Making an Archive come to Life
A comparative case study of three Documentary Film Directors as Archival Users

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Title

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Abstract

This is a qualitative case study, comparing the experiences of three documentary film directors, each using archival sources in their works. Their experiences are communicated through a series of semi-structured interviews and compared for textual analysis. The research is intended as a contribution to the archival science by expanding our knowledge on this group of archival users and by applying theory and empirics produced within our field. The theoretical models used are; Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres' conceptualization of Archival Intelligence and User Expertise; Angelika Menne-Haritz' conceptualization of Access; and Terry Cook's conceptualization of Community as contemporary professional paradigms of archives and archival science. The study finds that the model of archival intelligence does not apply to the examined cases without encountering errors. The examined cases represent complex and diverse individual experiences of access. As archival users, they are shown both restricting and enhancing access to sources as tools in their work. As community actors, their cases sometimes transcend familiar categories and roles of archival use, records-creation and archiving.

Master's thesis

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1. Introduction

In this chapter I will introduce the reader to my motives and questions for conducting my research. I will also define some of the terminology used throughout the thesis.

1.1 Purpose and aim of research

My motive for writing this thesis was, in part, formed when scrolling through my faculty's previous publications of fellow ALM-master's students' theses. Although there were many topics there to inspire, a pattern soon emerged. As a student of ALM, where A is for archival science, I noticed that my particular subject seemed to pay relatively less attention to our users, their experiences, and their composition. At least comparing theses of my fellow archival science masters to those of library- and information science or museology. As it turns out though, our master's class is in fact, quite representative of the field at large. Neither am I, as it would turn out, alone in this observation.

> Archivists are not alone on their concern that user studies be useful analytical tools. For initial guidance on building a comprehensive framework, they might turn to [library user studies].
>
> *Paul Conway (1986) 'Facts and Frameworks: An Approach to Studying the Users of Archives'*

> Archival institutions have conducted many fewer user studies than libraries, and where the library community seems to have accepted user studies, the archival community is much more at odds.
>
> *Hea Lim Rhee (2015) 'Reflections on Archival User Studies'*

These quotes, whose authors we will get to acquaint ourselves with further in Chapter 2, are separated by three decades, yet their observations are surprisingly aligned with one another, as well as with my own.

That said, there seems to be a tendency toward greater user-orientation within archival science over time and a steadily growing body of archival user-studies. Within that literature, the need to diversify the study of archival users to encompass more than just 'traditional' archival users, such as historians, is often pointed out. My aim for this research project has been to contribute knowledge on archival users to the science but doing so without turning ignorant in the face of literature already in existence. That has also raised my curiosity as to how our scientific discipline has evolved over time, and where archival users and our study of them are placed within that history.

For those ends, I will first apply Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres' (2003) model of Archival Intelligence to an under-researched group of archival users. I will also relate my study to a theoretical discussion on archival history as a series of shifting professional paradigms. I will apply Angelika Menne-Haritz' concept of Access (2001) and Terry Cook's idea of Community (2013) as defining traits of the contemporary archival paradigm. I have chosen a qualitative research strategy with which I will approach three cases of documentary filmmaking. I will compare and analyze the experience of their directors as archival users.

Documentary film is an art form that frequently makes use of archival material in a straightforward way. As archival users, documentary film directors are intriguing for

several reasons. For one, the nature of their use can be curiously varied. While some might go digging the archives as a source for journalistic research in a more traditional sense, others may engage with- or manipulate archival footage artistically, or sometimes both. Moreover, as archival users, I find the documentary film director interestingly placed as a primary in-between, providing secondary access to archives through a filter of artistic re-creation before an audience of viewers. Besides, filmmaking is itself a process of records creation. The process might raise some interesting questions around where one source archive ends, and one stock archive begins.

For this purpose, I have thus formulated two research questions that will be presented and explained over the following section.

1.2 Research questions

1. How can Yakel and Torres' model of archival intelligence apply to the selected cases of documentary film directors?

As will be discussed further in chapters 2 and 3, this model is a conceptualization of a qualitative empirical study on archival users. The users studied by Yakel and Torres "represented a broad cross section of academic users of primary sources. […] Most were pursuing academic research projects in different fields of the social sciences" (2003, p. 62) As such this thesis could in effect be seen as a way of comparing experiences of one group of users to those of another.

2. How can the experiences of these documentary film directors be understood through Cook's and Menne-Haritz' paradigmatic interpretations of archival history?

As will be discussed further in chapters 2 and 3, these two paradigmatic interpretations conceptualize *Access* and *Community* as their respective keywords. My aim is to analyze the experiences of my informants in relation to these concepts as a way of discussing their historical context.

1.3 Abbreviations and definitions

This section contains discussions on how some keywords are defined and how I will apply their terminology.

Archive, collection and sources.

For this research project an exact definition of what constitutes an *archive* will not be explored at great length. As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, my methodological approach to intersubjectivity is dialogical. Simplistically then, 'archive' is defined to what me and my case-informant agree that it is. Descriptions of the different archives that are subjects to this user-study will be presented in Chapter 5.1.

The online dictionary of Cambridge University Press (2019) gives two definitions of 'archive' [noun] worth consideration.

 1) "a collection of historical records relating to a place, organization, or family"
 2) " a place where historical records are kept"

Throughout the entirety of this thesis 'archive' might appear with reference to both. However, I have aimed at mainly restricting 'archive' the second (2). 'Archive' thus denotes the physical space, repository or archival organization in question. The first (1) definition will mainly be described by use of the word '*collection*'.

The word '*source*' will recur frequently and broadly throughout the thesis. According to Cambridge dictionary, a source is "someone or something that supplies information." Source will interchangeably refer to archives (2), to archival collections (1) or to specific items within them. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, some of the theories applied would define 'archive' as the tool by which 'sources' are *accessed*. However, as documentary film directors, the use of sources described this case study is by no means limited to archives alone. Just as I use my interviews with them as source material for this very research.

Documentary film

The *Documentary* is a notoriously slippery term to conceptualize and nor is that something I intend for my research to explore. As this is a qualitative, small-number case study, I will approach the meaning of 'Documentary Film' with the same dialogical intersubjectivity as I do 'archive.' I will present the specific cases of documentary filmmaking that will be subject to my study in Chapter 5.1. As we will see then, the documentary film is sometimes only one of several projects figuring in the cases of archival use that my study explores. Moreover, when 'documentary film' is mentioned, it will rarely be with direct reference to the actual work of art. The 'films' are, in most cases, not yet finalized. The cases of documentary filmmaking explored here are better understood as extensive and complex work processes spanning across several continents and many years.

Director

For the title of this thesis and the research questions it is set out to answer, I chose to use the term '*director*.' There are no entries for 'Documentary Film Director' in the Cambridge or Oxford dictionaries. Directing a documentary is different from the work of film- or theatre directors in a common understanding, as documentaries usually do not involve actors. The process is better understood in the equally conventional definition of 'direct' [verb] as "to control or be in charge of an activity, organization, etc." (Cambridge, 2019). In that, the processes explored in this research will very often too encompass activities better described as documentary film '*production*.' In my analysis, I will also frequently make use of the even broader and more all-encompassing term '*filmmaking*.'

