.1-6; and Marika Cifor, 'Affecting relations: introducing affect theory to archival discourse', *Archival Science*, 16 (2016), pp.7-31.
[113] For a study of an archive that draws on its informational and material properties, see, for example, Biber, 'Jimmy Governor's archive' and, as an example of the archive as an ethnographic study, Annelise Riles (ed.), *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006). For discussions on responses to material culture from a museological perspective, see Sandra H.

that, following Merleau-Ponty, understanding of archives can *only* result from engagement with the material, since engagement with all objects within the world happens because we are embodied entities. Engagement with archives is thus an encounter between the archive and the body.[114] As archives are entities within the world, this experience happens through the body's ability to communicate with and to 'know' the world. Intellectual and informational meaning is enfolded within a bodily engagement of the material object of the archive. As a number of writers have shown, the different types of meaning derived from the archive as both informational and sensory objects are inextricably bound and thus shape one another.[115]

Merleau-Ponty argues that individuals are 'in-the-world' and that everything they perceive forms a 'milieu', a field of experience. To experience something 'is not to receive it passively in itself: it is to live it, to take it up, to assume it, and to uncover its immanent sense'.[116] In this sense, objects are not perceived as if from afar, but instead are engaged with as active entities within the world.[117] The archive is therefore not simply a record of past events, but instead a performative and active part of being-in-the-world; a feature of a 'sentient' world.[118] The archive is thus something which can be grasped and used (both physically and metaphorically): in other words, it is something which is engaged with and utilised as part of engagement in and with the wider world. As a phenomenological account of the postmodern archive, this reading warrants a shift in perspective, to understand the archive not as a straightforward record

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Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese horse: Engaging with the thingness of things', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.1-15; and Geoffrey Batchen, 'Ere the substance fade: Photography and hair jewellery', in Sandra H. Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.72-89 (p.72).

[114] I would argue that this happens even with a digitised archive: the materiality of the original shapes the digital form and affects the physical encounter between the body and the digital device on which the archive is accessed.

[115] Lester, 'Of mind and matter', p.78; Bonnie Mak discusses the 'matter and mattering of the page': *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp.3;5; Rose, 'Practising photography', pp.561-2. Again, this engagement with the materiality of 'things' also applies to the digital environment, 'access' to which 'is precisely through our bodily interfaces': Hale, *Merleau-Ponty for Architects*, p.114.

[116] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.269.

[117] Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart write that objects 'should be understood as belonging in a continuing process of production, exchange, usage and meaning. As such, objects are enmeshed in, and active in, social relations, not merely passive entities in these processes': 'Introduction', p.4.

[118] The term 'sentient' was coined by Tim Ingold in describing Merleau-Ponty's analysis: see Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), p.12.

of the past, but rather as an active agent in shaping our being-in-the-world.[119] The archive thus possesses a performative character, which shapes the world around us. Documents do not just record events, but themselves enact them: the processes of writing, compiling and filing in themselves make, effect and accomplish decisions and actions. They are 'programs [sic] of action and records of execution'.[120] Their form and materiality embody their productive effectuality: archives are 'active, generative substances with histories… documents with itineraries of their own'.[121] As Elizabeth Edwards considers in terms of photographs, they are 'material performances' which fulfil 'the social and cultural expectations regarding them', defining, in her example, how the past should be perceived.[122] Furthermore, following Johanna Drucker, who writes of the 'performative character' of the 'cognitive process', the document is not an entity, but 'an *event*' in itself[123] (in as much as Merleau-Ponty considers the world as 'an event that grasps my body',[124]): it is a site of performativity and of action.[125] So, engagement with the archive is a transformative and transcendental encounter; the archive and the user both shaped and affected through the action of meeting.

The thesis is concerned with new and innovative approaches to experience within the archive; how such approaches are designed to open up new forms of encounter with archival material, specifically through exhibition. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology roots the encounter with the archive into the embodied experience of the individual as the *only* way in which such encounters can take place. It also highlights how archives are not just informational, but also material, with performative attributes. These concepts provide useful tools for considering the encounter with the archive within the

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[119] This follows Tim Ingold's 'difference of perspective' between considering things as objects and as materials: see Tim Ingold, *Making: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art and Architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.19.
[120] Kafka, 'Paperwork', p.345.
[121] Stoler, *Archival Grain*, pp.1;2;20; Stoler also describes an 'archival pulse', to be found 'in the quiescence and quickened pace of its own production, in the steady and feverish rhythms of repeated incantations, formulae, and frames' (p.35).
[122] Edwards, 'Material Performance', pp.130-1.
[123] Drucker, 'Entity to Event', pp.14;15, original emphasis.
[124] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, p.245.
[125] See also Brenneis, 'Reforming Promise', p.65; Annelise Riles, '[Deadlines]: Removing the Brackets on Politics in Bureaucratic and Anthropological Analysis' in Annelise Riles (ed.), *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp.71-92 (p.81-2); Adam Reed, 'Documents Unfolding', in Annelise Riles (ed.), *Documents: Artifacts of Modern Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp.158-77 (pp.175-6); Arkotong Longkumer, '"Lines that speak": The Gaidinliu notebooks as language, prophecy, and textuality', *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 6, no.2 (2016), pp.123-47 (p.143), who writes of the Gaidinliu notebooks of the Zeme Nagas of Assam, India, 'as *experienced* and not simply read or understood'; original emphasis.

space of the exhibition. Using Merleau-Ponty's approach to phenomenology to analyse the techniques that archivists and curators use, I develop the scope of archival exhibitions beyond (just) sites of promotion and learning. The thesis will build on the conversation by examining how experience is conceived within the space of the exhibition and how this, in turn, can reshape an understanding of what it means to 'be' in the archive.

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY

This research emerges from archival practice and is designed to contribute to current research trends in archival science.[1] In this sense it seeks to contribute, as Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish write, to the 'knowledge base and skills' of the archival discipline, to consider a critical reflection and analysis of practice within the field, and to conceptualise how contemporary archival practice can be understood and further developed.[2] The establishment of archival science as a research discipline is relatively recent and a number of writers have developed typologies to categorise the main areas of research.[3] Gilliland et al. note the unanticipated 'widening of the gap between the academy and professional practice' that has resulted from a growing trend in research; in recognition of this, the thesis seeks to emphasise relationships between practice and theory.[4]

The research is also distinctly interdisciplinary in nature; a typical feature of archival research.[5] My decision to undertake this research within a museums studies environment is shaped by an intention to develop the conversation around archival exhibition and audience engagement work. By reframing archival concepts and practice through a museological perspective, the research seeks to establish potentially new ways of thinking about the archive, how it is conceived and understood. Gail Anderson writes of a paradigmatic shift in understanding and practice around the core

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[1] The term 'archival science' is open to critique since, as Terry Cook explains, it can draw on notions of positivism and thus ignore the social, political and organisational contexts in which archives operate. Here, then, I am using the term to encompass, as Cook argues, the idea that 'archival ideas, strategies, and methodologies' are 'constantly evolving' because of changes not only to the nature of recordkeeping over time, but also to broader changes in society. See Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', pp.11-7.

[2] Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure for Archival Research', *Archival Science*, 4 (2004), pp.149-97 (p.149). See also Anne J. Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, 'Archival and recordkeeping research', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.85-125 (p.86).

[3] See, for example, Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure', pp.151-3; Carol Couture and Daniel Ducharme, 'Research in Archival Science: A Status Report', *Archivaria*, 59 (2005), pp.41-67; Anne J. Gilliland et al., 'Preface', in Anne J. Gilliland et al. (eds), *Research in the Archival Multiverse* (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp.16-30 (pp.23-4).

[4] Gilliland et al., 'Preface', p.22.

[5] See Couture and Ducharme, 'Research in Archival Science', p.43; Caswell, 'Not An Archives', fn.8; Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Archival and recordkeeping research', p.91.

function of the museum, which 'symbolizes the general movement of dismantling the museum as an ivory tower of exclusivity and towards the construction of a more socially responsive cultural institution in service to the public'.[6] More recently, Bernadette Lynch has challenged established notions of public-facing work in museums, arguing that public engagement and participation activities persist in the 'margins' of museums when they should be incorporated into the 'core', with communities functioning as active participants, rather than as consumers or 'beneficiaries'.[7] She calls for organisational change in the museum, to new ways of working in which public engagement becomes embedded within core museum practice.[8] Research within museum studies and practice, then, indicates new approaches to museum-making which, alongside the practice of exhibition, provide helpful insights with which to consider actual and potential archival activity.

Furthermore, the research cuts across other areas of study including architecture, phenomenology, materiality, anthropology and library studies. As discussed above, underpinning the research is the concept of 'experience', which is defined through spatial and phenomenological lenses. I have focused the research, then, to consider how experience is conceived and designed within the archive through the frames of spatiality and phenomenology. I have used these areas of research to help open up new ways of thinking about how archives can and do create new types of experience for their publics.

Since the late 1980s a number of disciplines have experienced a so-called 'archival turn', in which notions of the 'archive' has influenced thinking; in turn, such discussions can help articulate new approaches and ways of conceiving the archive

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[6] Gail Anderson, 'Introduction', in Gail Anderson (ed.), *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2004), pp.1-7 (p.1). See also Stephen Weil, 'The Museum and the Public', in Sheila Watson (ed.), *Museums and their Communities* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp.32-46; and Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum: beyond the mausoleum* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003). For a discussion of how these shifts have arisen, see Stephen Weil, 'From Being about Something to Being for Somebody: The Ongoing Transformation of the American Museum', *Daedalus*, 128, no.3 (1999), pp.229-58 (pp.231-8). Although the term 'museum' is used here in a largely generic sense, following Stephen Weil I recognise the variety and plurality of museums and a far from homogenous diversity of practice: see 'Museum and Public', p.32.
[7] Bernadette Lynch, *Whose Cake Is It Anyway? A collaborative investigation into engagement and participation in 12 museums and galleries in the UK* (London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation, [n.d., c.2011]), pp.5-7.
[8] Bernadette Lynch, *Our Museum: A five-year perspective from a critical friend* (London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation, [n.d., c.2014]), p.6.

within the field of archival science.[9] Yet Michelle Caswell argues that there is a 'failure of interdisciplinarity' between these fields as humanities scholars, interested in the 'archive', largely ignore archival studies.[10] By drawing across these different disciplines, then, the research seeks to respond to Eric Ketelaar's call for greater dialogue between disciplines and a wider dissemination of archival research.[11]

Qualitative Research Design

As outlined above, the research seeks to understand how archivists use physical exhibitions to shape new levels of meaning for visitors. It also considers how such activity indicates a reshaping of the archive as more relevant and meaningful within society. In this way, knowledge and meaning, in the broadest sense, are understood as socially constructed. The research is therefore characterised by qualitative, interpretivist reasoning, which is concerned with 'interpreting social meanings and personal sense-making'.[12] This type of reasoning contrasts with a positivist paradigm, which asserts the truthfulness of a fixed reality that can be discovered through measurement and objectivity.[13] Although the research uses quantitative measures to contextualise the research problem (see above), its focus on the kinds of experiences which archivists envisage, and the implications for what the archive itself is understood to be, locates the research in a more interpretivist paradigm. Further, this position recognises the archive as subjective and contested, rather than fixed and neutral.[14] As Gilliland and McKemmish write, much archival research has not until recently been clear in which paradigm it was operating, resulting in questions of research validity;[15] in

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[9] See, for example, Stoler, *Archival Grain*, p.44; Buchanan, 'Strangely unfamiliar'; Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival Turns and Returns: Studies of the Archive', in Anne J. Gilliland et al. (eds), *Research in the Archival Multiverse*, (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University Publishing, 2017), pp.228-68.
[10] Caswell, 'Not An Archives', para.4-5; see also Johnson, 'Creating History?', p.142.
[11] Ketelaar, 'Archival Turns', pp.259-61.
[12] Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure', pp.166-7; see also Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2002), pp.1;3.
[13] Kirsty Williamson, 'Research Concepts', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.3-25 (p.7); Loraine Blaxter et al., *How to Research*, 4th edn (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2010), p.61.
[14] Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure', pp.168-9. Elsewhere, Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish discuss the emergent methodology arising from social changes which shift focus away from a positivist and objective understanding of the archive to one which is more 'inclusive, participatory' and concerned with 'ideas about decolonising and pluralising the Archive': 'Archival and recordkeeping research', p.100.
[15] Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure', p.167.

order to avoid these, it is thus important to assert the interpretivist framework in which this research sits.

John Cresswell identifies various characteristics of qualitative research including study that takes place in a natural setting; the use of multiple methods that are interactive and humanistic; and a fundamentally interpretive approach that is emergent rather than tightly preconfigured;[16] all of these are relevant here. A qualitative approach is typically concerned with and usually employs inductive reasoning, where specific instances are used to create general concepts and hypotheses.[17] Although it can be used in various paradigms,[18] here the case study acts as a useful methodological approach for these kinds of research questions.

The Case Study Approach

This research uses a case study methodology, employing two specific case studies and a survey of a larger number of examples which themselves act as miniature case studies. Although the examples and cases look across all the research questions, they each focus on particular aspects of exhibition-making which together address the research problem (see below). The rationale for using the case study approach rests in the nature of this particular research methodology. The research is explanatory in nature, rooted in a real-life, contemporary phenomenon,[19] and seeks to determine what is specific about an archive that is used to create new forms of engagement for its visitors. These characteristics lend themselves to a case study design, which is focused on understanding within specific situations and from which an 'analytic generalization' can be made.[20] The use of case studies enables data to be rooted in and collected from

[16] John W. Cresswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 2nd edn (London: Sage, 2003), pp.8-9.
[17] Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Building an Infrastructure', pp.166-7; see also Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, pp.1;3.
[18] Graeme Shanks and Nargiza Bekmamedova, 'Case study research in information systems', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.193-208 (p.194); A.L.M. Cavaye, 'Case study research: a multi-faceted research approach for IS', *Information Systems Journal*, 6, no.3 (1996), pp.227-42 (pp.227-8).
[19] Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edn (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009), p.32; Shanks and Bekmamedova, 'Case study research', p.194.
[20] Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp.9-18; Cavaye, 'Case study research', p.229.

actual experience and can provide rich and vivid descriptions,[21] thus enabling a deep understanding of the processes that have taken place and from which analyses and conclusions can be drawn.[22] Gary Thomas provides a useful discussion of case studies, noting that the 'case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame – an object – within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates'.[23] Here, then, the institution of the archive can be understood as the phenomenon under investigation, with individual archive services as instances or cases (or 'units of analysis'[24]). Each archive thus provides a different frame through which elements within the research questions can be investigated.

The case studies are not chosen for their typicality, but rather because they exemplify characteristics which demand deeper investigation. As such, the sample is purposive, each case study and example chosen for 'its capacity to exemplify the analytical object of the inquiry'.[25] Nor are the case studies designed to contrast or compare with one another; rather, they seek to investigate 'phenomena in diverse settings'.[26] Context is an essential characteristic of qualitative research,[27] and here context plays a key role in helping show how the various historiographical and socio-cultural influences play upon the archive. Yet these contextual factors do not provide a comparative index against which each case study is measured, and thus should not be judged against each other. The 'cross-contextual generalities'[28] of a case study approach aim to extract that which is indicative and illuminating and about which general forms of understanding can be discovered. The different aspects of the case studies are used together to develop an overarching theoretical position concerning the nature and potentiality of contemporary archival practice.

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[21] Blaxter et al., *How to Research*, p.74; Louis Cohen et al., *Research Methods in Education*, 7th edn (Abingdon: Routledge: 2011), pp. 289-90.
[22] Kathleen Eisenhardt, for example, discusses the process of case study research and its use in building theories: Kathleen Eisenhardt, 'Building Theories from Case Study Research', *Academy of Management Review*, 14, no.4 (1989), pp.532-50.
[23] Gary Thomas, 'A Typology for the Case Study in Social Science Following a Review of Definition, Discourse, and Structure', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 17, no.6 (2011), pp.511-21 (pp.513-4).
[24] Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp.29-33.
[25] Thomas, 'Typology', p.514.
[26] Shanks and Bekmamedova, 'Case study research', p.202.
[27] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, p.1.
[28] Ibid, p.1.

102 institutions were surveyed, of which personal visits were made to 98. The institutions included national archives and libraries; university archives and special collections; local government archives; business or specialist repositories; and other institutions whose exhibition practice utilises archives (such as museums and heritage sites). The selection was varied, chosen as a result of the institution's own widely-publicised exhibition programmes; recommendations from contacts and colleagues within the archive and university sectors; and from research of archival institutions carried out through sectoral publications and online. It sought to identify examples of innovative and alternative practice in exhibition-making. The survey of institutions also helped identify the two case studies. Details are provided in Appendix A. Whilst the discussion does not draw on or reference all institutions and exhibitions studied, the breadth of research helps to define the wider context of practice taking place across the sector.

The case studies and examples draw from different parts of the archive sector as well as from archives, libraries and museums outside the UK. Each of these examples has different sectoral and national contexts. Reference is made to these where they are important, but the research is concerned with universal historiographical and technological contexts and, most crucially, in the approach of specific institutions to visitor engagement. The research therefore analyses examples from across a broad spectrum to draw out general perspectives around new approaches to visitor engagement.

Landscape of Practice

The survey comprises 32 of the institutions surveyed for the thesis. I have identified key themes which emerged from visits and interviews that, I argue, reflect important perspectives on how exhibition is conceived and made in archives today. The survey identifies innovative forms of practice and examines the influences on and the implications arising from these; it places such practice within broader trends in historiography and archival theory. The survey helps articulate and validate a discussion of widespread transformative activity across the sector; and establishes key themes which will be explored in the two case studies.

Archives+, Manchester

The first case study is Archives+, a partnership of archive services based in Manchester Central Library. Five archive services and societies are located together in Archives+ and several additional partners provide support and resources. Manchester Central Library is operated by Manchester City Council (MCC) and the archive partners come from the local authority, university and independent archive sectors. Archives+ opened in 2014 following the completion of a large-scale refurbishment of the city's Town Hall and Central Library and the introduction of a new transformation programme within the city council.

This case study examines how Archives+ was designed and developed through a process of user consultation and considers how the exhibition, as part of a wider spatial transformation, was designed to open up the archive. It considers how spatial and organisational shifts can refigure the archive to enable new kinds of experience for the visitor; and how such changes embody a more user-focused understanding of the archive. Running through this case study is a thread or pulse which considers a potential shift in how the archive might be understood and conceived and, in turn, briefly indicates new roles that the archive can play in society.

The Royal Library, Copenhagen

The second case study is the Royal Library, the National Library of Denmark. Located in Copenhagen, the library was founded in 1653 and the present buildings date from 1906. The Black Diamond extension, which opened in 1999, was designed partly as a space for cultural activities including exhibitions. Through a process of experimentation and collaboration, the Royal Library's Culture Department has developed an approach to exhibiting rare books and documents which focuses on spatiality, phenomenology and embodiment.

In this case study, I examine the broader organisational changes that have taken place in the Royal Library which have led to a culture of experimental exhibition-making and unpick some of the epistemologies that have enabled this to develop. I also focus in detail on the process of exhibition-making at the library and explore the theoretical and practice-driven concepts which underpin their approach to design. In particular, I examine how the specific characteristics of documentary material are considered in the process of exhibition-making.

Methodological Tools

Here I want to outline the three key methods that were used in this research. Each of these methods was used to varying degrees across both case studies and the survey.

Interviews

Interviews were held at both case study sites as well as many of the smaller examples. (Interviews were not held at all places because it was not always practical to do so; or because an analysis of the exhibition itself was considered sufficient.) For the survey chapter, I conducted thirty interviews with forty-four individuals, in person, by telephone and email.

At Archives+, interviews were conducted in person with fourteen present and former members of staff across all levels of the organisation, from the strategic lead to front-line personnel. In addition, four interviews were conducted in person, by telephone and email with the project architect, designer, business consultant and interpretation consultant.

At the Royal Library I conducted six interviews with the exhibition architect. The first of these was conducted by Skype and involved setting up the research project at Copenhagen. Four interviews were conducted in person onsite, including tours of the exhibition spaces; these interviews took place during the design process of two of the library's exhibitions. Another exhibition architect was present at two of these interviews. The last interview took place five months later when the exhibitions had opened and was more reflexive in nature. In addition, two further interviews were conducted: one with the library's communication coordinator and the other with a researcher (staff member) who had co-curated an exhibition at the library. Details of all the interviews are provided in Appendix A.

In most cases the selection of interviewees was shaped by the institution themselves: I initially made a general enquiry to the archive which then identified the most appropriate person(s) to participate. At Archives+ the Collections Officer helped identify appropriate individuals following a discussion concerning the aims and scope of the research. At the Royal Library, the exhibition architect was my main contact who also set up other interviews resulting from our conversations. For some of the smaller examples, a particular individual was identified by a colleague or contact;

otherwise, I made a general enquiry as described above. A project information sheet was provided at all interviews; and informed consent was obtained from all interviewees. A copy of the information sheet and the consent form are provided in Appendices B and C. Interviewees are identified in the text where express permission has been given. In those cases where it was not, the affiliation was still used; and the interviewee had the option of their real role or a generic description being used: this was clearly explained on the project information sheet and consent form. Interviewees were able to withdraw from the process at any time before and during the interview, and up to one month afterwards.

The interviews were designed to provide information about how the archives had developed their exhibition and audience engagement work. They also sought to understand how the work of the archives and of exhibitions in particular is understood and valued within the archive. In this sense, the research follows Irving Seidman's description of interviews as a mechanism for storytelling, which itself is a way of knowing and making meaning.[29] By examining how individuals describe the work of the archives and its broader mission, the research seeks to unfold a sense of personal meaning in how this work is understood. Indeed, with its distinctly social, human characteristics, interviewing is fundamentally qualitative in nature.[30] Interviews can allow for deeper, nuanced understanding, and can be more 'revealing and influential' than purely statistical data;[31] they can allow for spontaneity and the exploration of 'complex and deep issues'.[32] To enable this, the interviews were semi-structured: a number of key points or questions were identified before each interview, some of which were specific to the institution in question; others were more general in nature. The interview questions were shaped by the research questions and by the theoretical and practical concepts arising from the archival, museological and philosophical literature.

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[29] Irving Seidman, *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*, 4th edn (New York: Teachers College Press, 2013), pp.7-8.
[30] Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey, 'The Interview: From Structured Questions to Negotiated Text', in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, 2nd edn (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003), pp.61-106 (pp.74-5).
[31] Blaxter et al., *How to Research*, p.85.
[32] Cohen et al., *Research Methods*, p.409.

A sample of these key questions is provided in Appendix D. Ultimately, however, the conversations were allowed to develop naturally.[33]

Notes were taken from the interviews[34] and a process of member checking[35] was offered to interviewees to determine the accurate recording of their contributions. Furthermore, as Andrea Fontana and James Frey note, the interview is not a neutral technique, but leads to 'negotiated, contextually-based results'.[36] In light of this, a degree of reflexivity was employed. As a professionally-qualified archivist, I recognise my own subjectivities in approaching this discussion and the effect that this role plays especially in terms of the scope and direction of the interviews.

Documentary Research

The research utilised documentary material which included both text-based and visual records. Here I am referring to the internal records and promotional material of organisations produced as part of their activities (the institution's own records, as it were), rather than their archival holdings. This material is used to examine and explore further the mission, goals, processes and activities of the studied organisations.

In keeping with a qualitative approach to research and an understanding of the archive as interpretive, I recognise documentary sources as both evidence of activity and as sites of interpretation, this last being focused more on what they mean, imply or indicate.[37] An organisation, for example, might produce documentation to argue for political and financial support, which can be used to examine its goals and priorities. But it can also be interpreted through the lens of the audience to whom it is written, which in turn influences its message and *how* it is written. As Ian Hodder writes, awareness of the contextual and re-interpretive nature of documentary analysis is important in establishing knowledge of a particular situation or institution.[38] Likewise, Ann Stoler articulates an ethnographic reading of the archive, in which the form,

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[33] On different interview types, see Kirsty Williamson, 'Questionnaires, individual interviews and focus group interviews', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.379-403 (pp.388-93).
[34] These notes are available on request.
[35] See Williamson, 'Research concepts', p.11.
[36] Fontana and Frey, 'The Interview', pp.61-2.
[37] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, pp.107-8.
[38] Ian Hodder, 'The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture', in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, 2nd edn (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003), pp.155-75 (pp.156-8); see also ibid, pp.106;110.

content and arrangement of documents themselves are active, revealing and shaping narrative.[39] Importantly, documentation is here used alongside interviews not only in a process of triangulation,[40] but also to unpack a deeper and richer narrative. In other words, by examining both the language of documentation and the personal views and opinions of individuals, a corroborative yet more nuanced understanding of the situation can be acquired.

For the survey, various reports, consultation strategies and exhibition literature were used. The Archives+ case study used an extensive amount of documentary material. These included official records of the city council, such as council reports and committee minutes, in which the decision-making process was discussed and approved at a high level. The material also included internal working documentation including funding applications, briefs, consultation reports, design and consultation strategies, progress reports, memoranda, correspondence and case study documentation. These documents provided insight into the practical processes involved in the capital project.

For the Royal Library, annual reports were used documenting the library's activities over a long period. Internal reports describing the design of exhibitions as well as photographs and publicity material were also used. As all but three of the exhibitions discussed in this chapter had closed, internal documentation as well as interviews became essential tools for examining these projects.

Exhibition Analysis

Although not a widely researched method, a number of different forms of exhibition analysis are described by Beverly Serrell including summative evaluations, critiques, reviews, critical appraisals and agreed standards.[41] Serrell herself developed the Excellent Judges Framework for Assessing Exhibitions, and this forms a useful starting point for approaching exhibition analysis.

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[39] Stoler, *Archival Grain*, pp.24;32-3.
[40] Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, p.108; Hodder, 'Interpretation of Documents', pp.158-9; Piet Verschuren, 'Case study as a research strategy: some ambiguities and opportunities', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6, no.2 (2003), pp.121-39 (p.131); Blaxter et al., *How to Research*, p.85; Kirsty Williamson, 'Ethnographic research', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.311-35 (p.323).
[41] Beverly Serrell, *Judging Exhibitions: A Framework for Assessing Excellence* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2006), pp.92-3.

The framework was developed between 2000 and 2003 by exhibition designers, developers and curators from within the American museum profession. It is a constructive technique that enables museum peers to act as judges of different museum exhibitions, focused especially on the learning outcomes that emerge for the judges themselves. Importantly, the framework eschewed the need to look at 'the quality of the design and the accuracy or importance of the content' and focused instead on judging exhibitions 'by how it felt to be in them'.[42] In contrast to various published standards around exhibition design, the framework sought an 'essence of experience and clarity' and a need to perceive the exhibition solely from the 'visitor's viewpoint'.[43] For the purposes of the research, then, my experience of the exhibition forms a useful starting point for thinking through questions of design and purpose.

The framework uses four criteria against which exhibitions can be judged: 'comfortable', both physically and psychologically to enable positive experiences; 'engaging', encouraging visitors to find out more; 'reinforcing', allowing learning to happen in an 'intellectually competent way'; and 'meaningful' and thus 'personally relevant' to the visitor. Additional 'Aspects' of these criteria are provided to articulate more clearly the nature of these experiences within an exhibition setting.[44] The framework's assessment takes place within an overarching, holistic approach rather than breaking the exhibition down into specific design features.[45]

Although the framework provides a useful basis for analysing exhibitions, there are limitations with this approach. It succeeds in turning subjective feelings into an articulated language,[46] but it does not critique such feelings through a closer link to theoretical constructs: in effect, it does not get to the heart of 'why' these experiences occur. Furthermore, by avoiding questions of design and focusing exclusively on visitor experience, the framework does not enable a deeper understanding of the contexts and influences shaping the exhibition, which is a key focus of the research. In particular, the framework's 'Aspects' are necessarily observational and interpretive in nature, and thus in themselves do not seek to unpick and critically analyse how an

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[42] Ibid, p.5.
[43] Ibid, pp.99-100;152-3. For a discussion on museological practice from the viewpoint of the user, see John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience* (Washington, DC: Whalesback Books, 1992).
[44] See Serrell, *Judging Exhibitions*, pp.41-6 for details of the framework mechanism.
[45] Ibid, pp.150-1.
[46] Ibid, p.86.

exhibition is designed to achieve its objectives. The framework places some emphasis on practical considerations such as seating, lighting and text design; in seeking to develop the conversation around archival exhibitions, the research incorporates such practicalities but requires a deeper theoretical perspective.

In this sense, then, I also draw across other research disciplines to help shape understanding around archive exhibitions. By harnessing the theoretical arguments of Lefebvre and Merleau-Ponty, as well as constructs such as historiography and anthropology, it is possible to draw conclusions as to how exhibitions are made. As Mieke Bal comments, 'This transfer between disciplines and practices is useful: it helps museologists [and, by extension, archivists] to conceive of their practice, while providing critics with conceptual tools to analyze exhibitions'.[47] Moreover, the development of a 'critical language for reviewing… exhibitions' can help build a theoretical position for understanding exhibition-making as a form of communication.[48] The importance of having 'positive, critical evaluation'[49] is therefore of value to the research, which proposes a deeper critical understanding of archive exhibitions and how they are made. What is significant to this research is the nature of the archive itself within the exhibition medium, and thus this study utilises a more theoretically-driven approach to exhibition analysis. This draws on anthropological and phenomenological approaches, as well as postmodern critical thinking around the nature of archives themselves. In this sense, then, my analysis of exhibitions encompasses a detailed recording of their content and design alongside a reflexive approach informed by theoretical concepts and ideas.

Visitor Studies

A further divergence from Serrell's framework concerns the issue of intention. Serrell describes how the framework seeks to assess an exhibition in relation to its visitors, how an exhibition responds to their 'expectations to have comfortable, engaging,

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[47] Mieke Bal, 'Exhibition as Film', in Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (eds), *Exhibition Experiments* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.71-91 (p.71); see also Mieke Bal, 'The Discourse of the Museum', in Reesa Greenberg et al. (eds), *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.201-18. For examples, see Buchanan, 'Between Archive and Fiction', pp.19-41; Andrea Witcomb, 'Understanding the role of affect in producing a critical pedagogy for history museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28, no.3 (2013), pp.255-71.
[48] Paulette McManus, 'Reviewing the Reviewers: Towards a Critical Language for Didactic Science Exhibitions', *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 5 (1986), p.213-26 (p.215).
[49] Ibid, p.213.

stimulating, social, meaningful, informal learning experiences'.[50] This is important to the research in the sense that it asks how exhibitions are designed to enable new types of visitor experience; however, the framework is less interested in the intentions of the exhibit makers unless these intentions 'are clearly communicated to visitors in the exhibition itself'.[51] This study, however, is concerned with how archivists and designers seek to create meaningful encounters for visitors to the archive. It thus places an essential importance on archivists' and designers' intent. As described above, interview and documentary analysis are key parts of the research and these are designed to unpack how archivists conceive exhibitions and the wider work of the archive. As such, the analysis of exhibitions was conducted within this context. It is important to note that the archivists' or designers' intentions were not judged against the exhibition; in other words, the exhibition was not evaluated to determine the success or otherwise of its makers' intentions.[52] It is, rather, a process by which the archive's approach to visitor engagement can be understood through the medium of exhibition.

As such, then, the research addresses the intentions of archivists and designers. It is concerned with how archivists seek to transform the space of the archive; how they understand their work in terms of engaging audiences and, more broadly, the role that such work plays in reformulating how archives are conceived, made and presented to their audiences. The research does not seek to understand how visitors themselves comprehend or experience the exhibition and the wider archive space. Consequently, the research does not include visitor studies as part of its methodology. Whilst the thesis seeks to relate the archive in terms of its users, this is framed through how archivists themselves both conceive and carry out their work, for example through visitor consultation, rather than the research itself testing such activity with visitors. Serrell is helpful in articulating this distinction; the Excellence Framework is not designed to study the visitors themselves. She writes: 'We are not recording what the visitors do; we are looking at what opportunities the exhibits afford'.[53] In this regard,

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[50] Serrell, *Judging Exhibitions*, p.35; see also Marlene Chambers, 'Intention does count', *Exhibitionist*, 21, no.2 (2002), pp.16-20.
[51] Serrell, *Judging Exhibitions*, p.34.
[52] See Marlene Chambers, 'What Manner of Beast Is This? Exhibition Criticism and the "Intentional Fallacy"', *Exhibitionist*, 16, no.1 (1997), pp.13-5.
[53] Serrell, *Judging Exhibitions*, pp.27-8. For Serell's discussion of the relationship between the framework and visitor studies, see pp.107-8; see also Chambers, 'Manner of Beast', p.13.

the research focuses on how archivists conceive their work; and how their work embodies new approaches to audience engagement.

Analysis

The research utilised a qualitative interpretive data analysis using a generalised thematic analysis approach.[54] This process enables a close 'interaction'[55] with or 'immersion'[56] in the data, from which broader themes emerge; it also allows for 'reflection and [the development of] ideas'.[57] The approach used did not tightly follow the model outlined, for example, by Williamson et al., but used a reiterative process between coded categories and original data.[58] Through close study of the research data and a process of manual coding, I identified emerging key themes and subjects which formed the basis for the overarching issues discussed in the case studies and survey chapters. In developing critical thinking in relation to these emergent issues, broader contextual and theoretical concepts were applied with the intention of unpacking deeper meanings and implications in reference to the research questions. These theories and contexts were used as 'an explanatory lens'.[59] A continual process of returning to the data was used to ensure that the analysis remained representative.[60] This process also enabled repeated readings of the data to avoid collapsing concepts into easily defined categories.[61] Moreover, the contextual and situational circumstances of data collection were acknowledged through the analytical process in order to avoid decontextualization.[62]

Although the research does not use grounded theory, as an inductive study it focused on emergent themes and, in this sense, shares similarities with a grounded theory approach. A reflexive understanding of the fieldwork, however, recognises the influence of

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[54] See Kirsty Williamson et al., 'Qualitative Data Analysis', in Kirsty Williamson and Graeme Johanson (eds), *Research Methods: Information, Systems and Contexts*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Chandos Publishing, 2018), pp.453-76 (pp.454-6).
[55] Ibid, p.455.
[56] Carol Rivas, 'Coding and Analysing Qualitative Data', in Clive Seale (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2012), pp.366-92 (p.368).
[57] Williamson et al., 'Qualitative Data Analysis', pp.455-6.
[58] Ibid, pp.457-9.
[59] Shanks and Bekmamedova, 'Case study research', p.196.
[60] Williamson et al., 'Qualitative Data Analysis', p.457.
[61] See David Silverman, *Doing Qualitative Research*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2010), pp.238-9.
[62] See David Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 5th edn (London: Sage, 2014), pp.214-6.

personal interest as well as theoretical considerations in how the data were generated.[63] In other words, concepts such as materiality, spatiality and increased accessibility for new visitors were key issues that I was interested in exploring and so the direction of fieldwork reflected these themes. Nonetheless, the analysis was ultimately guided by the data which emerged through the fieldwork. In this sense, the research bears a closer resemblance to Kathy Charmaz's discussion when she writes of grounded theory: 'we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We *construct* our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices'.[64] From this discussion, then, it is important to recognise my own situational context in the analytical process.[65]

By thinking about how exhibition is used in wider reshapings of the archive, the research suggests a turn away from a hierarchical construction of the archive to something more relevant and meaningful to broader audiences. To investigate this concept, attention to how the archive is understood and how changes within the archive are expressed become important. To help with this, the research in part utilised a loose form of discourse analysis, an approach which considers the meanings inherent within the data which are both socially and contextually situated.[66] Such an approach considers how 'social categories, knowledges and relations are shaped by discourse'.[67] As discussed earlier, a key thinker in this regard is Michel Foucault, who was concerned with how discourse influences social thought: how language shapes conceptions of knowledge itself.[68] In this sense, then, a reading of how the space and practice of the archive is understood can be analysed through attention to *how* it is conceived and described. In turn, reformulations of the archive can be interpreted through textual analyses, which indicate new approaches to archive-making. As

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[63] On detachment in grounded theory, see Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 1967), pp.225-8; for comment on and criticisms of this position, see Clive Seale, 'Generating Grounded Theory', in Clive Seale (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2012), pp.393-404 (p.400); Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, p.125.
[64] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (London: Sage, 2006), p.10; original emphasis.
[65] Carol Rivas describes this as 'theoretical sensitivity' and notes how 'it comes largely from professional and personal experience': 'Coding and Analysing', p.368. On reflexivity, see also Gilliland et al., 'Preface', p.29.
[66] Williamson et al., 'Qualitative data analysis', pp.467-8.
[67] Fran Tonkiss, 'Discourse Analysis' in Clive Seale (ed.), *Researching Society and Culture*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2012), pp.405-23 (p.406).
[68] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p.155.

Gilliland and McKemmish note, such approaches can 'identify paradigm shifts and establish trends in theory and practice'.[69]

Throughout this chapter I have sought to articulate the epistemological perspectives and various methodological processes employed in the research. The thesis now turns to a discussion of the findings. In summary, the research seeks to understand how archivists conceive and use exhibitions in a process of reformulation within the archive. The next chapter discusses how archivists from institutions across the sector conceive exhibitions and identifies the themes and ideas which emerge from the survey of practice. Following this, I will consider exhibition-making practices in more detail in the two case studies, before drawing across all of these findings for a discussion in the conclusion.

[69] Gilliland and McKemmish, 'Archival and recordkeeping research', p.103.

CHAPTER FIVE

A LANDSCAPE OF PRACTICE

Introduction

In this chapter, I look broadly across the archive sector to examine how exhibitions are understood and made, discussing the influences on and the implications arising from such practice. What role do exhibitions play in the work of different archives? How are they being used to reshape archival experiences? To answer these questions, a large number of institutions were surveyed through visits, interviews and the gathering of documentary information. Throughout this chapter I will draw across this survey to show the practice of exhibition-making across the sector.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first section, I discuss how archives are using exhibition to showcase and increase the visibility of their collections and, in turn, seek to broaden and diversify their audiences. This work is more than just a quantitative exercise, however, since it reflects a response to new audiences interested in engaging with archives in ways other than in the search room. Responding to these new audiences influences how the archive presents itself to the public and in turn indicates a shift in the wider role of the archive. To examine this idea in detail, I use the example of the National Archives of the Netherlands and their work in exhibition-making.

In the second section, I discuss how such work is indicative of a pluralising of experience in the archive but consider how such changes can open up questions about what is specific and unique about the archive itself. In the final and longest section of the chapter, I draw across several different examples to explore a number of themes around exhibition-making in the archive. These themes consider innovative forms of display; they also consider what is unique to the archive itself. Many of these themes will be revisited in the case study chapters that follow.

A Shift in Focus: increasing visibility; broadening audiences

A common feature that emerged across the survey was how public archives use exhibition to showcase their collections which, in turn, makes the archive and its holdings more visible. This concept was discussed at the Library of Congress[1] and the British Library,[2] for example; whilst at the National Theatre, the archive is there 'to be seen', and bringing it front-of-house in exhibitions is part of increasing its visibility.[3]

The concept indicates a seeking of new and broader audiences, which was also reflected prominently within the survey. At The Hive in Worcester, exhibitions and events are designed to raise the profile of the archives more widely, including increasing 'awareness' for 'people [who] may not be active users'.[4] At Heritage Quay, the archive of the University of Huddersfield, newly redefined spaces and an active engagement programme sought to attract users from outside the university, 'including people who have never been here before'.[5] Likewise, the Brotherton Library's large-scale Heritage Lottery-funded activity plan was developed to target audiences both internal and external to the University of Leeds.[6]

One of the key reasons behind these activities is a need to safeguard services; to build and maintain audiences who will support archives in straitened financial times. At London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), Laurence Ward, Head of Digital Services, commented, 'our exhibitions are an important part of our offer to new user groups and potential users who don't currently visit'.[7] The role of articulating the value and importance of the archive in its many forms becomes increasingly vital: as Madeleine Trudeau, curator at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) explained,

> I have a great feeling that if people are not aware of what an archive does and has, they will be less likely to reverse the chronic underfunding… I really want to conserve [the archive], but we come up against a public that doesn't know what an archive is. It has a value to society; the danger is that they might not realise the

[1] Cheryl Regan, interview by author, Washington, DC, 18 July 2017.
[2] Alexandra Whitfield, interview by author, London, 12 January 2017.
[3] Judith Merritt and Erin Lee, interview by author, London, 22 May 2017.
[4] Email from Paul Hudson to author, 9 January 2017.
[5] Sarah Wickham, interview by author, Huddersfield, 25 January 2018.
[6] Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis, Laura Wilson, Tim Procter and Layla Bloom, interview by author, Leeds, 8 May 2017.
[7] Laurence Ward, interview by author, London, 3 May 2017.

importance of maintaining its national archive. It's important to understand what it has and does, and why we have it.[8]

The reasons outlined here might be considered typical for outreach and promotional activities; they represent pragmatic responses to the contemporary financial climate. But they also imply something more than just increasing visitor numbers; there is indication here of the value and vitality of the archive and a need to articulate this widely. There is concern, then, in shaping a certain kind of experience which taps into these notions of validity; this indicates less an understanding of use in quantitative terms, rather something more qualitative. To consider some of the underlying issues and motivations surrounding a drive towards increased visibility, then, I will turn to the example of the National Archives of the Netherlands and examine how this archive has developed its approach to exhibition-making.

The National Archives of the Netherlands has a large visitor centre that it uses to stage exhibitions. Located in a high-profile site (an 'A-location') next to the Central Station in The Hague,[9] the development of the visitor centre has its origins in a cultural policy shift within the Netherlands initiated by the then state secretary, Rick van der Ploeg, in 2002, which emphasised a more public-oriented focus for cultural institutions including archives.[10] The National Archives had developed exhibitions, including in partnership with different organisations, that were held in other locations, but none of these resulted in increasing the archives' visibility: 'it was still not clear for visitors what kind of institution we are and what we could offer to the public'.[11] Eventually in 2008 the new director for the National Archives, Martin Berendse, chose to develop a new visitor centre within the archive itself.[12] This process represents a shift within the work of the organisation, becoming more proactive in attracting audiences instead of relying on visitors to come and access existing services. It also represents a broadening in terms of audience focus, widening interest in the archives beyond a specific research community to one which encompasses other visitors too: 'we went from… offering services mainly set at guiding researchers and handing them the documents they asked for, to offer[ing]

[8] Madeleine Trudeau, interview (with Jennifer Roger) by author, Gatineau, 7 July 2017.
[9] Email from Nancy Hovingh to author, 31 August 2017.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid. Martin Berendse was the director of the National Archives until 2014.

a variety of services for different kind[s] of visitors'.[13] The archive's mission statement is to 'serve every person's right to information and provide knowledge about the past', resulting in a policy drive for more visitors through the archive's website and in person, and this has led to increased audience development work both online and through the visitor centre.[14]

An important aim of this work is to enhance the visibility of the collections and draw attention to them through a process of increased accessibility (the visitor centre is seen as a 'showroom'[15]), and this is understood through a lens of democratic rights: 'the collection of the [National Archives] is [for] every citizen in this country'.[16] Because the archives are understood as being 'owned by all the citizens, by all the taxpayers', the archive perceives a need to raise awareness of and offer access to the records 'in as many ways as possible'.[17] Moreover, the archive seeks to be welcoming and accessible; to overcome established notions of being 'boring… old-fashioned, intellectual… with nothing to offer'.[18] Importantly, these objectives recognised the specific role that archives themselves can play:

> In this day and age, where information is becoming more and more crucial in every part of society, I think there is a special role for archives: we are the bearer of authentic documents of history, which people can use and read when they want to reconstruct it. Institutions like the archives can give meaning in this age where people are searching for their roots and understanding their role in society… we have to grasp this moment to get more brand awareness and play a bigger and more important role for a large audience.[19]

This process recognises distinct audiences whose interest in archives would be served in different ways. The idea of a non-research audience was first articulated following a survey undertaken by the consultancy firm Twynstra Gudde in 2003, part of a marketing strategy which aimed to develop a broader audience for archives in the

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid. A similar argument was used at the Luxembourg National Archives to justify promotional activity as a vital function of the organisation: Romain Schroeder, interview (with Beryl Koltz) by author, Luxembourg, 20 January 2017.
[18] Email, Hovingh, 31 August 2017.
[19] Ibid.

northern part of the Netherlands. In this survey, this non-research audience was first described as 'snackers', but this was later refined by the National Archives to 'browsers'. 'The idea behind the different target group was the question what kind of information they needed, they were looking for.'[20] The browsers are interested in history, but are not actively seeking historical information, unlike a researcher audience. Moreover, this is a substantial audience: according to another 2003 survey conducted by MotivAction, 46 per cent of Dutch people aged between 15 and 80 make up this group.[21] Interestingly, a quarter of Dutch people interested in culture want to experience it in a physical way.[22]

Exhibitions Project Manager Nancy Hovingh described how, at the same time, an increasing interest in and need for accessing historical information was also recognised, with a particular attention to personal and family history.[23] Whilst the researcher audience therefore remains important, the archive recognised the need to facilitate an experience for this browser audience, and so the visitor centre was designed especially with their needs in mind. In this way, the archive 'can show people why it is important to keep and hold archives', facilitating interest in a physical way.[24] For Hovingh, there is an anticipation that researchers will also be interested in visiting the exhibition, whilst some browsers may wish to become researchers too; although colleagues at the National Archives do not see this as a specific aim of the exhibitions.[25] These audiences have largely remained distinct (Hovingh noted that 'my colleagues at the front desk… can see at a glance where the specific visitor in front of [the] desk is coming for: the study room or the exhibition'[26]), but the exhibition *The World of the Dutch East India Company* (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) (24 February 2017 – 24 June 2018) (Figure 1) included a database of company employees

[20] Email from Nancy Hovingh to author, 7 September 2017.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid. The archive described the research audience as 'deep diggers' and identified a third group, 'surfers', who use the archives as sources of information (for education, journalism). Nancy Hovingh, 'The Memory Palace, a different and innovative way of exhibiting archival documents: A report on the principles and choices', paper presented at International Council on Archives conference, Girona, 2014 <http://www.girona.cat/web/ica2014/ponents/textos/id93.pdf> [accessed 8 June 2018]. Here, I include both 'deep diggers' and 'surfers' within the researcher audience.
[24] Email, Hovingh, 7 September.
[25] Email, Hovingh, 31 August; Presentations Officer, interview (with Karijn Delen) by author, The Hague, 25 October 2017.
[26] Email, Hovingh, 31 August; Karijn Delen, interview (with Presentations Officer) by author, The Hague, 25 October 2017.

drawn from ships' payment logs dating between 1700 and 1794, and this has motivated some visitors to undertake broader family history research.[27]

Figure 1: National Archives of the Netherlands, *The World of the Dutch East India Company* (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC), 2017. Photo credit: National Archives, The Hague, Netherlands © Author

The idea of promoting collections in order to broaden users is arguably a traditional use of exhibition, but what is interesting from these conversations is an emerging recognition of how audiences themselves want to engage with archives and, in turn, of archives designing spaces which speak to these different forms of engagement. By opening up the archive to alternative experiences, the space of the archive and how that is engaged with seems to shift: following Lefebvre, it represents a turn away from abstract representations of the archive, into which the user should conform, to a 'lived space', open to different types of engagement. As discussed earlier, Lefebvre argues that space is not neutral, but actively shaped by political forces and, in turn, implicated

[27] Email, Hovingh, 31 August. Again, colleagues note that whilst this might happen, these databases are more concerned with interesting visitors generally in history: Presentations Officer, interview. Karijn Delen notes how some visitors come to research *and* look at the exhibition: interview. This outcome is perhaps the result of the exhibition theme, focusing on a collection with appeal to both a research and more general audience.

in shaping experience.[28] By creating new spaces for new types of engagement, there is an indication here of the archive seeking to flatten established hierarchies and reshape experience in a way that focuses on the interests of the audience.

An important aspect of this argument is the recognition of different audiences as distinct and separate entities. These distinct audiences are defined by *use*, and how the audiences themselves might understand and express the form of that use. These discussions, then, indicate a distinct audience with a potential interest in archives, but are not necessarily interested in using them for research. It can be argued that this audience has arisen from an increasing trend towards popular forms of history and cultural heritage. On the one hand, the rise in popular history has led to a marked increase in the popularity of genealogy and local history etc., and these types of activity have, through onsite and, latterly, digital access, shaped and defined the search room. But a trend towards popular history has also led to an increasing concept of 'heritage-as-leisure'; of which the historicization of spaces and media are both a key influence and outcome. In this sense, the growth of a non-researching audience who might nevertheless exhibit an interest in archival material can be seen as an outcome of these trends which, in turn, and shaped by political drives for greater openness and access, influence the way in which archives are responding to these audiences and presenting themselves through new exhibition spaces. This audience represents a turn towards different types of activity and different spaces within the archive beyond standard search room provision. In this sense, exhibition takes on a vital role: it becomes a core activity, a site or forum for engagement and use. Furthermore, the concept of what the archive is or can be begins to shift within this context.

The concept of providing multiple forms of activity based on users' needs and interests was also apparent at several other archives, notably Heritage Quay (Figure 2), where the design of the archive's public and interpretation spaces developed out of the project's consultation process. Here, people explained how they 'wanted a range of ways to get at archives, from being mildly interested to very studious academic research'.[29] The idea of a distinct audience is also recognised at LMA, for example, where Laurence Ward described 'casual historians', people with an 'appetite for

[28] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.
[29] Wickham, interview; see also M. Sarah Wickham, 'Heritage Quay: What Will You Discover? Transforming the Archives of the University of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, UK', *New Review of Academic Librarianship*, 21, no.2 (2015), pp.195-205 (p.199).

experiencing the past' but who 'don't want to be researchers';[30] and at The UK National Archives (TNA) in Kew, where current plans to develop onsite audiences focus on what those audiences themselves want: 'it's not about making them researchers, but offering something for their needs, relating to collections'.[31]

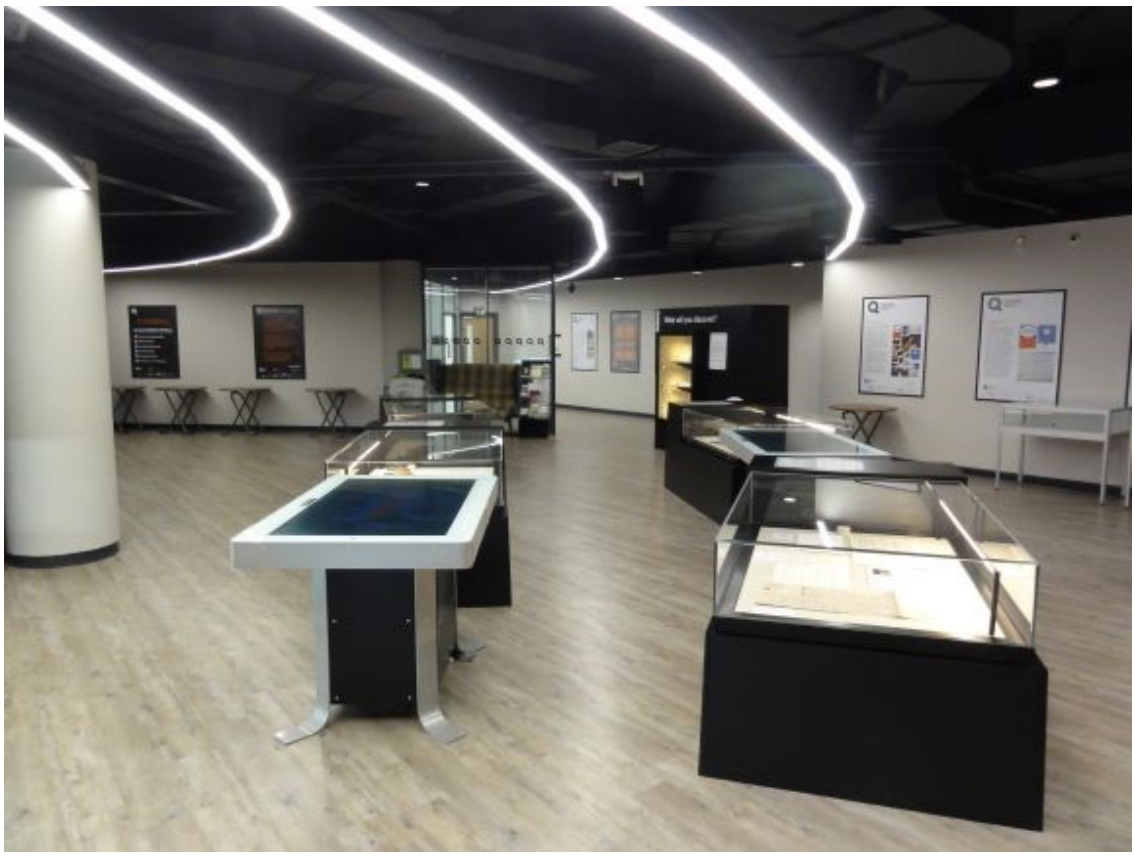

Figure 2: Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield © Author

The Netherlands example suggests some potential for audiences to cross from one area of use to another (the exhibition's theme and content largely governing whether this might happen); however, whilst various archives within the survey expressed a desire or, at least, an openness for this translation to happen,[32] many (also) claimed that this

[30] Ward, interview.
[31] Sarah Dellar, interview (with Juliette Johnstone) by author, Kew, 14 November 2017.
[32] At Oslo City Archives, a prime motivation for the exhibitions is to tell people they can visit and use the collections: Johanne Bergkvist, interview (with Unn Hovdhaugen) by author, Oslo, 8 September 2017. At Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham, Mark Dorrington sees exhibitions as a way of raising the profile of the archives with academic researchers within the university: Mark Dorrington, interview (with Hayley Cotterill) by author, Nottingham, 10 March 2017; although he also recognised that exhibitions are the 'prime way of reaching a wider audience', and are as 'valid' as the search room: Email from Mark Dorrington to author, 23 March 2017. Some exhibitions are designed to promote archives for use to potential new visitors, as well as different types of sources to new and existing users: the exhibition *The Making of Mackintosh* at Glasgow City Archives (31 August – 26 October 2018), for example, used the life story of architect and designer Charles Rennie Mackintosh as a way of promoting collections for genealogical research.

was not realistic or necessary. At LMA, exhibitions are designed to create opportunities for other forms of engagement (including research); but 'it's important that a visit only to see an exhibition is valued and held in the same regard as a research visit';[33] whilst at Heritage Quay, University Archivist Sarah Wickham commented, 'I am not sure to what extent we can expect someone with a casual interest to take valuable time out to begin a research proposition', noting that 'going from an exhibition to an event is likelier'.[34] In fact, the extent to which exhibitions can attract visitors into the search room had already been questioned: G.A. Chinnery argued at the BRA conference in 1971 that exhibitions did not result in an increase in visitors to the Leicester Record Office, for example. Unlike other writers concerned with the material advantages of exhibition, Chinnery saw their worth as cultural value, the 'quality of life' they afforded to their visitors.[35] Although the survey suggests that contemporary opinion varies on this matter, a recognition of the value of exhibitions (and events) in their own right implies an increasing importance on archives' cultural value.

Whilst a discussion of 'distinct audiences' suggests a binary understanding of how the archive is perceived, what is important here is not about creating and classifying distinct groups or modes of access, but rather of responding to individual audience need. What seems to emerge from the National Archives of the Netherlands is a sense of responding to *how* visitors want to experience the archive; the archive is reformulated in terms of what it is *for*.[36] In this sense, it represents a pluralising of experience; of creating spaces which provide different opportunities for access. These concepts foreground key developmental thinking at both Archives+ in Manchester and the Royal Library in Copenhagen, which I will discuss in more detail in the case study chapters later.

Experiencing Archives

As Chinnery's argument notes, the cultural value of archives has long been recognised, yet the types of activity reported in the survey indicate a growing trend towards creating different types of experience. As discussed above, these trends can be understood as a

[33] Ward, interview. A similar idea was noted at the Brotherton Library in Leeds: Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis and Laura Wilson, interview (with Tim Procter and Layla Bloom) by author, Leeds, 8 May 2017.
[34] Wickham, interview.
[35] BRA, 'Annual Conference 1971', pp.107-8; see also Weir, 'Selling yourself', p.16.
[36] See James et al., 'Archives matter', p.2.

response to broader historiographical shifts, themselves reflective of changing political and socio-economic developments throughout the mid-twentieth century. As Andrew Prescott argues, the need to diversify audiences, to accommodate new and different perspectives and histories, and to pluralise the voice of the archive, both in terms of collections and users, has derived from postmodern thought;[37] new types of engagement programmes have, in turn, shifted the experiential character of the archive. But with an emphasis on outreach and promotion (Chinnery's discussion notwithstanding), the experiential character of these activities has perhaps not always been articulated: as discussed above, the archival literature conceives such work in a more transactional manner.

Yet the development of large-scale museum exhibitions, with their 'intermingling of education and entertainment', as Carlos Basualdo argues, can be linked to cultural and economic shifts arising from 'late capitalism'.[38] Likewise, Laura Hourston Hanks et al. write of how the spatial and embodied attributes of the museum give it a distinctively experiential character.[39] What this suggests for the archive, then, is a move towards a space that is more than just a research environment: a space open to pluralised forms of experience. It suggests a rethinking of how the space of the archive is both conceived and perceived, towards a site of different types of engagement and encounter. In this sense, the exhibition becomes an essential function of the archive: following Bernadette Lynch, it becomes embedded within archivists' core practice.[40]

Moreover, a sense of the archive as experiential suggests a reframing of the exhibition as something other than (just) a site of learning. This is important, because much of the archival literature readily identifies the core purpose of exhibition, besides promotion, as being for learning. Learning, here understood as a 'process of active engagement with experience' which 'may involve the development or deepening of skills,

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[37] Prescott, 'Textuality', p.49.
[38] Carlos Basualdo, 'The Unstable Institution', in Paula Marincola (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.52-61 (p.61). See also Peter Higgins, 'From cathedral of culture to anchor attraction', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.215-25 (p.217).
[39] Laura Hourston Hanks et al., 'Introduction: Museum Making: The Place of Narrative' in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.xix-xxiii (p.xxi).
[40] Lynch, *Our Museum*, p.6.

knowledge, understanding, values, ideas and feelings',[41] is indeed a valuable role for the archive and, specifically, for exhibitions: several archives within the survey indicated learning as an important aim of their exhibition-making.[42] But thinking about exhibition through the broader language of experience – as a part of, but also, crucially, as more than a process of learning – has the potential to expand the conversation about what exhibitions are understood to be and what they can do.

These ideas reflect similar conversations concerning the role and purpose of the museum, and such discussions can help qualify a reframing of experience within the archive. The importance of learning in the museum has been discussed by such writers as Eileen Hooper-Greenhill,[43] Stephen Bitgood[44] and John Falk and Lynn Dierking, who describe a shift from museums as 'oriented primarily toward collections and research' to places 'increasingly viewed by the public as institutions for public learning'.[45] Indeed, drawing on the work of Lisa Roberts and George Hein, Leslie Bedford writes of how a constructivist approach to learning, involving the active engagement of the learner, has developed alongside the movement towards a more visitor-oriented museum, and thus a shift away from a didactic, expert-led approach to exhibition-making.[46]

Writing in 1977, Nelson Graburn discussed the museum very much within a learning context but broadened this to articulate three types of 'experiential need' in the museum visitor: 'reverential' (contemplative and emotive); 'associational' (the social space of the museum); and 'educational'.[47] Whilst all these types of 'experience' are enfolded within concepts of learning, they also help to open up other types of conversation about how exhibitions are designed to shape user experience. Leslie Bedford takes this a step

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[41] This definition is derived from the Inspiring Learning for All (ILFA) framework, developed by MLA in 2008: see Arts Council England, *Defining Learning*, [n.d., c.2019], <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/defining-learning> [accessed 2 September 2019]. On ILFA, see Arts Council England, *About ILFA*, [n.d., c.2019], <https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/about-ilfa-0> [accessed 2 September 2019].
[42] These included, for example, Amsterdam City Archive, the Folger Shakespeare Library and the US National Archives.
[43] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp.5-7.
[44] Stephen Bitgood, *Engaging the Visitor: Designing Exhibits That Work* (Edinburgh: MuseumsEtc, 2014), p.11.
[45] Falk and Dierking, *Museum Experience*, p.xiii. See also Weil, 'From Being about Something', p.229.
[46] Leslie Bedford, *The Art of Museum Exhibitions: How Story and Imagination Create Aesthetic Experiences* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014), pp.29;38.
[47] Nelson Graburn, 'The Museum and the Visitor Experience', *Roundtable Reports* (Fall 1977), pp.1-5 (pp.3-4).

further by developing an approach that utilises ideas of story or narrative, imagination and aesthetic experience to 'reveal the potential of exhibitions to be more than purely educational'.[48] For Bedford, the exhibition is most effective as 'aesthetic experiences… they are interactive, emotional, embodied, imaginative experiences'.[49] Again, these types of engagement encompass potential learning experiences, but they also help to reframe and broaden the kinds of things that exhibition is understood to do.

In this sense, then, I argue that the language of experience opens out how exhibitions can be conceived and understood. There is an 'assumption'[50] within the archival literature that exhibitions are about learning; yet it rarely defines what this means. Emma Howgill is an exception in discussing the 'cognitive… affective… [and] psychomotor' forms of learning and the 'heavy bias towards linguistic learning' which displays of archives lean towards.[51] But by harnessing the language of experience – intellectual and cognitive; emotional and affectual; sensory and embodied; participatory and collaborative; constructive and reflective; spatial and social – it is possible to reframe exhibition further,[52] not just through notions of learning (which all of these types of experience can afford), but also through a broader lens of engagement, thus widening the potential role of exhibition. In describing the exhibitions at LMA, Laurence Ward summed up several different aspects:

> The educational role is really important, it's perhaps the foremost thing we are thinking of when designing the exhibition; but it's also about having fun, we want people to enjoy themselves. Do you go to art galleries to be educated? Is it more of an aesthetic thing, which taps into this idea of being fun? It is [also] a social space, where people can interact.[53]

What is suggested here is that, whilst the literature focuses on the learning potential of exhibitions, practice is not necessarily defined by this. All of these experiences are potentially about learning, but they also broaden the definitions of what exhibitions can be and do.

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[48] Bedford, *Art of Museum Exhibitions*, p.53.
[49] Ibid, p.15. See also Jeffrey Kipnis, 'Who's afraid of gift-wrapped kazoos? Dedicated to David Whitney', in Paula Marincola (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.94-106 (pp.98-100).
[50] Bedford, *Art of Museum Exhibitions*, p.15.
[51] Howgill, 'New methods', p.182.
[52] See Bedford, *Art of Museum Exhibitions*, p.16.
[53] Ward, interview.

The pluralising of experience within the archive also has implications for what the archive itself is understood to be. This is closely tied to notions of the spatial and the material, interest in which has arguably increased as a result of digitisation. At the British Library, for example, the importance of physical spaces and the encounter with material records and with other people is understood as increasingly valuable in a more digitised world: 'at a time when the provision of knowledge and culture is increasingly digital and screen-based, the value and importance of high-quality physical spaces and experiences is growing, not diminishing'.[54] The library aims to develop its role as 'a resource, a meeting place and a destination'.[55] A number of institutions also defined themselves as or described their intentions to become destinations and venues.[56] Whilst this may indicate a concern with income generation,[57] a shift towards experience in this way also suggests a rethinking of the archive as a different kind of space. Yes, it is a space of research and learning; but it also a space for people to visit, engage with stories of the past in intellectual, sensory, embodied and enjoyable ways and, notably, to engage with other people. As I discussed earlier, Lefebvre argues that spatiality is inextricably entwined with sociality; space determines how social relationships happen.[58] As the space of the archive is refashioned to open out new kinds of experiences, driven by visitors' interests and choices, it likewise introduces new kinds of social relationships: flattened hierarchies, broadened access and a reshaping of the archive as a space of social encounter. These are themes that I will return to again in my discussion of Archives+.

These kinds of changes begin to pose questions about the relationship between experience, research and collections. This is perhaps most clearly perceived at Durham University's archives and special collections. Here, exhibitions were originally designed at Palace Green Library to 'show off the collections, [provide] an entertainment for members of the public who wouldn't get beyond [this] and a way into

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[54] British Library, *Living Knowledge: The British Library 2015-2023*, 2nd edn ([n.pl.], 2018), p.7.
[55] British Library, *The British Library at St. Pancras: Building the future*, 2nd edn ([n.pl.], 2018), p.10. This is not a universal shift: the management of the National Library of the Netherlands, by contrast, is interested in pursuing digital-only developments which may result in the loss of its exhibition space: Erik Geleijns, interview by author, The Hague, 25 October 2017.
[56] Examples include The John Rylands Library (Stella Halkyard, interview by author, Manchester, 19 December 2017) and the National Theatre, where the archives hope to produce exhibitions which will attract visitors in their own right (Merritt and Lee, interview).
[57] In terms of finance, the British Library recognises the need for investment in physical as much as online spaces: *Living Knowledge*, p.7.
[58] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

the search room for those who didn't know we had [these archival collections]'.[59] This activity had developed as a response to shifting use by academics in the university and a resultant desire to promote the collections to the wider community.[60] An extensive schools programme was also developed as part of this work. In this sense, the work of the archives and special collections at Durham reflected the themes and issues described above.

Following the success of the Lindisfarne Gospels exhibition in 2013, the exhibition practice here transformed: the library became part of a high-profile exhibition programme and housed three large galleries; exhibitions were used to showcase the academic research of the university (rather than the archive's own holdings). Michael Stansfield, Deputy Head of Archives and Special Collections, described how 'the focus on the work of academics helps to maintain the relationship between the archive and the university, which a turn to more community engagement might negate, but that focus does not always mean that the archive's own holdings, and a sense of the university's history and important location, are paramount'.[61]

Curator Julie Biddlecombe-Brown described how the priority on exhibitions was not matched by an increase in resources.[62] Furthermore, 'in the years following the Lindisfarne Gospels exhibition, the exhibition programme became driven less by the archives themselves; and rather more by the then Culture Senior Management Team'.[63] According to Stansfield, there was a 'growing disengagement between the archives and special collections; and the exhibitions'.[64] The space of the archive at Durham evolved into a venue where the relationship to the archive appeared to have become tangential. In contrast, Laurence Ward at LMA argued that it is important to show the archive is 'more than an exhibition or a café', to recognise 'what we are as an archive, and to develop our unique qualities as an archive'.[65]

What seems to emerge here is that whilst exhibition is valued, it should not be divorced from the wider work of the archive. A move towards experience indicates a shift in what the archive is: it is still a research space, but it now also becomes a space to

[59] Michael Stansfield, interview (with Julie Biddlecombe-Brown) by author, Durham, 15 August 2017.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Email from Michael Stansfield to author, 7 August 2019.
[62] Julie Biddlecombe-Brown, interview (with Michael Stansfield) by author, Durham, 15 August 2017.
[63] Email from Julie Biddlecombe-Brown to author, 8 August 2019.
[64] Stansfield, interview.
[65] Ward, interview.

experience and encounter archives through exhibition (as well as other types of events and activities). The examples of Durham and London indicate that, throughout this shift, there is a need to retain a sense of what is specific and unique about the archive (both generally and as specific institutions). In other words, as the space of the archive shifts to new formulations and new ways of being experienced, a core sense of what the archive *is* remains important.

In the following section of this chapter, I will explore the shift towards experience within the archive, examining ideas emerging from the survey. This will focus on four key themes: personal encounters within the archive; reflexive approaches to exhibition-making; participation and collaboration; and performativity and materiality. I will examine how exhibitions are being developed in archives to offer different types of experience for visitors. Whilst using these exhibitions to unpack new and experiential forms of encounter, I will seek to articulate what is specific to exhibition-making in the archive.

Exhibition-making within the Archive

Personal Encounters

A number of conversations in the survey considered how exhibition-making is understood within the specific context of the archive. Amsterdam City Archive's exhibitions are designed to be 'typical for an archive', focusing on archival sources: its date, who wrote it and who is featured in it: the many stories of individuals that can be told.[66] There are two interesting ideas which emerge from this observation. Firstly, the archival document itself is central to display. In one sense, this is typical of a 'treasures' type exhibition about which Nancy Hovingh at The Hague commented, 'most of the attention will go to the showcase and letting the object shine as much as possible – and of course telling the story which it holds'.[67] This kind of technique is arguably typical of earlier archival displays; in 1971, Chinnery felt that 'Exhibits which caused 'oohs and aahs' were best, as most people could not read the documents, and those to be shown must have some visual or dramatic appeal'.[68] Treasures-type

[66] Ludger Smit, interview (with Stefanie van Odenhoven) by author, Amsterdam, 24 October 2017.
[67] Email, Hovingh, 31 August.
[68] BRA, 'Annual Conference 1971', pp.107-8.

displays remain popular and will often include attention to the record's material properties, as at the Brotherton Library in Leeds; and may seek to instil a sense of awe and wonder, as in the case of the *Schatzkammer* or Treasury at the city library in Trier.[69] But what also emerges from the observation at Amsterdam is the importance of the stories and narratives that unfold from the archives. Whilst the story of the archive is important to a 'treasures' display, here it seems to play a different role. Hovingh commented that, in this type of display,

> you also give attention to the context: the total experience, the other objects and the variety in it, the coherence with the other objects… The basis is the same: the original object and what it contains, but the scenes in which the object is placed is different. This offers a more total experience which has a strong base in the authentic documents.[70]

Hovingh argued that this 'total experience', drawing on different senses and emotions, can be more effective in stimulating a sense of the past. What I want to focus on here is the way in which the archive can be used to tell stories, both individual, personal accounts recounted directly in the archive; and also, the broader themes and narratives to which these accounts relate. The exhibition *Rapenburgerstraat 1940-1945* (23 February – 17 June 2018), for example, explored the effects of the Second World War on a single street in a Jewish neighbourhood of Amsterdam. 'A volunteer has made a database of all the houses in that street, they have recorded everyone who lived there using sources from our archives. We are going to present that to show you can take one street and [find] all the lives of the people who lived there.'[71]

The key thing that emerges here is the shift in scale that the archive affords. A macro-historical scale acts as a hegemony, silencing the voices and experiences of the individual:[72] shifting scale gives agency to such voices,[73] whilst relating these

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[69] See Stephen Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1991), pp.42-56.
[70] Email, Hovingh, 31 August.
[71] Stefanie van Odenhoven, interview (with Ludger Smit) by author, Amsterdam, 24 October 2017.
[72] See Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', p.17. This has been a criticism of 'narrative' within the museum: see Hourston Hanks et al., 'Museum Making', p.xx.
[73] Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.5; see also Gregory, '*Is* Small Beautiful?', p.101.

experiences to wider structural changes and broader issues.[74] It opens up new understandings or, as Paul Ricoeur comments, 'connections that remained unperceived at the macrohistorical scale'.[75] Microhistory and historical biography are typical of such approaches, utilising archives to give agency to the lives of ordinary people, rather than exclusively to political or social elites.[76]

Exhibitions which focus on personal accounts and localised narratives suggest the influence of historiographical turns towards the local, the personal and the microhistorical, as well as the rise of popular forms of history, which typically focus on personal and community narratives, and of heritage. Indeed, writing at a time when 'public service' was becoming more important to local authority archives, Chinnery also argues that 'It might be better not to start purely from documents if the exhibition was to appeal to the public. A precise storyline was needed, which should be related to any 'feedback' that might be hoped for'.[77] Likewise, Nigel Yates advocates the need to think about the public rather than the document, suggesting that a recent display of title deeds had artistic merit but 'most archive exhibitions are effectively designed… to appeal to other archivists rather than the general public'.[78]

What the survey indicates, then, is the importance of the individual stories recounted in the archives and the wider themes and issues they relate to. The idea of the personal as a specific feature of the archive was described in several cases. At LAC, the unique characteristic of their archival collections is perceived in the intimate and the personal, the 'in-between things, personal letters, photos, as well as government documents'; this is directly related to the 'personal stories that we can offer'.[79] Amsterdam City

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[74] Gregory, '*Is* Small Beautiful?', pp.101;102. See also Ginzburg and Poni, 'Name and Game', p.8; Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi (trans.), (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp.xx-xxi; Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It', John and Anne C. Tedeschi (trans.), *Critical Inquiry*, 20, no.1 (1993), pp.10-35 (p.33); Magnússon, 'Singularization', p.710; Caine, *Biography and History*, p.1; see also pp.4,5; Magnússon and Szijártó, *What is Microhistory?* pp.5-7; Daniel R. Meister, 'The biographical turn and the case for historical biography', *History Compass*, 16, no.1 (2018), pp.1-10 (p.5).
[75] Ricoeur, *Memory*, p.210; from a material perspective, see also Olivier Lugon, 'Photography and Scale: Projection, Exhibition, Collection', *Art History*, 38, no.2 (2015), pp.386-403 (p.387).
[76] See Ginzburg, *Cheese and Worms*, p.xiii; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p.1; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp.212-6. It is worth acknowledging that microhistory (and New Historicist approaches to history) have been criticised for their 'over- or misinterpretation of archival sources': Buchanan, 'Strangely Unfamiliar', p.47.
[77] BRA, 'Annual Conference 1971', p.107.
[78] Yates, 'Marketing the record office', pp.70;72.
[79] Jennifer Roger, interview (with Madeleine Trudeau) by author, Gatineau, 7 July 2017.

Archives' exhibitions draw attention to individual and personal stories within the archival collections: 'We have the stories of individuals, of the thousands and millions of inhabitants of Amsterdam, each of which we can use to tell a story'.[80] This 'personal way of approaching the public' is understood as a distinguishing characteristic of the archive.[81] At the National Archives of the Netherlands, archivists and curators aim to tell the 'great [story of] history' through 'smaller, personal stories';[82] this sense of personal storytelling is understood to help bring the historical period to life.[83] The use of personal stories helps make the archives relevant and meaningful. As Hovingh explained, this process is one of several (including providing transcripts and displaying loaned artefacts) that are used to make archival documents, which are 'often not very aesthetic and also hard to read', more accessible to visitors: 'the documents are vested with numerous stories. We have attempted, as much as possible, to regale the visitor with personal tales too'.[84] Likewise, according to Madeleine Trudeau at LAC, creating a story or narrative around collections helps to 'draw people in and makes it more interesting', especially when 'a lot of people don't know what archives are'.[85]

Furthermore, they help visitors to identify with and relate to the archives; as Karijn Delen, Exhibitions Project Manager at the National Archives of the Netherlands commented, people are able to make personal connections with the exhibited material since they can relate personal stories to their own experiences and backgrounds.[86] At TNA, Exhibitions Manager Juliette Johnstone commented that it is 'human stories that connect people',[87] whilst at Nationwide Building Society, Sara Kinsey, Head of Historical Archives, described how 'people can really relate to personal stories, there is a relevance to their own lives. So rather than showing the foundation of a Victorian building society, we talk about the experience of Alfred and Elizabeth Idle in 1884, and this has an immediate resonance for today's audience'.[88] Such approaches reflect the

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[80] Smit, interview.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Email, Hovingh, 31 August.
[83] National Archives of the Netherlands, *The World of the Dutch East India Company*, [n.d., c.2017] <https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/en/explore/the-world-of-the-dutch-east-india-company> [accessed 27 May 2019].
[84] Email, Hovingh, 31 August.
[85] Trudeau, interview.
[86] Delen, interview.
[87] Juliette Johnstone, interview (with Sarah Dellar) by author, Kew, 14 November 2017.
[88] Sara Kinsey, telephone interview by author, 15 August 2018. Alfred and Elizabeth Idle were the building society's first mortgage customers.

use of narrative in museum exhibitions as a way of stimulating engagement and, as Stephen Greenberg and Leslie Bedford respectively argue, to encourage personal engagement and interpretation.[89] As Gaynor Bagnall demonstrates, visitors use their own personal histories and identities to establish meaning in museums and heritage sites.[90] In this sense, such approaches are indicative of a turn towards social value in the archive.

Figure 3: Luxembourg National Archives, *Têtes Chercheuses* © Author

In order to tell these stories, the process of research is important. At Luxembourg National Archives, the innovative exhibition *Têtes Chercheuses* (14 October 2016 – 28 February 2017) (Figure 3) not only showcased the archive as a research institution, but also twisted the narrative to focus on the researchers themselves. Designer Beryl Koltz commented, 'for certain people, when some documents are shown, even if they are around a given theme, [they] may be dry for them'.[91] With this exhibition, the intention

[89] Stephen Greenberg, 'The vital museum', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.226-37 (p.227); Bedford, *Art of Museum Exhibitions*, p.59.
[90] Gaynor Bagnall, 'Performance and Performativity at Heritage Sites', *Museum and Society*, 1, no.2 (2003), p.87-103 (p.87).
[91] Beryl Koltz, interview (with Romain Schroeder) by author, Luxembourg, 20 January 2017.

was to provide a different way of presenting these archives, 'through the eyes of the researcher'.[92] In this way, the experience of using archives was displayed through a personalised account which documented the act of research itself and which aimed to articulate the 'passion' of the researcher, thereby bringing a degree of emotion and personality to the process.[93]

A large panel displayed a portrait of each of the thirteen individuals or groups of researchers, accompanied by text explaining their research and a film through which the visitor 'enter[s] into the individual's world, where they work', thereby creating an 'immersion' which presents the researcher's experience of the archive 'through their own eyes'.[94] The text itself was focused in particular on the moment when the researcher decided to pursue this interest: the point at which it became a passion for them (in childhood, in some cases).[95] The different types of researcher varied from academic historians to filmmakers and artists, whilst the areas of study included the Jewish minority in Luxembourg; adult education; forest management; genealogy; and beer. Opposite the panels, display cases featured a selection of the records the researchers used in their work, with written descriptions by the researchers themselves alongside a small number of their own personal belongings.

The exhibition was designed to personalise the archive and make it more accessible; it 'tells a social story, the parallel between their own lives and their research'.[96] It was also designed to show how the archive, as a place for research, is open to everyone.[97] Importantly, rather than simply presenting a narrative illustrated by archival material, the exhibition showed *how* the archives are used to construct histories through the process of research. By extension, therefore, the exhibition drew attention to how archives themselves enable society to know about its past.

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[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid. A similar technique was used at Peel Art Gallery, Museum and Archives, where archivists exhibited their favourite records and their personal responses to them; and at Derbyshire Record Office, whose *Fifty Treasures* exhibition comprised exhibits which have 'special meaning' for staff and users. See Samantha Thompson et al., 'This Time It's Personal: Staff Favourites from the Archives', *Archives @ PAMA*, 2017 <https://peelarchivesblog.com/2017/09/29/making-an-exhibition-of-ourselves-this-time-its-personal/> [accessed 8 June 2019]; and Clare Mosley, '50 Treasures', *Derbyshire Record Office Blog*, 2014 <https://recordoffice.wordpress.com/2014/01/21/50-treasures/> [accessed 8 June 2019].
[94] Koltz, interview.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Schroeder, interview.

Reflexive Approaches to Exhibition-making

Archives, as embodiments of the personal and the intimate, are ideally placed to bring out the voices of the individual. However, archives are also complicit in the linear metanarratives of history in that they are tightly bound in notions of power and control. Archives are sites where those in power have sought to control understanding of the past through recording, collecting and destroying: determining whose history is legitimized; and whose isn't.[98] The voice of the 'other', the marginalized and those without power, are routinely missing from the archive.[99] In each of these ways, the archive is active in shaping how society remembers its past and, through the process of 'archivization', shapes personal and social memory.[100] Consequently, whilst the archive can bring forth and show the stories of some individuals, it is also implicated in suppressing or silencing others.

Through its design and content, exhibition can act as a mechanism to examine issues such as these emerging from the specific experience of the archive. Rather than 'reproducing established narratives', exhibition can instead be used to unpack how such narratives are constructed.[101] Reflexive approaches in some museums seek to question and critique how communities are represented or omitted and, more broadly, the work and role of the exhibition and the museum.[102] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that, through an engagement with its own past, the museum is able to examine its role within contemporary society.[103] Exhibition thus arguably provides the same potential for the archive.