I have yet chosen to keep 'director' as a common denominator and defining feature of my three informants. That is due to an emphasis on the level of creative authority (or autonomy) that I find being captured by the word 'director.' That, along with my other sampling criteria when choosing informants for the study, will be explained in greater detail in Chapter 4.2.1.

2 Previous research and literature review

In the following chapter, I will examine some of the previous research topics and results that I have found to be relevant for acquiring the necessary familiarity with the subject of my research. As we will see over this chapter and the next, theory and related empirics in my field of study are both closely intertwined with the historical development of archival science as a scholarly discipline. For that reason I will begin this chapter by briefly summarizing the contemporary understanding of our field's origins, the archival science's place in academia and the emergence of an *access paradigm* which, I argue, is closely related to an increased amount of attention devoted to user studies on behalf of archivists and archival scientists over the last decade.

I will then present an overview and some of the more interesting examples of user studies as an emerging sub-field within archival science and research. Finally, I will touch briefly upon some relevant topics and findings from the other end of this project's subject. Artistic use and re-use of archival material from the perspective of Film Science to gain a better understanding of the creative working process I am set out to explore and the individuals I am set out to interview.

2.2   A paradigmatic approach to archival history

In order to understand the theoretical discussions pervading throughout this thesis, and in order to properly contextualize the qualitative user study that I have conducted, I believe the reader would benefit from a recapitulation of the history and development of the archival science as a scholarly discipline.

2.1.1 What is paradigm?

As a general term, "paradigm" should be understood to the background of Thomas S. Kuhn's theory on science and history. In his most influential work *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Kuhn conceptualizes "paradigm" as the dominating model of thought and practice of science and philosophy at a given time in history. Kuhn proposes a constructivist interpretation of science history as a cyclical evolution through scientific paradigms. A paradigm appears as *normal* science until it is challenged, resulting in a crisis and eventually a scientific revolution, i.e. a paradigm shift. Kuhn famously uses the Copernican revolution as example of a paradigm shift in astronomy. In this thesis I have adopted the term "paradigmatic" [adjective] as a way of describing this cyclical reading of history as moving through a series of paradigms.

        "Paradigm" will be a concept of great prominence, particularly throughout chapters 2 and 3. Application of the term will be discussed with reference to certain theoretical frameworks of my research. At center of that discussion is to define the nature of a contemporary paradigm of archival science and the archivist profession. The "paradigms" discussed in chapters 2 and 3 should not be read as identical to that of Kuhn's macroscopic concept. A widely used term in archive scientific discussions, "paradigm" would perhaps be best be understood as "professional paradigm." A meaning closer to a more popularized definition of "paradigm" as "a typical example or pattern of something; a pattern or model" (Cambridge, 2019).

Figure 1: Paradigms of archival history

- *Custodian-archivist*
- Archiving evidence

- *Historian-archivist*
- Selecting the archive
- Memory paradigm

Pre-modernity

Modernity

- *Mediator-archivist*
- Shapes the societal archive
- Identity paradigm

Post-modernity

- *Service-archivist*
- Connects users with sources

Post-custody

Access paradigm

- *Consultant-archivist*
- Instructs creators how to manage records

Community paradigm

- *Activist-archivist*
- Mentors the community archive

2.1.2 Evidence and memory

The practice of organizing and storing information, keeping archives, is integral to human society throughout recorded history. Indeed, it is by definition a requirement for the very existence of any such recorded history. However, the notion of archival science as a scholarly discipline is a rather recent innovation in comparison to most branches sprung from the modern tree of sciences. The discipline could be described as an example of an old professional practice that has undergone a process of academization quite in the like of nurses and physicians before us. According to Juhani Saarenheimo (1997), the origins of the archivist as a professional, in a western European understanding of the term, could be placed during transition from the medieval to the early-modern eras. Saarenheimo attributes this to the birth of European bureaucracy and modern statecraft, "the first archival revolution" (1997; 57) as he calls it. "At this time records started supplanting the medieval deeds." Saarenheimo emphasizes that these archival institutions served a purely administrative purpose, something that would also be mirrored in the early-modern archivists' self-understanding as civil servants. This interpretation is shared by many theorists and historians of archival history, notably by Terry Cook (2013) to whom we will frequently return over the course of this thesis'. In Cook's phrasing this is the *pre-modern paradigm* of archiving, typically represented by a *custodian-archivist*. The paradigmatic shift, or second archival revolution as Sarrenheimo puts it, occurs with the onset of the modern nation-state and enlightenment movement. What had previously been a purpose of archiving *evidence* to serve the administration started giving way to a *modern paradigm* of archiving for the purpose of collective memory and national histories. At this point a

new cast of users enters the archival stage. There was the citizen with rights, obligations and entitlements to claim from the state apparatus and there was the historian who studies the archive as a source in their research.

Although Cook and Saarenheimo seem more-or-less aligned in their overall paradigmatic interpretation its' and consequences for archival history, it should be noted that they differ somewhat in their temporal perspective. Whereas Saarenheimo talks of a European history with a scope some 500-years, Cook's Anglo-American perspective is narrowed down to a much shorter period stretching across the nineteenth and into the 21st century. Thus the transition from pre-modern archiving at the hands of the civil servant/ custodian-archivist to the modern hands of Sarrenheimo's *paleographer-archivist* / Cook's *historian-archivist* is said to occur at slightly different points in history; the late 1800's or the early 1900's respectively. The important takeaway here is the evidence-memory divide that has been a recurring theme of archival theory and philosophy. An important concept introduced in this context is *appraisal*, as a defining feature of modern archiving for the purpose of memory. In the pre-modern paradigm, echoed in Jenkinson's strictly custodial ethics of records management, preservation, original order and accountability is at the forefront of the archival mission. To deliberately destroy or create a hierarchy of selection among the sources would seem foreign, if not outright antagonistic to the archival creed of that paradigm.

Of the memory-paradigm on the other hand, Saarenheimo writes that the archivist-paleographer again brought the medieval deeds and artefacts to the center of their professionalism, whilst neglecting the mundane records of contemporary administration.

> This interest for a distant past made the archives estranged from the administrations in whose shadow they had for so long been confined." The archivist-paleographer turned its' back on the administration and kept to their own secure and enclosed world. Although he [sic.] would eventually have to receive the administration's files he rarely felt any real commitment to the transfers. This passivity led in France and Germany alike archival deliveries to seize.

Saarenheimo, 1997; 61

With the new paradigm, to the background of technological and social upheavals of industrialism and new means of mass-communication, bodies of records started reaching unprecedented volumes. They quickly became impossible to manage without a systematic appraisal and selection. This is where Cook finds his role assignment for the modern historian-archivist.

> [A]n active selector of the archive, if through the filter of academic history, and thereby consciously created public memory. Far from neutral and objective, and guarding what was inherited or received, the archivist determined what would be received by archives, with inevitable subjectivity entering that decision-making process.

Cook, 2014; 108

In a sense, this too opened to yet another possible assignment to the archivist memory maker, namely the collection and documentation of histories and memories outside the archives. As will be exemplified through one of my case-studies for this thesis (see Chapter 5.1.2.), the turn of the nineteenth century and particularly in relation to World War One saw a trend of individual self-archiving and autobiographic behavior (Nora, 1989) that seems by no means coincidental through Cook's lens of an emerging memory-paradigm at the time.