At the Luxembourg National Archives, the exhibition *Blackouts/Trous de mémoire* (10 June 2016 – 28 February 2017) (Figure 4) utilised a participatory form to explore how understandings of the past are constructed. The exhibition was designed to show that

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[98] Cook, 'Archival science and postmodernism', pp.8-9; Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', pp.6-7.
[99] Cook, 'Professional Rebirth', pp.23-4.
[100] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, pp.16-7.
[101] Witcomb, 'Role of affect', pp.257;259.
[102] See, for example, Gerald McMaster, 'Creating Spaces', in Reesa Greenberg et al. (eds), *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.191-200; Alexa Färber, 'Exposing Expo: Exhibition Entrepreneurship and Experimental Reflexivity in Late Modernity', in Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (eds), *Exhibition Experiments* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.219-39 (p.219). See also Mieke Bal, who writes of the 'meta-exhibition': 'Exhibition as Film', p.72.
[103] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'The museum as catalyst. Keynote address at Museums 2000: Confirmation or Challenge, organised by ICOM Sweden, the Swedish Museum Association and the Swedish Travelling Exhibition/Riksutställningar in Vadstena, 29 September 2000', 2000 <http://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/web/vadstena.pdf> [accessed 27 May 2019], p.17.

‘History is made from little histories’; in other words, that the idea of the past is formed from our own individual and personal memories and stories.[104] The exhibition gives a ‘tangible’ character to these notions.[105] In a more practical way, the exhibition was designed to raise awareness of the value of memories, as well as the importance of archives and recordkeeping in documenting the past.[106]

Figure 4: Luxembourg National Archives, *Blackouts/Trous de mémoire* © Author

In the exhibition, the visitor was invited to contribute an experience in which some piece of information or knowledge is missing or forgotten. The visitor was also encouraged to reflect on how they felt about this loss: does it cause regret, doubt or pain? The contribution was written onto a circular disc, white on one side and black (to represent the ‘blackout’ caused by this lost information) on the other. Contributions could also be submitted via social media, which were then printed onto the discs by archives staff. The discs were hung onto a gallery wall in the archive, which ‘gradually

[104] Koltz, interview.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Schroeder, interview.

expanded with each new contribution',[107] whilst visitors were encouraged to turn over the discs and read the contributions made by others. Many of the contributions were quite factual and focused on missing documents, but others were very personal: many contributors explored the 'link between historical events and the story of their own families'.[108] The exhibition thus had a distinctly emotional character: as designer Beryl Koltz opined, emotion can help 'touch people, to provoke changes… to change the eye of the public on archives'.[109]

Two important points emerge from this exhibition. Firstly, although this does not appear to have been an intention behind the exhibition, its focus on lost or missing information alludes to notions of silences within the archive. In some respects, the exhibition might attract questions around why certain documents are not included in the archive and, whilst this might be interpreted as a 'criticism', the archive also recognised that it 'is essential to show the gaps in memory that are there'.[110] Secondly, through its participatory character, the exhibition invited the audience actively to consider their role in the preservation of the past. This concept was designed to stress the importance of archives to its audience;[111] but it also acknowledges how the archive is socially constructed and that society itself shapes its own understanding of the past.

The exhibition drew attention to the fragmentary nature of how the past is understood and highlighted its fragility and vulnerability. In this sense, it transcended traditional concepts of storytelling and instead brought the visitor into a reflexive space to critique and question how society chooses to formulate and document its own history. In turn, the exhibition served to amplify the nature of the archive itself as active in shaping how – and who – society remembers, and thus what – and who – it chooses to forget.

This concept of 'archivization',[112] of how the archive actively shapes how society remembers and understands itself, also emerges at the US National Archives. The archive's David M. Rubenstein Gallery, opened in 2013, displays a permanent exhibition focusing on human rights. The exhibition concerns the people who have not

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[107] Le Gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, *'Blackouts/Trous de mémoire' an interactive exhibition by the National Archives*, 2016 <http://luxembourg.public.lu/en/actualites/2016/06/09-blackouts/index.html> [accessed 14 August 2018].
[108] Koltz, interview.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Schroeder, interview.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Derrida, *Archive Fever*, p.17.

enjoyed the rights expressed in the United States' foundation charters (displayed nearby in a purpose-built gallery called the Rotunda) and their struggles to be granted those rights.[113] The juxtaposition of certain exhibits within the gallery is used to show how these struggles have unfolded through time. In the Civil Rights section, for example, the 1868 resolution proposing a fifteenth amendment to the Constitution is displayed, which asserted people's right to vote, irrelevant of their race, colour or servitude. The amendment, ratified in 1870, is displayed alongside the 1965 Voting Rights Act, drawing the visitor's attention to the century that almost passed before African Americans were finally enfranchised.[114]

The use of these juxtapositions enables new readings to be established in which a more nuanced critique of their historical significance is possible; through this method, established discourses can be questioned and challenged.[115] The process of making juxtapositions within the medium of exhibition establishes a 'value framework' designed to shape certain types of responses.[116] It likewise draws attention to the way in which archives themselves are complicit in shaping how society perceives and understands itself. The document's content conveys meanings and messages about the past through which contemporary attitudes are shaped. What is included and omitted, both within the document itself and within the wider archive, not only reflects how society chooses to conceive itself, but also shapes how society develops and evolves. As Paul Martin writes, 'far from being 'fixed' in time, the past is fluid and is re-made to serve contemporary agendas or needs in the present';[117] the archive is an active part of this process.

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[113] Corinne Porter, interview by author, Washington, DC, 17 July 2017.
[114] See National Archives, *Records of Rights*, [n.d.] <http://recordsofrights.org/exhibit/bending-towards-justice> [accessed 16 August 2018].
[115] A similar design technique is used at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, where documents are paired to create new interpretations, some of which question established attitudes inherent within them: the Magna Carta, for example, was displayed alongside ephemeral fragments from the Suffrage movement, 'interpreted as the Rights of Man and the Rights of Women': Madeline Slaven, interview (with Sallyanne Gilchrist) by author, Oxford, 20 February 2017. The British Library's exhibition *Maps and the 20th Century: Drawing the Line* (4 November 2016 – 1 March 2017) clearly articulates how maps, rather than 'representing' the world, actively shape attitudes and patterns of behaviour. The exhibition used interpretative text as well as juxtapositions to bring out these concepts.
[116] Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', pp.22-3. Christopher Marshall argues for 'creative juxtapositions and reimaginings' to provide moments of reflection in contrast to heavily didactic and informative displays: Christopher Marshall, 'When worlds collide: the contemporary museum as art gallery', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.170-84 (pp.181-2).
[117] Martin, 'Past in Present', p.1; see also de Groot, *Consuming History*, p.2.

The issue of power and politics in the archive and its entanglement with contemporary issues emerges at LAC, whose work is prioritised according to government policies.[118] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established in 2009 to document and listen to the accounts of survivors of the residential schools' system, which operated in the country for more than 150 years.[119] The Commission's report describes how 'these residential schools were created for the purpose of separating Aboriginal children from their families, in order to mimimize and weaken family ties and cultural linkages, and to indoctrinate children into a new culture – the culture of the legally dominant Euro-Christian Canadian society, led by Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald'.[120] The report documents a wider context, in which 'the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide"'.[121] Thousands of children were abused and/or died in the residential schools.[122]

Archives are an integral aspect of power and politics, as instruments of control and abuse, evidence of actions and atrocities, or narrative tools for reconciliation and healing.[123] In this sense, archives, as active agents within the world, play a fundamental

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[118] Trudeau, interview.
[119] National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation [NCTR], University of Manitoba, *About the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation*, [n.d.] <https://nctr.ca/about-new.php> [accessed 24 September 2018].
[120] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* ([n.pl.], 2015), p.v.
[121] Ibid, p.1.
[122] NCTR, *About the National Centre*; TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, pp.v-vi.
[123] For general discussions on these issues, see Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples', pp.221-38; Ketelaar, 'Spaces of Memory', pp.9-27; Cook, 'Four Paradigms', p.111. For discussions relating to archives, the TRC and wider issues, see Lisa P. Nathan et al., 'Stewarding Collections of Trauma: Plurality, Responsibility, and Questions of Action', *Archivaria*, 80 (2015), pp.89-118; and J.J. Ghaddar, 'The Spectre in the Archive: Truth, Reconciliation, and Indigenous Archival Memory', *Archivaria*, 82 (2016), pp.3-26; see also Anne Lindsay, 'Archives and Justice: Willard Ireland's Contribution to the Changing Legal Framework of Aboriginal Rights in Canada, 1963-1973', *Archivaria*, 71 (2011), pp.35-62 and Amanda Linden, 'The Advocate's Archive: Walter Rudnicki and the Fight for Indigenous Rights in Canada, 1955-2010', *Archivaria*, 85 (2018), pp.38-67. For an alternative perspective on the importance of storytelling within Indigenous communities, see Jeff Corntassel et al., 'Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation', *English Studies in Canada*, 31, no.1 (2009), pp.137-59. For information about the archives established by the NCTR, see National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, University of Manitoba, *Archives at the NCTR*, [n.d.], <https://nctr.ca/archives.php> [accessed 24 September 2018]. On the role of archives and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, see Harris, 'Archival Sliver'; and in reference to the 'Stolen Generations' in Australia, see

role in shaping experience. Furthermore, they pose questions for how the archival institution functions and operates within society today. The politics of the colonial archive are active in shaping how national narratives are formed, implicating the archive in patterns of history-making and reframings of the past.[124] Exhibition can play a reflexive and critiquing role around the institution of the archive itself, not as a colonial act of appropriation and representation, but through collaboration, creating a space to unpeel the layers of politics that imbue the processes of recordkeeping.[125] In terms of exhibitions, the TRC mandated that LAC will assist in telling the stories of Indigenous peoples.[126] This has been challenging, since archives, understood as colonial institutions, are 'distrusted by many Indigenous groups'.[127] Exhibitions in 2017 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Confederation, an event imbued with colonial associations, necessitated a delicate balance in interpretation, which focused on identity and the role of archives in representing the history of the nation.[128] Moreover:

> We struggle with the fact that we have no proper Indigenous representative on the curatorial staff. We struggle with how to tell stories whilst not being of the background ourselves. The motto that came out as part of the Truth and Reconciliation Report is Nothing For Us Without Us. It's not our place [as non-Indigenous people] to interpret Indigenous material. We have to find Indigenous curators and artists who are willing to collaborate with us and guide our stories. We are hoping to improve on this, to have Indigenous curators.[129]

The exhibition *Pathways: Following Traces of Indigenous Routes across Ontario* (18 August – 28 October 2018), curated in partnership with and staged at Toronto Public Library, explored 'land and water routes across what is now Ontario [which] reveal layers of Indigenous knowledge, resistance and presence that connect from time immemorial to the present and future'; the exhibition also features works by

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Livia Iacovino, 'Rethinking archival, ethical and legal frameworks for records of Indigenous Australian communities: a participant relationship model of rights and responsibilities', *Archival Science*, 10 (2010), pp.353-72 (p.354).

[124] See Ghaddar, 'Spectre', p.25.

[125] I discuss the politics of exhibition-making below.

[126] Madeleine Trudeau and Jennifer Roger, interview by author, Gatineau, 7 July 2017.

[127] Trudeau, interview.

[128] Ibid. LAC's exhibition *Canada: Who Do We Think We Are?* sought to use archives to unpack notions of Canadian identity, whilst also emphasising the role of archives as the country's 'memory' or 'mirror': Madeleine Trudeau, 'An Exhibition Preview… Canada: Who Do We Think We Are?', *Signatures: The Magazine of Library and Archives Canada* (Fall/Winter 2016), pp.10-3 (pp.10-1). I discuss identity-construction in more detail below.

[129] Roger, interview.

contemporary Indigenous artists.[130] A greater awareness of the 'extent… of the harm that was done', as documented through the TRC report, has enabled an approach to exhibitions which seeks to present these stories more openly.[131]

Participation and Collaboration

These examples indicate the growing importance of participatory forms of engagement as a way of addressing the homogeneity of the archive. Whilst recognising the 'slippery nature' of what 'participatory' activity means,[132] and questions and assumptions concerning its value,[133] here, I argue that participation, within a context of exhibition-making, suggests a pluralising of archival spaces and an active turn towards generating different, new and multiple interpretations of the past. It recognises the validity of other ways of remembering besides, or alongside, the archival record. Indeed, by engaging people in the generating of their own histories (as 'cultural participants, not passive consumers'), archives can seek to claim a vitality and relevance to individuals and society.[134] Following Isto Huvila's discussion of the participatory digital archive, importance is placed on 'decentralised curation' and 'radical user orientation', as well as the importance of multiple contexts.[135] This represents a shift in the relationship between the archive and its users, with archivists as enablers of a participatory '*process*' in archiving.[136] It indicates a 'dissolv[ing of] boundaries', by which communities can construct their own histories and meanings in a shifting of power and representation.[137] Within the context of trauma, Ketelaar argues

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[130] Library and Archives Canada, *Pathways: Following traces of Indigenous routes across Ontario*, 2018 <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/about-us/events/Pages/Exhibitions/Pathways-Indigenous-routes.aspx> [accessed 24 September 2018]; Roger, interview.
[131] Trudeau, interview.
[132] Andrew Flinn and Anna Sexton, 'Research on community heritage: Moving from collaborative research to participatory and co-designed research practice', in Sheila Watson et al. (eds), *A Museums Studies Approach to Heritage* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp.625-39 (p.626); see also Kean, 'Introduction', pp.xiv-xvi; Martin, 'Past in Present', p.8; Graham Black, *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.185.
[133] Nuala Morse et al. discuss how participatory forms of engagement are often designed to overcome barriers but their claims to democratic empowerment can be constrained by institutional control: Nuala Morse et al., 'Developing dialogue in co-produced exhibitions: between rhetoric, intentions and realities', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 28, no.1 (2013), pp.91-106 (p.92); see also Steve Watson and Emma Waterton, 'Heritage and community engagement', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16, nos.1-2 (2010), pp.1-3 (p.2).
[134] Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 20, 2010), pp.i-ii.
[135] Huvila, 'Participatory archive', p.25; see also Carter, 'Things Said and Unsaid', p.231; Iacovino, 'Rethinking frameworks', pp.362-3.
[136] Cook, 'Four Paradigms', pp.114-5, original emphasis.
[137] Flinn and Sexton, 'Research on community heritage', pp.626-8; Valerie Johnson writes of the empowerment of participation: 'Solutions', pp.145-6.

for the importance of 'shared stories', as agents of forgiveness and healing.[138] Furthermore, by recognising the archive as active and present within the world, participatory activity brings the archive into a process of contemporary meaning-making; in other words, the archive becomes activated in the discussion of present-day issues.

Examples of co-curatorial exhibition activity include the Brotherton Library's work with Leeds Gypsy and Traveller Exchange for the exhibition *Rights and Remembrance: Representing Gypsy Lives* (1 March – 31 July 2018);[139] and Heritage Quay's co-curation or programming groups to create activities around the collections, including displays.[140] In some instances, this use of archives may help support people coping with issues such as mental health illness and poverty. Norfolk Record Office, for example, has worked with Together for Mental Wellbeing and the Restoration Trust on the Heritage Lottery-funded Change Minds project, a 'transformative archival adventure' for people with mental health conditions.[141] This project used asylum records to research local people, attend creative workshops and curate exhibitions of artwork, books and poetry at various venues including the record office's gallery. The project aimed to support engagement with art, culture and heritage in a process termed 'Culture Therapy', and to explore the relationship between archival heritage and health and wellbeing.[142]

The Oslo City Archive exhibition, *When the ends do not meet: Poverty in Oslo before and now* was a collaborative project shaped around present-day issues. It was specifically designed to 'discuss people's voices today' rather than simply presenting narratives about the past,[143] in other words, to draw attention to contemporary issues through a lens of historical narrative. *When the ends do not meet* was a touring exhibition which was on show in city libraries. The exhibition did not aim to present a

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[138] Ketelaar, 'Spaces of Memory', pp.16-7.
[139] Laura Wilson, interview (with Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis, Tim Procter and Layla Bloom) by author, Leeds, 8 May 2017; University of Leeds, *Rights and Romance: Representing Gypsy Lives*, [n.d., c.2018] <https://library.leeds.ac.uk/events/event/1900/galleries/21/rights-and-romance-representing-gypsy-lives> [accessed 21 September 2018].
[140] Wickham, interview.
[141] Change Minds, *Home*, 2017 <http://changeminds.org.uk/> [accessed 24 September 2018]; Nick Sellwood, interview by author, Norwich, 25 April 2017.
[142] Change Minds, *For Members*, [n.d., c.2017] <http://changeminds.org.uk/for-participants/> [accessed 24 September 2018]; Sellwood, interview. For the exhibition, see Change Minds, *Exhibition*, [n.d., c.2017] <http://changeminds.org.uk/exhibition/> [accessed 24 September 2018].
[143] Bergkvist, interview.

history of 'the poor', but rather to talk about different themes and issues connected with poverty, and to use historical material to link with present-day stories. It aimed to normalise experiences of poverty and to address contemporary stigmas around this issue, seeking to demonstrate that the relationship between the poor and those who are better off is the same today as it was in the past.[144] Archivist Unn Hovdhaugen explained that some 200,000 people received poor relief in the Norwegian capital between 1878 and 1930: for a small city like Oslo, this was a significant proportion of inhabitants; consequently, it was normal for people to receive assistance in this way.[145] The ancestors of most people today would have received some form of poor relief and so poverty is a part of everyone's story: 'this is not a marginalised history'.[146]

The display was part of a wider project which involved the archivists working on three collaborative projects, resulting in content for the exhibition; these were shaped by the participants' own experiences and stories. One group comprised people who were supported by a homeless charity by selling magazines to passers-by on the street; they were invited to document their experiences by taking photographs with cameras provided by the archive. Separately, a family from a Romany community described their experiences of the Poor Law, which was used to enforce assimilation of minority people up until the 1980s, and which has echoes in contemporary debates around the banning of begging.[147] The exhibition sought to dispel established macro-historical notions of poverty which are contradicted in the micro-historical detail of the archival record.[148] It also gave agency to people by allowing them to tell their own stories and let their own voices be heard: archivist Johanne Bergkvist commented 'we may know the facts, but we don't have the same story. Tell us your story'.[149] In this sense, as Hovdhaugen remarked, the process of exhibition-making is important; more so than the product that results from it.[150]

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[144] Oslo Byarkiv/Unn Hovdhaugen, *Når endene ikke møtes/Fattigdom i Oslo før og nå*, 2016 [presentation] <https://www.kulturradet.no/documents/10157/dc7dd390-1af9-463f-8f9f-5ddc0d5955af> [accessed 25 September 2018], slide 3.
[145] Unn Hovdhaugen, interview (with Johanne Bergkvist) by author, Oslo, 8 September 2017.
[146] Bergkvist, interview.
[147] Unn Hovdhaugen and Johanne Bergkvist, interview by author, Oslo, 8 September 2017. The Romany community said that the archives could not tell 'our' story, the story of the whole community, but were able to present the story of one family from within the community.
[148] Johanne Bergkvist described how the history of workhouses and enforced labour in Norway is typically ignored in wider historical narratives, but archival material shows that this was, in fact, part of the country's history: interview.
[149] Bergkvist, interview.
[150] Hovdhaugen, interview.

The third group comprised service users at the *Fattighuset* or Poor House charity. The archivists wanted to talk to these individuals about their experiences of being poor and, whilst they did conduct interviews, they found that the service users were interested less in discussing their own experiences and more in talking about archives, and how they might access personal records which they had not previously been permitted to see.[151] Whilst these processes did not radically de-centre the archive,[152] they do indicate a turn towards the user; the process of exhibition-making becoming a dialogue shaped by the users' rights and concerns. In this sense, the archive acquires a vitality and immediacy relevant to individuals' lives; as Bergkvist and Hovdhaugen commented, it is important that archives serve the needs and rights of citizens.[153] This turn to a more polyvocal understanding of the archive and its relevance to contemporary lives will be revisited in the discussion of Archives+.

Performativity and Materiality

The turn towards experience suggests an opening out or a recognition of different types of engagement with archives besides the purely intellectual and cognitive. This concept emerged at several sites in the survey. At The John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, for example, *The Life of Objects* exhibition (16 March – 27 August 2017) was designed to 'evoke emotional responses from our audiences',[154] whilst the Brotherton Library was interested in the different kinds of responses experienced by audiences.[155] At Luxembourg National Archives, designer Beryl Koltz aimed to engage the public 'through ways they don't expect' and to experiment using emotions rather than 'just [being] intellectual'.[156]

Furthermore, an increasing recognition of the visitor as active and participatory changes the exhibition from a 'medium for representation' to one of 'enactment', and from 'a space of representation into a space of encounter'.[157] In the case of the museum, such changes indicate a 'performative turn' in which the visitor plays a part in shaping

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[151] Bergkvist, interview.
[152] See Huvila, 'Participatory archive', p.25.
[153] Bergkvist and Hovdhaugen, interview.
[154] Halkyard, interview.
[155] Lawrence-Francis and Wilson, interview.
[156] Koltz, interview.
[157] Paul Basu and Sharon Macdonald, 'Experiments in Exhibition, Ethnography, Art, and Science', in Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (eds), *Exhibition Experiments* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.1-24 (pp.12;14). See also Bagnall, 'Performance and Performativity', pp.87;95.

experience within the exhibition.[158] Writers such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Jonathan Hale, Kate Gregory, Andrea Witcomb and Leslie Bedford have discussed embodied, sensory and somatic forms of engagement which represent a turn towards performativity and theatricality,[159] and away from the reductionism of the disembodied, perceiving 'eye' which rejects the body as 'superfluous, an intrusion'.[160]

A turn towards a performative and embodied form of engagement is reflected in the exhibition *I Am Archive* at Croome Court, a National Trust property in Worcestershire (from 18 September 2017), which displays copies of records from the estates' archives held at The Hive in Worcester. The exhibition design is a circular structure which mimics the shelving in an archival strong room. Visitors are encouraged to take boxes from the shelves and, on opening them, take out and explore the loose (copy) archival documents and other objects which tell the history of the estate.[161] The exhibition includes information describing what an archive is, and questioning whether recordkeeping in the digital age will last as long as paper and parchment.[162] Reflecting the discussion of distinct audiences above, the exhibition recognises that 'not everyone wants to be a researcher, but there is a growing appreciation of how important archival

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[158] Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour, 'Experimenting with Representation: *Iconoclash* and *Making Things Public*', in Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (eds), *Exhibition Experiments* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.94-108 (p.107). See also Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska, 'From *Capital* to *Enthusiasm*: an Exhibitionary Practice', in Sharon Macdonald and Paul Basu (eds), *Exhibition Experiments* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp.132-53 (p.150).

[159] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Museum as catalyst', p.5; Jonathan Hale, 'Narrative Environments and the Paradigm of Embodiment', in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.192-200 (p.193); Kate Gregory and Andrea Witcomb, 'Beyond Nostalgia: The role of affect in generating historical understanding at heritage sites', in Simon J. Knell et al. (eds), *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and are Changed* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp.263-75 (p.263); Witcomb, 'Role of affect', pp.256-7; Bedford, *Art of Museum Exhibitions*, p.68. On narrativity, see also Tricia Austin, 'Scales of Narrativity', in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.107-18; on design, see Fabienne Galangau-Quérat, 'The Grande Galerie de l'Evolution: An alternative cognitive experience', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.109-21 (pp.101;104); and Greer Crawley, 'Staging Exhibitions: Atmosphere of Imagination', in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), pp.12-20; on immersive experiences, see Bitgood, *Engaging the Visitor*, p.207.

[160] Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), p.15. On the politics of sensory engagement in the museum, see Elizabeth Edwards et al., 'Introduction', in Elizabeth Edwards et al. (eds), *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (Oxford, Berg, 2006), pp.1-31 (pp.18-20).

[161] National Trust, *I Am Archive*, [n.d.] <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/croome/features/i-am-archive> [accessed 20 October 2018].

[162] Ibid.

material is'; moreover, the exhibition is designed to help visitors 'explore what archives are all about… and to help visitors reflect on their own archive in life'.[163]

Rather than simply placing documents behind glass, this exhibition replicates the character of the archive as a site of discovery and research. Moreover, it introduces a visitor-led process of discovery by inviting the audience to select and choose the boxes which they wish to examine; as well as relating their discoveries to their own lives through references to personal archiving and contemporary digital engagement. Further, the exhibition brings a sense of physical movement into the space of research and reading, activating the whole body in a singular mode of performance. As Sandra Dudley argues, the act of opening and closing drawers introduces a corporeal, proprioceptive character into the museal experience which, coupled with notions of surprise, has the potential to add to the pleasure of being in the space of the exhibition.[164] This concept is also employed at *Signs – Books – Networks: from Cuneiform Script to Binary Code*, the permanent exhibition at the German Museum of Books and Writing of the German National Library in Leipzig, where visitors open drawers to reveal often unexpected displays, accompanied by music and sound effects (including a group of model bleating sheep in a display about parchment) (Figure 5).

A turn towards sensory and affectual forms of experience draws attention to the material form of the archive. In a sense, this reflects Dudley's call for attention to the primacy of objects within the museum and an openness to the forms of experience which their materiality can afford.[165] The primacy of the authentic, original archive and its value in an exhibition setting emerged as a contested issue within the survey. On the one hand, Laurence Ward at LMA and Sarah Dellar, Interpretation Manager at TNA, questioned whether seeing the original item produced different responses in visitors compared to seeing copies.[166] On the other hand, the importance of staging encounters with the 'real thing' was emphasised at Amsterdam City Archives, the National Library of the Netherlands and Heritage Quay;[167] whilst Alan Crookham, Head of The National

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Sandra H. Dudley, 'What's in the Drawer? Surprise and Proprioceptivity in the Pitt Rivers Museum', *The Senses and Society*, 9, no.3 (2014) pp.296-309 (pp.301-4).
[165] Sandra H. Dudley, *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), p.4; see also Hale, 'Narrative Environments', p.193; Falk and Dierking, *Museum Experience*, p.78.
[166] Ward, interview; Dellar, interview.
[167] Smit, interview; Geleijns, interview; Wickham, interview.

Gallery's Research Centre, questioned why people would visit museums and galleries if their exhibits had no 'resonance', since they could access digital reproductions at home.[168]

Figure 5: German Museum of Books and Writing of the German National Library in Leipzig, *Signs – Books – Networks: from Cuneiform Script to Binary Code* © Author

At the National Archives of the Netherlands, Nancy Hovingh discussed how interaction with original material is believed to strengthen visitors' engagement with the archives; an individual's connection with the past is understood to be more pronounced when they encounter original material directly.[169] Indeed, exhibitions of iconic political documents at the Library of Congress and the US National Archives have stimulated emotional responses in some visitors, based around a perceived sense of aura inherent within them.[170] Moreover, exhibitions such as the Bodleian Library's *Designing English: Graphics on the Medieval Page* (1 December 2017 – 22 April 2018) use interpretation to draw the visitor's attention to the material, performative character of

[168] Alan Crookham, interview by author, London, 5 May 2017.
[169] Email, Hovingh, 31 August.
[170] Regan, interview; Porter, interview.

the archives, stressing their presence and use as both textual and physical objects. These are themes that I will return to in the discussion of the Royal Library, below.

Conclusion

A shift towards experience represents a recognition of different audiences and thus a diversity of use. It therefore opens up the archive to new types of engagement, a plurality of experience, which suggests an increasing recognition of the user's agency in determining how they choose to experience the archive. The archive thus becomes active in shaping personal forms of use and meaning-making.

Different approaches to exhibition highlight variety in use and a plurality of meaning, whilst opening up and challenging established concepts around the archive. Theoretical discussions have argued for an understanding of the archive which is dynamic, shifting, mediating and ultimately implicated in how society remembers. In practice, the exhibition provides a mechanism to open out these issues and to enable reflection upon the nature of the archive and its (active and mediating) role in society. Participatory forms of exhibition, such as those at Luxembourg National Archives and Oslo City Archives, bring in new voices and open out questions of the archives' claims to history; they seek to diversify and pluralise understanding of the past. Exhibitions such as those at LAC seek to reflect upon the archive as a site of mediation, power and, ultimately, of understanding and healing. Exhibitions in Oslo City Archives and Norfolk Record Office, for instance, indicate the vitality of the archive to users today, in terms of well-being, democracy and civil liberty. Exhibitions which emphasis personal narratives not only stress the microscopic details of the archive but are also designed to help visitors shape meaning around identity, memory and society.

Turning to matters of performativity and engagement, the exhibition emphasises the spatiality and embodied nature of experience. Exhibitions such as that at the Bodleian, designed to emphasise the material and performative character of the archive; and those such as *I Am Archive*, which introduce embodied, somatic and sensory forms of engagement, open out different ways of experiencing archival material.

These arguments, then, have implications for what the space of the archive itself can be: more than just a place for research, it is also a space to encounter and, indeed,

participate and even debate in shaping the archive. The space of a pluralised archive, open to different interpretations and forms of engagement and experience, enables a reactivating of the archive as accessible, meaningful and relevant.

In the two case study chapters that follow, I will explore many of these themes in greater detail. I will presently examine how the Royal Library in Copenhagen has developed a cultural agenda, one which utilises exhibitions as spaces to interest and attract new audiences and, through a process of experimentation, has sought to develop an understanding of engagement focused on materiality and embodiment. Before that, however, I will discuss Archives+ in Manchester, a partnership of archives which has developed a new, reformulated experience of the archive that emphasises the needs and interests of the user. Here, the space of the archive has become a venue and a meeting place; whilst the role of exhibition as a showcase of collections indicates a move towards a polyvocal and pluralised archive.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY: ARCHIVES+, MANCHESTER

Introduction

In this case study, I explore Archives+, a partnership of archive services based in Manchester's Central Library. Archives+ saw the bringing together of several archive services into a single location and the creation of a large interpretation space, including an exhibition, as its main public offer. The creation of Archives+ was part of a wider refurbishment and transformation programme involving the city's Town Hall buildings and the Central Library; it opened to the public in 2014.

Archives+ provides a helpful example to investigate how the space of the archive can be refigured to create a new kind of experience for visitors. An important theme that emerges from this case study is a focus on spatial and organisational change within the archive that is driven by user priorities. Key to this approach is the role of exhibition in reshaping how the archive is designed. Here, archives are not only made more visible to broader audiences, but also accessible in ways defined by audiences themselves.

The case study is divided into five parts. Following a brief overview of the project, I examine the drivers that shaped the public space of Archives+ and, importantly, how the process that developed drew upon extensive consultation. I am particularly interested in how the findings and recommendations from this consultation process indicate a turn towards a user-centred design, and a change in the ways in which archives can be presented and experienced.

The third part of the case study moves forward from these early planning stages to the realised space of Archives+ and examines, briefly, how the space represents a reformulation of the archive. The space of Archives+ indicates an accessible approach that emphasises how users themselves choose to experience the archive.

From here I turn to the fourth section, which examines the role of the exhibition in this process of reformulation. Here I am especially interested in how the exhibition is designed to harness the archival collections in shaping personal and community meaning-making through interpretation strategies which focus on participation, personalisation and pluralism. In the final section, I examine how the spatial

reformulations and approaches to exhibition at Archives+ indicate actual and potential implications for how the archive is understood, experienced and made.

An Overview of Archives+

The first attempt at a major redevelopment of Manchester's archives services was the Mackie Mayor Project, which was presented to the city council in 2006.[1] This project proposed to restore the disused Mackie Mayor Building, a Grade II listed Victorian market building located in the Northern Quarter of the city centre and convert it into the Manchester Heritage Centre. Also termed the Marketplace, The Heritage Centre would comprise a partnership of five previously separate archive services: Greater Manchester County Record Office (GMCRO), operating in a building in the Ancoats district of the city; Manchester Archives and Local Studies (MALS), based in the Central Library (both operated by and either wholly or partly funded by MCC); the Manchester Registration Office Historical Records Service; the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre (part of the University of Manchester); and the Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society (MLFHS). Capital costs for the project were to be derived from MCC's capital fund (£4 million) and contributions from the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) (£1,600,000), with an application being made to the National Heritage Lottery Fund Grant of £7,108,000, totalling £12,708,000.[2] The project received support from the council[3] but the application to the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) was unsuccessful. According to Kevin Bolton, the former manager of MALS and, later, Archives+, the HLF deemed the bid to be strong but it faced considerable competition;[4] whilst Katharine Carter, former county archivist with

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[1] Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Mackie Mayor Archive Project, presented to the Executive Committee, 28 June 2006 and the Finance and General Purpose Overview Scrutiny Committee, 22 June 2006* (Manchester, 2006).

[2] Ibid, pp.1;2;6. Additional revenue contributions would be made by the City Council and the project's partners. These figures were higher in the HLF application, with a total project cost recorded here of £13.7 million: Manchester City Council, 'Heritage Grants Application Form for Manchester Heritage Centre, submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund, [n.d., c.2006]', pp.31-4. AGMA was superseded by the Greater Manchester Combined Authority in 2011.

[3] Manchester City Council, *Executive Committee minutes, 28 June 2006* (Manchester, 2006), <http://www.manchester.gov.uk/meetings/meeting/306/executive/attachment/1248> [accessed 23 February 2019], Exe/06/100; Manchester City Council, *Finance and General Purpose Overview Scrutiny Committee minutes, 22 June 2006* (Manchester, 2006), <https://www.manchester.gov.uk/meetings/meeting/260/disestablished_committee_-_finance_and_general_purposes_overview_and_scrutiny_committee/attachment/898> [accessed 23 February 2019], FGP/06/28.

[4] Kevin Bolton, interview by author, Manchester, 20 April 2017.

responsibility for GMCRO, commented that the substantial amount requested and the large-scale HLF investment that Manchester City Centre had already received were also factors.[5] Despite this lack of success, this project represents an early incarnation of the Archives+ partnership which was later established in Manchester Central Library.

After the failure of the Mackie Mayor project to secure financial backing from the HLF, a new opportunity to develop an archive centre was presented with the redevelopment of Manchester's Town Hall Complex, which included the Central Library. This large-scale refurbishment programme was agreed at a meeting of the City Council's Executive Committee on 11 February 2009, following a series of earlier reviews and proposals.[6] Although this programme was concerned with developing and refurbishing these buildings,[7] it also prioritised the introduction of service improvements for customers and more efficient ways of working for staff.[8] The Central Library was in a physical state of disrepair, whilst much of the building was inaccessible to the public, with a confusing internal arrangement.[9] Moreover, the building was felt to lack 'a suitable learning environment', requiring a more 'appropriate approach to attitude, layout, control and customer engagement'.[10] The entire project had a budget approval of £155 million,[11] with between £50 and £60 million allocated for the library.[12] The library also established a Development Trust to assist in fundraising to support additional activities as part of the capital project.[13] Ryder Architecture was appointed

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[5] Katharine Carter, interview by author, Leeds, 31 August 2017.
[6] Manchester City Council, *The Executive: Minutes of the meeting held on 11 February 2009* (Manchester, 2009), p.17.
[7] Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Town Hall Complex Strategy, presented to the Executive Committee, 22 July 2008 and the Resources and Governance Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 23 July 2008* (Manchester, 2008), p.9.
[8] This was a key factor from the very outset; the council report of July 2008 notes, for example, the need to create 'better access to and delivery of services to residents and visitors': ibid, p.3; see also Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Town Hall Complex Transformation Programme Update, presented to the Resources and Governance Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 8 September 2011* (Manchester, 2011), p.20.
[9] K. Bolton, interview; Neil MacInnes, interview by author, Manchester, 20 May 2017; Paul Wright, interview by author, Manchester, 31 May 2017; Email from Lee Taylor to author, 27 October 2017.
[10] Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Update on Activities within the Town Hall Complex Refurbishment Programme, presented to the Executive Committee, 22 October 2008* (Manchester, 2008), p.7.
[11] Manchester City Council, *Report for Information: Town Hall Complex Transformation Programme – Update, presented to the Executive Committee, 21 October 2009* (Manchester 2009), p.1.
[12] K. Bolton, interview; MacInnes, interview; Wright, interview.
[13] This first appears in Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Central Library Transformation Update and the establishment of a Central Library Development Trust, presented to the Community and Neighbourhoods Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 7 February 2012 and the Executive Committee, 15 February 2012* (Manchester, 2012), p.93; and is elaborated on in Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Central Library Transformation Update, presented to the Neighbourhoods Scrutiny*

as architects for the refurbished Central Library.[14] The work took five years, with the Central Library reopening to the public on 22 March 2014.[15]

The decision to include a new combined archive service within the Central Library is mentioned in the earliest council reports concerning the Town Hall refurbishment, which notes 'the opportunity to locate the County Records Office within Central Library [alongside MALS], to maximise the benefit of improved public access to a unique collection about Manchester'.[16] This new archive service retained the partnership model established for the Mackie Mayor project, although several new partners now joined the scheme: the North West Film Archive (NWFA, part of Manchester Metropolitan University); the British Film Institute (BFI); and Family Search (formerly the Genealogical Society of Utah). Several of the partners (MALS, GMCRO, the Race Relations Resource Centre, MLFHS and NWFA) would physically relocate to the new archive service in the Central Library, whilst the others would provide support and access to their resources, for example through the creation of a BFI Mediatheque within the archive.[17] A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the different partners in April 2011, outlining their agreement to establish a project board and steering group, arrangements concerning rent and service charges, and their commitment to the project's collaborative aims.[18]

The proposed location of the new archive service within the Central Library varied during the project planning, but it was eventually located on the ground floor of the refurbished building. An important aspect of the new archive was an interpretation and activity programme, including a large-scale exhibition. For the development of this new programme, a successful round one application to the HLF was made in April

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Committee, 19 June 2012 and the Executive Committee, 27 June 2012 (Manchester, 2012), p.7. Details relating to the success of the trust, the funds awarded to it and the types of activity supported are given in Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Central Library Transformation Update, presented to the Neighbourhoods Scrutiny Committee, 15 October 2013* (Manchester, 2013).

[14] See Ryder Architecture, *Manchester Central Library*, [n.d.] <http://www.ryderarchitecture.com/projects/manchester-central-library.htm> [accessed 19 February 2019].

[15] Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Manchester Libraries – Strategy and Delivery – Update, presented to the Neighbourhoods Scrutiny Committee, 21 October 2014* (Manchester, 2014), p.5.

[16] MCC, *Report: Town Hall Complex Strategy 2008*, p.5.

[17] Manchester City Council, 'Application Form for Heritage Grants: Archives+ at Manchester Central Library, submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund [Round 1], 11 April 2011', p.5.

[18] Manchester City Council, 'Archives+ Memorandum of Understanding, April 2011'; Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Archives+ – Manchester's Archive Centre of Excellence, presented to the Communities and Neighbourhoods Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 15 November 2011* (Manchester 2011), p.17; Manchester City Council, 'Barker Langham, *Archives+ Business Plan*, May 2012', p.9.

2011, indicating initial support from the HLF and the allocation of £72,500 development funding to assist the project in moving to the second round (with MCC providing £22,388 match funding).[19] The development phase began in September 2011,[20] whilst the following month Mather & Co. was appointed as exhibition designers.[21] The activity plan consultant contract was awarded to Janice Tullock Associates in November 2011;[22] whilst Barker Langham, who had provided ongoing support during the earlier stage, was appointed as the business plan consultant.[23] Extensive audience consultation about the project's plans was conducted between November 2011 and May 2012. The second-round application to the HLF was made in June 2012 and successfully secured a grant of £1.55m; whilst match funding from MCC amounted to £500,000.[24] The archive received its 'permission to start' from the Heritage Lottery in November 2012;[25] the work was completed for the library reopening in the spring of 2014.

Vision, Aims and Planning: towards a user-centred design

Although there were pragmatic economic and political drivers behind the development of the new archive provision, based primarily around buildings and service delivery,[26] a key feature of Archives+ (Figure 6) was public engagement.[27]

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[19] Manchester City Council, *Report for Information: Central Library Transformation – Archives+, presented to the Neighbourhoods Scrutiny Committee, 16 October 2012* (Manchester, 2012), p.50; Manchester City Council, 'Sara Hilton, Head of Heritage Lottery Fund, North West, letter to Katharine Carter, County Archivist, Manchester City Council, 28 July 2011'; Manchester City Council, 'Archives+ Interpretive Exhibition Spaces: Executive Project Summary – Exhibition Designer Appointment, [n.d., c. October 2011]', p.2.
[20] This follows receipt of the HLF's Permission to Start letter: Manchester City Council, 'Sally Smith, Heritage Lottery Fund Senior Grants Officer, letter to Katharine Carter, County Archivist, Manchester City Council, 8 September 2011'.
[21] MCC, 'Archives+ Interpretive Exhibition Spaces', pp.1-2.
[22] Manchester City Council, 'Heritage Grants Development Phase – Progress Report: Archives+ at Manchester Central Library for the period 16 September 2011 – 18 November 2011, submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund, 2011', p.2.
[23] Manchester City Council, 'Programme Status Report, 14 December 2011'; Manchester City Council, 'Heritage Lottery Fund, Heritage Grants Development Phase – Progress Report: Archives+ at Manchester Central Library for the period 19 November 2011 – 31 January 2012, submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund, 2012', p.2
[24] MCC, *Report: Central Library Transformation – Archives+ 2012*, pp.50-2.
[25] Manchester City Council, 'Sally Smith, Heritage Lottery Fund Casework Manager, letter to Kevin Bolton, Archives+ Manager, Manchester City Council, 12 November 2012'.
[26] MCC, *Report: Mackie Mayor Archive Project 2006*, p.3; Carter, interview; MacInnes, interview; K. Bolton, interview.
[27] Carter, interview; MCC, 'Application Form for Manchester Heritage Centre', pp.6-8; Manchester City Council, 'Second Round Application for Heritage Grants: Archives+ at Manchester Central Library,

Figure 6: Archives+, Manchester Central Library. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

The round one application to the HLF opens its vision statement with: 'Archives+ will create new ways for more people to discover the richness and relevance of archive heritage, share their own stories and have a personalised experience of history that enables them to make connections between their own roots and different aspects of Manchester's shared history'.[28] This opening sentence is omitted in the round two application, but its sense is still conveyed in how the vision here is articulated:

> Archives+ will bring together and integrate Manchester's largest and most important archives and records. It will create user driven, freely accessible resources for people to engage with histories in a dynamic new type of public space and lead to a greater understanding and appreciation of the whole region.
> Archives+ will raise awareness of and provide easy access to Manchester histories for the broadest possible audiences, including existing and new ones. The exhibitions and digital access engagement facilities in the transformed Library and in

submitted to the Heritage Lottery Fund, 31 May 2012', p.10; MCC, *Report: Town Hall Complex Strategy 2008*, p.5; MCC, *Report: Manchester's Archive Centre of Excellence 2011*; MCC, *Report: Central Library Transformation – Archives+ 2012*.

[28] MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.9.

its on-line presence will create a bridge for users into the partners' collections and the histories within them.[29]

The vision statement continues by developing the different ways in which audience development will be shaped, including a breakdown of the different parts of the exhibition spaces, the principles on which this is based and the activities and learning that will be introduced. It also recognises the value of the collections and their essential role in this work.

The round-two application also includes a list of refined project aims:

> The project aims to:
>
> Create a new public face for Manchester's heritage, bringing together archive partners and providing signposts to other heritage resources and sites.
>
> Provide unique opportunities to discover, share, celebrate and create the stories of Manchester's history and communities.
>
> Enable people to feel they've made a connection with Manchester and its history and been touched by the experience.
>
> Create a strong sense of place, rooted in welcoming the complexity and multiplicity of stories that together make the history of Manchester and shape the way we are today.
>
> Deliver the project using innovative design solutions and cutting-edge technology and to ensure input from the widest possible range of co-creators.
>
> Bring targeted new and expanded audiences to Archives+ through marketing and the provision of exciting and innovative activities and resources.
>
> Use the power of heritage as a catalyst for lifelong learning.
>
> Demonstrate that archives are for everyone, regardless of age, gender, disability, sexuality, religion or any other factor.[30]

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[29] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.10.
[30] Ibid. These aims also appear in the round-two supporting documentation, such as Manchester City Council, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Archives+ Activity and Interpretation Plan*, April 2012', p.3.

References are also made to the need for improved and increased storage space; better environmental standards; and high-quality storage, preservation and conservation facilities.[31]

The first point emerging from this documentation is how several of the aims are concerned with increasing use, and an aspiration to develop and diversify audiences. Analyses of the individual partners' audiences before the creation of Archives+ indicate that the majority of archive users were over 55, largely white and most likely to access information online rather than in person. They also note that the onsite audience was 'loyal', regularly visiting the archive and spending several hours using the search room for research purposes. Most of these users were therefore regular visitors, with only a fifth being first-time customers; in other words, the archives were not attracting substantially large numbers of new visitors but were instead catering to an established audience who nonetheless represented only a narrow proportion of the general population.[32] This situation closely mirrors the profile of audiences outlined above (see Chapter One). There were some variations across the different partners: the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, for example, had a strong educational audience and a much higher number of users from BME communities.[33] Whilst the use of archives in the north-west was slightly higher than the national average, at just over five per cent of the population in 2010/11, the audience demographic nonetheless largely mirrored that of archive users nationally, which 'do not reflect the make-up of the wider population, with only 5% of them under 24 years old, and less than 2% classing themselves as non-white'.[34] An important aspect of the Archives+ project was therefore to diversify the audience, to 'address the fact that the existing audience does not reflect the make-up of the general population',[35] by considering the various barriers to access and use. The Archives+ project eventually focused on four key target audiences, reflecting the diversity and demographic make-up of the local population. These audiences were: schools (key stages 2, 3 and 4); young people aged 14 to 25; families with children of primary school age; and heritage tourists. Two further

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[31] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.14.
[32] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', pp.14-8. These data are taken from a number of different surveys and estimates compiled by the individual Archives+ partners around 2010-11.
[33] Manchester City Council, 'Archives+ Outline Activity Plan, [n.d., c.2011]', pp.10-1. The abbreviation 'BME', standing for Black and Minority Ethnic, is used in this plan.
[34] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', p.16.
[35] Ibid, p.23.

audience groups were identified: BME communities; and non-city centre residents in Manchester; these were integrated across the other four target groups. Existing audiences (over 55s, library users and family history researchers) were also included as an integral part of the wider archive usership.[36] As a partnership of different archives and societies, Archives+ had the capacity to draw together and share each partners' audiences through the 'integration' of their different collections, as outlined in the vision.[37]

Hand-in-hand with the need to attract a broader and more diverse audience is the need for greater visibility. This concept emerges in the vision and aims: Archives+ 'will raise awareness' of archives; it will create 'a new public face for Manchester's heritage'.[38] Visibility was a key factor for several of the archives and societies joining the Archives+ partnership. The Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, for example, was established by Professor Lou Kushnick in 1999 as an open-access library at the University of Manchester, focusing on race relations. One of the key drivers in establishing the centre was the importance placed on having a community focus. Although it was an effective library space and the centre did engage in community work, its location meant it was not readily accessible. A desire for increased visibility and access was a key part of the centre's involvement in Archives+.[39] Likewise, in addition to declining membership numbers, largely driven by

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[36] The HLF stage 1 Application identified eight audiences, including Lifelong learners and Central Library Audience as well as the six listed (in a slightly different format and scope): MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.15; by the time of the HLF stage 2 Application these were refined to the groups listed, plus students: MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.16. They are also described in their refined version (but not including students) along with the developmental and consultation process and an analysis of barriers to access in MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', pp.23-30; and in the evaluation to the project: Manchester City Council, 'Jane Davies and Janice Tullock, *Archives+: Making Archives More Approachable and Interactive*, January 2018', p.12. Audiences' interests and needs are also reported in Manchester City Council, 'Archives+ Demonstration of Need: Audiences [n.d., c.2011]'; and a discussion of barriers to access and how these would be addressed are detailed in MCC, 'Outline Activity Plan', pp.14-9.

[37] At the same time, there was concern among partners and users over a loss of individual practice and identity and a disconnect from established communities and audiences; extensive meetings helped address this, resulting in careful branding, as well as a degree of separation between the partners. The partners also did not become employees of the City Council but remained as distinct entities. Dr Kostas Arvanitis et al., *The Everyday, Relational and Emotional Archive: Archives+ Project Report and Interpretation Concept* (Manchester: Centre for Museology, University of Manchester, 2011), pp.7-9; Kostas Arvanitis, interview by author, Manchester, 2 February 2017; David Govier, interview by author, London, 2 March 2017; Julie Devonald, interview by author, Manchester, 1 June 2017; Anthony Lees, interview by author, Manchester, 1 June 2017; Sarah Hobbs, interview by author, Manchester, 6 June 2017.

[38] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.10.

[39] Devonald, interview; Email from Julie Devonald to author, 8 January 2018.

an increase in online resources, and increased rent on its existing building, MLFHS cited the access which Archives+ would provide to the general public and the chance to raise the society's public profile and work as a key factor in joining the project.[40]

The need to attract greater numbers of users acquires a sense of urgency when seen from an economic perspective. According to Neil MacInnes, the City Council's Strategic Lead for Libraries, Galleries and Culture, the cost of running a service like MALS for such a small number of visitors was not sustainable, and this situation would only become more acute with increased budget pressures.[41] There was concern within the city council regarding how their archive services could be designed as vital for contemporary society which would, in turn, protect it from financial reductions and budget cuts.[42] This ambition to improve visitor numbers and diversify audiences reflects how many archives featured in the survey expressed a need to broaden audiences, for example by showcasing their collections through exhibition.

As with those archives discussed in the survey, there is also an emerging interest here at Archives+ of the *kind* of experience that those visitors want. The vision and aims imply a sense of relevance and accessibility for visitors, enabling them to make a 'connection with Manchester and its history'[43] and to facilitate a 'personalised experience of history'.[44] These aims suggest a more qualitative understanding of use, and again reflect a sense of what the archive itself is for. Crucially, it opens up the archive to new forms of experience and engagement with archives, recognising that established forms of provision might not actually represent how larger numbers of people might want to engage with archives. Dave Govier, former Collections Manager at Archives+, described how attention at MALS had been focused on search room users but, in fact, less than one per cent of library visitors were using the search room. He argued that it 'would be wrong of us to spend 30 or 40 per cent of our time on providing an excellent service for such a tiny proportion of people'.[45] Such a view suggests that, whilst visitor numbers might in themselves provide a helpful barometer of use, they cannot be the only indicators for change. Put another way, making alterations which reinforce

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[40] David Muil, interview by author, Manchester, 6 June 2017; Leslie Turner, interview by author, Manchester, 12 June 2017; Email from David Muil to author, 10 January 2018.
[41] MacInnes, interview.
[42] Govier, interview; Larysa Bolton, interview by author, Manchester, 2 May 2017.
[43] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.10.
[44] MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.9.
[45] Govier, interview.

existing provision cannot, in themselves, reinvigorate the service if those provisions do not reflect what audiences actually want.

An important part of this thinking was again described by Kevin Bolton. He discussed a meeting that took place during the development of the Mackie Mayor project between himself (then the manager of MALS); Vicky Rosin, the assistant chief executive for cultural services and the former head of libraries; Nicky Parker, at that time the current head of libraries; and Katharine Carter. The group had been challenged by the HLF to produce something that was more radical than the original proposals. Bolton described how, looking back, this proved to be a critical moment. He credits Katharine Carter with suggesting how they might use the space differently. Rather than thinking about what archives are and how people used them, they should instead think about key target audiences and, crucially, what they might want to do within the archive space.[46] In essence, the conversation seems to have shifted away from thinking about archives as a resource to thinking about audiences with an interest or purpose. In other words, it reflects thinking about what the archive is for, rather than what it is or does.[47] Following Lefebvre, this approach gives agency to the user. It opens up an understanding of the archive as a potential 'lived' space, shaped and defined by users themselves, in contrast to a space designed to be inhabited and used in specific, pre-conceived and predetermined ways. This sense of *enabling* visitors' engagement seems to underlie much of the project development: 'The ultimate aim of the work under this Manchester Archives+ project is not necessarily to drive footfall into the building or to the reading room, but to connect to users in a way which is most appropriate to them'.[48]

What then emerges from this thinking is a turn towards a 'user-driven' approach to service delivery.[49] This approach underpinned much of the development of Archives+; as Dave Govier commented, 'this was a consistently important part of what Archives+ would be, listening to how users react to unmediated material and how that experience would be part of what we created'.[50] A key part of this thinking emerges through the

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[46] K. Bolton, interview.
[47] See James et al., 'Archives matter', p.2.
[48] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', p.13. This text goes on to cite other types of activity: 'online, through social media, off site projects or visits to the exhibition'. Although off-site and online activity is important, the focus of this discussion is on onsite delivery.
[49] This concept is referred to in Arvanitis et al., *Everyday, Relational and Emotional Archive*, p.4.
[50] Govier describes how he was involved in audience focus groups and partner sessions which examined the collections: interview.

extensive consultation process which helped shape the design of the new archive service.

The project team drew on a number of existing pieces of audience research including both national findings and projects undertaken by individual Archives+ partners before the project planning began. These included an investigation into digital initiatives and social media networks, designed to open up a process of public co-production and curation, thereby attracting more visitors from underrepresented groups.[51] These projects appear to be quite ad hoc in nature, and a number of further individual consultation exercises were carried out at different stages of the project.[52]

The Archives+ Outline Activity Plan, developed for the round one application to the HLF, reports that 'significant consultation has highlighted key barriers to the involvement of people in the project'; these barriers are described alongside a broad range of activities designed to remove them.[53] The barriers are quite broad in scope and include practical issues such as limited opening times and poor public transport links; but some of them reflect more deep-seated anxieties, for instance a lack of relevance, awareness or access to archival material, and the concern that 'archives [are] seen as 'establishment' or intimidating'.[54]

For the second-round application to the HLF a detailed Activity and Interpretation plan was produced by Janice Tullock Associates. A more detailed audience consultation exercise was carried out to help shape the activity and exhibition plans and make sure they were responsive to the needs of the project's target audiences.[55] Focus groups met which reflected three of the project's four key target audiences (including the 'integrated' audiences) and comprised a group of teachers based in Wythenshawe; a group of young people; a group of families who visit museums; a schools-based focus group including families originally from Somalia; a group of youth workers; and the

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[51] See Manchester City Council, 'Museums, Libraries and Archives, *Archives in the Big Society: Developing community engagement within Archive+ [sic] at Manchester Central Library*, 28 February 2011'; see also MCC, 'Outline Activity Plan', p.8; and MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.8. Details of the archive's other social media and digital work is given in MCC, *Report: Manchester's Archive Centre of Excellence 2011*, pp.19-20. For details of other projects, see MCC, 'Outline Activity Plan', pp.7-8; and MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', pp.8-9.
[52] For details, see MCC, 'Outline Activity Plan', pp.6;8-9;11.
[53] Ibid, p.14.
[54] Ibid.
[55] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', p.26.

City South Manchester Housing community group.[56] The Heritage Tourists target audience was not the subject of a focus group but the consultation exercise drew on existing research for this audience.[57]

The findings are summarised in an appendix to the Activity and Interpretation Plan, along with recommendations for the project.[58] Some of the findings and recommendations suggest practical changes to service delivery and, in a sense, reflect responses to the more practical barriers identified in the round-one application; for example, an extension of opening hours, baby-changing facilities and space to navigate pushchairs. Whilst these are important, and show a recognition of audience need, they do not in themselves fundamentally alter the kinds of services the archive provides. In other words, taken on their own, they presuppose that what these visitors want to do is not that different from what existing audiences do. In this sense, they reinforce established notions of archives and how they are used.

The focus group report also includes a number of recommendations which suggest more fundamental changes to service delivery within the archive. Interestingly (but perhaps unsurprisingly), these generally derive from those target audiences who were less represented in the archives before its redevelopment, especially young people and families. These findings also reflect some of the more integral issues identified in the round-one application, which suggest that some audiences find archives irrelevant or unwelcoming.

Firstly, there are recommendations which indicate that the archive should be designed so that it offers something relevant and meaningful to its audiences, ranging from the general ('Archives+ should be relevant to young people and their lives') to the more specific ('the exhibition themes need to be outward-looking, provocative, and to give the collections an opportunity to develop to reflect today's interests'; 'the opportunity for families to share information with children about their own culture would be of interest').[59]

Secondly, and closely associated with these ideas of relevance, are findings which indicate users' interest and need to shape the kinds of access to and experience of

[56] Ibid, pp.26-7.
[57] Ibid, p.30.
[58] Ibid, Appendix A.
[59] Ibid, Appendix A, §§5.1; 5.3-5.

archives themselves. These are expressed through a personalisation of the archive, and audience involvement not just in sharing and creating content, but also in decision-making too: 'Co-creation for schools is important. Schools should be given the opportunity to actively contribute to Archives+'; 'Young people can contribute to decision-making and develop ownership from doing so'; 'Children and families would enjoy the opportunity to contribute information about themselves in the exhibition or associated activity'; 'People want to make individual connections between themselves, their experience and their locality'.[60] Importantly, the community exhibition space, which the focus groups identified as 'an opportunity to host exhibitions created by both communities and individuals', 'should be a space for individuals and communities and shouldn't be seen as a poor relation of the main exhibition space'.[61]

Thirdly, some of the recommendations suggest spaces designed to be used in new ways, reflecting an audience expectation: 'Families want a place where they can interact and have a good time together as a group – engagement in historical themes is a bonus'; 'Archives+ needs to provide social spaces for young people to feel 'at home''; 'If the exhibition is seen as a fun, educational place for families to spend time they will be motivated to visit'.[62]

Finally, there are recommendations that indicate the importance of attitudinal change. These range from the comment that 'Young people need to feel welcome',[63] to the broader 'Staffing and training needs for staff in the exhibition spaces needs to be reviewed to ensure that ALL staff provide not only a warm welcome, but are also able to engage with local communities and act as 'enablers' and encourage visitor engagement. Visitor engagement should be part of ALL job descriptions and personal training plans'.[64]

What emerges here, then, is a user-oriented interpretation of what the space of the archive should be; of how the archive can be relevant and meaningful to different people. These themes reappear in the Archives+ vision and aims. Here, the theme of a participatory archival experience is indicated through references to sharing and co-creating, as well as the 'complexity and multiplicity' of historical narratives, which

[60] Ibid, Appendix A, §§5.1; 5.3; 5.5; 6.
[61] Ibid, Appendix A, §§5.6; 6.
[62] Ibid, Appendix A, §§5.2-3; 5.5.
[63] Ibid, Appendix A, §5.3.
[64] Ibid, Appendix A, §5.4; original emphasis.

'shape the way we are today'.[65] The idea of a shift in the archive away from a bureaucratic, administrative resource to a site of personal meaning-making is reflected here in the way in which an active audience seeks to relate histories and narratives to their own lives. Moreover, the influence of popular forms of history and heritage, focusing on the local and the personal, is also evident.

Lefebvre's thinking around space is helpful here. As Łukasz Stanek writes, Lefebvre's understanding of space shifts attention onto the 'processes of its production' and recognises the social and political character of the production of space.[66] Lefebvre understands space as 'social', as something produced by society; it is thus influenced and shaped by notions of power and politics. In turn, space is active in reinforcing these modes of power and thus shapes how people's experiences happen.[67] As discussed above, the institutional archive can readily be seen as a site of power. A theoretical and practical emphasis on the 'defence of the record', to use Jenkinson's term,[68] has meant that spaces are made which reduce the user to a passive abstraction, to be managed and controlled. Conversely, community archives have arguably become understood as sites of belonging because they are actively shaped by the users themselves: they are constructed and managed in a way that is meaningful to them. In the case of Archives+, an active approach to user involvement redraws the power relationship between archivist and user. A consultative process, actively listening to users' reactions, as Dave Govier put it,[69] indicates a move towards a more equitable relationship in terms of how archives are understood and used. Value is placed on the perspectives of peoples and how they want to experience the archive, rather than (just) being concerned with the preservation and security of collections. Following Lefebvre, such a process inevitably produces a certain kind of space, since space is the product of social and political relationships. In this reading, then, a reformulated space is indicative of a flatter and more democratic approach to archive-making.

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[65] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.10.
[66] Łukasz Stanek, *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research, and the Production of Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), p.ix.
[67] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.
[68] Jenkinson, *Manual*, p.44.
[69] Govier, interview.

The Space of Archives+: reformulating experience

The main part of Archives+ takes the form of an open access space in which visitors are invited to engage with archival and local history material in a number of different ways. These include the interpretive exhibition; the video 'pods', with access to film and sound material; and a local studies library space. A study space with access to microform family and local history material and an enclosed search room are located deeper in the building. Open on one side to the library's entrance, elevators and stairs, Archives+ also features a café and a small shop (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Design for Archives+, Manchester Central Library. Entry is at top and left; with the café to left and the exhibition at centre. The research area and search room are located below the image. Photo Credit: Mather and Co.

This arrangement embodies a spatial refiguring of the archive. It is driven by a need for visibility, to showcase the partners' collections in a coherent and accessible way.[70] For audiences, it provides a form of access with reduced barriers and regulations. Larysa Bolton, Heritage Collections Officer at Archives+, described the space and the exhibition as a way to change negative conversations of what is restricted and unavailable to positive conversations of access and engagement.[71] The space introduces a sense of accessibility and familiarity into the archive. Without knowing anything

[70] Carter, interview.
[71] L. Bolton, interview.

about archives, people can immediately engage in an informal and comfortable way. As Dave Govier commented, 'we have still got the search room and set up for deep researchers, but the energies of Archives+ are going into creating an immediacy of archives experience';[72] similarly, Kevin Bolton commented, 'someone would walk into the library and without asking anything would engage immediately'.[73] Moreover, organised groups such as school parties are able to visit and engage with the archives without the need to make an appointment.[74]

What emerges here, then, is a flattening of hierarchical relationships inherent within those perceptions of archives which Ketelaar likens to temples or prisons.[75] The power structure that emerges through an invigilating staff and a requesting user is, to an extent, relaxed here to a more open type of experience.[76] This reshaping of experience was an important part of developing Archives+. Paul Wright, Citywide Services Manager, described a need to transform how the archive engages with its users, both in terms of design and practice. Commenting on a more traditional arrangement, he described 'three staff sat [sic] behind a counter waiting for me to approach them… you need a lot of cultural capital to walk across the foyer and ask a question… if there is a customer standing there, you sense they are asking, do I belong here, am I allowed here, what do I need to do?'[77] The space of Archives+ is designed to break down this view of the archive, to enable people unfamiliar with or new to archives to be comfortable in visiting and using them.

Several techniques are used to help accomplish this, including designer Mather & Co.'s blending the exhibition with the café, rather than actively separating them. A key aim of this design is to encourage visitors to the café to explore the archive:

> The audiences for the Archives+ project are not traditional library users: tourists, 14-25 year olds, families and BME communities… The integration with the café

[72] Govier, interview.
[73] K. Bolton, interview. MacInnes described the design of the exhibition as 'intuitive': interview.
[74] MacInnes, interview.
[75] See Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples'.
[76] Archives+ does include a search room modelled on established lines but my argument here is that this does not represent the only or, indeed, primary means of access.
[77] Wright, interview.

provides a friendly, interactive and informal place for these groups to gather and socialise, easing them into a library environment.[78]

In a similar way, the introduction of table-top projections onto the café tables is 'designed to engage with visitors who may just be visiting for a coffee, and introduce them to some of the key messages of the Library'.[79] Underlying this concept is the notion of a gradual familiarising with archives, of supporting visitors into engaging with the collections. The space is also designed in a graded way, moving from open engagement in the interpretation space to the more focused and quieter study of the search room;[80] a 'bread crumb trail' to guide people through the space.[81] Likewise, the interpretive content is presented in a layered way, from more general information to more detailed content as the visitor moves deeper into the building[82] (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Archives+, Manchester Central Library. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

[78] Manchester City Council, 'Mather & Co., *Archives+ Stage D Report: Part 1 – Design Overview*, April 2012', p.1.11.
[79] Ibid, p.1.35. Paul Wright describes how these social spaces can build an audience for the archive: interview.
[80] L. Bolton, interview; Email, L. Taylor.
[81] Sarah Clarke, interview by author, Manchester, 5 October 2017.
[82] Ibid.

Although these features are designed to make the space of the archive more accessible and welcoming, they also reflect a pluralising of experience and a sense of user agency in how they choose to experience the archive. In this sense, the spatiality of Archives+ represents a reformulation of the archive, enabling the user to choose how they interact with archives, rather than tightly controlling how that experience takes place. The strategy created by Mather and Co., for example, describes the concept of a personal journey which the visitor takes on entering the main interpretation space of Archives+:

> This is the opportunity to tell the visitor with a specific question exactly where to find it and suggest other items that may be of interest. It is the place where a casual visitor can browse and engage with a topic of interest to them. It is the place to further lead visitors along a 'bread crumb trail' of content which takes them deeper into the archive's content with simple, clear steps.[83]

Reflecting the trend described at the National Archives of the Netherlands and elsewhere, this underlying principle recognises the different purposes that a visitor to the archive might have.[84] Some visitors may want to research, whilst others may have a more general interest in archives or, perhaps, 'history' or 'heritage'. Again, this represents a pluralism of experience within the archive, an opening up to encompass not only a transactional process, but also an experiential one. What is interesting at Archives+ is the way in which the archive has captured this notion through its consultation processes and has been designed to accommodate these varying forms of activity and experience. As Govier commented, 'you can wander wherever you want… you can dip in and out to different depths'.[85] Thinking about experience in this way enables understanding of the user as active within space, rather than purely as an abstraction. Again, as Lefebvre argues, experiences and relationships happen in space – they can only happen in space[86] – and so, by bringing an understanding of the user into a spatial configuring of the archive, the kinds of relationships and experiences that can happen within the archive arguably begin to change. By giving greater agency to the user, the space of the archive becomes increasingly relevant and meaningful.

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[83] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.8.
[84] Katharine Carter defined two separate audiences, a research audience and a more general audience 'who may or may not be able to engage via a public exhibition, display [or] archive interpretation': interview.
[85] Govier, interview.
[86] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

The Exhibition at Archives+: visibility and plurality

So, what role does the exhibition play in this reformulation? According to Katharine Carter, the exhibition acts as a 'shop front', a way of interesting people in the stories told in the archives whilst acting as a showcase for the different collections.[87] The second-round application to the HLF described the exhibition, alongside digital programmes, as a 'bridge for users into the partners' collections and the histories within them'.[88] In this sense, the exhibition acts to increase visibility and to make archival collections meaningful and accessible to visitors; to 'show that archives are relevant to everyone'.[89] According to Neil MacInnes, the archives 'belong to the city and the people'.[90] In reference to a Luftwaffe bombing map showing Salford Quays, or a 1945 vision of Manchester in 2045 (Figure 9), MacInnes described how, unlike academics, the general public 'don't get to see this'.[91] A priority for the project was to make the collections more visible to those unfamiliar with the research environment of the archive.

Its high-profile location on the ground floor of the library gives the archives increased visibility; but it also represents a harnessing of the archive collections as a way of instilling a greater sense of cultural purpose for the library and the city more generally.[92] It shows the value of the archives themselves as a source of culture, history and heritage. MacInnes described how he wanted to 'embed the archive service across the whole library offer'.[93] Govier described the archives as providing a 'narrative, a focal point' for the new library,[94] whilst Kevin Bolton commented that the archive's

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[87] Carter, interview.
[88] MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.10.
[89] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', Appendix D, §6.4. An important part of Archives+ is the extensive events and activities programmes it provides in community spaces outside of the Central Library. These are important ways for people to engage with archives in an accessible and meaningful way; Julie Devonald, for example, described a Bangladeshi Women's project involving an embroidery artist and photographer: 'This is what archives are about, they are very special… it is not for us/for them, but for all of us'. Neil MacInnes also described this part of the service: 'we are not waiting for people to come to us, but promoting the offer there, showing the content and encouraging people to interact with it'. He used the example of Shakespeare's second folio, seen only seven times between 1934 and 2010 but 15,000 times between 2010 and 2014. Devonald, interview; MacInnes, interview; Siobhan O'Connor and Angela Rawcliffe, interview by author, Manchester, 6 June 2017; K. Bolton, interview; Philip Cooke, interview by author, Manchester, 31 May 2017. My interest relates to the space of the archive itself and the role of the exhibition within this.
[90] MacInnes, interview.
[91] Ibid.
[92] MacInnes described how archives are not generally as prominent in other services, suggesting 'we don't value what the archive has to offer and the uniqueness of the material it contains': ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Govier, interview.

location recognises its unique potential as a statement for the city and for the library.[95] This concept recognises, then, the specific capacity of the archival collections in raising the profile of the entire library service.

Figure 9: Exhibit of maps, Archives+. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

The archives' visibility and presentation also feed into an established discourse of urban identity. Katharine Carter described how the archives were understood as a way of instilling or restoring a sense of 'civic pride', a concept threaded throughout the entire town hall refurbishment project.[96] As a presentation or showcase of local heritage, the exhibition is designed to act as a visible articulation of civic pride.[97] In this sense, then, the collections are made to perform in the construction of a cultural and communal identity rooted in the specific place of the city. The collections become entwined

[95] K. Bolton, interview.
[96] Carter, interview. Neil MacInnes described a 'sense of pride' in the collections: interview. The reports describing the restoration and refurbishment of the Town Hall Complex reference the architectural and heritage significance of the buildings and a sense of civic pride: see, for example, MCC, *Report: Town Hall Complex Strategy 2008* and Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Town Hall Complex Programme – Transforming Customer Experience, presented to the Resources and Governance Overview and Scrutiny Committee, 5 February 2009 and the Executive Committee, 11 February 2009* (Manchester, 2009).
[97] Carter, interview.

within the formulation of civic space, a specific cultural character to the urban landscape. The socio-political processes driving the archive within the wider urban discourse and the performativity of the collections through display are clearly located in a geospatial arena. Here, then, the making of the archive and its capacity for generating wider social engagement can be understood, in the sense described by Walter Benjamin, as a historicising of (urban) space, a located expression of history within the highly visible spaces of the city.[98]

The exhibition, then, is understood as active in notions of civic pride, harnessing collections in a process of community and personal identity- and meaning-making. In this sense, following Corrine Kratz, the exhibition can be understood to function as a way of shaping 'social value' in terms of how identity is understood and defined.[99] The consultation exercises revealed how users wanted the exhibition to be relevant and meaningful to them, in particular, 'to make individual connections between themselves, their experience and their locality'.[100] In turn, the exhibition is designed to enable people to relate to the archives: 'to make connections between their own roots and different aspects of Manchester's shared history'.[101] Expressed differently, identity is here understood as socially constructed: individuals using archival material to place themselves within broader historiographical and geographic contexts, allowing them to use their own experiences and memories to construct meaning around the archives. This concept draws on Sue McKemmish's understanding of recordkeeping as a 'kind of witnessing',[102] one closely associated with concepts of memory. McKemmish writes that, for individuals, 'it is a way of evidencing and memorialising our lives – our existence, our activities and experiences, our relationships with others, our identity, our

[98] For a summary of Walter Benjamin's arguments see Vanessa R. Schwartz, 'Walter Benjamin for Historians', *The American Historical Review*, 106, no.5 (2001), pp.1721-43.
[99] Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', pp.21-2. On the problem of the term 'identity', its 'under-theorizing' and 'slipperiness', see Flinn and Stevens, 'Telling our own story', pp.19-20. On essentialist and socially constructed understandings of identity and the political implications for archives, see Elisabeth Kaplan, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *The American Archivist*, 63, no.1 (2000), pp.126-51 (p.145-8;151); Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', pp.15-6; see also Richard J. Cox, 'The archivist and community', in Jeanette A. Bastian and Ben Alexander (eds), *Community Archives: The Shaping of Memory* (London: Facet Publishing, 2009), pp.251-64 (p.257); Ketelaar, 'Cultivating archives', pp.27-8; Johnson, 'Solutions', p.146.
[100] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', Appendix A, §6.
[101] MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.9.
[102] Sue McKemmish, 'Evidence of *me*', *The Australian Library Journal*, 45, no.3 (1996), pp.174-87 (p.175).

'place' in the world'.[103] Acts of recordkeeping transform personal histories into sites of collective memory.[104] In this sense, the exhibition is understood to build 'social value' by shaping an idea of personal meaning drawn from individual memory and a sense of civic identity; the archival collections are actively harnessed to enable this process.

Figure 10: The Manchester Communities exhibit, Archives+. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

The presentation of different communities, histories and localities (Figure 10) are thus designed to enable people to draw on their own experiences and memories. This in turn articulates the archive as a site of diverse histories. A key aspect in how this process is designed is the contributary aspect of the exhibition design. This opens the archive to a more pluralised reading of history and an 'outward-looking'[105] sense of personal and community identity. This idea is already apparent in the construction of Archives+ as a

[103] Ibid; see also Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish, 'In Search of the Lost Tiger, by Way of Sainte-Beauve: Re-constructing the Possibilities in 'Evidence of Me', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 29, no.1 (2001) < http://staging-infotech.monash.edu.au/research/groups/rcrg/publications/tigre-perdu.pdf> [accessed 15 September 2019].
[104] Upward and McKemmish, 'Lost Tiger', para.4;24. For discussions of memory as socially constructed and implications for archives, see Andrew Flinn et al., 'Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream', *Archival Science*, 9 (2009), pp.71-86 (p.76); Cook, 'Four Paradigms', p.101.
[105] Flinn and Stevens, 'Telling our own story', p.22.

partnership of different archives and societies. Understood as a 'hub' or a 'one-stop shop',[106] Archives+ brings together a diversity of records, thus becoming a 'multicultural collection'.[107] In terms of research and study, this indicates a historiographical shift in terms of the types of history that can be studied and written through the integration of diverse collections. (The Archives+ Outline Activity Plan, produced for the round one HLF application, notes that 'the bringing together of such a diverse range of archive providers would offer considerable scope to diversify audiences and encourage users to access new fields of study and research that they traditionally may have been unaware of'.[108]) For the exhibition and interpretation space, the diversity of collections opens up numerous perspectives and narratives about the past.

This diversity in collections also contributes to a diversity in visitors, with each partner able to share its audiences across the partnership. Archives+ thus becomes an attractive site for many different community groups.[109] Whilst the exhibition opens up a diversity of different narratives for broader audiences, it was also designed to enable visitors to participate in and contribute their own perspectives and histories, thus continuously pluralising the narratives presented within it. Integral to this process are the two key pieces of interpretation which helped develop the design of the exhibition.

The first of these was the Manchester Manifest, an interpretation framework resulting from a consultation exercise conducted for Renaissance North West and MCC in 2010. It concerned the existing provision of history interpretation within cultural and learning institutions across the city and was designed to reinvigorate such provision through a networked 'infrastructure' of physical and digital heritage sites and events.[110]

By focusing on the unique attributes of Manchester as a defined location, the framework gave emphasis to the notion of place, rooting understanding and knowledge firmly within the landscape of the city. In this sense, the Manifest references the

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[106] MCC, *Report: Mackie Mayor Archive Project 2006*, p.4; MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', pp.7;10; Manchester City Council, *Report for Resolution: Manchester's Libraries – City Library Strategy, presented to the Executive Committee, 23 January 2013* (Manchester, 2013), p.6; MCC, *Report: Manchester Libraries – Strategy and Delivery – Update 2014*, p.5.
[107] Clarke, interview.
[108] MCC, 'Outline Activity Plan', p.7.
[109] Clarke, interview.
[110] Independent Cultural Consultants, *Manchester Manifest: Towards a Sense of Place: Mapping Manchester's Histories, Volume 1* (Manchester, 2010), pp.5;8-10.

historicising of space and notions of civic pride which shape how Archives+ and its collections are understood and utilised. The Manifest introduced six principles which sought to emphasise personal histories and voices, activating individuals rather than cultural institutions as narrators of history. Cultural organisations instead become key locations within a widespread network in which these histories can be expressed and shared. The Manifest also sought to acknowledge the sometimes challenging and complicated character of history, as well as utilising the city's heritage to explore present-day issues.[111] In this sense, the six principles can be understood as shifting attention away from a structuralist and modernist approach to telling history to something more complex, polyvocal and postmodern, in which concepts of place are tightly interwoven with multiple personal perspectives. They articulate an increasing need to position the individual centrally within historical and cultural interpretations, setting such 'personalised' experiences against a context defined by place.

The Manifest was produced during the early stages of the Central Library's refurbishment. It identified the transformed library and archive, along with city museums, as a key location, a 'hub' or 'gateway' through which this redefined cultural offer could find expression.[112] Likewise, the Archives+ project was described as directly contributing or being integral to the strategy outlined in the Manifest.[113] As 'the missing piece of the jigsaw for Manchester's heritage offer',[114] the archive would also play a role in directing audiences to other collections across the city.[115] In this sense, the Manifest facilitated or influenced an understanding of what the Archives+ project would look like.

Following the successful first-round application to the HLF in early 2011, MCC devised a brief for an exhibition interpretation concept and, in June 2011, commissioned the Centre for Museology at the University of Manchester to produce this strategy.[116] The concept developed and built on the ideas outlined in the

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[111] Ibid, pp.3-5. For commentary on how the Manifest became a key aspect of the Archives+ planning process see, for example, MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', pp.9-10 and MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', pp.7;11.
[112] Independent Cultural Consultants, *Manchester Manifest*, p.5.
[113] MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.12; MCC, 'Second Round Application Archives+', p.7.
[114] MCC, 'Application Archives+ [Round 1]', p.9. This statement is also included in the council reports: MCC, *Report: Manchester's Archive Centre of Excellence 2011*, p.19; MCC, *Report: Central Library Transformation – Archives+ 2012*, p.53.
[115] MacInnes, interview.
[116] Manchester City Council, 'Archives+ Exhibition Design Brief, [n.d. c.2011]'; MCC, 'Barker Langham, *Archives+ Business Plan*', p.10.

Manchester Manifest as well as the Outline Interpretation Plan which was produced for the HLF first-round application.[117] Extensive research was carried out by the Centre for Museology including interviews with the partners. They also held activity sessions which aimed to understand how people related to and understood different archive collections from across the partnership. These activity sessions were run with university students, families with children and two individuals from the BME community.[118]

This interpretation concept developed a 'holistic approach' which privileges the archive 'as object, context or instance of interaction', rather than 'as destination'.[119] It described and drew across three related themes, the 'everyday', 'relational' and 'emotive' archive, to unfold the different ways in which archives are experienced and used:[120] 'instead of being 'targeted' at (institutionally-driven) *users*, [this approach] takes it cues from the diversity of *uses* arising from the research'.[121] An important theme which emerges from this strategy is the stress placed on personal experiences of the archive; the 'user-generated ways of accessing archival material that can stimulate interest and a sense of discovery'; [122] and a familiarising with the process of archive-making, 'claiming the archive' through a shared history and participating in the creation of archives.[123] As with the Manchester Manifest, this focus on personal perspectives echoes the user-driven approach to archive delivery emerging from the consultation exercises and discussions described above. Whilst both strategies emphasised the importance of user-generated content and co-production, the Centre for Museology recognised several concerns which would make 'hard implementation' of these concepts difficult, including a lack of experience or skills in this area and an initial resistance to them. The report recommended 'an open-ended 'soft implementation' in areas where this practice can develop 'organically''.[124]

The final interpretation strategy employed at Archives+ drew on and adapted both of these concepts. In particular, the Archives+ Activity and Interpretation Plan noted how

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[117] MCC, 'Barker Langham, *Archives+ Business Plan*', p.10.
[118] Arvanitis et al., *Everyday, Relational and Emotional Archive*, pp.5-6; Arvanitis, interview.
[119] Arvanitis et al., *Everyday, Relational and Emotional Archive*, p.16.
[120] Ibid, pp.17-8;23-5;26-8.
[121] Ibid, p.32; original emphasis.
[122] Ibid, p.18.
[123] Ibid, pp.26-8.
[124] Ibid, pp.12-3.

the exhibition will enable visitors 'to make a strong personal connection… through the stories they tell about individuals but also the relevance of the material to people living today'.[125] The design included the opportunity for user-generated content through software which 'allows visitors to feedback, respond, get creative or upload their own stories and memories and add to the archive collections'.[126]

The exhibition proposals designed by Mather and Co. built on this idea of a personalised, participatory and self-directed experience.

> The content will be personal, inquisitive, questioning and thought-provoking so that it invites a response in the user. The entire experience will take the form of a personal journey – one that the visitor initiates and directs as they navigate through the space. Each visitor is interested in different content, so this approach will allow maximum participation and engagement. It is also important the visitor can view, contribute to, vote on, comment on, and select content that they want to see.[127]

The design incorporated interactive exhibits which followed a 'spectrum'[128] ranging from 'closed interactivity' to 'user generated' content.[129] Different exhibits were designed which could be located at different points along this spectrum, from the informative family history exhibit to the participatory 'Manchester Reflections'.[130] Certain exhibits invite visitors not only to comment on the content but to share their own memories and stories.