2.1.3 The archivist as a professional and academic

The academization of archival science as a discipline in its' own right is closely connected to the establishment of professional training and education programs for archivists in universities. Saarenheimo, who mainly describes the evolution as a cycle through the memory- evidence divide, acknowledges that the invention of the *records-manager* in the post-war period defines a focal transition back toward the administrative purpose of archiving. To Cook, the academization of the archivist, or records-manager, created a new professional identity and place within academia. Separate from, and open to influence from more fields than just the historical sciences, archival science emerged a whole new discipline in the 1960's and 70's. According to Cook, this academization eventually saw the emergence of what he termed *post-modern* archival paradigm. In this paradigmatic perspective on archival history most of the research and publication that we understand as archival science then has taken place during the post-modern paradigm. Over the course of this paradigm a new role for archives in society, and a new self-understanding on behalf of the archivist was crafted. If evidence and memory was the defining traits of the previous, *identity* is – According to Cook – the trait of postmodern archives (2013;109). The definition of archival collections has been challenged by new formats and media for containing information, and a plurality of users have emerged, such as genealogists and artists. By the influence from other sciences and social developments, new ways of using and interpreting archival collections have put in to question the very nature of what archives are and should be.

2.1.4 Post-custody, Community and Access

A paradigmatic interpretation of archival science and theory requires by definition some perspective of hindsight. If we accept Cook's outlook on the past, the postmodern paradigm is set to occur in the 1970's through 90's, yet the year is 2001 when he first introduces this concept in *Archival science and postmodernism: new formulations for old concepts* (Cook, 2001). When it comes to naming and defining a contemporary paradigm there are on the other hand several parallel concepts and theories attempting to do just that. At the heart of this discussion is the question of what happens to records and archives, and the archivists in particular, in our contemporary information society. The birth of electronic records, digital information and new technologies for instant mass-communication have led some, such as Gerald Ham (1981) or David Bearman (1995) to suggest that the paradigm's defining trait will be that of *post-custody*. In this theory, the archivist's traditional role as a custodian and keeper of records will become somewhat obsolete as more information is created, used and stored locally and can be accessed remotely by the internet without having to pass through a central repository. Post-custodial archiving would thus become more concerned with consultancy, planning and management of information-generating processes from the beginning rather than storage, appraisal and secondary use at the end of such process.

   If the focal point of such post-custodial theory is at the relation between content-*creators* and archivists, it is the interaction between *users* and archivists that occupies a central role in discussions of *access* as a contemporary archival paradigm. In *Access — The reformulation of an archival paradigm* (Menne-Haritz, 2001), Angelika Menne-Haritz sees post-custodianship as an orientation toward the immediate use of archives over storage. The function of archives, Menne-Haritz argues, is losing importance as historical institutions but instead increasingly turning into social institutions characterized by functions such as transparency, trust and access.

Cook on his part could be seen merging these two approaches. He makes the argument that *community* will be the defining trait of the archival paradigm that he sees "on the horizon" in 2013.

> With the Internet, every person can become his or her own publisher, author, photographer, film-maker, music-recording artist, and archivist. Each is building an online archive. So, too, are countless nongovernmental organizations, lobbying groups, community activists, and 'ordinary' citizens joining together, in numerous forums, to share interests reflecting every possible colour, creed, locale, belief, and activity, actual or hoped for. And they are creating records to bind their communities together, foster their group identities, and carry out their business.

> *Cook, 2013 s. 113*

The *community* in this sense blurs the division between creators, users and keepers of archives into a something of an all-around *participant*. Menne-Haritz' and Cook's theories will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

2.3   User studies in archival science

Lending credit to theorists like Menne-Haritz and to the idea of access as an emerging priority in archival thinking, we can see that the study of archival users has indeed experienced something of a upsurge over recent decades.

However, it should be noted that just like in this very thesis, among user-studies published in the anglophone journals of archival science it is still more common than not to find phrases of introduction such as "Archival institutions have conducted many

Chart 1: Hea Lim Rhee's investigation on archival user studies
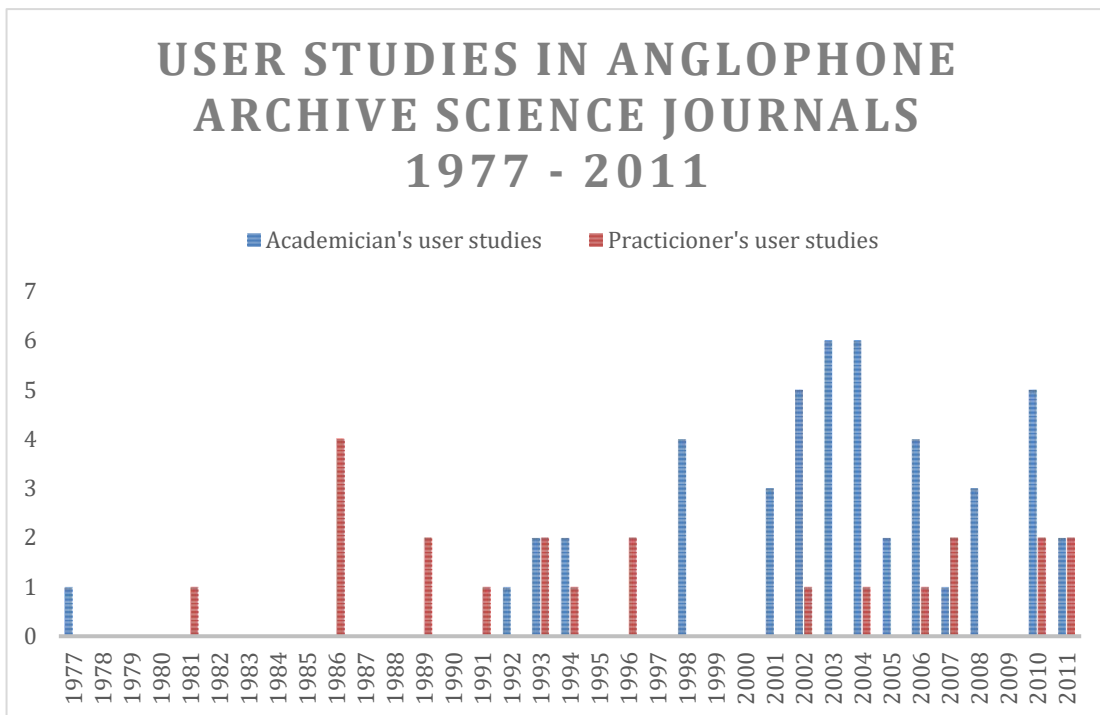
Hea Lim Rhee (2015) 'Reflections on Archival User Studies'

fewer user studies than libraries, and where the library community seems to have accepted user studies, the archival community is much more at odds."

The above quote by Hea Lim Ree (2015) is found in an interesting and somewhat unique article in *Reference and User Services Quarterly*. According to Hea's findings when examining the anglophone literature on archival science, user-oriented studies was practically nonexistent to the field up until the 1980's, and it is only in the 90's that archival users starts to catch the attention of academic researchers. Paul Conway (1986), archivist at the Gerard R Ford Library, is a pioneer in this regard and early advocate for enhanced analysis of archival users. As an archivist practitioner Conway claims that, "[t]he continuing reluctance of the archival profession to develop a better understanding of users seems less a problem of will than a problem of method." His 1986 publication is therefore a suggested framework for user-survey to be carried out by archival institutions in order to gather data. Data would then be used to advance user services and better understand user needs. It is interesting to note that Conway's understanding of "reluctance" toward user-orientation seems to hold the same weight in articles written more than three decades later. Conway's framework is also a telling example of a user-orientation that begun among practitioners rather than theorists within the archival field.

Conway introduces a model by which the information from surveying users could be divided into three categories of knowledge.
1. Users.
2. Information need.
3. Information use.

In Hea's analysis, these categories seem to still hold much relevance in the field although he finds that the most popular research topic is that of *information seeking*, which aims at analyzing the research methods that archival users adopts. Within library and information sciences *information seeking* is regarded as an aspect of *information behavior*.

The methods of sampling user groups for investigation could according to Hae be roughly divided into two dominating categories. For quantitative studies it is common to sample all users of a specific institution within a certain time-frame. See as an example Edward Mensah Borteye and Martin De Porres Maaseg's (2011) analysis of visitors to the Archives of the Institute of African Studies in Kumasi, Ghana. Borteye and Maaseg reveals that among their sample:

> The highest percentage of users, 57.86 %, go to the archives to learn about their family history. This is followed by researchers in search of records to assist them in litigation in the courts over family properties (37.14 %). Researchers intending to publish a book, article, or thesis make up only a small percentage (3.57 %) of all users.

> *Borteye & Maaseg, 2011; 50*

Users

Primary user: Visits the archive in person.
- E.g. Documentary Filmmakers

Secondary user:
Directly uses copies from archives
- E.g. Documentary film editors

Third user: Indirectly utilizing archival information.
- E.g. Documentary Film viewers

Information need

What users are looking to find in an archive

Information use

Physical use (in house)

Usefulness (for task)
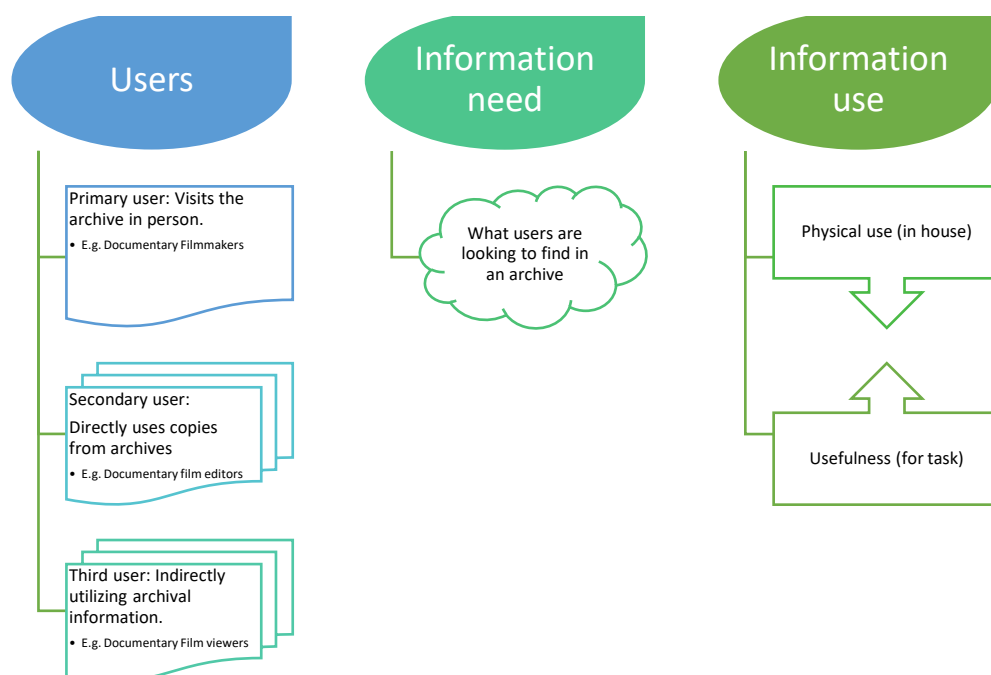
The emergence of digital archives and the online-user have provided a whole new set of tools for conducting such quantitative analysis compared to the days of Conway. See here as an example the LARIAH project, carried out by the School of Library, Archive and information studies at University College of London. In the LARIAH project traditional user surveys were combined with a deep web-log analysis of several research portal sites. This provided the means to analyze large scale user behavior and to enhance accessibility to online source material (Warwick 2008). One of the findings of LARIAH was that around 30% of digital resources remained unused. Digitization does not necessarily equate access or accessibility.

The second category of user-group definition in Hae's analysis is the type conducted in this thesis, where a specific group of users are identified and selected for analysis. This is common in qualitative or mixed-method research. In the 1990's academics started catching up with the archivist practitioners' surveys and statistical recordkeeping of their visitors. This saw the emergence of a new genre of user studies applying qualitative research methods. Barbara C. Orbach's study (1991) in *The American Archivist* is one of the earlier examples of this genre. Orbach's article is founded on interviews with historians as users of archival sources for purposes of research. As such it is also representative of its' genre's subject, as most qualitative archival user-studies until today seem to have chosen the academic (historian) researcher or student as their preferred group of users. At least among works published in academic journals, this one-sided focus toward academic users seem endemic.

2.2.1 Archival ethnography

In 2004 Karen F. Gracy's *Documenting Communities of Practice: Making the case for Archival Ethnography* was published in *Archival Science*. Gracy seems to have set off, or at least coincided with, an increased number of studies that applies an ethnographic approach to the archival setting. In this approach archives are studied as social environments or communities.

> Ethnographic fieldwork is especially well-suited for studying sociocultural phenomena such as structures, processes, and interactions among members of a defined community. It is helpful for uncovering and collecting data on tacit knowledge, that is, unstated practices and norms shared among community members.

<div align="right">*Gracy, 2004; 336*</div>

There are several reasons to why I find this important. First because the very research that I have conducted writing this thesis could be placed in the context of archival ethnography. Furthermore, the ethnographic approach is equally applicable to users of archival sources, as to the archivists and staff employed to serve the use of them. In fact they could both fit within *communities of practice* that defines the archive in Gracy's words. The ethnographic methodology thus makes an interesting trend when considering Cook's theory of *community* as the fourth archival paradigm.

Finally, one of the most prominent scholars of archival ethnography, Elizabeth Yakel (2003), has provided the theoretical model called *Archival Intelligence* through inductive ethnographic field studies of archival users. That model will be discussed further in Chapter 3 and applied throughout Chapter 5.3.

2.4   User groups

In *The use of records – A literature review* the author Anneli Sundqvist (2007) notes that there is a general lack of statistically reliable data on who constitute the most frequent category archival users, although there are many assumptions. Since archival institutions may vary considerably and each attract different users it also puts in question the practical usefulness of such cross-institutional statistics. A distinction could be made, however, between *vocational* and *avocational* users (2007; 635). Vocational users are visiting archives for professional or educational purposes, such as historians, lawyers or journalists. A typical avocational user would be e.g. the hobby genealogist or amateur historian. However, when it comes to artistic use as is the case with filmmakers or novelists even this distinction is often blurred, as we will get to see examples of in my case study.

2.4.1   Historians as archival users

As previously mentioned, vocational academic users in general, and historians in particular is an overrepresented group in archival user studies. Still, user studies remain a somewhat narrow field within archival science, why a pattern of overrepresentation can emerge as more extreme due to the small total number. In the article mentioned by Barbara C. Orbach (1991) we find an example of how the researcher's *information needs* are driving their *information behavior* in archives. In Orbach's interviews with a sample of historians, the process of research is the central theme, and the conclusions drawn from the article is aimed at enhancing the archival staff's understanding and service toward the users.