According to Sarah Clarke of Mather and Co., user-generated content enables the archive to 'have a dialogue with visitors': rather than people just looking at archives, the exhibition was designed to 'start a debate'.[131] The designers used collections relating to such topics as race, religion, women's rights and immigration to 'promote different debates' and consider their relevance today, although Clarke noted that the degree of interaction (and thus the extent of exhibits at the 'user generated' end of the interactive spectrum) was controlled by the council, which was concerned about the

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[125] MCC, 'Janice Tullock Associates, *Activity and Interpretation Plan*', Appendix D, §6.1.
[126] Ibid, Appendix D, §6.4.
[127] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.27.
[128] Clarke, interview.
[129] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.27.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Clarke, interview.

kind of comments the discussion might attract.[132] A number of exhibits introduced the idea of a personalised experience of the archive, such as the 'I like' stations, where visitors can select items based on their personality and character, and the 'My Neighbourhood' screens, where visitors can explore the streets or buildings local to them.[133] The role of the archive in instilling a sense of identity, of community and civic pride is apparent here; a performativity of archive collections in shaping personal and social narratives.[134]

Clarke also described how the exhibition was designed to encourage visitors to recognise gaps in the archive's holdings and to offer to fill these by donating or lending their own material to be copied. The Manchester Communities exhibit, for example, was not designed 'to be exhaustive, because there are gaps in the collections'; if a visitor sees that they are not represented, they would be encouraged to contribute their own content.[135] An incident of this nature was described by Julie Devonald, manager of the Race Relations Resource Centre, who discussed how 'a group of women came in and one asked us, where's the carnival? She said we needed it. She donated her photographs on the carnival and we scanned them into the virtual archive'.[136] In this sense, then, the archive acts as a space where communities and individuals can articulate their own narratives and histories. Archives+ Community Officer Siobhan O'Connor and Learning Officer Angela Rawcliffe described this process in relation to events and activities; as Rawcliffe commented, 'it's about getting people to add their voices to those that are already 'known''.[137]

Finally, the exhibition also includes separate units for the display of temporary material on loan from the collections of outside organisations, including community archives.[138] These have included objects from the Manchester Chinese Centre, to celebrate Chinese New Year; and the Homeless Library, a project in which homeless people in Greater

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[132] Ibid. Clarke notes that the council wanted to include the debate and for it to be challenging, but not open to abuse. She also comments that the least controlled exhibits have not entirely been achieved.
[133] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.27; Clarke, interview.
[134] Larysa Bolton described a conversation with a researcher concerning a loss of oral tradition and the role that archives can now play in terms of narrative: L. Bolton, interview.
[135] Clarke, interview.
[136] Devonald, interview. This same incident was mentioned by Neil MacInnes, who also commented on how residents can take pride in their contribution: 'we like to call this, 'Your Archive'': interview.
[137] O'Connor and Rawcliffe, interview.
[138] Siobhan O'Connor comments that 'we are getting people to add stuff into the community display, and then they encourage their family and friends to come in, it expands the audience to people who would not usually come in'; Siobhan O'Connor, interview (with Angela Rawcliffe) by author, Manchester, 6 June 2017; Hobbs, interview.

Manchester and Stockport made alterations to books or created their own to reflect their experiences of homelessness. A community exhibition space was created on the lower ground floor of the Central Library giving community groups a space to present their own displays.[139] Subjects resulting from the interests of visitors and researchers are also used for displays, such as the Barton Airfield, the city's original airfield site.[140]

Bringing visitors' voices into the space of the archive creates an experience that has increasing relevance and meaning for individuals. It also represents a personalisation of the archive and of history more generally, suggesting the influence of personal and popular forms of history and heritage on the way in which the archive presents itself to a wider audience. These collaborative approaches are an important part of partnership working and making connections with different communities across the city.

But by opening up the concept of different voices and perspectives, and suggesting a sense of debate, the exhibition also introduces a plurality into the physical space of the archive. It suggests a shift in how visitors can physically experience the archive: something less didactic and authoritative, more dialogic, interpretive, imaginative, even. In terms of how archives themselves might be understood, it demonstrates that the archive is not absolute, that other viewpoints and perspectives have equal validity, whilst recognising the gaps and silences, the voices missing from the archival record. The significance of an interpretation space like this is the potential it has for a dialogue to open around how society chooses to remember, and who in society enables this to happen. The exhibition, then, indicates less a site of authority and a fixed reading of the past; more a collaborative space interested in the histories and stories of its visitors and wider communities. The exhibition has the potential to reinterpret recordkeeping as a pluralised act. Furthermore, it can reshape the archive as a site of pluralism, a space in which diverse remembrances of the past can be shared.

To exemplify these ideas, I want briefly to consider one specific exhibit (Figure 11). Archivist Sarah Hobbs described *The Homeless Library* installation as 'a productive collaboration, allowing people to see archives in different ways'.[141] The display featured a case book from the archives' Prestwich Asylum collection: '[the case book]

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[139] Examples include *Stories of Sacrifice* (7 February 2018 – 31 March 2018), the British Muslim Heritage Centre's exhibition on the First World War; and *See My Dunya* (12 January 2019 – 23 March 2019), an exhibition celebrating Somali heritage in the city.
[140] MacInnes, interview.
[141] Hobbs, interview.

was open, but things from the Homeless Library were dotted around so you couldn't look at the case book itself too closely'. At this point, then, the display is problematic: the case book, as a research object, is obscured and cannot be read. But Hobbs goes on: 'but it doesn't matter, it's there – you can still get something out of it, it's a different context, making connections with a modern-day group of people'.[142] So, in this reading, the archive is reactivated in a different way. Through this juxtaposition, it becomes a site of interpretation. It draws links between present-day attitudes towards homeless people compared to nineteenth century attitudes towards the mentally ill, potentially challenging contemporary affectual readings of the earlier record by shifting the context in which it is understood to a modern-day issue. Furthermore, the administrative bureaucracy reinforced through the 'official' archive is reformulated and recast when the voices of those 'outside' are brought into the same context. Importantly, it is the space of the exhibition which opens up the potentiality of these readings; the exhibition itself performs in breaking down hierarchies and introducing more diverse voices into a reading of history.

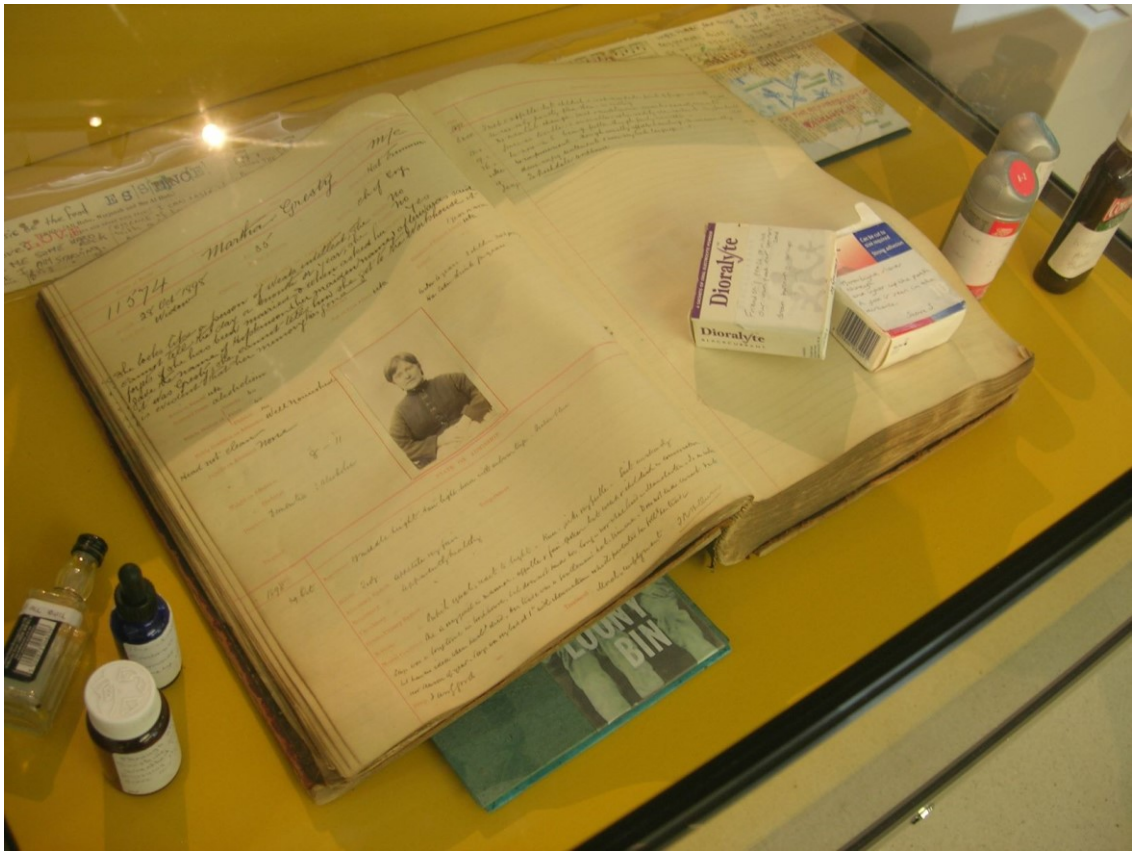

Figure 11: *The Homeless Library*, Archives+. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

[142] Ibid.

Reformulating the Archive: indicating new roles

This pluralising character of the exhibition space suggests a potential shift in the role of the archive towards a site of discussion and debate. In this reading, personal and social relationships become privileged. The archive becomes a space in which encounters with, and conversations between, different people – archivists, as well as other users and visitors – becomes a key part of the experience. This indicates the potential of the archive as a space to meet and socialise with other people.

Figure 12: Archives+, Manchester Central Library. Photo credit: Archives+ Manchester Central Library © Author

For Archives+, the (more straightforward) idea of a social space in which to meet other people was an important aspect of how the project was understood and framed. As described above, the audience development focus groups revealed a desire for a welcoming, social, homely space and a place for families and other groups to socialise and spend time together; and these were incorporated into the design concept through its blended spaces, which seek 'to create a social and free space for visitors to gather with friends and work in'[143] (Figure 12). Describing the contact between users and

[143] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.11.

volunteers of MLFHS, Larysa Bolton commented, 'It's not just about accessing documents… making a new friend is more valuable than retrieval [of original documents]'.[144]

The idea of creating a space for informal gathering and socialising – a place for people simply to spend time in – is underpinned by the concept of the 'third place', a philosophy deliberately harnessed by the library's management to move the whole of the Central Library 'away from the traditional image of walls full of books to be the 'third space' [sic] – a place for people to come together, to learn, create and enjoy'.[145] The third place is a concept first coined by the American urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg in 1989, which he defined as a 'realm of experience [that] is as distinct a place as home or office'.[146] According to Oldenburg, American society (at that time) had few social spaces, resulting in reduced productivity in the workplace, as it became an ersatz social space, and increasing isolation and materialism in the home.[147] The 'third place' offered an alternative social space; an essential social experience rooted in a physical, public place that provides stimulation and creativity, forms of affiliation and association, and that can contribute to individual and communal good.[148] A distinctive characteristic is its organic growth; it is 'largely a world of its own making, fashioned by talk and quite independent of the institutional order of the larger society'.[149]

Extensive literature has questioned whether a library can truly perform the function of a third place;[150] yet its appropriation by the Central Library management clearly

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[144] L. Bolton, interview.
[145] MCC, *Report: Central Library Development Trust 2012*, p.94; Carter, interview.
[146] Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and other Hangouts at the Heart of the Community* (Philadelphia: Da Capo Press, 1999), p.15, original emphasis.
[147] Ibid, pp.3-13. A helpful summary of Oldenburg's argument is also provided by Hui Lin et al., 'Is the library a third place for young people', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 47, no.2 (2015), pp.145-55 (p.147).
[148] Oldenburg, *Great Good Place*, pp.43-85.
[149] Ibid, p.48; see also p.60.
[150] See, for example, Andreas Vårheim, 'Social capital and public libraries: The need for research', *Library and Information Science Research*, 29 (2007), pp.416-28; Susan E. Montgomery and Jonathan Miller, 'The Third Place: The Library as Collaborative and Community Space in a Time of Fiscal Restraint', *College and Undergraduate Libraries*, 18, no.2-3 (2011), pp. 228-38; Rachel Scott, 'The Role of Public Libraries in Community Building', *Public Library Quarterly*, 30, no.3 (2011), pp.191-227; Svanhild Aabø and Ragnar Audunson, 'Use of library space and the library as place', *Library and Information Science Research*, 34 (2012), pp.138-49; Kirralie Houghton et al., 'The continuing relevance of the library as a third place for users and non-users of IT: the case of Canada Bay', *The Australian Library Journal*, 62, no.1 (2013), pp.27-39; Phil Morehart, 'Moving Beyond the "Third Place": IFLA forum examines library designs that embrace the community', *American Libraries Magazine*, 2016 <https://americanlibrariesmagazine.org/blogs/the-scoop/library-design-moving-beyond-third-place/>

demonstrates their desire to reshape the service according to its social principles.[151] Importantly, the archive is understood as playing a role in defining the Central Library as a third place: architect Lee Taylor described Archives+ as 'the public heart of the building, 'the third place''; 'a truly public space where people would want to come and meet, study and relax'.[152] In this context, Mather & Co.'s blended space performs an important function in creating 'one large social space that can be used for eating, drinking, interacting, socialising and engaging – in groups or alone'.[153]

The concept of the third place emphasises users' experiences, fashioning their own activity in a way that is relevant and meaningful to them. Although Oldenburg's theory argues that a third place evolves organically, the library is designed to encourage users to shape their own experiences in ways relevant and meaningful to them. This is reflected in the concept of 'varying ambience' throughout the library, the idea of there being 'a space that suits most people, from the formal glory of the reading room to modern suites of computers; comfy sofas to read in; quiet spots and study areas; bustling cafés'.[154] This ethos is carried into the archive, where the notion of a blended space gives the user a degree of freedom to shape their experience as they wish, to appropriate spaces for their own use.[155]

The turn towards a space that is understood as socially-activated, with areas that recognise user choice and that possess an informal and social character, has implications for what an archive can be. In this sense, the space of the archive begins to resemble the characteristics of what Jeremy Till defines as 'slack space', open to the sociality and agency of the individual, and thus to the flexibility and informality of 'lived' experience. Slack space provides 'a frame for life to unfold within. It is space

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[accessed 27 February 2018]; Diane Bruxvoort, 'Library as third place: a strategic framework', *SCONUL Focus*, 68, [n.d., c.2017], pp.13-4.

[151] As Stuart Ferguson comments in relation to the concept of social capital, whether the library really is a third place, the use of this language by the library in describing its purpose is telling in itself, since it helps to demonstrate the management's aspirations regarding the role the library should have. Stuart Ferguson, 'Are public libraries developers of social capital? A review of their contribution and attempts to demonstrate it', *The Australian Library Journal*, 61, no.1 (2012), pp.22-33.

[152] Email, L. Taylor.

[153] MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.10.

[154] MCC, *Report: Town Hall Complex Update 2011,* p.19. Kevin Bolton described how the library cultural programming uses different parts of the library for different activities, thereby diversifying the audience: interview. Philip Cooke, Citywide Services Manager, commented on how 'everyone finds their own favourite space. People are not told where to sit… the informality, people can find their own way around and can use their own space': interview; Paul Wright, interview.

[155] Paul Wright discussed the blended space of the archive, how visitors can 'take a coffee anywhere in the building' (although not into the archive search room): interview.

that something will happen in, but exactly what that something might be is not determinedly programmed… Slack space is thus manifestly designed, but probably not overdesigned. It allows the user to make choices within its frame'.[156] The idea of the archive as a 'slack space' suggests an approach to archive-making in which different forms of experience and use are welcomed. Rather than tightly prefiguring how users must behave, the archive in this reading represents something less hierarchical, more fluid and temporal, shaped by the experience of the user themselves. This reading is thus less concerned with how the archive is conceived or, even, how it is perceived; and more with how it is 'lived'.

The shift towards a space driven by user-centred design also demands changes in working practice; to provide services which respond to user need. As Paul Wright commented, 'the way we use spaces determines how we behave, how we identify ourselves with others'.[157] A more pro-active approach to customer engagement included such improvements as new library desks, redesigned from large, dominating counters ('like something off the Starship Enterprise') to smaller, two-staff 'push me-pull me' counters to encourage approachability;[158] VoIP technology and tablets that meant staff would no longer be 'fixed to a static service desk, allowing them to engage better with customers through floorwalking and meet/greet'; and staff training in customer service standards.[159] Internal reorganisations also did away with subject specialists and floor teams in the wider library, helping to integrate staff teams and introducing a sense of 'flexibility and fluidity'.[160] The move to temporary accommodation during the refurbishment provided an opportunity to facilitate new ways of working.[161]

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[156] Till, *Architecture Depends*, p.134. See also Christopher Marshall, who argues for slow and free spaces that are 'open-ended and multi-layered' within the museum: 'When worlds collide', p.176. Archives+ is perhaps an indicative turn towards, rather than a full realisation of 'slack space': Paul Wright commented that, whilst there are free spaces throughout the library, there was also a tendency to overdesign or overfill other spaces; the centre of Archives+, for example, was originally conceived as an open seating area but this was replaced by an interactive exhibit: interview.
[157] Wright, interview.
[158] Ibid.
[159] MCC, *Report: Central Library Transformation Update 2013*, pp.12;20; Email, L. Taylor. VoIP stands for Voice over Internet Protocol.
[160] Wright, interview; K. Bolton, interview. At the time of the interview Wright noted that Archives+, as an independently formed project within the Central Library, still 'needs pulling in so that all members of staff understand what Archives+ is about and can speak in a more informed way about it'.
[161] Wright, interview; K. Bolton, interview.

A turn away from the search room as the core site of public engagement to other forms of activity necessitates a 'cultural change'[162] among staff, a recognition of the importance of such work. Kevin Bolton discussed this cultural change both in attitudinal and practical terms. For Bolton, the exhibition and interpretation space represents a form of engagement that is meaningful to certain audiences; in other words, it acts as a form of archive provision which priorities what users themselves want to do. In this sense, then, it is not a priority to see exhibition visitors become search room users – this may not reflect how *they* want to use the archive. Bolton described how a translatable increase in search room use was an objective at the start of the project, and that other archivists expect the success of the exhibition to be measured in this way; but this has, in fact, become less important. He said that the archive no longer participates in the bi-annual ARA National Surveys Group (formerly the PSQG) survey of archive users, since this relates to search room use, and the audience at Archives+ is much greater than this. He observed that archivists 'need to get over the fact that 'they' [search room users] are archive users and 'they' [exhibition visitors, social media users] are not'.[163] Bolton described how, in 2016, more school children visited the archive than search room users.[164] His argument concerns *who* core users are understood to be and hence ultimately how activity should be prioritised, not just in terms of public engagement, but in the entire work of the archive.

As part of such a cultural change, then, the work of the archive becomes repurposed for new objectives; and requires staff to think differently.[165] The archives utilises volunteers to catalogue collections, but what is key here is how, as Bolton described, 'it's not about the catalogues, it's about the volunteers… this person has now gone and got a job; it's made a huge difference to that person's life, [and] it has saved the state

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[162] Govier, interview. Three interviewees described their struggles accepting some of the key changes, notably the blended spaces, which for example introduce food and drink into different parts of the archive and library space; and the shift away from collections management work to public engagement. Two interviewees gave a sense of a 'lesser service' for researchers. At the same time, one interviewee described the tensions between the need for onsite storage and conservation space and more public engagement space; financial factors ultimately limited the latter. One interviewee described how most of the staff had transformed, but a small proportion had not, and some members of staff had left.
[163] K. Bolton, interview. Katharine Carter comments that encouraging visitors into the search room was never a driver for developing the interpretation space; and likewise argued that 'we shouldn't think that we can only class someone as an 'archive user' or 'engaged with heritage' if they have filled in an archive request slip and sat down with an archive for half an hour; engaging with archives through our interpretation spaces is still 'engaging with archives'': interview; Cooke, interview.
[164] K. Bolton, interview.
[165] Ibid. Neil MacInnes described an experimental approach to new ways of working: interview.

£30,000'.[166] Bolton commented on how the archive seeks to align with council priorities regarding health and wellbeing.[167] Siobhan O'Connor described events and volunteering opportunities designed to help people get into work; improve their skills; and build confidence in leaving the house and participating in society.[168] Dave Govier discussed the broader socio-political influences and pressures that are shifting society into a more digital context and which demands new skills. He described how Kevin Bolton had worked outside Archives+ upskilling people in the branch libraries and training staff in ways that enabled them to help and support customers.[169] In this sense, the archive is seen not only as vital and transformative to the life of the individual and to society more widely, but also transformative in itself as an institution responding to social need.

Conclusion

There are a number of key conclusions that can be drawn from this discussion of Archives+. The first of these is an approach to archive-making which focuses on the choices of the user. This concept emerges most prominently in the way in which the archivists and designers conceived and described their vision for Archives+, rooting this vision in *how* users want to engage with archives. This kind of thinking indicates a different sort of relationship between the institutional archive and its users and, as Lefebvre argues, this inevitably emerges in how the space of the archive is produced.[170]

An important conclusion here, then, is the relationship between the politics of use and the spaces designed to enable this use to happen. Further, Archives+ reveals how archives themselves and the processes that lead to their (re)formation are located; they are rooted within geopolitical and topographical contexts, a sense of 'place' and a way of activating notions of civic pride. The reconfiguration of the archive, especially in terms of its users, drives spatial change.

The partnership model of Archives+ indicates a spatial refiguring of archival provision. It provides a visibility to archival collections and incorporates diverse histories and

[166] K. Bolton, interview.
[167] Ibid. Cooke, interview.
[168] O'Connor, interview.
[169] Govier, interview.
[170] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.

communities: as Julie Devonald commented in relation to the Race Relations Resource Centre, 'Archives+… is where Black history should be, in the Central Library, not a separate archive'.[171] Further, the consultation and interpretation strategies behind Archives+ and, especially, the exhibition, suggest a move towards a more interpretive and pluralist understanding of the archive, in which the different partners' collections and, importantly, the voices of visitors becomes an active part in creating and shaping meaning.

This indicates, perhaps, a turn towards a rethinking of what the archive can be. The spatial reformulation of Archives+ is designed to produce an environment which supports and encourages archival use but, more fundamentally, reshapes the archive as an informal social space in which individuals and groups can gather and meet. In addition, the archive itself is repurposed to engage with individuals in ways that demonstrate increasing alignment with personal and social need. Consequently, the archive becomes activated in new ways as an essential feature of contemporary life.

In this sense, then, I argue that Archives+ represents a turn towards the archive as a user-led, user-constructed and user-designed space. The extent to which these intentions are realised is beyond the scope of this research, although indications suggest it perhaps does not quite accomplish all these goals. The exhibition space was critiqued by one interviewee as inflexible; whilst the limited ability for visitors to curate the exhibition reflects a degree of institutional control, as discussed earlier. Moreover, the interpretation space was envisaged as a potential corporate hire space which, whilst enabling much-needed income-generation, might also restrict access.[172] Yet even so, the intentions behind the project anticipate a greater embedding of the user's voice and perspective within the entire workings of the archive itself. It indicates the potentiality for greater conversation between archivists, users and potential users around how archival provision, in all its forms, should happen. The construction of the archive is a network of socio-political processes, of power and influences; but by examining and discussing what the archive is *for* and *how* people want to experience it can help reshape the ways in which the archive is ultimately understood and made.

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[171] Devonald, interview.
[172] MCC, 'Barker Langham, *Archives+ Business Plan*', p.27; MCC, 'Mather & Co., *Stage D Report*', p.1.15.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY: THE ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN

Introduction

I want to turn my attention now to the Royal Library in Copenhagen, an institution whose exhibitions include experimental design and artist collaborations. Because of its innovative practice and an interest in creating 'new spaces which enable new conditions [to] experience things',[1] the Royal Library is a useful example to consider how archives can use exhibition to facilitate meaningful encounters with archival material. Throughout this chapter, then, I will use the work of the Royal Library to consider the spatial and phenomenological character of the exhibition medium and how archives are activated within this practice.

The case study is divided into three sections. In the first part, I examine how the outlook and practice of the Royal Library has shifted over the last twenty years, thinking about how this institution has developed a cultural agenda alongside its research activity. How and why has such an approach occurred and how does this reflect changing notions of what an archival or library institution should be?

In the second part I focus more closely on the process of exhibition-making in the library and consider how this has developed. Here I consider how, through an evolutionary process of exhibition practice and collaboration with artists, the library has refined its approach to exhibition-making. Beginning with a general understanding of exhibition as a spatial medium, I move to examine how the library has approached the display of archives and rare books. By investigating how the library understands archives as both sources of information and material objects and how it has harnessed these characteristics in its approach to exhibition, I consider what is specific about the display of archival material and thus how meaningful and innovative encounters between visitor and archive can be designed.

In the final part I look in detail at one example, the Library's current Treasures exhibition, curated by the Serbian performance artist Marina Abramović. Here, I

[1] Christina Back, interview by author, Copenhagen, 3 April 2017.

examine in detail the design of a specific phenomenological encounter with the archive as a route to understanding the potential of exhibition-making in creating new experiences of archival material.

Shifts in Practice: a cultural agenda at the Royal Library

The Royal Library[2] is the National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library.[3] Its main site[4] occupies a harbour-front location on the island of Slotsholmen in central Copenhagen. Originally founded in 1653,[5] the earliest library building on this site dates to 1906 and was designed in a neo-Romanesque style by H.J. Holm.[6] A small extension, designed by architect Preben Hansen and known as the Hansen building, was added in 1968.[7] The Black Diamond extension to the Royal Library was designed by the architects Schmidt, Hammer and Lassen following an international competition in 1993 organised by the Danish Ministry of Culture and the Royal Library.[8] This extension was opened in September 1999 and doubled the size of the existing building, amounting to 40,000 square metres. The Black Diamond is a modern, rhomboid structure clad in black granite and glass, and is connected to the earlier buildings by a bridge over the Christians Brygge road; the Hansen Building extension was enclosed within the structure of the Black Diamond[9] (Figure 13).

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[2] The Royal Library merged with the State and University Library in Aarhus on 1 January 2017, along with the Danish National Art Library and the Administrative Library; collectively, the library is now known as the Royal Danish Library. See: The Royal Library, *The new Royal Danish Library*, [n.d., c.2017] <http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/organisation/fusion/start.html> [accessed 21 June 2018]. Throughout the thesis, I refer to the institution as the 'Royal Library'.
[3] Karl Krarup, 'The Royal Library – the Library's Role in the Building Projects. How to be an Influential Part of Adding New Library Buildings to the Royal Library, Copenhagen/How to Survive in the World of Architects and Building Departments', *LIBER Quarterly*, 14, no.2 (2004) < https://www.liberquarterly.eu/articles/10.18352/lq.7774/> [accessed 15 September 2019], para.1.
[4] As of 2019 the library has four service locations in Copenhagen besides its Slotsholmen site: faculty libraries of the University of Copenhagen at Gothersgade, Nørre Alle, Njalsgade and Studiestræde; see: The Royal Library, *Addresses*, [n.d.] <http://www.kb.dk/en/kb/adresser/index.html> [accessed 15 September 2019].
[5] See Hermina G.B. Anghelescu, 'Libraries without Walls or Architectural Fantasies: A Turn-of-the-Millennium Dilemma', *Libraries and Culture*, 34, no.2 (1999), pp.168-74 (pp.169-70); The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2005* (Copenhagen, 2005), p.207.
[6] Schmidt, Hammer & Lassen, *The Royal Library in Copenhagen* (Copenhagen: Living Architecture Publishing, [n.d., c.1999]), [p.3].
[7] Ibid, [p.6].
[8] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 1999* (Copenhagen, 1999), p.179; Ibid, [p.1]; Krarup, 'Royal Library', para.13.
[9] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning* (1999), p.179; Schmidt, Hammer & Lassen, *Royal Library*, [pp.3;6]; Back, interview, 3 April.

Figure 13: The Royal Library, Copenhagen, with Holm's building to left and the Black Diamond extension to right. Photo credit: the Royal Library © Author

The building of the Black Diamond can be seen as part of a 'continuous developmental process' that began with the appointment of Erland Kolding Nielsen as Director General of the Royal Library in 1986, and which included not only the provision of improved buildings for staff, users and collections, but also better IT facilities and a redeveloped organisational structure and operating procedures.[10] The impetus for the building project lay in the need for additional and improved working space for staff and users and more storage for collections, and this lack of space was the driving force behind attracting financial and political support. Indications of this support were first given by the Ministry of Culture in 1992.[11]

[10] Krarup, 'Royal Library', para.3. Erland Kolding Nielsen was director for thirty-one years, until 2017.
[11] Ibid; Karen Latimer and Andrew Cranfield, 'Building for the Future: National and Academic Libraries from Around the Globe: report on a conference held in The Hague 3-5 October 2007', *IFLA Journal*, 34, no.4 (2008), pp.359-62 (p.359). The Black Diamond was one of several building projects developed by the Royal Library at this time, the others being significant redevelopments of the two faculty libraries at Amager and Fiolstræde that were then part of the Royal Library; see Krarup, 'Royal Library', para.8; and Erland Kolding Nielsen, 'The Cultural Obligations of National Libraries: A different view upon their future importance', *IFLA Section on National Libraries Meeting No: 115* (1997), pp.16-21 (p.19).

The development of the Black Diamond had two significant aims in terms of its engagement with the public. The first of these focused on existing users through the creation of large reading rooms, which would be open for longer and would have better ICT infrastructure.[12] Five additional reading rooms were included in the new library, with 386 additional study seats and storage space for 221,000 reference works, periodicals and microfilm.[13] The second aim concerned the creation of a place for cultural activities, such as exhibitions and events, which in effect would open up the building 'for the public as a whole'.[14] The Diamond includes the Queen's Hall, a 5,600m^3, 600 seat auditorium for live music performances and conferences; two exhibition spaces; and five meeting rooms.[15]

The development of a cultural offer represented a new understanding of what a national library ought to be: the Diamond aimed 'to create a completely new type of national library, with a strong emphasis on cultural activities, such as exhibitions, concerts, events';[16] whilst the architects described the project as representing 'a break away from the traditional library structure in that it will house a wide variety of different cultural facilities'.[17] Significantly, the creation of a space for the provision of cultural activities represents an attempt to attract a wider audience than just those who use the library for research and study. As I discussed earlier in relation to other institutions such as the National Archives of the Netherlands and Archives+, this position recognises distinct audiences with divergent interests and, thus, a shift in the workings of the library to present itself as something relevant and meaningful to these different audiences. As part of this, a key intention of the project was to make the Royal Library a more high-profile institution within the adult population, better-known by a larger number of people than just its small existing group of users.[18] It demonstrates a shift away from what may be considered a 'quite old fashioned' institution focused on researchers and students,[19] to one which, whilst still investing in those audiences, also aimed to 'open

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[12] Steen Bille Larsen, 'The Turbulent Totality and the Total Experience: Cultural Activities at The Black Diamond, The Royal Library in Copenhagen', *LIBER Quarterly*, 10 (2000), pp.99-107 (p.99).
[13] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.180.
[14] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', p.99.
[15] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, pp.180;184.
[16] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', p.99.
[17] Schmidt, Hammer & Lassen, *Royal Library*, [p.1].
[18] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.6.
[19] Thomas Hvid Kromann, interview by author, Copenhagen, 4 April 2017; The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.9.

up [the library] to the world outside';[20] 'to invite more of Copenhagen and Denmark into the building' and thereby make its cultural collections more accessible and meaningful to the wider population.[21] In this sense, then, the development of the Black Diamond represents an attempt to make the library relevant and meaningful to a wider population, articulating a shift away from (just) a pure research space to a cultural venue, albeit one rooted in its holdings.

Erland Kolding Nielsen, writing in the late 1990s, argued for national libraries to place greater emphasis on their cultural importance, which had remained a 'low priority' compared to their role as 'research libraries, as a resource for research and information and an arsenal for document supply and source studies'.[22] Yet he argued that this aspect of their role has declined as rare books, archives and manuscripts have been published in scholarly editions and made available online, thereby making them accessible elsewhere, whereas 'their value as historical and cultural relics has not been reduced'.[23] In fact, they have become more widely known because of these alternative forms of circulation, meaning more people 'want to be able to see *and experience* the originals'.[24] Kolding Nielsen's argument, then, can be understood as a response to increasingly digital forms of access, identifying a role for the archive or library rooted in its cultural, and therefore tangible and material value. The digitisation of information has in effect forced cultural institutions to re-evaluate their role and purpose. When asked by the Danish Ministry of Finance what the value a half-billion Danish kroner investment in the library would be to the wider population,[25] Kolding Nielsen commented that:

> The question forced us to think about the problem complex [sic]: If the Gutenberg bible may not be touched and if there are no facilities to exhibit it, what value does it then have to preserve and keep it? The larger and more fundamental question can of course be formulated like this: *Is the raison d'etre of a National Library the information dissemination aspect alone, to be an information reservoir?* Or is it

[20] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', p.99.
[21] Hvid Kromann, interview; The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.9.
[22] Kolding Nielsen, 'Cultural Obligations', p.18.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid; original emphasis.
[25] Ibid, p.19.

> something other and more [than] that? Do we not also have a duty to the people who do not use us for study and information retrieval?[26]

At the same time, Kolding Nielsen's arguments for developing the library as a cultural institution seem to reflect increasing interest in notions of popular history and cultural heritage, and therefore a growing sense of value in cultural activity. The historiographical shift towards more personal methods of historical engagement and the rise of popular forms of cultural experience have arguably contributed to this view. Kolding Nielsen's position might therefore be interpreted as a response to this growing trend: by harnessing a shift in social attitude, Kolding Nielsen (implicitly or otherwise) aligns the archive or library's mission with a contemporary pulse which instils the institution with immediate meaning and relevance.

The development of the Black Diamond was therefore clearly shaped by Kolding Nielsen's ideas around cultural experience. A key goal of the extension was to give the cultural activities developed within the library a much higher priority; to recognise this work, already conducted 'embryonically in many National Libraries', as important; and to challenge its hitherto marginalization.[27] He argued that the library should offer not just research facilities but also 'experiences'; 'the right to see (and hear) the cultural heritage and experience it in historical and current contexts'.[28]

Kolding Nielsen argued for the concept of national libraries as sites of 'national cultural importance',[29] as 'manifestations of culture' akin to national museums and art galleries.[30] Within this context, 'national libraries administer great cultural assets which are important to the history of the country, as well as being research sources. Both the information and the carrier are important, the information for its use and the artefact to be experienced'.[31] As Director General of the Royal Library, Kolding Nielsen's ideas can be understood to have shaped and developed the formation of the

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[26] Ibid, original emphasis.
[27] Ibid, pp.20-1.
[28] Ibid, p.21.
[29] Maurice B. Line, 'National Libraries: Hub, Apex, Base or What?', *Alexandria*, 10, no.2 (1998), pp.89-91 (p.90).
[30] Maurice B. Line, 'Changing Perspectives on National Libraries: a Personal View', *Alexandria*, 13, no.1 (2001), pp.43-9 (p.46). Line is more cautious than Kolding Nielsen, accepting 'the validity of the cultural case', but questioning their role as 'national symbols'; see also ibid.
[31] Joan de Beer, 'National Libraries around the World 1996-1997: a Review of the Literature', *Alexandria*, 10, no.1 (1998), pp.3-37 (p.3).

Black Diamond; such concepts can be perceived as a priority among the library's management to develop the organisation as a 'venue for life, for cultural experiences'.[32]

Here I want briefly to focus on two key features emerging from this discussion. Firstly, Kolding Nielsen argues for an understanding of documentary sources as both informational and material. As discussed earlier, Merleau-Ponty argues that individuals are 'in-the-world' and their experience of objects is not perception from afar but as active agents available to be taken up and lived.[33] Consequently, Kolding Nielsen's argument gets to the heart of what experience with archives is about: sites of active engagement to be experienced as real material entities. In this sense, the potentiality of the archive as both an informational and cultural construct becomes privileged, thus recognising the diversity of (potential) interest and use, and also of audiences for archive and library institutions. This leads on to my second point: Kolding Nielsen's argument embodies a shift in the role of libraries (and archives) as sites of cultural expression and engagement. Although he writes about national libraries, his argument equally applies to all repositories of documentary material. He reframes the library as something other than (just) a research environment: he writes that 'we are both information centres *and* cultural museums'.[34] This dynamic refocusing articulates a multifarious role for the library and archive as a place of cultural encounter.