This pattern has been reproduced in several articles since Orbach's study. Such example is found in Alexandra Chassanoff's *Historians and the use of primary sources in the Digital Age* (2013) where information behavior of historians are analyzed in relation to digital sources (as opposed to Orbach). Chassanoff investigates, among other things, how the responding historians often combine online research with in-house visits to archives at different stages in the process. She also finds, like the

LARIAH-project before her, that the quality of digitized collections and of interface plays an important role in determining the use (and usefulness) of online sources.

Similarly, when students of history are interviewed in *Archival Literacy for History Students: Identifying Faculty Expectations of Archival Research Skills*, (Morris, 2014) the research team's conclusions are, again, aimed at enhancing the archivist's abilities of providing service to meet the needs of this particular group. This suggests that the practitioner's perspective is still firmly rooted within archival science as a scholarly discipline, and that access and user service is understood as archivist virtues. At least when serving the needs of historic research users.

Not every user study is strictly concerned with information behavior though. Particularly within archival ethnography, scholars have tried reaching beyond the traditional themes of archival theory and to approach the archival environment as a social space. Wendy M. Duff provides many interesting examples of applying theory from a variety of social sciences to the study of archives. In *Chatting up the Archivist: Social capital and the archival researcher* (2004) Duff and Catherine A. Johnson analyzes the social relationships between historians and archivists. They find that there are a level of social capital and networking function that archivists can possess that sometimes is more useful to researchers than their immediate knowledge of archival collections. In *AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise* (2003), authors Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres combines knowledge from contemporary information sciences with cognitive science and psychology. By doing so they establish a theoretical definition of *expertise* in archival use (see chapter 3. Theory).

2.3.2 Non-academic users

Several scholars have attempted to expand the literature on archival users to reach beyond the vocational academic group. They often reach the conclusion that information needs and service needs from archivists differ from those of historians. Crayn Radick's (2017) survey of romance novelists as archival users shows that expectations and prejudice on behalf of archival staff sometimes raise an access barrier toward users (or potential users) deviating from that norm.

2.3.3 Administrative use

In *Understanding Administrative Use and Users in University Archives* (1994) Elizabeth Yakel and Laura L. Bost finds that administrative users compared to researchers are more directly dependent on the archivist's research skills. For reasons of time-management, administrative users of university archives rarely make direct contact with the archive or archival finding aids.

2.3.4 Genealogists

It is commonly stated that genealogists are among the most frequent users of archives (Sundqvist, 2007), yet surprisingly little research has been done on this group. Such statement is made by Wendy M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson when they examine the information behavior of genealogists in *Where Is the List with All the Names? Information-Seeking Behavior of Genealogists* (2003).

They discover that genealogists sometimes constitute the majority of archival users, yet they are not treated as such. Many genealogists interviewed claims to avoid interacting with archives and prefer seeking help from within their own community

over professional archivists. Access, user-friendliness and working hours are mentioned as main obstacles.

Elizabeth Yakel too points to the communal trait of information sharing in a study of genealogists and family historians (2004). The idea of a genealogical community, supplanting the archives and libraries are analyzed further by Yakel in *Genealogists as a 'Community of Records'* (2007).

2.3.5   Marginalized groups

Questions of community, access and archival use sometimes intersect interestingly in research and theory concerning minority- or otherwise marginalized groups and communities in archives. Literature dealing specifically with them as users of archives is rather scarce. Ellen Ndeshi Namhila's articles (2015, 2016) on Namibian citizens that continue to suffer from the inadequacy of colonial recordkeeping is one of very few direct examples. More common however, is that marginalized groups of users are indirectly addressed in a wider discussion on access to archival collections concerning their marginalization or oppression. In *Matjabala Mali' Buku-Ruŋanmaram: implications for archives and access in Arnhem Land* (Gumbula & Mant, 2009) aboriginal Australian tribes are involved in the process, not only as users, but also to research, organize and decide on access policies to photographic collections depicting their history in Australian archival institutions. In another example from Australia Jaqueline Wilson and Frank Golding (2015), who experienced institutional custody as children, argues that management, preservation and interpretation of records concerning their traumatic experiences should all benefit from their direct participation. Michelle Caswell too argues in *Toward a survivor-centered approach to records documenting human rights abuse: lessons from community archives* (2016) that surviving victims of human rights abuses must be participating in all the process of documenting their abuse. From collecting records, organizing archives to regulating access.

As seen in the above examples, access does not only concern the user of archives but equally the subject of their content. There is an interesting parallel that can be drawn here to the discussions on community, access, or post-custody as contemporary paradigms of archival thinking. The distinction between use, creation and custody sometimes mold into wider concepts of subjectivity, access and participation. An influential text on this subject is Katie Shilton's and Ramesh Srinivasan's *Participatory appraisal and arrangement for multicultural archival collections* (2008) that makes the case that user participation on every level is indeed necessary for marginalized groups to obtain adequate archival representation.

2.4 User-participation

As reflected by the above-mentioned examples, there is a genre of archival literature that engage with user participation in archiving. Studies of this phenomena usually departures from various experimental projects from the field that can take different forms of expression. As we have seen, it is not uncommon that experiments with user- or community participation are applied to documentation projects that are deemed sensitive or traumatic for one reason or another.

In the case of The Boston Marathon Bombing Digital Archive, Kevin G. Smith (2016) notes that through participation, archives can play an active part in community-

healing processes, but that there is a fine balance to be maintained when encouraging large numbers of participants and at the same time making participation meaningful. In *Like a Box of Chocolates: A Case Study of User-Contributed Content at Footnote* Pamela H. Mayer (2013) makes a quantitative analysis of user-generated content on the web based platform Footnote (today rebranded as Fold3), which collects and displays digitized documents of U.S. military history. Mayer finds that a small number of users contributed to a larger proportion of overall content. The same, Mayer says, goes for many similar cases of crowdsourcing. In her conclusion Mayer suggests that "allowing users to contribute content in an online environment shows promise as a means of narrowing the gap between what repositories are able to provide and what users want."

When analyzing contributing users in an online archive created to document the Black Lives Matter protest movement in Ferguson, Chris Freeland and Kodjo Atiso (2016) compares motives of contributors. They found that motives were often described as personal or altruistic. This is a significant contrast, they say, when comparing to participation in open source software development where career enhancement is the dominating motive. *The Mass. Memories Road Show,* is another interesting example of participatory communal archiving. When analyzed by Ana Roeschley and Jeonghuyn Kim (2019) they demonstrate how archival functions such as arrangement and appraisal of collections can be managed participatory, as suggested by Shilton and Sirnivasan (2008). They find that this way of organizing an archive rewards another, affectionate, kind of value in archival objects that traditional archiving does not have the means to consider.

2.5 Film studies and archival use

When it comes to artistic users of archives in general, and documentary filmmakers in particular, archival scientific publications are rather empty of research. The few that are to be found, such as Rachel Bracha's *Artists and the film archive: re-creation-or archival replay* (2013) are typically concerned with analyzing the *works* of artists rather than the artist as archival user. This is a field of study that crosses over into Film science and Film critique where we find an abundance of interesting research and analysis. Hal Foster's *An Archival Impulse* (2004), for instance, is an influential work of theory on this subject. Use and re-use of archival material in artistic compositions are commonly referred to as *appropriation.*

At the present we can see a whole new discipline within Art studies emerging devoted to the phenomenon of appropriation known as Remix Studies (Routledge, 2015). My aim for this thesis though is not to interpret or analyze the end result of my studied cases' appropriation and use of archival material to any depth, why I will not delve very deep into this field of research. I do however find that Rebecca Sweder's model (Kepley & Swender, 2009) for analyzing appropriation of visual archival material in documentary filmmaking provides some useful concepts and terminology that could benefit the reader.

2.5.1. The Swender-model

In Sweder's model, when documentary film directors decide to use archival footage they are effectively appropriating one or more of that footage's *specificities*. Specificities are attributes that makes the appropriated footage useful and appropriating

archival footage into a new work of film almost always means that some specificities are lost while others are enhanced. When appropriating these specificities to a film, Swender identifies three strategies as the most frequently used; *naturalization* when aiming at harmonizing the footage with the story or the message that the film conveys; *contradiction* is the opposite, when archival footage is appropriated as a contrast toward the message, story or truth-claim of the film; *Underscoring conventional specificity* is when the filmmaker appeals to the viewer's ability to interpret the footage symbolically. As an example Swender gives the famous scene where Tommie Smith and John Carlos raise their gloved fists at the 1968 Olympics victory pallet. A filmmaker that wants to make reference to the African-American civil rights struggle, or to the era of 1968, could thus use this scene to *underscore conventional specificity.*

Figure 3: Rebecca Sweder's model for specificities in archival footage
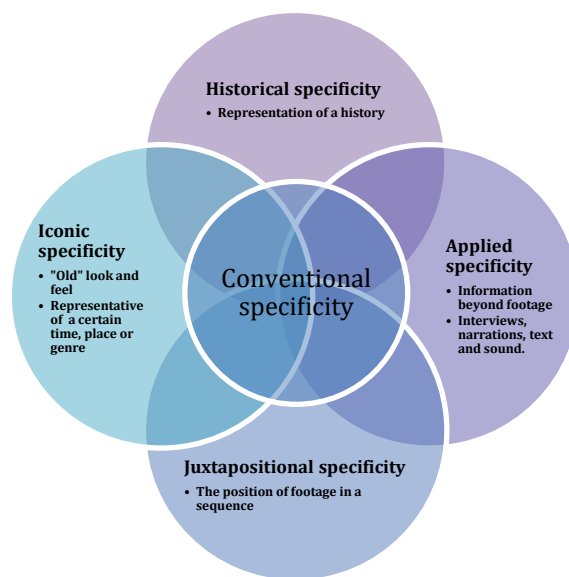
Vance Kepley and Rebecca Swender (2009) 'Claiming the Found: Archive Footage and Documentary Practice', University of Texas Press, doi: 10.1353/vlt.0.0037.

3 Theory

In this chapter I will present and discuss the theoretical models and concepts that will be applied to my case study. I will begin by presenting Yakel and Torres' model of *Archival Intelligence and User Expertise*, which is a deductive conceptualization of a qualitative user-survey. I will discuss my interpretation of the model in relation to documentary filmmaking. I will then briefly summarize the theoretical concepts of Angelika Menne-Haritz' *Access paradigm* and Terry Cook's *Community paradigm*. I will discuss my interpretation of these theories with regard to the role of archival users. Finally I will lead a discussion on the definition of '*community*' with reference to Gerard Delanty's discourse analysis and Cook's use of the term.
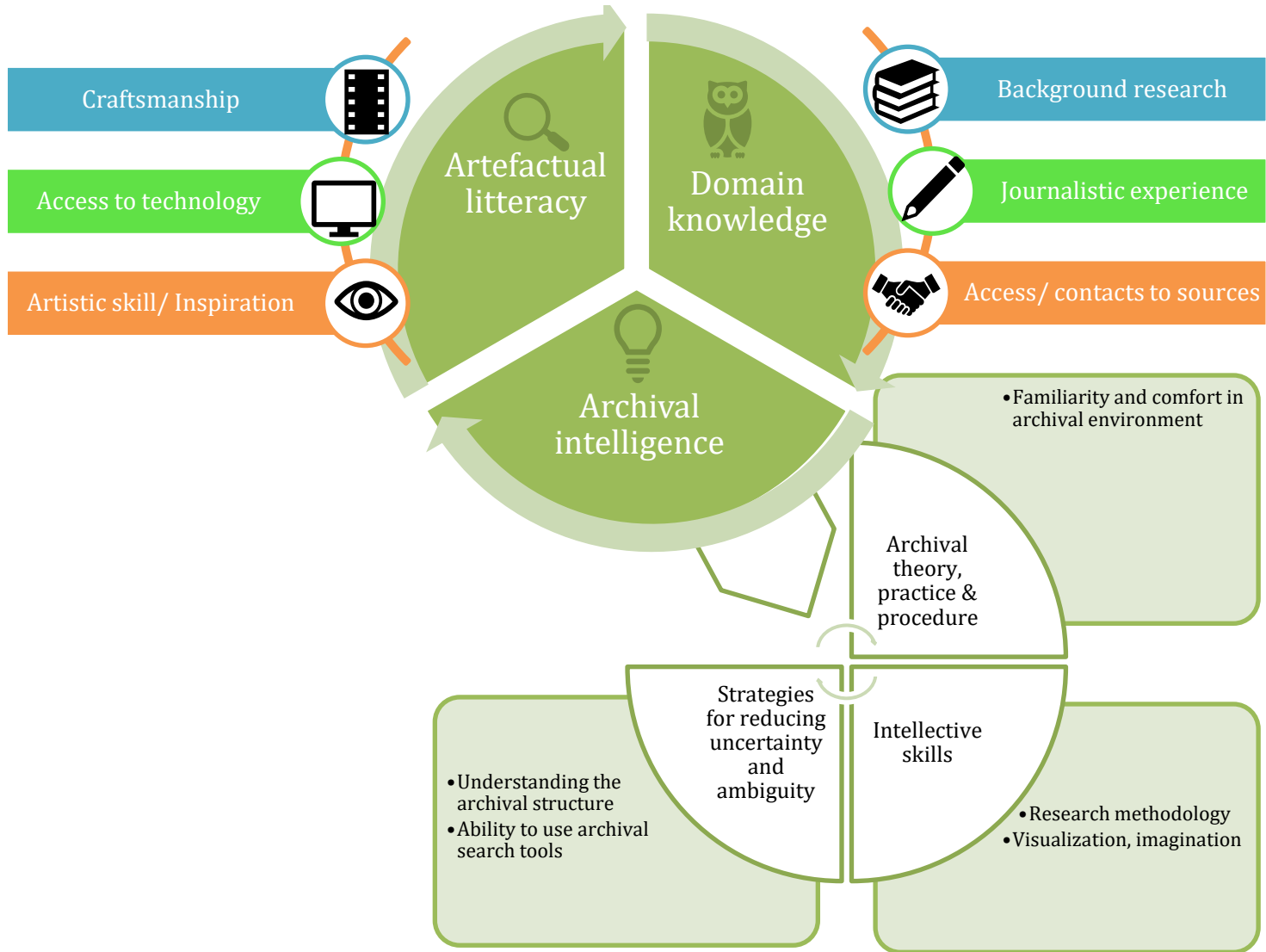
3.1 Yakel & Torres: Archival Intelligence and User expertise

As seen in the previous chapter, Yakel and Torres' model (2003) is founded deductively on a qualitative interview-survey of archival users. Their stated aim of the study is to identify characteristics of expertise in archival use. Yakel and Torres' conceptualization of expertise is drawn from a review of cognitive and psychological literature as well as literature on information behavior. The study is carried out by comparing between novices and experienced users, examining their information behavior and their individual expressions of their experience as archival users. They arrive at describing user expertise in a threefold model. However, as mentioned in chapter 1.2 and 2.4, their sample of surveyed users is limited to "academic users of primary sources." Applying the model to documentary film directors should thus require some ajustment.