The Royal Library has seen this cultural agenda become increasingly embedded within its work practice. Steen Bille Larsen, Deputy Director of the Royal Library at the time of the Black Diamond's opening, writes that the two aims in the new building project were understood in quite distinct terms, separately identified through their functions ('the library part' and 'the cultural part').[35] The spatial design of the building merged these two functions so that, whilst the reading rooms and the cultural spaces are distinct entities, they coalesce seamlessly within the larger environment.[36] At the time that he was writing in 2000, a priority for the library was the merging of these different activities; the aim of the proposed strategic plan at that time being that 'The Royal Library must run its main functions: national library, university library, research

[32] Uffe Paulsen, interview by author, Copenhagen, 4 April 2017.
[33] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*.
[34] Kolding Nielsen, 'Cultural Obligations', p.21, emphasis added.
[35] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', p.99. See also Kolding Nielsen, who writes of 'separated considerations of *use* and *experiencing*': ibid, p.20, original emphasis.
[36] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', p.100.

institution and cultural institution in such a way that they support and develop each other and together produce results for the institution's target groups in every area, which surpass what each by itself would be able to contribute'.[37] Indeed, in the Annual Report of 1999, the Black Diamond is understood not just as an extension or a renewal of the existing library, but rather as a completely new institution, in which its cultural activities play a vital role.[38] This concept helped shape the design of the new building and the programme of activities created for it.[39] Karl Krarup, writing about the library in 2004, describes how the project aimed to 'combine the general public-oriented activities with the specialized areas for research in a new way', to enable visitors 'as well as being able to study and read, [to] also have the opportunity to experience the splendid collections of the library,' through exhibitions, for example.[40]

In practice, the library's audiences have remained distinct: those who research the collections or borrow books are generally not the same people who visit the concert hall or the exhibitions.[41] As I discuss in relation to the National Archives of the Netherlands and other institutions, a distinction between audiences is common across such organisations. As the library's Communication Coordinator Uffe Paulsen commented, people generally have a 'specific target in mind' when they visit, 'they need something' (such as a piece of information); and once they have achieved that objective or acquired that knowledge, the purpose of their visit is accomplished and therefore complete.[42] Yet the validity of these different types of engagement is recognised: as Paulsen commented, one person's 'use of the space is just as valid' as other people's use.[43] What is important, perhaps, is not a shift in how an established audience experiences the library, but rather a diversification in its users in terms of what they want to do in the library, suggesting an increased agency in their role. Following Lynch and Simon's discussions of participation and public engagement, of significance here is how the work of the library itself has changed to incorporate cultural activity as fundamental within the institution.[44] According to Paulsen, during the two decades since the opening of the Black Diamond, the library has experienced a shift from an environment

[37] Ibid, p.106.
[38] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.6.
[39] Ibid, p.182.
[40] Krarup, 'Royal Library', para.14.
[41] Paulsen, interview; Back, interview, 3 April.
[42] Paulsen, interview.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Lynch, *Our Museum*, p.6; Simon, *Participatory Museum*, pp.i-ii.

where librarians would 'shush' people who visited the reading rooms during a guided tour, to a space where 'everybody wants to communicate with the wider public as much as they can'.[45] He attributed much of this not only to a new generation of staff, but also to the 'sense of purpose' that the new building and the new cultural offer have generated, as well as the library's success: 'when an institution is successful with something, people identify with it and like it, and are proud of more noisy, colourful things'.[46]

Despite the drive to embed cultural practice within the organisation, the perception of the library by wider audiences seems less clear. The building itself has achieved noteworthy status,[47] but its role as a library has not always been clear to visitors and tourists. Observers have noted that, on entering the building, they are 'not 100 percent clear what kind of building one is in – museum, concert hall or library'.[48] Steen Bille Larsen has acknowledged that 'the Black Diamond is iconic, the library perhaps less so', a situation he recognised needs improvement.[49] Paulsen commented that the library's 'nickname, the Black Diamond, doesn't reveal what it is, which can be a challenge'.[50] He referred to a survey in which 85 per cent of people knew the name but didn't know what goes on inside. The library is understood as a venue, a place for conferences with a restaurant, but not necessarily as a library: it may be confused with the city's opera house, another iconic waterside building.[51] The library is not known as an exhibition venue and for many people does not represent an obvious place to visit if they want to see an exhibition; similarly, the idea of an exhibition in a library is often one which visitors may find difficult to grasp (unlike, for example, art exhibitions at a gallery).[52] The exhibition galleries are not routinely obvious to the visitor and their location in the building does not make them evident or apparent to passing traffic.[53]

In this reading, the library tends towards the monumental, of highly-designed statement architecture. Here, following Jeremy Till, the design is less about 'setting a social

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[45] Paulsen, interview.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Bille Larsen, 'Turbulent Totality', pp.102;104;106.
[48] Latimer and Cranfield, 'Building for the Future', p.360.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Paulsen, interview.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid; Paulsen also notes that the library's exhibitions attract positive reviews in the newspapers, but they often don't know what type of critic to send to report on them.
[53] Hvid Kromann, interview.

scene'; but rather 'noisily… constructing a visual scenography';[54] a 'tendency to the spectacular or highly aestheticised',[55] rather than opening space to a 'lived' experience. A sense of this tension emerged between the building's users (here the library's staff) and its designers during construction: on the matter of blacking out the windows in order to match the granite façade, for example, 'One of the chief advisors asked us [the staff], if we would not suffer for the beauty of the building. The answer: Certainly not'.[56]

One of the ways in which the exhibitions team seeks to engage the library's broader usership is to create exhibitions in unusual spaces throughout the building: 'we meet the public where they don't expect to meet exhibitions'.[57] The team has curated or staged exhibitions on the bridge which connects the two parts of the library, for example, as well as other public areas.[58] The exhibition *Tegnenes Bro* or *The Bridge of Signs*, created by the artist Pernille Kløvedal Helweg, for example, was an art installation staged on the bridge during September and October 2017.[59] As Christina Back, the library's exhibition architect and coordinator commented, these interventions are designed to create encounters for audiences who would not usually visit the library to see an exhibition. They not only draw attention to the cultural activity of the Royal Library, but also open up the potentiality of experience to its distinct and diverse audiences. As such, they create for the library visitor an encounter with exhibitions (here, of art and sculpture) in a space which they would not necessarily expect.[60] Moreover, such activity can also be understood as an appropriation of space, of responding to the monumentality of the building by creating moments of intimate encounter. In this sense, the staff of the library align with Jonathan Hill's 'creative user', remaking and reshaping space in new ways.[61] Such activity also highlights the potential of exhibition as a creative intervention in the otherwise strict conformity of tightly-designed space. It suggests a performativity in overcoming the restrictions of

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[54] Till, *Architecture Depends*, p.134.
[55] MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, p.184.
[56] Krarup, 'Royal Library', para.46.
[57] Back, interview, 3 April.
[58] Ibid.
[59] See The Royal Library, *Tegnenes bro: Udstilling*, [n.d., c.2017]. <http://www.kb.dk/da/dia/udstillinger/tegnenes_bro.html> [accessed 28 June 2018].
[60] Back, interview, 3 April.
[61] Hill, *Actions of Architecture*, p.28.

space; as Stephen Greenberg writes, 'spaces are inevitably becoming more dynamic and experimental, changing and theatrical, rather than monumental and static'.[62]

To conclude this section, I want to draw across this discussion and make three brief remarks. Firstly, the library's evolution towards a site of cultural engagement (as well as a place of study and research) has clearly been shaped by the influence of Erland Kolding Nielsen, the library's Director General from 1986 until 2017. The role of a visionary individual in a managerial position appears to be a driving impetus for organisational change: similar developments have taken place at the British Library and Luxembourg National Archives, for example.[63] Secondly, a shift towards the archive as a cultural institution demands an evaluation of the organisation's role and purpose. As a site of cultural activity, the archive must ensure that audience engagement is embedded as an integral and vital part of its mission. Lastly, exhibition itself can be a mechanism for cultural change. The library's spatial and organisational challenges have meant that audiences do not necessarily understand its role and purpose. As a spatial and transitory[64] means of communication, the exhibition is best placed to attract audience attention to the library's diversity of holdings and potentiality of use through unexpected staging and innovative forms of encounter.

Spatial and Bodily: an experimental and developmental approach to exhibition-making

In this section I will focus on how the library has become a space for innovative exhibition-making. I will examine how the library has developed its exhibition practice through experiments and collaborations which consider the role of space and the body, before focusing in more detail on the unique character of archives and books, and how attempts are made to harness their attributes in the shaping of phenomenological encounters.

Key to this discussion is the work of the library's Culture Department and, especially, the Exhibition Architect and Coordinator Christina Back in developing the organisation's approach to exhibition-making. The Culture Department was established

[62] Greenberg, 'Vital museum', p.226.
[63] Whitfield, interview; Schroeder, interview.
[64] On the ephemerality of the exhibition, see Kipnis, 'Gift-wrapped kazoos', pp.99-100.

in 1999 to provide the Royal Library's wider cultural offer, including its planning, implementation, development and marketing. The types of activity undertaken by the department include exhibitions; publications; group visits and tours; lectures of both a 'scientific and general' nature; conferences; public relations and media; marketing design and promotion, including the library's website; managing the Queen's Hall; and operating a membership-based club for the library's cultural activities.[65] The aim of the department is to make the collections and the library open and accessible to more people, not just to researchers.[66]

The library has shifted towards an understanding of exhibition as a spatial and embodied means of communication. Key to understanding this shift is the appointment of Christina Back as the library's exhibition coordinator when the position was first created in 2006.[67] Back had trained as an architect and had also worked as an artist. Back commented that 'when they were hiring me, [there was] someone [within the library] who understood space as something that they should work with more. Because of my background I pushed to work more in this way with exhibitions'.[68]

Back's understanding of the exhibition medium is one which is spatial and bodily, and well-designed exhibitions accentuate this form of experience.

> Exhibitions – when they are done properly – they talk to the body. I am really interested in this… Your senses are so activated in a way that is not obvious, so the back of your neck, sense behind you, sense in three dimensions, being there physically. It's possible to tell stories that are very touching or complex, but for me to use the exhibition language best, you have to try to communicate on the premises of space, and not just try to make it like TV or books.[69]

According to Back, the exhibition's unique facility is an experience which utilises spatial and bodily encounters with objects:

> You can move around, get curious about something, select something, deselect something: part of the experience is the mood I feel, not being told when X was

[65] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 1999*, p.182.
[66] Paulsen, interview.
[67] Back, interview, 3 April; The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2006* (Copenhagen, 2006), p.172.
[68] Back, interview, 3 April.
[69] Christina Back, interview by author, Copenhagen, 6 April 2017.

> built or written… [the spatial and bodily] is the strongest part of the exhibition language, rather than just talking about an item. So when you see something in real life rather than on a screen, the reason why it affects you is not just that you see the colour or depth much better for real than on a screen, but because you experience it with the whole body; even if you don't think you do, you do.[70]

In terms of providing information in captions and labels, Back commented:

> We are working very hard, even where there is a lot to be said, not to force words on people. We want people to be curious, present, to turn on their senses; to have curiosity to find information. It is not that the words are not present, they are just lower in the hierarchy… we take the bodily experience and the sensory meaning and put that in the foreground; when we have curiosity and want to know what something is, then we read the label in a passionate way, we are hungry for it.[71]

The exhibitions that have been staged at the Royal Library might be conceived as a developmental process of experimentation, testing what was acceptable to the library as well as exploring notions of embodied and spatial design. In 2008 Back collaborated with the artist and theatre designer Robert Wilson in an exhibition of artists' and writers' sketchbooks called *Everything You Can Think Of Is True – the dish ran away with the spoon* (3 December 2008 – 4 April 2009) (Figure 14).

Wilson's design was 'a very unconventional, dark exhibition space encouraging an imaginative and sensual engagement in the exhibits'.[72] The exhibition placed great attention on sensory experience; the inclusion of swings suspended from the ceiling; and peep holes at which visitors had to adjust themselves physically in order to see the exhibits, speak to notions of embodiment and movement.[73] Very little textual information was present, with only formative captions; a catalogue was available, but since 'it was actually too dark to read anything… reading was really something to do after your stay'.[74]

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[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Everything you can think of is true – the dish ran away with the spoon*, staged by Robert Wilson 2008-2009, 17 January 2014', p.1.
[73] Ibid, pp.2-3.
[74] Ibid, p.2.

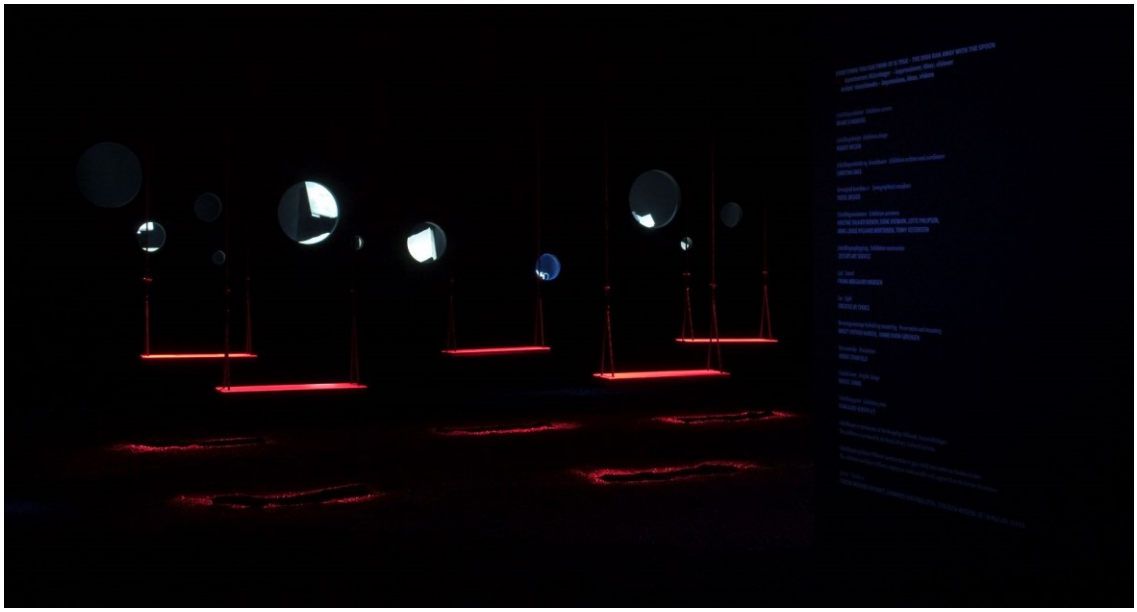

Figure 14: The exhibition *Everything You Can Think Of Is True – the dish ran away with the spoon* by Robert Wilson, the Royal Library, Copenhagen, 2008. Photo credit: Lesley Leslie-Spinks. Used with kind permission of the Royal Library.

This exhibition can be seen as one of a series of new initiatives developed by the Culture Department as part of their seven-year Action and Vision Plan, introduced in 2008.[75] The collaboration with Robert Wilson was an institutional learning process; the exhibition, as a result of its success, 'pushed the boundaries of what the institution could imagine an exhibition to look like'.[76] According to Back, the collaboration aimed 'to expand the space that we can then play with afterwards';[77] its success crucially opened a door to new ways of thinking about exhibition within the library and allowed the department greater scope to experiment. Back sees this as a 'strategic' process, gradually encouraging the library to be brave in considering and exploring new ways of working.[78] The library's Annual Report for 2008 noted that Robert Wilson's artistic design represents '*er starten på en ny måde at præsentere samlingerne på*' ('the start of a new way to present the collections').[79] Further collaborations with artists and designers, intended to develop these experimental approaches to exhibition, have included projects with Hotel Pro Forma[80] and 'experimental and cross artistic'

[75] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2008* (Copenhagen, 2008), pp.205-6.
[76] Back, interview, 3 April.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning* (2008), p.79.
[80] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2010* (Copenhagen, 2010), p.231; Hotel Pro Forma, *Undercover: A Dialogue between the collections of the Royal Library and Hotel Pro Form,* 2010 <https://www.hotelproforma.dk/project/undercover/> [accessed 2 July 2018]; The Royal Library, 'Report

magazine Victor B. Andersen's Maskinfabrik.[81] The exhibition *Undercover* (24 April – 11 September 2010), for example, utilised sound rather than text labels and placed exhibits in the gallery so that they would only be visible from certain angles: they 'changed and unfolded [as you] mov[ed] through', thus presenting new opportunities for exploration and accentuating a sense of revelation as well as motion.[82] Likewise, as part of a research project called *The Prism of Sustainability*, funded by the Danish Agency for Culture, the library created an experiment around the display of a photograph, part of a wider exhibition called *Imprints of War – Photography from 1864* (4 June – 27 September 2014); working with architectural theorist Jonathan Hale, the library drew on the theories of Merleau-Ponty to accentuate embodied and sensory forms of engagement in the display, which also included visitor evaluation.[83]

Importantly, the design of each exhibition is considered and developed at the start of and throughout the curatorial process, rather than the designer being brought in to realise an existing concept.[84] In this way, the spatial capability of the exhibition shapes the whole design process. As the designer, Back works in a process of 'democratic dialogue' with the curator, with each person bringing responsibility and expertise to the process.[85] Moreover, having the support of the Director General, who trusted her judgement, Back was able to work with considerable 'liberty in terms of where I wanted to go'.[86]

Merleau-Ponty's work is again helpful here and it is useful to recap briefly on several of his key points. Merleau-Ponty sought to transcend the intervention of language by rehabilitating a sense of the bodily into experience. He argues that human beings are embodied creatures. Experience of the world is understood through the body which,

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entitled *Undercover* – The Library as a Physical Narrative, staged by Hotel Pro Forma 2010, 17 January 2014', p.1.

[81] The Royal Library, *101 Danske Digtere* (Copenhagen, [n.d., c.2014]).

[82] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Undercover*', p.3; Christina Back, interview by author, Copenhagen, 4 April 2017.

[83] Christina Back, interview by author, Copenhagen, 5 April 2017; Jonathan Hale and Christina Back, 'From Body to Body: Architecture, movement and meaning in the museum', in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *The Future of Museum and Gallery Design* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp.340-51 (p.340). For a detailed discussion, see Maja Gro Gundersen and Christina Back, 'Spatial Meaning-Making: Exhibition design and embodied experience', in Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *The Future of Museum and Gallery Design* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), pp.304-16.

[84] Back, interview, 3 April.

[85] Hvid Kromann, interview; Ibid. For in-house exhibitions, the curator is usually a researcher or librarian within the library.

[86] Back, interview, 3 April.

through its materiality and spatiality, is interconnected to the environment around it.[87] In this reading, the exhibition, as a spatial and bodily form of communication, speaks directly to a person's understanding of the world as embodied. Its distinctive character lies in its spatiality. By drawing on Merleau-Ponty's thinking, the Royal Library's practice emphasises exhibition as both spatial and embodied. Their focus on bodily experience, rather than on the intervention of text, emphasises a sensory and material encounter within the spatial medium of the exhibition.

I am specifically interested in how the library has developed its approach to exhibiting books and archives. Its work is clearly rooted in an understanding of exhibition as spatial and embodied; yet Back noted the difficulty of exhibiting archives: they are 'not really friendly material to exhibit; the whole journey in working with this material is how we do it in the best way'.[88] What seems to emerge here is the relationship between the content of the books and the wider scenography of the exhibition space. Back commented:

> I started with focusing a lot on trying to expand the story – the content of the book – into space, which has some possibilities, but it was still books in cases, still yellow and unreadable. I would take the story, the actual content of the material, then take the different layers, the interpretation, the theme, this is what I try to expand into space, an intelligent container for the book. But no one goes in to see exhibition architecture, so the content still has to be very interesting.[89]

Later Back described how the fabric around the exhibits, the scenography or the installation 'is not the hook. [The exhibition] has to have a story around the content [rather than the installation]'.[90] The exhibition medium must be rooted in the content of the archival material: this is the focus of the exhibition; it is what is unique about the display, and the installation must therefore support rather than detract from it. Put another way, the scenography is used to draw the visitor into engagement with the exhibited archive. As Back commented, 'the archive has wider content but because it's often not very visual in its presentation, you can be more playful and use the language of exhibition in a way that you wouldn't be able to do in an art exhibition'.[91] The

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[87] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*.
[88] Back, interview, 5 April.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Back, interview, 6 April.
[91] Ibid.

general lack of visual attraction in archival material allows creativity in the installation in order to help support the presentation of the content.

Figure 15: Exhibition *101 Danish Poets*, the Royal Library, Copenhagen, 2014. Photo credit: Laura Stamer. Used with kind permission of the Royal Library.

The library's exhibitions and collaborations with artists articulate a developmental sense of experimentation with the display of archives and books. The relationship between content and installation or scenography is in evidence through many of these collaborations. The design of Robert Wilson's exhibition *Everything You Can Think Of Is True* was inspired by the sketchbooks and their organic sense of creative potential. The exhibition was understood as 'representing a limitless space of art, reflecting a playful and puzzling state of process and becomings'.[92] As Jonathan Hale and Christina Back write, 'The slightly surreal and dreamlike atmosphere implied that the visitor had entered a highly ambiguous space, where the book becomes a kind of portal into the process of creative thinking'.[93] In effect, the content of the sketchbooks has expanded into the wider design of the space, informing the look and feel of the gallery and thus rooting the spatial and embodied experience of the exhibition within the archival material. This concept of using the wider scenography to bring the visitor closer to the

[92] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Everything is true'*, p.1.
[93] Hale and Back, 'From Body to Body', p.342.

moment of artistic creation, as a 'witness to the act of writing',[94] also influenced the design of the exhibitions *The Original Kierkegaard* (23 April – 19 October 2013)[95] and, notably, *101 Danish Poets* (3 May – 26 July 2014) (Figure 15).

This last featured handwritten texts ('the visible trace of a bodily gesture'[96]) and a selection of four-metre-high sculptures in the shape of giant letters (a 'scenographic alphabet forest'[97]), designed to suggest the notion of being inside the poet's head.[98] Again, this 'opening out' of the archival material – here, the notion of *how* that content was made – represents a spatial design motif rooted in the archive's content.

Perhaps the most extreme example of this design concept was realised in the Russian pop artist Andrey Bartenev's installation for the library's semi-permanent Treasures gallery, on display between 2012 and 2015 (Figure 16). This reimagined treasures exhibition showcased fifty archival manuscripts and books from the library's collections within a wildly hyperreal scenographic environment: the 'collections were 'unleashed' in a colourful pop-cultural jungle'.[99]

Bartenev's collage design drew inspiration from the various books and manuscripts on show and incorporated references to the busy and bustling information culture of the present day, drawing spatial links between the different items on display.[100] The books themselves were exhibited on pedestals that stood on white circles, thereby 'breaking with the image of the collage'.[101] The scenography of the display space in effect drew out the content of the books into the wider environment; as Jonathan Hale and Christina Back write, 'the visitor would be magically transported into the virtual space of the texts on display'.[102] By presenting such a visual onslaught, the design almost counter-intuitively sought to reactivate attention on the books themselves: 'Visitors would simply seek to "escape" the intrusive space, and direct attention to the individual universes of the exhibits'.[103] The Bartenev exhibition proved polarising and

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[94] Ibid.
[95] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *The Original Kierkegaard* 2013, 17 January 2014', p.1; see also The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2013* (Copenhagen, 2013), p.45.
[96] Hale and Back, 'From Body to Body', p.349.
[97] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2014* (Copenhagen, 2014), p.69.
[98] Back, interview, 4 April.
[99] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning [Annual Report] 2012* (Copenhagen, 2012), p.242.
[100] Ibid, pp.19,101.
[101] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Treasures in the Royal Library*, staged by Andrey Bartenev 2012, 17 January 2014', p.2.
[102] Hale and Back, 'From Body to Body', p.341.
[103] The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Treasures in the Royal Library*', p.4.

challenging,[104] but it notably afforded the library the potential to produce more innovative exhibitions. Back commented: 'anything was [now] possible because it was so extreme… we could do much [more] because we wouldn't shock anyone [in the library] anymore'.[105]

Figure 16: Exhibition *Treasures in the Royal Library*, staged by Andrey Bartenev, 2012-15. Photo credit: Christian Nygaard. Used with kind permission of the Royal Library.

In these examples, the scenography is designed to draw out the archives' contents and thus, in turn, reinforce notions of what the archives themselves are about. At the same time, the medium of the exhibition as spatial and embodied remains important. When considering the role of contextual captions and labels, Back commented:

> If the content cannot be understood without the text then the item is not interesting enough; the problem with archives is that some things can make you curious and are calling for a story, but it is all written material, and means you will have long pieces of text. It's very difficult; you then need to rethink and group things, find a logic to make people curious about these things. It's definitely a red light if you

[104] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 2012*, p.11.
[105] Christina Back, interview by author, Copenhagen, 11 September 2017.

> have to use a lot of text to explain; if there is no joy in looking at what you are looking at.[106]

Here, then, Back is drawing on the role of design – on the spatial experience of the exhibition – to instil a sense of curiosity and intrigue in the viewer, thereby stimulating interest in the exhibits. This may in turn result in an increased enthusiasm to discover more about the items on display (through captions, for example). In other words, design is used to facilitate interest, rather than relying on written labels to do this. As part of this process, a sense of personal involvement and intimacy with the exhibited archive is encouraged. An example of this can be seen in the *Original Kierkegaard* exhibition, designed by Back to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of the Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard. The exhibition displayed letters, diaries and manuscripts from the Kierkegaard archive held at the Royal Library.[107] Designed as a series of themed rooms, the exhibition explored the idea of a personal encounter with written material through notions of immediacy, intimacy and personalisation. In part, the exhibition design sought to overcome the uniform appearance of archival material; but it also introduced a sense of individual encounter with Kierkegaard through his tangible written work. The design, which utilised small rooms entered through oversized doors and filled with large-scale furniture, accentuated the embodied and sensory experience of the visitor. It was designed to instil curiosity around the manuscripts and in turn bring the visitor physically close to them.[108]

What emerges from this exhibition is the sense of encounter that is being developed between the viewer and the exhibit: an intimate moment of experience with archival material. This idea also highlights the material form of the archive: following Merleau-Ponty, an encounter with the archive is at one and the same time an encounter with both an informational and a tangible and physical object.[109] This idea is explored in more detail in the exhibition *Opslag Nedslag – Danish Artists' Books* (30 September 2016 – 11 March 2017), in which the scenographic elements were removed so as to focus more on the encounter with the books themselves[110] (Figure 17).

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[106] Back, interview, 6 April.
[107] The Royal Library, *Årsberetning 2012*, pp.45;211.
[108] Hale and Back, 'From Body to Body', p.342; Back, interview, 4 April; The Royal Library, 'Report entitled *Original Kierkegaard*', pp.1-3.
[109] See also Lester, 'Of mind and matter'.
[110] Back, interview, 3 April.

Figure 17: Exhibition *Opslag Nedslag – Danish Artists Books*, the Royal Library, Copenhagen 2016-17. Photo credit: Laura Stamer. Used with kind permission of the Royal Library.

This exhibition, curated by Back and Thomas Hvid Kromann, a researcher in the department of manuscripts and rare books and an expert on artists' books, sought not to present the books purely as artworks, but to maintain an essence of their literary form.[111] Different techniques were used to present the books as both reading matter and artform: some were hung on walls in the manner of gallery pictures, whilst others were displayed on tables.[112] The exhibition included different media, such as scrolls, to consider the variety of book forms, but also questioned the limits of the book: Per Kirkeby's *Blå tid* (*Blue, time*), comprising only blue pages (and no text), is closer to sculpture than reading matter.[113] The exhibition sought to explore the dichotomy between 'content' and 'form';[114] exploring the intersection between object and information.

The curators recognised the frustration of exhibiting books in cases, thus preventing their being touched and handled.[115] To help overcome this, some of the books were

[111] Hvid Kromann, interview.
[112] Back, interview, 4 April.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Hvid Kromann, interview.
[115] Back, interview, 3 April; Hvid Kromann, interview. This issue was discussed elsewhere, for example at Tate Britain (Jane Bramwell, interview (with Adrian Glew) by author, London, 18 May 2017),

displayed behind glass, whilst others were not. This was designed to allow the audience to transfer their experience of touch from one exhibit to another: 'the body was remembering, and felt like you had touched the other ones, and so the frustration of not being able to touch the others was not there, it has been satisfied'.[116] In this way, the exhibition was designed to stimulate an encounter between the visitor and the exhibited archive which utilised different senses and which, in turn, accentuated the materiality of the book.

Figure 18: Exhibition *Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies colony*, the Royal Library, Copenhagen, 2017-18. Photo credit: the Royal Library © Author

A similar example was employed in the exhibition *Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies colony* (19 May 2017 – 3 February 2018), which explored the Danish colonial legacy in the Caribbean. Here, three photograph albums were exhibited in carefully constructed cases; below each was a screen which gave access to a digital version of the albums (Figure 18). The visitor, leafing through the digital images via the touch screen, to some extent bodily recreated the movement of turning the pages of

Waddesdon Manor (Catherine Taylor, interview by author, Waddesdon Manor, 19 May 2017) and the National Library of the Netherlands (Geleijns, interview).

[116] Back, interview, 3 April; The Royal Library, 'Introductory text for *Danish Artists' Books* exhibition'.

the original albums, thereby transferring sensory engagement and tactility from the digital screens to the physical albums. The albums, each of which included family photographs from the early-twentieth century, were presented on a small, domestic breakfast table. The scenographic display facilitated an intimate encounter with these personal images: the visitor, able to 'flick through a private person's album on a one-to-one', was encouraged to experience a more personal connection than might otherwise be accomplished with a vitrine full of photographs.[117]

To recap, then: through its own exhibition-making and its collaborations with artists, the exhibition team at the Royal Library has experimented with and developed a spatial and bodily understanding of the exhibition medium. Exhibitions at the Royal Library are designed to accentuate an embodied and sensory experience. Moreover, the team has sought to consider how it presents archives as both content and material object. Scenographic and design approaches have been used to draw out the content of archival material whilst, at the same time, exhibitions have examined the archives' materiality. This developmental approach is key to designing innovative forms of exhibition: as Back commented, 'we continue to develop how we show books, how we create a physical meeting; this is very important to me and it's exciting to find various ways into it and learn from these processes'.[118] Interestingly, the notion of creating a personal and intimate encounter with the archive has characterised a number of the library's exhibitions. I want to explore this concept of encounter in more detail through the example of the library's current Treasures exhibition, *Abramović Method for Treasures*.

Encountering the Archive: *Abramović Method for Treasures*

Abramović Method for Treasures (21 June 2017 – 21 March 2020) represents the most recent version of the library's Treasures exhibition, one designed to heighten awareness of the physical and the bodily whilst simultaneously shaping an encounter with archival material. Christina Back described how she sought a new approach for this latest Treasures exhibition. Until now a key component of exhibiting books and archives was the use of a scenographic motif to bring out the contents of the material into the

[117] Back, interview, 11 September.
[118] Back, interview, 3 April.

exhibition space: in effect, creating a 'wrapper' around the exhibits.[119] The Bartenev exhibition is perhaps the clearest example of this. Back was interested in focusing more closely on the experience of encounter between the individual and the exhibited book or archive.[120] Back described two key elements to this approach.

Firstly, she was interested in the sense of expectation that can be created around a particular item, which in turn can shape the individual's encounter with it. She used the example of a handwritten draft of Hans Christian Andersen's *The Princess and the Pea* to illustrate this.

> If I gave you a first edition of Hans Christian Andersen and told you what it was, you would already have an emotional expectation about this; so your encounter would be coloured by those feelings that you had already had. But if you didn't know, it would just be an old bit of paper with handwriting on it which you couldn't read, and then you would want to know what it was. When I told you what it was, it would be very interesting, but [you wouldn't have the same experience as the first encounter]. So, it is this 'wow' factor that we need to create, projecting the narrative of the book onto itself, empowering it to become more than its physical shape.[121]

Secondly, Back was again concerned with rooting the exhibition in the book's content. She commented: 'when we exhibit books… we tend to focus on the outside of the book, its age, importance, who owned it, what it means in history; very rarely do we focus on the actual content and what is written inside'.[122] Later she commented,

> We have a challenge: books are not very good exhibition objects. They are meant to be handled and read; or flipped through to tell a story. As an object, they are just a book. They can be a symbol of what's in it, but this is weak: you can't read its story by its physical presence (unlike a painting), so you have to do something to unfold it, to tell their stories, which are now behind glass for security and preservation reasons.[123]

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[119] Ibid.
[120] Back, interview, 5 April.
[121] Back, interview, 3 April; Back, interview, 11 September.
[122] Back, interview, 3 April.
[123] Back, interview, 11 September.

These comments reflect an intention to focus the audience's attention not (just) on the materiality of the document and its wider significance, but directly on its content. According to Back, it is here, in its content, where the book's significance lies; this distinguishes one book (or, indeed, archival document), from another. In a reversal of the need to recognise the materiality of the archive-as-source (for study and research),[124] this position seeks to recognise the informational content of the archive-as-exhibit (or the archive-as-object). Importantly, the exhibition seeks to do this without recourse to written texts such as labels. It is from this perspective that Back's interest in stimulating curiosity is especially interesting: by creating a sense of discovery around the content of the book before it is experienced, the resulting encounter with the book is designed to activate sensory, emotional and affectual responses, rather than (just) cognitive ones.

The new exhibition was curated by the Serbian performance artist Marina Abramović, noted for her art installations in which the artist and, later, the audience take on active and participatory roles. In her various *Abramović Methods*, various tasks or experiences are designed to heighten the presence of the individual and to increase their mental and physical awareness within a given situation. The specific design of the *Abramović Method for Treasures* seeks to draw visitors' attention to their own presence within the gallery space and, in keeping with Back's intentions for the exhibition, to prepare the visitor for their encounter with the books and archives on display.[125] Through various activities and actions, a sense of expectation is built which heightens the eventual encounter with the exhibits, and the distance created by the glass of the showcase is diminished.[126]

On arrival, the visitor is directed to leave their coats and bags in a locker. They are also asked to leave their mobile telephones and watches at the reception desk, thus removing outside distractions and, in effect, redirecting the visitor's attention to their presence within the world: as Abramović described, the experience is designed 'to give the public the opportunity to be free from these distractions and to be connected with themselves, with each other, and with the present moment'.[127] The visitor collects an audio device and headphones and is directed to the gallery, where they place their shoes

[124] The term 'archive-as-source' is borrowed from Stoler, *Archival Grain*, p.44.
[125] The Royal Library, *Abramović Method for Treasures* (Copenhagen, [n.d., c.2017]), p.4.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Marina Abramović, quoted in Ibid, p.8.

in a locker. Here they can wait with other visitors until their time slot begins. As Back described, these simple actions are designed to create a certain state of mind for what the visitor will experience when entering the gallery.[128] Once the time slot commences, the visitors enter the space, where they can choose to sit on one of the specially designed chairs or lie on a bench located around the edge of the gallery. These pieces of 'meditative furniture'[129] are specially designed for the exhibition and encourage the visitor to become increasingly aware of the presence of their body, the feel and sense of it within the gallery space. The visitor puts on the headphones; these are 'huge' and 'block out the sound' in the rest of the exhibition space.[130] Following a short introduction by Abramović herself, the visitor can select different treasures which are read out or performed by actors in English or Danish. The visitor is invited to close their eyes and listen to these performances; they may also move around the exhibition space to locate and look at the treasures on display. The experience lasts up to an hour and twenty minutes; a bell sounds to indicate when it is over[131] (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Exhibition *Abramović Method for Treasures*, the Royal Library, Copenhagen, 2017-20. Photo credit: Laura Stamer. Used with kind permission of the Royal Library.

[128] Back, interview, 11 September.
[129] Back, interview, 5 April.
[130] Ibid.
[131] The Royal Library, *Abramović Method for Treasures*, p.20.

Among the documents and books on display are a series of letters written by Mahatma Gandhi to Esther Menon, dating between 1917 and 1920; Saxo's History of the Danes, c.1200; letters written by Karen Blixen to her brother and mother between 1919 and 1930; the Inca Chronicle of 1612-15; the last words written by the Arctic explorer Jørgen Brønlund in his account of the fatal Danish expedition to Greenland in 1906-8; Tycho Brahe's sixteenth-century observations of the stars; and works of Hans Christian Andersen including letters of the 1830s and *The Ugly Duckling* of 1834. These items were selected by Abramović from a wider group identified by members of staff in the library.[132]

According to Back, Abramović's approach focused on the 'feeling of presence, the felt relationship [you have] with the book'.[133] By inviting Abramović to curate this display, Back explained, 'we are working with presence, relating to material things, really hoping to bring something to the table which we hadn't thought of before'.[134] The exhibition catalogue notes that 'By redirecting our focus inwards and unfolding the many narratives found within these books, the method highlights the sense of presence in the room for visitors and treasures alike.'[135] The design of the exhibition heightens the individual's sense of their own presence within the gallery: it stresses embodiment and sensory engagement through visual, aural and tactile experience. As Back commented, being asked to place yourself somewhere within the space is a 'physically new way of being there', which draws the visitor's attention to their own spatial presence in the gallery.[136] It also articulates a sense of performativity: following the exhibition instructions, and through bodily emplacement on the furniture, each visitor in effect enacts a performance within the gallery.[137] Because the exhibition operates on pre-booked time slots, each visitor is accompanied by a group of other people (often strangers); in this sense, each person is involved in a collective act of performance.[138]

This sense of performativity can also be applied to the exhibits themselves. This was not originally part of the design concept. Back initially argued,

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[132] Ibid, pp.24;28-9.
[133] Back, interview, 3 April.
[134] Back, interview, 5 April.
[135] The Royal Library, *Abramović Method for Treasures*, p.4.
[136] Back, interview, 11 September.
[137] The Royal Library, *Abramović Method for Treasures*, p.4.
[138] Back, interview, 11 September.

> The aim of everything is to create a new relationship between the audience and the treasures; but they [the treasures] are just standing there, the shift is happening in the visitor, in their mind, and being in the space in a different way, with the actual contexts, words, material.[139]

In our discussion of this idea, however, I suggested that perhaps the treasures do perform. As we talked, Back began to re-evaluate her position, commenting that the exhibition is

> bringing the book alive, because it is read, not as a container, but as content, giving them a voice directly into your head. We are making or creating a condition in an exhibition situation to make you really listen to what they have to say, rather than just going on to the next one.[140]

Merleau-Ponty argues that individuals and objects are both in-the-world; in other words, they both play active roles in shaping experience. In the encounters that take place between individuals and objects, both become enmeshed with one another.[141] The archive is thus not a neutral and passive record of the past, to be read and studied in an objective or sterile way. Rather, its textuality and materiality shape understanding and knowledge, emotion and feeling; thus, by extension, archives are active in influencing awareness, behaviour and social discourse. The design of the exhibition, focusing on and animating the content of the documents, amplifies their performativity. Their agency as both text and object is heightened through the mediating role of the exhibition design.

The exhibition also emphasises the idea of an encounter, of a meeting, between the visitor and the book or archive. In stressing this moment of encounter, the exhibition catalogue describes 'a work that employs a unique, engaging exhibition concept to create an entirely new, highly poignant interface between individual human beings and cultural history'.[142] As Back commented, the notion of encounter is heightened through the sense of expectation which the exhibition design stimulates: the various preparatory rituals; the wait before entering; the sound installation.[143] Again, Back noted how the

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[139] Back, interview, 5 April.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*; Merleau-Ponty, *Visible and Invisible*.
[142] The Royal Library, *Abramović Method for Treasures*, p.4.
[143] Back, interview, 5 April.

exhibition is designed to instil a sense of curiosity in the visitor: having listened to and therefore become familiar with the archival texts, the visitor brings their sense of interest to the moment of encounter with the original archive, present in this moment.[144] It is a highly personal experience: the visitor selects and chooses which exhibits they wish to focus on; their responses are unique and individual to them.

In drawing this section to a close, I want to step back and briefly consider the *Abramović Method for Treasures* within the wider landscape of the library. On the one hand, the exhibition creates a sense of timelessness: the visitor, devoid of technology, is enclosed within the isolation of the gallery, focusing on the present moment.[145] Yet on the other hand, the experience is rooted directly in the wider institution of the library. Not only does the visitor's experience begin and end outside of the gallery space, the exhibition itself affects many different parts of the library, from the reception staff introducing the concept to visitors, to (in-house) researchers and restaurant staff who can only access or transit the gallery space between time-slots.[146] As Back said, 'it is only possible to make an exhibition like this when there is a group effort, which includes people who don't have things to do with exhibitions… everyone needs to be willing'.[147] In this specific example, the cultural agenda of the library becomes embedded within and part of the wider workings of the institution.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been twofold. Firstly, it has sought to understand how the library has understood and developed its role and practice in order to become a site of innovation and creativity. In discussing the context and development of the library, several key points emerge. Firstly, the library has 're-oriented' its role within society; whilst recognising its value as a place of research, learning and study, it has simultaneously developed a cultural agenda designed not only to broaden its audience, but also to facilitate experiences with its collections in new and potentially more meaningful ways. Secondly, to recognise the importance of this agenda, the library's cultural activities have become embedded within the wider working of the organisation.

[144] Back, interview, 11 September.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.

In other words, the library has sought to 'normalise' such activity, thus asserting its cultural role and mission. Thirdly, by allowing space and flexibility in the development of its activities, the library has allowed a culture of experimentation to evolve which has helped push the boundaries in terms of how it engages audiences.

The second aim of this chapter has been to consider the specificity not only of exhibition as a medium for cultural engagement, but also of the role played by archives in that process. As Merleau-Ponty argues, we are embodied beings; understanding of and experience with the world happens because human beings are in themselves spatial.[148] Furthermore, as embodied beings, individuals are able to 'take-up' that which is in the world, to 'live it': thus, both humans and objects are active in a cyclical process of being and becoming.[149] The Royal Library is a valuable case study since its practice gets to the essence of what exhibition *is* – a spatial, bodily medium – and thus what it can *do* in terms of how objects such as archives can be experienced and understood. The archive is both information and object; it is experienced as a holistic entity with the power to shape knowledge, emotions and feelings.[150] The distinctive character of the exhibition as spatial gives it the potential to become a vital mechanism in realising the archives' full potential; indeed, as a site of curation and performativity, the exhibition can be used to shape encounters which deliberately speak to the archive's unique attributes. By working through specific examples of exhibition-making at the Royal Library I have shown how exhibition can utilise notions of curiosity, intimacy and performativity in order to produce encounters with the informational and material archive.

[148] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*.
[149] Ibid.
[150] See also Lester, 'Of mind and matter'.

CONCLUSION

This thesis began with a discussion about experience within the archive today. It highlighted the shifting effects of the digital upon the physical space of the archive, compounded by political and economic factors. This conversation opened out the question of how archivists are thinking about the experience of the physical archive and what it means to 'be' in the archive. It has asked how archivists are exploring different ways of attracting new audiences and offering different experiences that present new ways of thinking about archives and how to engage with them. The research, then, has drawn across the sector to examine the role of exhibition in this opening out of experience. To do this, I have drawn on the theories and ideas of Henri Lefebvre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to help articulate the essential roles played by space, objects (as phenomena) and the individual within the world. I have used a museological perspective to develop the conversation about exhibitions within archives, whilst also pulling on architecture, anthropology, phenomenology, materiality and research in library studies. By drawing across a wide spectrum of sites, and examining two case studies in detail, the thesis has rooted its discussion of contemporary exhibition-making within archival practice and, in turn, sought to theorise the implications of such practice in terms of what the archive can be.

The research, then, asked three key questions. Firstly, how do archivists conceive exhibitions, their value and purpose? Secondly, how are archivists using exhibition to create meaningful and innovative encounters for visitors within the physical space of the archive? Key to this question is a focus on archives themselves or, put another way, what is specific about exhibition within the context of the archive. Thirdly, how do broader spatial and organisational changes (of which exhibition is a part) suggest a reformulation of how archives are conceived, understood and used? The research sought to unpack the influences on and the implications of these activities, articulating an understanding of archives as (more) relevant, meaningful and vital within society. In this concluding chapter I will focus on each of these questions and draw across the research to show what is happening in the contemporary archives sector and to theorise the implications of such work.

Understanding Exhibitions

The research asked how archivists conceive exhibitions, their value and purpose. The findings show that there is a complex relationship between exhibition-making within the archive and understandings of audiences. The simple relationship between displaying archives and wanting to attract new audiences is indicative of exhibition as a form of outreach or promotion. In one respect, this underlines the political and economic argument around safeguarding services. At Norfolk Record Office, for instance, the driver for exhibitions was 'their continued existence'; here, they have even used the exhibition space politically by keeping the cases empty to alert visiting councillors to the effects proposed cuts would have.[1] It also suggests a socially engaged view, to broaden and diversify audiences so as to increase interest in and use of archives. These arguments were a part of many conversations, including at Archives+, LMA and LAC. This is how much of the literature understands exhibition; it reinforces a static reading of what the archive itself is considered to be.

But the findings also suggest that exhibition is understood as a valuable experience in its own right. Part of this reasoning lies in the way in which many archives, including Archives+, the Royal Library, the National Archives of the Netherlands and TNA, for example, identified specific audiences with interests and modes of use that did not align with standard search room provision. Indeed, much of the thinking behind how Archives+ developed focused on how users themselves wanted to experience the archive; how they wanted to engage with archives in a manner relevant and meaningful to them.

The National Archives of the Netherlands was perhaps most articulate in defining these different audiences, drawing attention to how 'browsers' are interested in culture and history, but not seeking specific historical information. In this sense, there is a recalibration of the kind of activity that takes place within the archive. The typical search room user engages in a transactional process with the archivist, seeking information to use in ways that perhaps the archivist may never know about. The browser, on the other hand, has a more experiential encounter, shaped and developed by the archivist through such media as exhibition. A pluralising of experience opens up different types of use and this, in turn, opens up the archive to different audiences. This

[1] Sellwood, interview.

plurality of experience therefore drives thinking around what exhibitions can be for: not just to promote the archive, but also to offer alternative ways of engaging with it.

What the findings suggest is that these different ways in which exhibitions are understood are bound up together and, arguably, influence one another. At Luxembourg National Archives, for example, the *Blackouts* exhibition is partly about bringing the audience into a dialogue around remembering and the past; the role that archives play in this; and (not necessarily intentionally) a reflexive commentary on the nature of recordkeeping. But it is also a way of interesting new audiences and promoting the archive. Further, the research drew across interviews with curators and designers as well as archivists but, crucially, these different ways of thinking are not categorised by disciplines; indeed, archivists expressed quite diverse views on the value and potential of exhibition-making. Nevertheless, the theories and practices of other disciplines is important, and it is at locations which utilise designers and curators as well as archivists that the most innovative forms of exhibition were happening, notably the Royal Library.

So, what emerges here, then, is that exhibition is understood in several complex ways which are tightly bound within an understanding of audiences. This is important, since this is not how exhibitions have typically been understood within the literature, which seems to collapse exhibition-making into standard arguments around outreach. Some archivists did conceive exhibitions principally as outreach and this may be indicative of wider attitudes across the sector. Yet the research findings suggest that, within the limits of those institutions studied, there is a richer interpretation of their potential.

The literature also largely understands the exhibition as a site of learning, but it is not always clear what this means. The findings help to articulate a deeper understanding of their role, as sites of emotional engagement; discussion and debate; reflexivity; and material encounter, all of which may, to certain degrees, encompass a sense of learning. Places such as The John Rylands Library, the National Archives of the Netherlands, Luxembourg National Archives, LMA, Archives+ and the Royal Library, for example, revealed different and diverse thinking around the making of exhibitions. They indicate an understanding of the exhibition as a pluralising of experience. The language of experience helps to unpack more clearly how exhibitions are designed and thought about; and indicates a broader understanding of their potential.

What seems to emerge from these different forms of engagement is the sense of an encounter, most clearly articulated by Christina Back at the Royal Library. Rather than a site of outreach, the exhibition articulates a space, an unfolding between visitor and archive as both source and object. At one level, this is a phenomenological encounter: indeed, according to Merleau-Ponty, the encounter must be predicated on this notion, since the individual is bodily integrated ('stitched'[2]) into an active and dynamic field of experience.[3] The archive is experienced as an interconnected coherence of person and object. Exhibitions such as those at the Royal Library, Croome Court and the Bodleian indicate approaches that accentuate this phenomenological form of encounter.

At another level, this encounter is a nexus between the archival record (and its maker); the visitor; and the archival institution (as exhibitor). This concept borrows from Michael Baxandall, who sees exhibitions not as 'one static entity representing another', but rather as 'a field' which involves 'makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects';[4] later, he terms this encounter 'a social occasion'.[5] The findings indicate how exhibition practice draws directly on the work of the archive, not just by showcasing collections, but drawing across processes of research, as at Amsterdam City Archives and the Bodleian (indeed, at *Têtes Chercheuses* in Luxembourg, the researcher *is* the exhibit); and opening up questions about the nature of archives themselves, through more reflexive and participatory forms of exhibition-making. In this sense, the exhibition is not only an entity but also an interrelationship, not just between visitor and record, but the wider institution too. Crucially, this interrelationship is bound within notions of spatiality and temporality, happening in a given space and at a given time; but out of which a multimodal sense of encounter may form.

Finally, the exhibition acts as a way of instilling vitality and validity in how the archive itself is understood. This is perhaps best exemplified by the idea of visibility. In one sense, exhibition as a form of outreach increases the visibility of the archive to broader audiences. But when exhibition is viewed as an embedded part of archival experience,

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[2] Ingold, *Being Alive*, p.12.
[3] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*.
[4] Michael Baxandall, 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1991), pp.33-41 (p.36).
[5] Ibid, p.41. See also Kratz, who writes of exhibitions as 'social process': 'Rhetorics of Value', p.28.

the idea of visibility arguably widens to encompass the vitality of the archive within the broader social and cultural landscape in which it sits. This was most clearly suggested at Archives+, where the archival collections, notably through their display, were felt to provide a focal point within the city. Whilst Archives+ is located in a grand, high-profile building, what is important here is not a 'powerful' or 'imposing' statement of archival integrity, as Duranti argues,[6] but rather the sense of civic and community identity which the collections afford through their personal and social histories. Further, the role of exhibition sits alongside other projects (such as volunteering initiatives) in which the archive is harnessed to effect real change in the lives of individuals. This emerged, for example, in the community displays at Archives+ and as part of broader programmes of engagement and wellbeing, for example at Oslo City Archives and Norfolk Record Office. In this sense, the exhibition acts as a way of instilling greater meaning for the archive; of rooting it in a broader landscape and this, in turn, speaks to notions of relevance to everyday life.

Making Exhibitions

The research asked how archivists and designers use exhibition to create meaningful and innovative encounters for visitors within the physical space of the archive. Although related to questions of purpose, as discussed above, this issue perhaps more fundamentally focuses on how the archive itself is understood, and thus what it is that the visitor encounters within the space of the exhibition. A helpful way to consider this question, then, is to examine how exhibition-making is designed to be relevant to the archive (as opposed to, say, simply adapting museum practice); in other words, tapping into an essence of what the archive, as both institution and record, is understood to be. The importance of this concept emerged most prominently in the findings at Amsterdam City Archives, LMA and the Royal Library. I also argued that this was an important part of how exhibition is made to work well for a given institution: the example of Durham suggests that exhibition needs to be rooted not just in an understanding of archives themselves, but of specific archival collections and the wider

[6] Duranti, 'Archives as Place'.

policies and workings of the institution. This discussion is important, then, because it seeks to clarify how the archive is understood within the context of exhibition.

At the Royal Library, the archive (alongside rare books) is understood as content enfolded within a material object. It is the informational content which provides a specific book or archive with its haecceity, as opposed to the quiddity of archives and books in general. Here, exhibition-making, as a spatial medium, is designed to unlock the rich content of documentary material through an activation of the body and senses and, in turn, shapes a connectivity between material object, content and person. The notion of an entwining between material and informational is likewise a feature of the Bodleian's *Designing English* exhibition; it also underpins ideas of aura that emerge, for example, in the display of the American foundational charters at the US National Archives. Here, the space of the exhibition, the Rotunda, is designed almost like a shrine and the ritual aspect of filing past these documents adds a performative character to both the visitor and the archive.[7] These characteristics are, arguably, designed to instil a sense of 'historical sensation' as conceived by Johan Huizinga; the 'not completely reduceable contact with the past… an entry into an atmosphere… one of the many forms of reaching beyond oneself'.[8] Crucially, it is the role of exhibition, as a spatial, located medium, that shapes this performativity: at the British Library's *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* exhibition (19 October 2018 – 19 February 2019), the Codex Amiatinus, a Northumbrian Bible which was taken to Italy in 716, 'returns to England for the first time in 1300 years'.[9] The exhibition itself thus affords a spatial and temporal encounter; a unique and specific moment in space and time, shared by the visitor and exhibit.

Another aspect of the archive, emerging at locations such as Amsterdam City Archives, the National Archives of the Netherlands, LAC and Archives+, is the stories that it can

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[7] See Alice Kamps, *The Charters of Freedom at the National Archives* ([n.pl.]: The National Archives Foundation, 2016), p.12; David S. Ferriero, 'Foreword', in Alice Kamps, *The Charters of Freedom at the National Archives* ([n.pl.]: The National Archives Foundation, 2016), pp.6-7 (p.6).

[8] Johan Huizinga, 'The Task of Cultural History', in *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance: Essays by Johan Huizinga*, James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (trans.), (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1960), pp.17-76 (p.54). Huizinga goes on to elaborate that this concept is not a psychological 're-experiencing' of the past, nor an intellectual cognition associated with distinct thoughts or concrete individuals, but rather something more 'complex and vague', a 'stimulation' of the past, brought about or 'evoked by a line from a document or a chronicle, by a print, by a few notes of an old song'.

[9] British Library, *Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War* [n.d., c.2018] <https://www.bl.uk/events/anglo-saxon-kingdoms> [accessed 29 May 2019].

tell. This was linked in many places to a sense of the personal and the intimate, and thus the sense of archives as fragmentary traces of past lives. Exhibitions at these places were often designed specially to relate these personal stories and to give a sense of access to individual lives. LAC's exhibition *Double Take – Portraits of Intriguing Canadians* (22 March – 14 October 2013), on show at the Canadian Museum of History, for example, presented documents, portraits and some surprising facts about well-known Canadian figures.[10] At Waddesdon Manor, the *Tales from the Archive* exhibition (22 March – 29 October 2017) used the stories of ordinary people living and working on the estate to open up the archival collections.[11] Stories are an important aspect for archives: often, archival material lacks an immediate visual attraction; yet their ability to both embody and show the lives of individuals provides them with a vital, connective historical tissue: as Stephen Greenblatt argues, 'resonance depends not upon visual stimulation but upon a felt intensity of names, and behind the names… of voices'.[12]

In many cases, these accounts of personal lives were linked to broader historical themes and issues. The *Family Ties* exhibition at the Archives of Ontario (September 2016 – May 2018), for example, relates the stories of individuals and families to broader political, cultural and social issues. Such a process reflects the influence of popular history, heritage and a turn towards more personal histories such as microhistory. It also identifies the archive as something fragmentary and residual, yet indicative of wider meaning; as Elizabeth Edwards writes, 'Fragments come to stand for a whole, as an expression of an apparent essence, what it is 'to be' something'.[13] It is only through this atomising of the past, Frank Ankersmit argues, that the experience of history can happen.[14] The technique of exhibition itself thus reconfigures the archive, away from broad metanarratives (and their implications on how the archive, as the discourse of the powerful, is understood), to a site of little narratives, enabling personal accounts to be heard; yet still placed within the broader tides of history.

In a further reading, the archive is bound with notions of civil and human rights. At the National Archives of the Netherlands and Luxembourg National Archives, for instance,

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[10] Trudeau, interview.
[11] C. Taylor, interview.
[12] Greenblatt, 'Resonance and Wonder', p.47.
[13] Edwards, *Raw Histories*, p.8.
[14] Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience*, p.167.

the concept of civil rights was used as a way to articulate the need for exhibition, to promote collections to which people had a right of access. At one level, this concept is a simple relationship between tax payers and access to services; but at another level, there is an understanding here of the role that archives play in a process of decision-making and citizenship. This feature emerged especially at Oslo City Archives, where the process of exhibition-making opened up conversations about the evidentiary capacity for citizens of the state. But the archive is also, in and of itself, an active agent in both enabling and suppressing rights. The role of the archive in understanding contemporary human experience was a feature of conversations at LAC, where the findings of the TRC play an important role in the archives' activity.

Two further questions arise from these conclusions. The first concerns the political act of exhibition-making in itself. A shift towards postmodern and post-structuralist thinking opened up analyses of exhibition as a medium of political power and cultural subjectivity. Writers such as Sharon Macdonald; Steven Lavine and Ivan Karp; and Elizabeth Edwards have long argued that the authoritative voice of the exhibition in fact belies a process imbued with, as Macdonald puts it, 'negotiation and value judgment [which] always [has] cultural, social and political implications', questioning 'who is empowered and disempowered by certain modes of display?'[15] This problematising of the exhibition medium itself is important; it underpins a reading of the exhibition as a form of discourse which, in a Foucauldian sense, is itself entangled within structures of power. These are significant considerations for archives, which themselves are implicated in notions of subjectivity and power relations. Verne Harris notes how 'We adopt the language of metanarrative too easily… The counter-narratives, even the sub-narratives, too frequently are excluded, and so we deny our audience the very space in which democracy thrives'.[16]

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[15] Sharon Macdonald, 'Exhibitions of power and powers of exhibition', in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998), (pp.1-24) pp.1;4; Steven D. Lavine and Ivan Karp, 'Introduction: Museums and Multiculturalism', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1991), pp.1-9; Edwards, *Raw Histories*, pp.184-5. See also Falk and Dierking, *Museum Experience*, p.x; Robert Storr, 'Show and Tell', in Paula Marincola (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.14-31 (p.14); Iwona Blawick, 'Temple/White Cube/Laboratory', in Paula Marincola, (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.118-33 (p.132); Mary Jane Jacob, 'Making Space for Art', in Paula Marincola (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.134-41 (p.134); Kratz, 'Rhetorics of Value', p.25.

[16] Harris, 'Archival Sliver', pp.83-4.

Yet the findings suggest that the practice of exhibition-making can be utilised to open out these questions, rather than close them down; to accentuate, as Harris writes, the archive's 'open-ended layerings of construction and reconstruction'.[17] This is a developmental process: for example, following feedback to the VOC exhibition, the National Archives of the Netherlands devised a new tablet-based self-guided tour that drew attention to issues of colonialism, slavery and violence which had, until then, largely remained unexplored in the interpretation.[18] At the Royal Library, the *Blind Spots* exhibition displayed newspaper advertisements for runaway slaves, in which individuals are reduced to commodities; through interpretation and presentation, the visitor was encouraged to read both 'along' and 'against the grain', ultimately restoring a semblance of identity to these individuals.[19] LAC's work with Indigenous communities and Oslo City Archives' work with minority groups relate archives to contemporary issues and utilise exhibition to give voice to the community. Several interviewees described a 'neutral' approach to exhibition-making, to let the documents 'speak for themselves'; but even here, there was recognition that selections and juxtapositions reflect curatorial decisions, and nuanced understandings of how arguments might be presented or interpreted.[20]

Furthermore, the findings show how the medium of exhibition is used to unpack questions around the nature of archives themselves. The *Blackouts* exhibition at Luxembourg National Archives is reflexive in nature, built entirely around the memories and thoughts of its participants. Designed to open up perspectives on the nature of the past and the audience's part in it, it also validates the role of recordkeeping whilst at the same time subtly questioning it. The US National Archives draws attention to struggles around citizens' rights but, through the process of exhibition-making itself, indicates the archives' role in shaping narrative over time. In these examples, the archive is implicated in how meaning is constructed and made. The

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[17] Ibid, pp.84-5.

[18] National Archives of the Netherlands, *The World of the Dutch East India Company: A Different Perspective on the VOC* [n.d.] <http://dewereldvandevoc.nl/category/a-different-perspective-on-the-voc/?lang=en> [accessed 18 August 2018]; Presentations Officer, interview.

[19] The Royal Library, *Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies colony* (Copenhagen, [n.d., c.2017]), p.38; Back, interview, 11 September; on reading 'along' and 'against the grain', see Schwartz and Cook, 'Modern Memory', pp.14-5; Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.87-109 (pp.99-101); Carter, 'Things Said and Unsaid', pp.224; Stoler, *Archival Grain*, pp.46-51.

[20] Regan, interview; C. Taylor, interview; Porter, interview; Johnstone, interview; Hayley Cotterill, interview (with Mark Dorrington) by author, Nottingham, 10 March 2017.

medium of exhibition itself, through its making, design and content, activates and brings the visitor into new readings and conversations. In this sense, it responds to the calls of writers such as Paul Basu and Sharon Macdonald, who argue for sites of 'conversation and debate'[21] and a place for 'the generation rather than reproduction of knowledge and experience';[22] and Brenda Trofanenko, who asserts a need for visitors actively to critique exhibited histories and the wider role of the museum (and, by extension, the archive).[23] It thus opens up new directions for how the archive can be questioned, challenged and understood.

Secondly, the process of exhibition-making opens up questions about context. As discussed earlier, the literature identifies a concern with the decontextualizing effect of exhibition, removing the archive from its *fonds* and the meanings which derive from this.[24] This is considered important, since archives derive meaning from the contextual relationships established between individual records and the processes that led to their creation.[25] Similar questions have been asked in museums, for example by Svetlana Alpers, who argues that museums have an 'isolating' effect, taking objects out of context and transforming them into pieces of art.[26]

The question of context is an important one since this forms an essential aspect of how archival records are understood. Yet as Louise Craven suggests, context itself is subject to shifting interpretations, as value is placed by users on the content of records; the personal forms of meaning-making which derive from this; and the new, personal contexts in which the record might be placed.[27] Tom Nesmith writes of archives as 'the products of *ongoing* processes of creation', subject to 'recontextualisation', including

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[21] Basu and Macdonald, 'Experiments in Exhibition', p.16. See also Judith Barry, 'Dissenting Spaces', in Reesa Greenberg et al. (eds), *Thinking about Exhibitions* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp.307-12.
[22] Basu and Macdonald, 'Experiments in Exhibition', p.2. See also Ralph Rugoff, 'You Talking to Me? On Curating Group Shows that Give You a Chance to Join the Group', in Paula Marincola (ed.), *Questions of Practice: What Makes a Great Exhibition?* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Exhibitions Initiative, 2006), pp.44-51 (pp.46-7).
[23] Brenda M. Trofanenko, 'The Educational Promise of Public History Museum Exhibits', *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 38, no.2 (2010), pp.270-88 (pp.271-2;282-4).
[24] Carter, 'Isabel McLaughlin', p.197; VanderBerg, 'Black Ice', p.259.
[25] See, for example, Eric Ketelaar, 'Being Digital in People's Archives', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 31, no.2 (2003), pp.8-22 (p.6); MacNeil, 'Between Two Paradigms', pp.8-9.
[26] Svetlana Alpers, 'The Museum as a Way of Seeing', in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1991), pp.25-32 (pp.26-7).
[27] Craven, 'What are Archives?', pp.19-21.

through use;[28] whilst Valerie Johnson notes an 'emphasis on multiple contextual voices' as part of a wider shift towards personal 'sense-making' in the archive.[29] The findings reveal a broad and dynamic scope of methods by which exhibition is used to create new types of meaning and experience in the archive, as detailed above. A focus on experience implies that meaning within the archive can be derived in a multitude of different ways: ways that are relevant and vital to users. What is important here is how users themselves define what is valuable, which thus shapes approaches designed to enable these types of use. This is not a rejection of archival theory, nor of challenging the integrity of the record through archival practice; but rather an opening up of the conversation to determine how the archive can be understood as vital and relevant to people's everyday lives.

What, then, are the implications of these activities on an understanding of the archival record itself? Across all of these different interpretations, archival records emerge as many different things: evidence of rights; instruments of both power and healing; fragments of human stories; material artefacts. They reflect the broad range of ways in which people relate to and use archives, from sources of historical research to cultural artefacts around which personal and communal meaning can be shaped. Terry Cook has defined four shifting paradigms, in which thinking around the archive has altered in accordance with intellectual, political and social changes: 'from evidence to memory to identity and community';[30] importantly, these paradigms are 'open-ended, overlapping, and constantly evolving'.[31] The findings from the research demonstrate that the archive is all of these things; they suggest a plurality of understanding about the archive, an elasticity that is more diverse than a single definition or form of use.[32] Rather than articulating a fixed concept of what the archive is, the research suggests a dynamic reading of what the archive is for, open to diverse potentialities and uses.[33] For Merleau-Ponty, the body is geared for action in the world; objects are understood by

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[28] Tom Nesmith, 'What is an Archival Education?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 28, no.1 (2007), pp.1-17 (p.4), original emphasis. See also Nesmith, 'Reopening Archives', pp.261;263.
[29] Johnson, 'Dealing with the silence', p.108.
[30] Cook, 'Four paradigms', p.117.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Geoffrey Yeo argues for a multiplicity of perspectives, noting that 'none is comprehensive': 'Concepts of Record', p.343. Likewise, Sue McKemmish writes of the 'multiple and dynamic' relationships that exist among records, which are 'both fixed and mutable': 'Traces', pp.9;14; see also Upward and McKemmish, 'Lost Tiger', para.24.
[33] See also Johnson, 'Dealing with the silence', p.113.

being taken up and used.[34] In this reading, the potential for how the archive can be used, rather than what it is, becomes increasingly important. The encounter with the archive thus translates what it is into how it might be understood, used and ultimately valued.

Archival Spaces

The research was also concerned with wider transformations in how the archive is understood and made; and the role of exhibition in this. One of the key findings revealed from the research, as discussed above, is the pluralising of experience that exhibition (and other activities) entails and an opening up of the archive beyond (just) a space for research and study. This in turn has implications for what the space of the archive is understood to be.

In several cases, the archive was understood in this new reading as a cultural venue, a destination space, and this idea was perhaps most clearly articulated at the Royal Library. The premise for the Black Diamond was based around the question of what a national library (and, by extension, an archive) is for. To engage with new audiences – with a browser audience – the space of the archive must shift to become something more than just a research institution. This concept emerged elsewhere in the findings, notably at the British Library and Archives+.

The archive as cultural venue is closely tied to audiences; it indicates an increasing recognition of a diverse usership interested in engaging with archives in different ways. It suggests an increasing concern among archivists to create spaces that are designed to be meaningful and relevant to a more pluralised audience. Archives+ is especially interesting here, since these potential audiences were, to a degree, involved in the processes that resulted in new spaces. The cultural venue, then, is indicative of a reshaping of the archive which reflects (broader) audience interest and use.

To unpick the implications of this reading, it is helpful again to consider the work of Henri Lefebvre. He writes of abstract space, bound up in notions of dominance and power and, as something 'formal and quantitative', it 'erases distinctions', resulting in

[34] Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, pp.261;269.

the silencing of its users.[35] This reveals, as Suzanne MacLeod writes, the role of institutions and professions on the making of space and how that space is experienced by its users.[36] In contrast, Lefebvre's notion of 'differential space' reflects a reinforcing, rather than a restricting, of difference; and the importance of 'social relationships'.[37] It is this potentiality of liberation[38] which makes Lefebvre's thesis useful in contrast to Foucault's concept of the archive as heterotopia, a 'counter-site' in which other places in society are 'represented, contested, and inverted'.[39] For Foucault, the space of the archive (like museums and libraries) is a site 'indefinitely accumulating time';[40] it is also a site of control and regulation.[41] As Nayia Yiakoumaki writes, as a heterotopic site, the archive is 'subject to certain *rites* of passage. The demand for access to the archive shapes the archive, not only as an intellectual space where masses of information are concentrated, but as a concrete space where documents are stored and researchers request to visit'.[42] Here, Foucault's heterotopias are reminiscent of Lefebvre's triad: the archive as spatial practice, bound in professional epistemology; a representation of space, accumulating knowledge of society through its recordkeeping practice; and as representational space, shaping human understanding. Yet whilst Foucault shares with Lefebvre an understanding of space as active, Lefebvre's 'differential space' helps to open up a liberatory potential to the site of the archive.[43]

The concept of the archive as a 'differential space', then, suggests a space in which experience is shaped by the user themselves. This is an important concept, since the space of the institutional archive is often defined by the regulations and controls that are constructed out of a professional need for preservation and security; and by an intellectual concern with the practice of recordkeeping. As Ketelaar writes, these 'arguments… are to a large extent rationalizations of appropriation and power';[44] they

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[35] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.49-51.
[36] MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, pp.183-4.
[37] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p.52; see also Ibid.
[38] See MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, p.183.
[39] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', Jay Miskowiec (trans.), *Diacritics*, 16, no.1 (1986), pp.22-7 (p.24).
[40] Ibid, p.26.
[41] See Ibid, pp.26-7.
[42] Yiakoumaki, 'Curating Archives', p.29, original emphasis.
[43] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp.38-9. Edward Soja discusses the similarities between Lefebvre's and Foucault's discussions of space, noting the importance of spatiality to Foucault's work but that he 'rarely translated his spatial politics into clearly defined programs [sic] for social action': Soja, *Thirdspace*, pp.146-7;156.
[44] Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples', p.236.

'serve to maintain the power of the archives and the archivist'.[45] The postmodern turn in archival science has implicated the archivist as active in mediating and shaping the archival record and this extends to the space of the archive and to the experiences that happen within it. The 'differential' archive, by contrast, opens up the archive to new readings that are not, or are less defined by institutional and professional control. The findings suggest an increasing awareness of user need and, to an extent, of user participation; in turn, they indicate a potential for new readings of archival space.

Drawing on Lefebvre, MacLeod, here writing about museum architecture, describes 'a deeply embedded social process with spatial consequences';[46] in other words, the creation of spaces cannot be seen as separate to the wider social relationships that happen within the institution. The making of new or reformulated spaces is emblematic of (a drive towards) attitudinal change in terms of how the archive relates to its users and, for spaces to embody a user-driven perspective, such processes must be embedded throughout the whole organisation. Put another way, exhibition (and other activities) within the cultural venue are not promotional supports for the search room (as the outreach label supposes); but valid activities in their own right. Further, they are not somehow separate or distinct to what else happens in the archive, but integral to it. At the Royal Library, for example, the Black Diamond was not conceived as a separate function of the library, but rather as an integral feature of it: the extension resulted in a new organisation, rather than just a 'bolt-on' to the existing one. Such a shift embodies a process of organisational change; a rethinking of what the archive itself is for.

As a cultural venue, then, the archive embodies a different *kind* of activity for its users, less transactional and more experiential; and thus requires change in how the organisation operates and interacts with its visitors. At the British Library and Archives+, the space of the archive was conceived in other ways, too: as a meeting place; a third place. Again, Lefebvre is helpful here in suggesting how space is inextricably entwined with sociality; furthermore, the archive as differential space emphasises the importance of social relationships.

In this reading, importance is placed on social interactivity, and here I will theorise how spatial reformulations understood in this light suggest new approaches to the archive as

[45] Ibid, p.237.
[46] MacLeod, *Museum Architecture*, p.182.

a social space of encounter. A useful way to think about this is through the concept of high-intensive and low-intensive meeting places. A high-intensive meeting place is one in which a specific activity is undertaken and focused upon: it is something of direct relevance and importance to someone's life and may not necessarily require a high degree of intensive input. Conversely, a low-intensive meeting place is one where activity of a more incidental nature is experienced. Aabø and Audunson write of how the public library acts as a place which enables visitors to transcend between high- and low-intensive activity. A person may visit in order to undertake a high-intensive activity (to find a book on a given topic, for example) but, during the course of their visit, may change focus and engage in some peripheral activity which is conducted in a more casual manner (browsing through newspapers available in the library, for instance). In this way, their activity has moved from a high-intensive pursuit to a low-intensive one. The library has facilitated this transition and thus exposed the visitor to other interests and pursuits which they may not have originally sought out.[47] A key characteristic of the library is the 'diversity and variation' of use, and the fluidity with which users move between activities and roles (student, friend, citizen, etc.).[48]

Ragnar Audunson writes about the role of the library as a low-intensive meeting place, a place in which people are exposed to difference, in relation to an increasingly multicultural society. Democracy and tolerance both flourish through discussion, debate and informed decision-making and these concepts require the need for public spheres and arenas in which such activity can take place. Audunson points to the public library not just as a space where new communities and excluded groups can experience a 'gradual introduction to the local community that the strategy of legitimate peripheral participation recommends',[49] but also as an arena in which public discourse can be facilitated.[50] What is important here is not just an exposure to 'otherness',[51] but a recognition that the ideas and values of different communities must be understood and recognised.

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[47] Aabø and Audunson, 'Use of library space', p.140.
[48] Ibid, p.148.
[49] Ragnar Audunson, 'The public library as a meeting-place in a multicultural and digital context: The necessity of low-intensive meeting-places', *Journal of Documentation*, 61, no.3 (2005), pp.429-41 (p.432).
[50] Ibid, p.433.
[51] Svanhild Aabø et al., 'How do public libraries function as meeting places?', *Library and Information Science Research*, 32 (2010), pp.16-26 (p.17).

One of the key findings emerging from the research is the role that exhibitions can play in reflecting on the nature of archives and recordkeeping; and activating different voices in creating meaning around archives and the past. Participatory forms of exhibition-making are especially relevant here, such as those at Oslo City Archives, Luxembourg National Archives and Archives+: in these examples, individual and community voices become active within the space of the archive and both utilise and reflect upon the archive in a wider construction of history. What these different types of activity suggest is the potential for exhibition to act as a site for different voices and perspectives; to pluralise an understanding not just of history but also of contemporary society. At Archives+, for example, the range of collections from across the partnership already opens up the space of the archive to potentially diverse audiences. The contributions of people from different communities and the inclusion of temporary displays from other archives adds a further polyvocal character to the archive.

As a research space, and even as a cultural venue, the archive might typically be understood as high-intensive: the user has a specific purpose in visiting. But an exhibition space which opens up conversations about the nature of history and how the past is remembered, and which invites many and different voices into that conversation, suggests a dynamic space open to new perspectives and more diverse understandings. In this sense, the archive becomes low-intensive, enabling diverse encounters and a plurality of perspectives and meanings.

In this reading, the exhibition recasts the archive as a site of debate, a space open to new, dynamic and diverse understandings of archives, of history and of contemporary society. To this can be added events and activities, which many archives deemed to be of similar importance. In this sense, the archive responds to Duncan Cameron's call for 'forums for confrontation, experimentation and debate'.[52] Although primarily concerned with digital archives, Eric Ketelaar also acknowledges the physical archive when he writes that 'archives, libraries and museums are more than a repository, a reading room, a gallery, more than a digital shop-window. They are studios where people collaborate in collecting, describing, enriching cultural memories'.[53] He draws on Jürgen Habermas' theory of the public sphere to argue how archives themselves can

[52] Duncan F. Cameron, 'The Museum, a Temple or the Forum', in Gail Anderson (ed.), *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2004), pp.61-73 (p.70).
[53] Ketelaar, 'Being Digital', p.5.

become 'a public sphere, where people meet, discuss, exchange information, use information in their critical dialogue or even struggle with the state and within civil society'.[54] In this reading, the archive becomes increasingly vital and necessary to people and their everyday lives.

The key issue that emerges from these discussions is the role of the exhibition itself as an active instrument in shaping these reformulations. Rather than simply providing a representation of the archive, in this reading the exhibition is recast as a way of actively opening up the archive and of uncovering new layers of understanding. The literature indicates an at times uneasy relationship between the exhibition and archival theory, but what is important here is the role of exhibition in shaping new understandings of what it means to 'be' in the archive.

In these readings, emphasis is placed on the user, on how the user *wants* to experience, rather than how they are *expected* to experience. Moreover, the work of the archive is used to facilitate value and meaning to the user, whether this is through the evidential capacity of the archive itself (as at Oslo City Archives); its ability to act as a site of healing and reconciliation (as at LAC); or even through projects in which archival work is shaped by the benefits afforded to the user, rather than the archive (such as volunteering projects at Archives+, or the Change Minds project at Norfolk Record Office). None of this is designed to reject the integrity of the archival record itself. Rather, it reaffirms the capacity of the archive for shaping meaning in people's lives in a variety of ways. It is to provide forums of encounter in which the potentiality of the archive can be experienced to the full.

Contribution to Knowledge and Areas for Further Research

Throughout this thesis, I have aimed to develop the conversation around archival exhibitions and to consider their role within a wider reformulation of the physical archive. I argue that there are four key contributions to knowledge and potential areas of impact arising from this discussion.

[54] Ibid, p. 6. Elsewhere, Ketelaar writes of shaping archives as places 'of understanding, of forgiving, of reconciliation': Ketelaar, 'Spaces of Memory', pp.17,21.

Firstly, the thesis draws on two detailed examinations of exhibition practice but also evidences a breadth of research on an international scale. This wide-reaching study therefore provides a broad yet detailed picture of exhibition-making across the sector, which enables a rich and nuanced conversation concerning this work.

Secondly, I argue that the research has enabled the discussion of exhibition to develop beyond a debate around merit and questions of practicalities. The research not only considers how archivists conceive exhibition; it also analyses what their exhibition-practice can do. It thus pushes the concept of exhibition beyond standard definitions of outreach. In this sense, it opens up the potentiality of exhibition in reformulating archival spaces and, by embedding its role within the wider working of the archive, posits ideas about what the archive itself can be.

Thirdly, the research uses a methodological approach which helps open up new thinking around exhibition-making and the archive more broadly. By drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the thesis has developed a unique frame built on spatial and phenomenological lenses to help reconceptualise how experience happens, and thus enables a new perspective on how the archive might be conceived and made. Likewise, through an interdisciplinary methodology which draws across museum studies, anthropology, architecture, phenomenology, library studies and archival science, the research has developed new perspectives on the role of the archive today. Whilst the thesis draws across existing ideas concerning what the archive could be, what is important here is the role that exhibition can play in this and, more broadly, the use of different theoretical and practical concepts which, together, develop these arguments. Importantly, the research makes a contribution to how use is conceived within the archive, reframing an understanding of archives from a user-centred perspective.

Fourthly, the research has developed concepts around exhibition- and archive-making which, I argue, have potential impact in both practical and theoretical terms. The thesis sits within a context in which the physical space of the archive is changing; and political and economic pressures question how the archive itself will develop into the future. But it is also concerned with the kinds of experience that the archive can afford to existing, new and diverse audiences. By considering the role of exhibition within the wider work of the archive, the thesis has the potential to contribute to archival policy

and practice. This is more than just presenting examples of innovative and cutting-edge practice which might be adopted elsewhere; rather, it is unpacking *how* such practice indicates new ways of thinking about archives and thus how they open up the space of the archive to new forms of experience.

Further, the thesis has unpicked the specific nature of archival exhibition-making and has related this to broader theoretical issues and concepts concerning the archive. In this sense, it examines the influences upon exhibition practice within the archive as well as drawing out key discussion points about how the archive can in turn be understood and experienced. The thesis seeks to challenge dualisms around evidence/memory, physical/digital, research/outreach by arguing for an embedding of exhibition practice within the archive and a fluidity in terms of what the archive is understood to be for.

Theory and practice are, of course, entwined with one another. Theoretical implications shape practice; and practice itself helps develop new theoretical understandings.[55] In recognising this, I argue that the research contributes to new perspectives on the archive which draw across both theoretical and practical questions; in other words, the research has the potential to contribute to how archives are both thought about and experienced.

The discussion opens up potential areas of further research. Whilst this research has focused on the perspectives and intentions of archivists and designers, potential further research may investigate the voice of visitors within the process of exhibition-making. Visitor studies, for example, could be utilised to examine how experience itself takes place within the archive and the effects and implications of certain exhibition design strategies.[56]

A case study approach such as that employed here is useful for analysing in detail a specific, given instance and can be used to draw wider generalities; whilst it is extensive in nature, it is not exhaustive, and is therefore limited by the scope of its cases. A potential area of further research would be to open the study further to include different types of archive. Although this research draws across business and specialist

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[55] See Terry Cook and Joan M. Schwartz, 'Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance', *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp.171-85 (p.171).

[56] This would build on studies by Colborne, 'Evaluating Exhibitions' and Howgill, 'New methods'. On visitor studies, see, for example, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, 'Studying Visitors', in Sharon Macdonald (ed.), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing, 2011), pp.764-96; Volker Kirchberg and Martin Tröndle, 'Experiencing Exhibitions: A Review of Studies on Visitor Experiences in Museums', *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 55, no.4 (2012), pp.435-52; John Falk, 'Museum audiences: A visitor-centered perspective', *Society and Leisure*, 39, no.3 (2016), pp.357-70.

repositories to examine exhibition-practice, its primary concern is with public archives. Further research could discuss the relationship between business archives and their audiences, for example, and the techniques that are utilised to develop these. Further, whilst this research has examined activity in a broad scale of institutions, from local record offices to national repositories, it has not considered the work of very small archives, such as borough or charity archives which may employ only one or two individuals. A spatial reconfiguring of the archive can happen at different scales: as Suzanne MacLeod writes, some spatial remakings involve large-scale capital projects, whilst others involve a 'reposition[ing of] both collections and visitors in order to generate new spatial forms, without large-scale architectural developments'.[57] An examination of exhibition-making and of wider spatial reformulations at these different scales, and the implications for such work here, offer a further potential area of research.

Lastly, the theoretical framework developed for this research can be used to unpick the nature of archival experience in other contexts. Lefebvre and Merleau-Ponty theorised universal perspectives on the production of space and experience. Alongside interdisciplinary thinking, these can be applied in other circumstances, such as the reading room/researcher experience and the management and preservation of archives. The framework considers how the archive is experienced by its users; by extending the scope of 'use', new perspectives can be developed as to the nature and experience of archival material.

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Across the many examples of exhibition-making taking place in the archive sector is a passion and a drive to make archives accessible, meaningful and relevant to people's everyday lives. A spatial and a phenomenological framework helps articulate the exhibition as an encounter between institution, record and user: a space of engagement, reflection, discussion, enjoyment and experience. The archive is an active, dynamic, shifting, interpretive, phenomenological and historical entity which can be harnessed in exhibitions in a myriad of different ways. But it is the *user* that matters most, for the harnessing of archives can make real change in people's lives.

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[57] Suzanne MacLeod, 'Introduction', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp.1-5 (p.1).

APPENDIX A

Fieldwork

This appendix provides details of all institutions and sites that were surveyed during the thesis. Details of visits made (where relevant) are provided. The names of institutions are provided in English except for those outside the UK where a translation into English was not provided, in which case the name is given in its original language.

Exhibitions that were investigated for the research are listed under the relevant institution. A selection of these exhibitions is discussed in the thesis. A complete list of all exhibitions is provided to show the breadth of research undertaken. The exhibitions include archival or written material, and many were held in archival repositories or libraries. Again, the names of exhibitions are provided in English unless they were held outside the UK and no translation of their name was provided. The exhibition marked with an asterisk was co-curated by the author. In some cases, an institution was visited where archival material was exhibited as part of a broader display of collections (for example, at a stately home); or the visit was designed to investigate the wider space of the institution. In these cases, no exhibition is listed.

Details of interviews are also provided; these are arranged by institution. In some instances, interviewees were not or are no longer associated with that institution; their affiliation and role at the time of interview is given. Where an interviewee discussed more than one institution, they appear under both institutions in the list. The date and format of the interview is provided in each case, along with a reference to other people present at each interview. Interviews were not held at all places because it was not always practical to do so; or because an analysis of the exhibition or site was considered sufficient.