Domain knowledge

Domain knowledge is the users' expertise and orientation within their own respective fields of research. According to Yakel and Torres "this has shown to be a significant factor in information retrieval in the library and information science literature." To documentary film directors, domain knowledge can vary between one project to another and the filmmaker's own journey of discovery is sometimes a central theme of the film itself. Additionally, a documentary film might combine different kinds of sources with archival material, such as interviews. A relevant journalistic experience, a personal network of contacts could thus be described as traits related to their domain knowledge.

Figure 4: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise

Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres (2003) 'AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise', The American Archivist, 66(1), p. 51.

Artifactual literacy

Artifactual literacy is described by Yakel and Torres as "the ability to interpret records and asses their value as evidence." To documentary film directors, archival artifacts will often consist of media containers, such as historic film negatives, that require some conversion or migration of formats to be read and interpreted. Skills within the craft of film and photography or technical resources to conduct such format migration could thus in some cases determine their ability and literacy in this regard.

As artistic users of archives, a source's "value as evidence" might also need to be expanded to include its' artistic qualities. See for example the Sweder-model, page 15.

Archival intelligence

The third aspect of archival user expertise, which will also be the focal aspect for this case study, is the archival intelligence. Yakel and Torres argues that while Domain knowledge and Artifactual literacy is something that could be taught and developed outside of the archival environment, archival intelligence is the skills and abilities that

develops in direct relation to the practical experience of archival research. By analyzing interviews with archival users Yakel and Torres concludes that archival intelligence is expressed in three characteristics.

AI: Knowledge of archival theory, practice and procedure
This is the manifestation of a user's comfort and practical understanding of the archive environment. It consists of familiarity with the jargon and terminology specific to the archive and an internalization of the archival rules and regulations. Another important aspect is to understand the order of work in an archive, to determine the limits of one's own archival intelligence and what knowledge could be held by the reference archivist.

AI: Strategies for reducing uncertainty and ambiguity
This describes the ability to navigate through an archive or archival collection to arrive at the desired source or object. Yakel and Torres names two ways that *strategies for reducing uncertainty and ambiguity might* take. Search tactics, i.e. the user's ability to utilize the archival navigation tools such as finding aids and generally understanding the structure of the archive. The second way to reduce uncertainty and ambiguity is by means of question asking. Yakel and Torres finds that question asking too is a skill that archival users develop as part of harnessing their expertise.

AI: Intellective skills
Intellective skills refer to ways of thinking that are helpful to archival users. Yakel and Torres mentions the ability to plan and prepare orderly for archival visits as one such intellective skill. Another important skill is the ability to understand, or visualize, the representational relationships between surrogates and original sources.

I expect that the experience of the archival environment and the problems encountered by informants in my case study will resemble those of Yakel and Torres. By careful questioning and analysis of my informants, I expect that I will be able to apply and identify the same concepts as does Yakel and Torres in their user-study.

3.2 Menne-Haritz: Access paradigm

Figure 5: Menne-Haritz' Access Paradigm
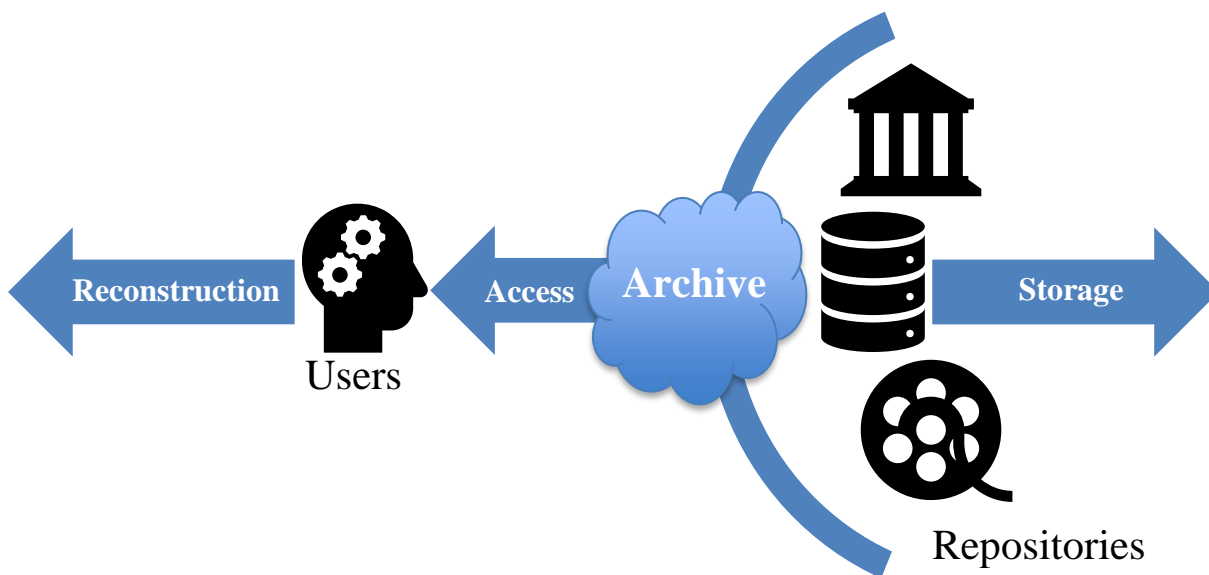
Menne-Haritz, A. (2001) 'Access — The reformulation of an archival paradigm'.

Angelika Menne-Haritz writes of the Access paradigm (2001) in a historical context of western Europe pre-9/11. To her "the future has rarely been as open as today", something she attributes to the fall of the eastern bloc of socialist dictatorships on the one hand, exemplifying the opening of Stasi archives in the wake of German unification. Another significant observation is the emergence of new computerized means of communication, the internet. Computers, Menne-Haritz says, are no longer only storage devices for data but tools of interaction.

> With the networked interconnections [computers] have generated a third form of communication besides the oral speech and the written messages. This third form has special characteristics. Electronic writings and messages have the volatility of oral communications but at the same time they have the stability of analog writing because they can be distributed to anybody like paper letters and their copies.

Menne-Haritz, 2001; 58

It is in the light of these socio-political and technological upheavals that she finds that: "The focus of archives is shifting from storage to access." Note here the present tense, 'focus *is* shifting'.