AMSTERDAM CITY ARCHIVES

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Visits: 6 July 2016; 24 October 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
De Schatkamer (Treasury)	Permanent exhibition	6 July 2016
Stadstekenaars van Amsterdam 2014-2016	27 May – 11 September 2016	6 July 2016
Kijk (Look!) Amsterdam 1700-1800	15 September 2017 – 14 January 2018	24 October 2017
Rapenburgerstraat 1940 – 1945 en Samen weer aan tafel	23 February – 17 June 2018	

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Stefanie van Odenhoven	Exhibitions Co-ordinator, Amsterdam City Archives	In-person interview (with Ludger Smit), 24 October 2017
Ludger Smit	Curator, Amsterdam City Archives	In-person interview (with Stefanie van Odenhoven), 24 October 2017

AMSTERDAM PUBLIC LIBRARY

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Visit: 24 October 2017

ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO

Toronto, Canada

Visit: 15 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Family Ties	September 2016 – May 2018	15 July 2017
Canada 150	2017	15 July 2017

ARCHIVES+

Manchester, UK

Visits: 11 August 2016; 24 November 2016; 2 February 2017; 20 April 2017; 2 May 2017; 30 May 2017; 31 May 2017; 1 June 2017; 6 June 2017; 12 June 2017; 5 October 2017; 19 December 2017; 14 February 2018; 13 February 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Archives+ exhibition	Permanent	11 August 2016; 24 November 2016; 2 February 2017; 20 April 2017; 2 May 2017; 30 May 2017; 31 May 2017; 1 June 2017; 6 June 2017; 12 June 2017; 5 October 2017; 19 December 2017; 14 February 2018; 13 February 2019
For Valour – Honouring Manchester Men awarded the Victoria Cross	2016	24 November 2016
ArchivesMoved	21 March – 16 June 2017	1 June 2017

Deep Pockets and Dirty Faces	June 2017	1 June 2017; 12 June 2017
The Homeless Library	2017	2 February 2017; 1 June 2017
Were You There: A Refugee Exhibition	2017	2 February 2017
Family Ties – The Adamah Papers	6 April – 31 May 2017	20 April 2017
Henshaws 180th Anniversary Exhibition	7 September – 31 October 2017	5 October 2017
Hidden Histories Hidden Historians	11 November 2017 – 31 January 2018	19 December 2017
Will Mellor Arts and Crafts Book Artist	2017	5 October 2017
Stories of Sacrifice	7 February 2018 – 31 March 2018	14 February 2018
Chinese New Year at the Centre for Chinese Contemporary Art	2018	14 February 2018
Women's Words	2018	14 February 2018
Women's Suffrage: How the Vote Was Won	2018	14 February 2018
See My Dunya	12 January – 23 March 2019	13 February 2019

Interviews:

Name	**Title**	**Format and date**
Kostas Arvanitis	Senior Lecturer, Centre for Museology, University of Manchester	In-person interview, 2 February 2017
Kevin Bolton	Independent Consultant	In-person interview, 20 April 2017
Larysa Bolton	Heritage Collections Officer, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 2 May 2017
Katharine Carter	M&S Company Archivist	In-person interview, 31 August 2017

Sarah Clarke	Projects Director, Mather and Co.	In-person interview, 5 October 2017
Philip Cooke	Citywide Services Manager (Reform), Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 31 May 2017
Julie Devonald	Project Manager, Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre, University of Manchester	In-person interview, 1 June 2017
David Govier	Oral History Archivist, British Library	In-person interview, 2 March 2017
Sarah Hobbs	Archives Officer, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 6 June 2017
Fiona King	Principal Consultant, Barker Langham	Telephone interview, 9 October 2017
Anthony Lees	Archives Officer, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 1 June 2017
Neil MacInnes	Strategic Lead: Libraries, Galleries and Culture, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 30 May 2017
David Muil	Chairman, Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society	In-person interview, 6 June 2017
Siobhan O'Connor	Community Officer, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 6 June 2017
Angela Rawcliffe	Learning Officer, Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 6 June 2017
Lee Taylor	Architectural Director, Ryder Architecture	Email interview, 27 October 2017
Leslie Turner	Manchester and Lancashire Family History Society Help Desk Co-ordinator	In-person interview, 12 June 2017
Paul Wright	Citywide Services Manager (Growth), Manchester City Council	In-person interview, 31 May 2017

ASIA ART ARCHIVE

Hong Kong

Visit: 17 November 2015

BERLIN STATE LIBRARY

Berlin, Germany

Visit: 30 June 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
Die Familie um Felix	1 June – 24 August 2016	30 June 2016
Weltvermesser – von Erde, Meer und Himmel	14 June – 2 July 2016	30 June 2016

BLICKLING HALL

Norfolk, UK

Visit: 17 July 2018

Exhibition:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
The Word Defiant!	1 May – 28 October 2018	17 July 2017

BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Oxford, UK

Visits: 20 February 2017; 19 October 2017; 8 March 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Bodleian Treasures: 24 Pairs	Permanent exhibition	20 February 2017
Slavonic Treasures from the Bodleian Libraries	14 January – 19 March 2017	20 February 2017
Volcanoes	10 February – 21 May 2017	20 February 2017
Percy Manning: the man who collected Oxfordshire	18 February – 23 April 2017	20 February 2017
Which Jane Austen?	23 June – 29 October 2017	19 October 2017
Designing English: Graphics on the Medieval Page	1 December 2017 – 22 April 2018	8 March 2018
Redesigning the Medieval Book	1 December 2017 – 11 March 2018	8 March 2018
Evelyn Waugh's Oxford	2017	19 October 2017
Sappho to Suffrage: Women Who Dared	6 March 2018 – 24 February 2019	8 March 2018

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Sallyanne Gilchrist	Exhibitions Conservator, Bodleian Libraries	In-person interview (with Madeline Slaven), 20 February 2017
Madeline Slaven	Head of Exhibitions, Bodleian Libraries	In-person interview (with Sallyanne Gilchrist), 20 February 2017

BRISTOL MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

Bristol, UK

Visit: 14 June 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Empire Through the Lens	30 September 2017 – 2 September 2018	14 June 2018

BRITISH LIBRARY

London, UK

Visits: 13 April 2016; 12 January 2017; 2 March 2017; 22 August 2017; 17 October 2018; 16 February 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Treasures of the British Library	Permanent exhibition	13 April 2016
Taking Liberties: The struggle for Britain's freedoms and rights	31 October 2008 – 1 March 2009	
West Africa: Word, Symbol, Song	16 October 2015 – 16 February 2016	
Alice in Wonderland	20 November 2015 – 17 April 2016	13 April 2016
Imagining Don Quixote	19 January – 22 May 2016	13 April 2016
There Will Be Fun	14 October 2016 – 12 March 2017	12 January 2017
Maps and the 20th Century: Drawing the Line	4 November 2016 – 1 March 2017	12 January 2017
Stefan Zweig: The Magic of Manuscripts	21 February – 11 June 2017	2 March 2017

Russian Revolution: Hope, Tragedy, Myths	28 April – 29 August 2017	22 August 2017
Canada Through the Lens	26 May – 10 September 2017	22 August 2017
Beyond Timbuktu: Preserving the Manuscripts of Djenné, Mali	28 September 2018 – 6 January 2019	17 October 2018
Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: Art, Word, War	19 October 2018 – 19 February 2019	1 February 2019

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Susan Dymond	Interpretation Manager, British Library	Telephone interview, 21 March 2017
Alexandra Whitfield	Head of Learning Programmes, British Library	In-person interview, 12 January 2017

BRITISH MUSEUM

London, UK

Visits: 8 May 2018; 16 February 2019

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
I Am Ashurbanipal: King of the World, King of Assyria	8 November 2018 – 24 February 2019	16 February 2019

BROTHERTON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Leeds, UK

Visit: 8 May 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Treasures of the Brotherton Library	Permanent exhibition	8 May 2017
Caught in the Russian Revolution	1 March – 31 July 2017	8 May 2017
Rights and Remembrance: Representing Gipsy Lives	1 March – 31 July 2018	

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Layla Bloom	Curator, University of Leeds	In-person interview (with Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis, Laura Wilson and Tim Procter), 8 May 2017
Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis	Collections and Engagement Manager (Rare Books and Maps), University of Leeds	In-person interview (with Laura Wilson, Tim Procter and Layla Bloom), 8 May 2017
Tim Procter	Collections and Engagement Manager (Archives and Manuscripts), University of Leeds	In-person interview (with Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis, Laura Wilson and Layla Bloom), 8 May 2017
Laura Wilson	Learning and Engagement Officer, University of Leeds	In-person interview (with Rhiannon Lawrence-Francis, Tim Procter and Layla Bloom), 8 May 2017

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Gatineau, Canada

Visit: 5 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Canadian History Hall	Permanent exhibition	5 July 2017
Double Take – Portraits of Intriguing Canadians (curated with Library and Archives Canada)	22 March – 14 October 2013	
Moments from 150 Years Ago (curated with Library and Archives Canada)	21 April 2017 – 28 January 2018	5 July 2017

CARLYLE'S HOUSE

London, UK

Visit: 18 May 2017

THE CHARTERHOUSE

London, UK

Visit: 3 May 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Charterhouse Museum exhibition	Permanent exhibition	3 May 2017

CHERRYBURN

Northumberland, UK

Visit: 17 August 2017

CITY OF TORONTO ARCHIVES

Toronto, Canada

Visit: 12 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
From Streets to Playgrounds: Representing Children in Early 20th Century Toronto	2017	12 July 2017

CROOME COURT

Worcestershire, UK

Visit: 16 October 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
I Am Archive	Permanent exhibition	16 October 2017

THE DANISH NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Copenhagen, Denmark

Visit: 5 April 2017; 6 April 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Danish West Indies, 1672-1917	2017	5 April 2017
Denmark in the Cold War	2017	6 April 2017

DE LA WARR PAVILION

Bexhill-on-Sea, East Sussex, UK

Visit: 20 September 2016

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Peter Blake: Alphabets, Letters and Numbers	13 August – 27 November 2016	20 September 2016

DERBYSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Matlock, Derbyshire, UK

Visit: 18 September 2015; 14 April 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Craft of the Miner: Agricola's Masterpiece	August – October 2015	18 September 2015
Fifty Treasures (third instalment)	April 2016	14 April 2016

DOKK1

Aarhus, Denmark

Visit: 10 September 2017

DRÄI EECHELEN MUSEUM

Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

Visit: 10 September 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Pont Adolphe 1903	7 July 2016 – 8 May 2017	22 January 2017

DUNHAM MASSEY

Greater Manchester, UK

Visit: 29 August 2017

DYRHAM PARK

Gloucestershire, UK

Visit: 14 May 2016

EDWARD P. TAYLOR LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES, ART GALLERY OF ONTARIO

Toronto, Canada

Visit: 14 July 2017

FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

Washington, DC, USA

Visit: 20 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
500 Years of Treasures from Oxford	4 February – 30 April 2017	
Painting Shakespeare	13 May 2017 – 11 February 2018	20 July 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
LaShuan A. Carmichael Ramos	Assistant Registrar, Exhibitions, Folger Shakespeare Library	In-person interview, 20 July 2017

GALLERY OF MODERN ART (GoMA)

Glasgow, UK

Visit: 31 August 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Taste!	2018	31 August 2018

GERMAN MUSEUM OF BOOKS AND WRITING OF THE GERMAN NATIONAL LIBRARY IN LEIPZIG

Leipzig, Germany

Visit: 28 June 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Signs – Books – Networks: From Cuneiform to Binary Code	Permanent exhibition	28 June 2016
Reading a Book? Hollywood Liest	27 November 2015 – 31 July 2016	28 June 2016
Bahnriss?! Papier | Kultur	19 February – 2 October 2016	28 June 2016

GLASGOW CITY ARCHIVES

Glasgow, UK

Visit: 31 August 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Making of Mackintosh	31 August – 26 October 2018	31 August 2018
Women's Suffrage in Glasgow	13 August 2018 – 27 January 2019	31 August 2018

GUILDHALL

London, UK

Visit: 3 May 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
City of London Heritage Gallery (curated with London Metropolitan Archives)	Permanent exhibition	3 May 2017
Echoes Across the Century	31 March – 16 July 2017	3 May 2017

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES

Hereford, UK

Visit: 20 September 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Mappa Mundi and Chained Library	Permanent exhibition	20 September 2017
Law, Life and Landscape	24 July – 30 December 2017	20 September 2017

HERITAGE QUAY, UNIVERSITY OF HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield, UK

Visit: 25 January 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Ted Hughes: You Are Who You Choose to Be	7 March 2018 – 1 July 2018	

British Music Collection	2018	25 January 2018

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
M. Sarah Wickham	University Archivist and Records Manager/HLF Projects Director	In-person interview, 25 January 2018

HESSIAN STATE ARCHIVES

Marburg, Hesse, Germany

Visit: 4 August 2015

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Auslese der Starken – „Ausmerzung" der Schwachen Eugenik und NS „Euthanasie" im 20 Jahrhundert	21 May – 24 October 2015	4 August 2015

HEXHAM ABBEY

Hexham, Northumberland, UK

Visit: 16 August 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Big Story	Permanent exhibition	16 August 2017

THE HIVE

Worcester, UK

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Paul Hudson	Learning and Outreach Manager, Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service	Email interview, 9 January 2018
Lisa Snook	User Services Manager, Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service	Email interview, 1 December 2017

HONG KONG HERITAGE MUSEUM

Hong Kong

Visit: 16 November 2015

HONG KONG MARITIME MUSEUM

Hong Kong

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Made in Hong Kong: Our City. Our Stories (curated with HSBC Archives)	6 March – 4 September 2015	

HONG KONG PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE

Hong Kong

Visit: 16 November 2015

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Behind the Postman's Uniform	18 December 2014 – December 2015	16 November 2015

HSBC ARCHIVES

London, UK

Visit: 9 May 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
History Wall	Permanent exhibition	9 May 2017

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Sara Kinsey	Head of Historical Archives, Nationwide Building Society	Telephone interview, 15 August 2018
Tina Staples	Global Head of Archives, HSBC	In-person interview, 9 May 2017

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

Manchester, UK

Visits: 11 August 2016; 12 June 2017; 19 December 2017; 24 October 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
The Rylands Gallery	Permanent exhibition	11 August 2016; 12 June 2017; 19 December 2017
Magic, Witches and Devils in the Early Modern World	21 January – 21 August 2016	11 August 2016
Capturing Science Images Past and Present	2016	11 August 2016
The Life of Objects	16 March – 22 August 2017	12 June 2017
The Reformation	7 September 2017 – 4 March 2018	19 December 2017
Women Who Shaped Manchester	6 September 2018 – 10 March 2019	24 October 2018

Interview:

Name	**Title**	**Format and date**
Stella Halkyard	Joint Head of Special Collections, University of Manchester	In-person interview, 19 December 2017

KELVIN HALL

Glasgow, UK

Visit: 29 August 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Collections Showcase	Permanent exhibition	29 August 2018

KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

London, UK

Visit: 23 June 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Dear Diary	16 May – 7 July 2017	23 June 2017

LEIPZIG BACH MUSEUM AND ARCHIVE

Leipzig, Germany

Visit: 28 June 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Bach Museum exhibition	Permanent exhibition	28 June 2016
"I owe simply everything to J. S. Bach!" Bach and Reger	4 March – 23 October 2016	28 June 2016

LËTZEBUERG CITY MUSEUM

Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

Visit: 20 January 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Football Hallelujah!	7 October 2017 – 12 March 2017	20 January 2017

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Ottawa and Gatineau, Canada

Visits: 5 July 2017; 7 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Double Take – Portraits of Intriguing Canadians (curated with the Canadian Museum of History)	22 March – 14 October 2013	
Foundations: The Words That Shaped Canada (curated with the Library of Parliament)	9 March – 31 December 2017	6 July 2017
Moments from 150 Years Ago (curated with the Canadian Museum of History)	21 April 2017 – 28 January 2018	5 July 2017
Canada: Who Do We Think We Are	5 June 2017 – 1 March 2018	5 July 2017
Pathways: Following Traces of Indigenous Routes Across Ontario	18 August – 28 October 2018	

(curated with Toronto Public Library)		

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Jennifer Roger	Curator, Library and Archives Canada	In-person interview (with Madeleine Trudeau), 7 July 2017
Madeleine Trudeau	Curator, Library and Archives Canada	In-person interview (with Jennifer Roger), 7 July 2017

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Washington, DC, USA

Visit: 19 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Exploring the Early Americas	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
Here to Stay: The Legacy of George and Ira Gershwin	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
Hope for America: Performers, Politics and Pop Culture	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
Mapping a Growing Nation: From Independence to Statehood	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
Swann Gallery	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
Thomas Jefferson's Library	Permanent exhibition	19 July 2017
With Malice Towards None: The Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial	12 February – 10 May 2009	

The Civil War in America	12 November 2012 – 11 January 2014	
World War I: American Artists View the Great War	7 May 2016 – 19 August 2017	19 July 2017
Echoes of the Great War: American Experiences of World War I	4 April 2017 – 21 January 2019	19 July 2017
Drawing Justice: The Art of Courtroom Illustration	27 April – 30 December 2017	19 July 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Cheryl Regan	Exhibition Director, Library of Congress	In-person interview, 19 July 2017

LIBRARY OF PARLIAMENT

Ottawa, Canada

Visit: 6 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Foundations: The Words That Shaped Canada (curated with Library and Archives Canada)	9 March – 31 December 2017	6 July 2017

LIVERPOOL CENTRAL LIBRARY

Liverpool, UK

Visit: 11 May 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Mersey Sound Archives	12 April – 15 July 2017	11 May 2017
Bluecoat School	2017	11 May 2017

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

London, UK

Visits: 3 May 2017; 22 November 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Londoners: Portrait of a Working City	6 February – 5 July 2017	3 May 2017
Life on the London Stage	10 July – 6 December 2017	22 November 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Laurence Ward	Head of Digital Services, London Metropolitan Archives	In-person interview, 3 May 2017

LOUISIANA MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

Humlebæk, Denmark

Visits: 1 April 2017; 12 September 2017

LUXEMBOURG NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

Visit: 20 January 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Blackouts/Trous de mémoire	10 June 2016 – 28 February 2017	20 January 2017
Têtes Chercheuses	14 October 2016 – 28 February 2017	20 January 2017
Halt! Douane: Lëtzebuerg am Däitschen Zollveräin, 1842-1918	14 December 2017 – 18 August 2018	

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Beryl Koltz	Independent Curator for the National Archives of Luxembourg	In-person interview (with Romain Schroeder), 20 January 2017
Romain Schroeder	Service Communication, National Archives of Luxembourg	In-person interview (with Beryl Koltz), 20 January 2017

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Oxford, UK

Visit: 19 October 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
A Medieval Archive in a Modern World	1 June – 26 October 2017	19 October 2017

MANCHESTER CENTRAL LIBRARY

Manchester, UK

Visits: 11 August 2016; 24 November 2016; 2 February 2017; 20 April 2017; 2 May 2017; 30 May 2017; 31 May 2017; 1 June 2017; 6 June 2017; 12 June 2017; 5 October 2017; 19 December 2017; 14 February 2018; 13 February 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
Children's Lives in Wartime Japan	1 February – 31 March 2017	2 February 2017
North West Film Archive 40th Anniversary	1 – 28 June 2017	12 June 2017
Shirley Baker Airport '87	5 October 2017 – 6 January 2018	5 October 2017
Harry Potter: A History of Magic at Manchester Central Library	20 October 2017 – 31 January 2018	19 December 2017
From the Shadows of War and Empire: Perspectives of Colonised Peoples on World War One	2017	19 December 2017
Manchester and Leningrad – A 55 Year City Partnership	2017	5 October 2017
The Danger Tree	15 January – 31 March 2018	14 February 2018

MANUSCRIPTS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

Nottingham, UK

Visits: 10 March 2016; 5 May 2016; 14 February 2017; 10 March 2017; 26 July 2017; 25 November 2017; 15 February 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Inspiring Beauty: No. 7	15 January – 31 March 2018	10 March 2016
Grand Tourists and Others: Travelling Abroad before the 20th Century	29 April – 7 August 2016	5 May 2016
Weather Extremes	16 December 2016 – 26 March 2017	14 February 2017
Threads of Empire: Rule and resistance in colonial India 1740 – 1840	13 April – 20 August 2017	26 July 2017
Collected Works: From the Literary Collections at the University of Nottingham	8 September – 3 December 2017	25 November 2017
Sylva: "To Slowly Trace The Forest's Shady Scene"	14 December 2018 – 7 April 2019	15 February 2019

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Hayley Cotterill	Senior Archivist (Academic and Public Engagement), University of Nottingham	In-person interview (with Mark Dorrington), 10 March 2017
Mark Dorrington	Keeper of Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham	In-person interview (with Hayley Cotterill), 10 March 2017

MARKS AND SPENCER COMPANY ARCHIVE

Leeds, UK

Visit: 31 August 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Marks in Time	Permanent	31 August 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Katharine Carter	M&S Company Archivist	In-person interview, 31 August 2017

MUSEUM MEERMANNO

The Hague, The Netherlands

Visit: 26 October 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Xtra Small: Miniature Books	3 October 2017 – 18 February 2018	26 October 2017

MUSEUM OF THE PRINTING ARTS

Leipzig, Germany

Visit: 29 June 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Gedruckte Werte	16 March – 14 August 2016	29 June 2016

Von Hand geschriebene Briefe	24 April – 3 July 2016	29 June 2016

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Washington, DC, USA

Visits: 17 July 2017; 20 July 2017; 21 July 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
Founding Documents in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom	Permanent exhibition	17 July 2017
Public Vaults	Permanent exhibition	17 July 2017; 20 July 2017; 21 July 2017
Records of Rights	Permanent exhibitions	17 July 2017; 20 July 2017; 21 July 2017
Amending America	11 March 2016 – 4 September 2017	17 July 2017; 20 July 2017; 21 July 2017

Interview:

Name	**Title**	**Format and date**
Corinne Porter	Curator, National Archives	In-person interview, 17 July 2017

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Kew, Surrey, UK

Visits: 14 November 2017; 22 November 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Keeper's Gallery	Permanent exhibition	14 November 2017; 22 November 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Sarah Dellar	Interpretation Manager, The National Archives	In-person interview (with Juliette Johnstone), 14 November 2017
Juliette Johnstone	Exhibitions Manager, The National Archives	In-person interview (with Sarah Dellar), 14 November 2017

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS

The Hague, The Netherlands

Visits: 5 July 2016; 25 October 2017; 26 October 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Memory Palace	17 October 2013 – 4 January 2015	
24 Hours with William: King of the Netherlands and Belgium	28 August 2015 – 17 July 2016	5 July 2016
The World of the Dutch East India Company	24 February 2017 – 24 June 2018	25 October 2017; 26 October 2017

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Karijn Delen	Project Manager, Exhibitions, National Archives of the Netherlands	In-person interview (with Presentations Officer), 25 October 2017
Nancy Hovingh	Project Manager, Exhibitions, National Archives of the Netherlands	Email interviews, 31 August and 7 September 2017
	Presentations Officer, National Archives of the Netherlands	In-person interview (with Karijn Delen), 25 October 2017

NATIONAL BUILDING MUSEUM

Washington, DC, USA

Visit: 21 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Architecture of An Asylum: St Elizabeths [sic] 1852 – 2017	25 March 2017 – 15 January 2018	21 July 2017

NATIONAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK MEMORIAL HALL

Taipei, Taiwan

Visit: 17 October 2016

THE NATIONAL GALLERY

London, UK

Visit: 5 May 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Michelangelo and Sebastiano	15 March – 25 June 2017	5 May 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Alan Crookham	Head of Research Centre, National Gallery	In-person interview, 5 May 2017

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Ottawa, Canada

Visit: 6 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Document as Art	2017	6 July 2017

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

Glasgow, UK

Visit: 29 August 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Discovery Space	Permanent exhibition	29 August 2018

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The Hague, The Netherlands

Visits: 5 July 2016; 25 October 2017; 26 October 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Expositie Topstukken/ Highlights Exhibition	Permanent exhibition	5 July 2016; 25 October 2017; 26 October 2017
Conn3ct: 2 Media, 1 Story	Various: touring exhibition	

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Erik Geleijns	Collection Specialist, National Library of the Netherlands	In-person interview, 25 October 2017

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART

Luxembourg City, Luxembourg

Visit: 22 January 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Steichen the Photographer	Permanent exhibition	22 January 2017

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TAIWAN LITERATURE

Tainan, Taiwan

Visit: 16 October 2016

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Museum exhibition	Permanent exhibition	16 October 2016

NATIONAL PALACE MUSEUM

Taipei, Taiwan

Visit: 22 October 2016

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Painting and Calligraphy	Permanent exhibition	22 October 2016
Om-mani-padme-hum, Tibetan Buddhist Art	3 May – 6 November 2016	22 October 2016

NATIONAL SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL HALL

Taipei, Taiwan

Visit: 17 October 2016

NATIONAL THEATRE

London, UK

Visits: 22 May 2017; 18 April 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Bright Young Tings: Black Theatre in London 1978 – 1982	23 February – 10 June 2017	22 May 2017
Framework for Freedom: Celebrating the 40th Birthday of the Cottesloe Theatre	2017	22 May 2017
The National Theatre at the Old Vic 1963 – 1976	14 April – 25 June 2018	18 April 2018

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Erin Lee	Head of Archive, National Theatre	In-person interview (with Judith Merritt), 22 May 2017
Judith Merritt	Head of Talks and Exhibitions, National Theatre	In-person interview (with Erin Lee), 22 May 2017

NATIONWIDE BUILDING SOCIETY HISTORICAL ARCHIVES

Swindon, UK

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Nationwide HQ exhibition	Permanent exhibition	

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Sara Kinsey	Head of Historical Archives, Nationwide Building Society	Telephone interview, 15 August 2018

NORFOLK RECORD OFFICE

Norwich, UK

Visit: 25 April 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Change Minds: Exploring mental health in Norfolk 1879/2017	November 2017	
NORAH: Saving Norfolk's Archival Heritage	2017	25 April 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Nick Sellwood	Senior Conservator, Norfolk Record Office	In-person interview, 25 April 2017

NORWEGIAN MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Oslo, Norway

Visit: 8 September 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Aurora Polaris	2017	8 September 2017

Grossraum – Organisation Todt and Forced Labour in Norway 1940-45	2017	8 September 2017

OSLO CITY ARCHIVES

Oslo, Norway

Visit: 8 September 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
When the ends do not meet: Poverty in Oslo before and now	2016	

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Johanne Bergkvist	Historian, Oslo City Archives	In-person interview (with Unn Hovdhaugen), 8 September 2017
Unn Hovdhaugen	Kultural Historian, Oslo City Archives	In-person interview (with Johanne Bergkvist), 8 September 2017

PACKWOOD HOUSE

Warwickshire, UK

Visit: 30 June 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Baron Ash's War Diary	2018	30 June 2018

PALACE GREEN LIBRARY, DURHAM UNIVERSITY

Durham, UK

Visit: 15 August 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Lindisfarne Gospels Durham	1 July – 30 September 2013	
Time Machines: the past, the future, and how stories take us there	27 May – 3 September 2017	15 August 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Julie Biddlecombe-Brown	Curator (Exhibitions), Durham University	In-person interview (with Michael Stansfield), 15 August 2017
Michael Stansfield	Deputy Head of Archives and Special Collections, Durham University	In-person interview (with Julie Biddlecombe-Brown), 15 August 2017

PEEL ART GALLERY, MUSEUM AND ARCHIVES

Brampton, Ontario, Canada

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Staff Favourites from the Archive	September – November 2017	

PERGAMONMUSEUM

Berlin, Germany

Visit: 30 June 2016

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Words to Read – Words to Feel: An Introduction to the Quran in the Berlin Collections	29 April – 24 July 2016	30 June 2016

PETIT PALAIS, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Paris, France

Visit: 11 January 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Le Petit Palais et son histoire	Permanent exhibition	11 January 2017
Les Champs-Élysées des origines à 1900	Permanent exhibition	11 January 2017
The Art of Peace: Secrets and Treasures of Diplomacy	19 October 2016 – 15 January 2017	11 January 2017

POLESDEN LACEY

Surrey, UK

Visit: 19 September 2016

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Beer to Champagne: the rise of a sparkling socialite	2016	19 September 2016

QUARRY BANK MILL

Cheshire, UK

Visit: 15 October 2015

THE RECORD OFFICE FOR LEICESTERSHIRE, LEICESTER AND RUTLAND

Wigston Magna, Leicestershire

Visit: 24 May 2016

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
'No Shirking Coward but a Man of Honour': Local Conscientious Objectors	2016	24 May 2016

THE ROYAL DANISH LIBRARY

Copenhagen, Denmark

Visits: 3 April 2017; 4 April 2017; 5 April 2017; 6 April 2017; 11 September 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	**Dates**	**Date of visit (where relevant)**
From Dust to Gold	11 November 2006 – 1 May 2010	
Everything You Can Think Of Is True – the dish ran away with the spoon	3 December 2008 – 4 April 2009	
Undercover	24 April – 11 September 2010	
Treasures in the Royal Library	9 May 2012 – 28 November 2015	
Unbelievable – Scientific Frauds and Forgeries	6 October 2012 – 16 March 2013	
The Original Kierkegaard	23 April – 19 October 2013	
101 Danish Poets	3 May – 26 July 2014	
Imprints of War – Photography from 1864	4 June – 27 September 2014	
Lay Down Your Arms	4 September 2014 – 31 January 2015	
Klaus Rifbjerg – a poet on time	20 June 2015 – 5 March 2016	
Opslag Nedslag – Danish Artists' Books	30 September – 11 March 2017	
Blind Spots: Images of the Danish West Indies colony	19 May 2017 – 3 February 2018	11 September 2017
Abramović Method for Treasures	21 June 2017 – 21 March 2020	11 September 2017
Tegnenes Bro (The Bridge of Signs)	1 September – 14 October 2017	11 September 2017

Interviews:

Name	Title	Format and date
Christina Back	Exhibition Architect and Coordinator, the Royal Library	Skype interview, 18 January 2017. In-person interviews, 3 April 2017; 6 April 2017; 11 September 2017. In-person interview (with Mette Ørnstrup), 4 April 2017; 5 April 2017
Thomas Hvid Kromann	Researcher, Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books, the Royal Library	In-person interview, 4 April 2017
Mette Ørnstrup	Exhibition Architect, the Royal Library	In-person interview (with Christina Back), 4 April 2017; 5 April 2017
Uffe Paulsen	Communication Coordinator, the Royal Library	In-person interview, 4 April 2017

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Washington, DC, USA

Visit: 17 July 2017; 18 July 2017

SOUTHBANK CENTRE ARCHIVE STUDIO

London, UK

Visit: 18 April 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Child's Guide to Brutalism	9 April – 1 July 2018	18 April 2018

TAIPEI FINE ARTS MUSEUM

Taipei, Taiwan

Visit: 18 October 2016

TATE BRITAIN

London, UK

Visits: 18 May 2017; 13 May 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Archive Gallery	Permanent gallery	18 May 2017; 13 May 2019
Digital Archive Corridor	Permanent gallery	18 May 2017
Francis Bacon	11 September 2008 – 4 January 2009	
Paule Vézelay: Spotlight	April – 5 November 2017	18 May 2017
Queer British Art 1861 – 1967	5 April – 1 October 2017	18 May 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Jane Bramwell	Head of Library and Archive, Tate Britain	In-person interview (with Adrian Glew), 18 May 2017
Adrian Glew	Archivist, Tate Britain	In-person interview (with Jane Bramwell), 18 May 2017

TRIER CITY LIBRARY AND ARCHIVE

Trier, Germany

Visit: 21 January 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Die Schatzkammer (Treasury)	Permanent exhibition	21 January 2017

TWO TEMPLE PLACE

London, UK

Visit: 18 April 2018

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Rhythm and Reaction: the Age of Jazz in Britain	27 January – 22 April 2018	18 April 2018

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham, UK

Visits: 8 March 2016; 23 June 2016; 28 September 2016; 27 January 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Skin Atlases	13 January – 18 April 2016	8 March 2016
Picturing Shakespeare	22 April – 8 September 2016	23 June 2016
Gold and Decorative Art in the Mingana Collection	2016	28 September 2016
#Nicklin Unseen	2016	23 June 2016

*Excavating Empire: The Forgotten Archive of Mount Sinai**	9 January – 12 June 2017	27 January 2017

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge, UK

Visit: 10 October 2018

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Discarded History: The Genizah of Medieval Cairo	27 April – 28 October 2017	10 October 2017
Burckhardt in Cambridge	28 September – 21 October 2017	10 October 2017

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER

Leicester, UK

Visits: 20 January 2016; 14 November 2017; 16 January 2019

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Following the Traces: Decorating the Medieval Book	2016	20 January 2016
Buried Beneath the Sands: Unearthing Ancient Egypt	2017	14 November 2017
Folklore and Fairy Tales	2018	16 January 2019

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada

Visit: 10 July 2017; 13 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Struggle and Story: Canada in Print	20 March – 9 September 2017	13 July 2017

US CAPITOL VISITOR CENTER

Washington, DC, USA

Visit: 18 July 2017

Exhibition:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Congress and the World Wars	2017	18 July 2017

VICTORIA GALLERY AND MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Liverpool, UK

Visit: 11 May 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
The Victoria Building	Permanent exhibition	11 May 2017
Andrew Fekete – Out of Time	18 November 2016 – late 2017	11 May 2017
Beyond Dredd and Watchmen – the Art of John Higgins	10 March – October 2017	11 May 2017

VICTORIA PEAK TRAM

Hong Kong

Visit: 12 November 2015

WADDESDON MANOR

Buckinghamshire, UK

Visit: 19 May 2017

Exhibitions:

Name	Dates	Date of visit (where relevant)
Balfour 100	22 March – 29 October 2017	19 May 2017
Glorious Years: French Calendars from Louis XIV to the Revolution	22 March – 29 October 2017	19 May 2017
Step This Way: The Red Drawing Room Opened Up	22 March – 29 October 2017	19 May 2017
Tales from the Archives	22 March – 29 October 2017	19 May 2017

Interview:

Name	Title	Format and date
Catherine Taylor	Head Archivist, Waddesdon Manor	In-person interview, 19 May 2017

WALLINGTON

Northumberland, UK

Visit: 14 August 2017

WELLCOME COLLECTION

London, UK

Visit: 22 August 2017

WELLS CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

Wells, Somerset, UK

Visit: 19 May 2016

WHITECHAPEL GALLERY

London, UK

Visit: 14 December 2017

APPENDIX B

Project Information Sheet

This is a template of one of the project information sheets that was provided to interviewees. Two further project information sheets were written with slightly different wording depending upon whether the interviewee worked at a case study archive; a 'survey' archive; or was a designer or architect.

Project Information Sheet for Participants

Project Title: The Archival Exhibition: new ways of creating meaning from archives and broadening access to our documentary heritage
Researcher details: Peter Lester, School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester
Email Address: pal23@le.ac.uk

Date:

I would like to tell you more about the nature of the project, who I am and why I am undertaking this research, and how you were selected for the project. Participation in the project is entirely voluntary and you are under no obligation to take part. If you are happy to take part, this information sheet also informs you about how your data will be used and the protections of your privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

Who is doing the project
My name is Peter Lester, and I am a PhD researcher based in the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester. I am also a professionally qualified archivist and have worked in the sector for over ten years.

What is the project for
My research project is designed to develop a better understanding of how archive services engage their existing and new visitors in innovative and dynamic ways, especially through the medium of exhibition. I am using a number of examples of archive exhibitions and want to explore how they offer visitors a new kind of experience when they visit. In addition, I am using a small number of case studies of archives which have undergone a process of organisational transformation.

How you were selected
I am interviewing staff member(s) who work at the archives and have been directly involved in the development, design and implementation of the exhibition and its reception by visitors.

Your role in completing the project/survey
The interview should last no longer than one hour. During the interview I would like to ask you about the design and delivery of the exhibition, the intentions behind it, how it has been received by visitors, and how it fits into the overall objectives of the archive, including how it reflects any changes in service delivery and use of archives.

Your rights
Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the project at any time before **Date** [one month after the interview]. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation, please contact the researcher listed at the top of this letter to discuss your concerns or request clarification on any aspect of the study.

Protecting your confidentiality
Any information you supply will be treated confidentially; please be aware, however, that all information provided in interviews may be used within the PhD thesis and academic publications including online. All respondents will be anonymised in all resulting publications and reports unless otherwise agreed; however, please be aware that the archive itself will be identified and it will therefore not be possible to anonymise your affiliation. It may also not be possible to anonymise your position within the organisation; however, if you are not happy with your position title being used, a generic description may be used. Please note that the above arrangements and/or the information you provide could still identify you, and you are advised to be aware of this when taking part in the interview.

Either a recording will be made or notes taken during the interview. A copy of the interview transcript or notes will be made available after the interview and you will have the opportunity to alter or remove any content which is either inaccurately recorded or which you no longer wish to have included in the interview.

All interview transcripts, notes, reports and associated paperwork will be stored securely. Hard-copy paperwork will be stored in lockable cabinets and electronic paperwork will be stored on a secure university server.

If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Dr Giasemi Vavoula, on gv18@le.ac.uk.

Thank you,

<SIGN HERE>

<PRINT YOUR NAME HERE>

APPENDIX C

Research Consent Form

This is a template of one of the research consent forms which all interviewees were required to complete. This consent form was used by employees at archives. The other consent form was used by designers and architects; they were advised that their role as designer or architect would be identified and therefore did not have the option of a generic description to identify their role.

Research Consent form

I agree to take part in the Archival Exhibitions study which is research towards a PhD Research Degree at the University of Leicester.

I have had the research project explained to me and I have read the Information sheet about the project which I may keep for my records.

I understand that this study will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics which can be viewed at http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice

Material I provide as part of this study will be treated as confidential and securely stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I have read and I understand the information sheet	Yes	❑	No	❑
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction	Yes	❑	No	❑
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time before >date<	Yes	❑	No	❑
I agree to the interview being recorded/notes being taken and my words being used in a PhD thesis	Yes	❑	No	❑
I agree to my words being used in related academic presentations and publications, including on the Internet	Yes	❑	No	❑
I give permission for the following personal details to be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on (please note that your affiliation will be used):				
My real name	Yes	❑	No	❑
The title of my position (If NO a generic description will be used)	Yes	❑	No	❑
I request that my real name is acknowledged in any publications that references the comments that I have made	Yes	❑	No	❑
I am happy for you to contact me to ask follow up questions following the interview	Yes	❑	No	❑

Name [PRINT] …….

Job Title ……

Signature …….

Date …….

APPENDIX D

Sample Interview Questions

This is a list of sample interview questions used as prompts to initiate discussion in the interviews, which were then allowed to develop naturally. The questions were modified and varied between each interview. This sample is designed to give an idea of some of the discussion points covered.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Can you tell me more about the work that you do with exhibitions and their associated events programmes here?
- How has this developed or changed over time?
- Can you explain about your role and how it relates to other roles at the archive?
- How does the process of exhibition-making happen here?
- How fundamental a role do exhibitions have here? Do they form a primary means of visitor engagement and how does that relate to research conducted in the search room?
- Is the archive an attraction in its own right? Is it a venue? How do you see the role of the exhibitions in the wider life of the archive?
- What kind of audience demographic currently uses the archive? To what extent has this developed or changed over time? Do you see the exhibition audience translating into researchers?
- What is the nature of audience engagement and what kinds of transformative experiences do the exhibitions offer?
- What role do you see the exhibitions as having? What is the purpose behind exhibition? Is it about promoting collections, is it educational, an artistic experience?
- What are the drivers behind the exhibition programme here?
- What role does design play in the exhibition? What design and interpretation techniques are being used to create an engaging visitor experience with archives? (Narrativity, reflexivity, performativity, emotion, learning, aestheticism, materiality, identity…) How do you make collections attractive to the visitor? How do you develop innovative ways of engaging with documents?
- How is the subject matter for the exhibition chosen and to what extent is this influenced by the nature of the material itself?
- How has the organisation itself changed or transformed with/through the development of the exhibition spaces?
- What role does space play within the exhibition? How does a visitor entering the space experience the exhibition, and the archives more generally? To what extent has this changed, and how might the exhibition space and the archive more generally be perceived as a venue or a destination?

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