Storage, memory and reconstruction
Central to Menne-Haritz' theory is the definition of memory as a social practice. The storage of recorded data is not memory, she says, it merely serves to provide means for remembrance through *reconstruction*.
"Reconstruction takes the opposite direction compared to storage. It looks exclusively at the past, while storage only sees the presumed future."
As such access determines the present ability to reconstruct the past. With a post-custodial perspective on the digital present, archives in the access paradigm does not necessarily have to provide the function of storage themselves anymore. Storage can be localized, while the function of bringing access to those localized sources becomes

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the feature of archives. *Reconstructability* is Menne-Haritz proposed term replacing *storage* as the purpose of archives in the access paradigm.

Archival users in the access paradigm
In this perspective then, the archival user is the agent that turns the data or "information potential" of the archive or repository into knowledge and information. "The use of the archives is the only reason for their existence, access helps the users to work with archives and facilitate their work." Menne-Haritz describes the access paradigm as an "attitude" on behalf of the archives where the user orientation takes center stage. The archivist's function, according to Menne-Haritz, is to retain a neutral attitude toward the actual use of sources, "because only the researchers really know what is needed for their questions." Instead, access "is a strategy that is neutral towards the content but passionate concerning openness and availability of information potentials and thus strictly user oriented."
In conclusion then, we find that Menne-Haritz access paradigm makes a rather strict distinction between user as meaning-maker and archivist as unbiased access bringer.

3.3 Cook: Community Paradigm

Figure 6: Cook's fourth archival paradigm

Cook, writing more than a decade later than Menne-Haritz, theorizes that *community* is increasingly becoming the source of provenance of archives. Cook's article is primarily concerned with the changing role of the archivist in society. In his historical perspective he puts the community archivist in relation and contrast to the academization of the archivist role over the preceding decades.

> Some prominent archival voices are accordingly calling on archivists to give up their recently hard-won mantras of expert, of control, of power, and, instead, to share archiving with communities, both actual communities in our cities and countryside and virtual communities united by social media in cyberspace.

Cook, 2013, 113

Cook does not address directly the question of usership, but in an understanding of community archives as *by* communities *for* communities, one can sense a blurred distinction between archival creation and archival use.

> Community-based archiving involves, some authors suggest, a shift in core principles, from exclusive custodianship and ownership of archives to shared stewardship and collaboration

Cook, 2013, 115

This diffusion finds further support in the examples that Cook uses as examples of the community paradigm, such as Isto Huvila's radical user orientation and participatory archiving of the Saari Manor digital archive in Finland (Huvila, 2008).

> Participatory description of mainstream archival holdings through online tagging and commentary by users and community members, in early experiments, has suggested that by such means, records can come into sharper focus and clearer context, adding valuable information that archivists would not have the time or contacts or knowledge to unearth—to say nothing of building enthusiastic support for archives through such welcoming attitudes

Cook, 2013, 115

User participation and user-description are characteristic traits of the community paradigm. Another such trait is the tendency toward connecting various localized and communal sources, resembling what Menne-Haritz writes on Access. In Cook's words, this centralized access to local community sources is referred to as the "total archive". Cook's community paradigm is post-custodial in the sense that it turns the archiving process into an act of collaboration, where the archivist comes to serve the community interests. In his take on post-custody Cook emphasizes however that the community paradigm means that archivists must be prepared to learn from their archiving communities as much as instructing them.

> The challenge is to achieve more democratic, inclusive, holistic archives, collectively, listening much more to citizens than the state, as well as respecting indigenous ways of knowing, evidence, and memory, than occurred in the first three paradigms. […] Rather than taking such records away from their communities, the new model suggests empowering communities to look after their own records, especially their digital records, by partnering professional archival expertise and archival digital infrastructures with communities' deep sense of commitment and pride in their own heritage and identity.

Cook, 2013, 116

What we should find then, in the community paradigm, is records creation and archival use somewhat merging within the communal context. We should also expect a plurality of relationships, conventions and rules determining access and external use.

3.3.1. What is community?

Community is a keyword with several overlapping, and sometimes competing, definitions. Cambridge dictionary (2019) defines "community" as "the people living in one particular area or people who   are considered as   a   unit because of their common interests, social group, or nationality." This definition carries some methodological problems as to who gets to "consider" and what characterizes a "unit."

In his book *Community*, Gerard Delanty (2010) deconstructs the term that he considers to be something of a contemporary buzzword. In very short summary, there are according to Delanty four distinguished conceptualizations of community in the social sciences. The first (1), *social* concept, denotes Community as a mode of social organization. "Community" could for example be used to describe a pre-modern social unit replaced by the *nation* in modernity. This concept is typically identified with phenomena named in the likes of *Community*-studies, *community*-organizing or *community-archiving*. To Delanty, "community" here is often spatially defined and used as a contrast toward "mainstream society." This definition is usually applied to "communities" that are typically understood as groups disadvantaged, marginalized or excluded by the state or social norms. Next (2), the *cultural* definition of community emphasizes the function of individuals' identification and search for belonging. Benedict Andersson's famous work and theoretical concept *Imagined Communities* is an example of how "community" is used in this way. Third (3) is what Delanty calls the *postmodern* take on community. In this understanding, community rather refers to an emotional condition of "community spirit." A community can appear and disappear instantaneously in interaction between any individuals. The community is here defined not by conformity to shared set of norms, but rather to one smallest denominator bridging individual differences. With this definition of community, every individual belongs to multiple communities, many of which they have chosen themselves. This is the category that perhaps best fits Yakel's concept of genealogists as a "community of records" or Gracy's ethnographic approach to archives as "communities of practice." In a final (4) and, according to Delanty, most recent addition to meanings of "community" is the one created through *technology*. That definition is also the reason why "community" is seen by Delanty to have been revived as a widely discussed concept in contemporary science and culture. "Community" is today used with emphasis to the role of communication. It can denote any of the previous conceptualizations. The contemporary "networked community" (4) can be a social unit (1) created from an "imagined" sense of belonging (2), or vice versa. It can be an instantaneous everyday "community of practice" (3) scaled to the size of a nation (2), or turned into a social organization (1). This conclusion by Delanty makes Cook's community-paradigm all the more interesting. When considering how one should interpret the latter's use of "community" one could indeed fit any of these variations within the very chapter where his fourth paradigm is explained.

In this study, I will try to remain open to the ways in which experiences of community can manifest in my cases. How the individual user acts and relates toward their communities, and the archive's function within that relationship is at the very core of my research problem.

4 Methodology

In this chapter I will present the reader with methods of research I have employed and the reasons behind my choice. I will begin by an epistemological discussion on my qualitative research method and my research design as a small-number case study. I will then guide the reader through the implementation of my research interviews and finally lead a discussion on ethical considerations made throughout this process.

4.1. Epistemological discussion

4.1.1 Conversation as Research

Oral conversation is probably the oldest method of obtaining and communicating knowledge known to humanity. Yet as a method of research, the qualitative interview is sometimes looked upon with dogmatic suspicion by parts of academia (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Kvale and Brinkmann argues that this dogma stems from the social sciences traditionally having aimed at emulating methodologies from natural sciences, favoring quantitative or quantifiable information for analysis. An increased acknowledgement and gradual normalization of qualitative methods of research, such as conversational interviews, is therefore sometimes framed as a break with a (modern) positivist scientific paradigm (ibid; 62). In this study I have produced research questions that are posed as qualitative and interpretive in nature. As such, my very ambition as a researcher here necessitates a qualitative approach to my research problems as I aim at arriving to their answer by examining and analyzing the lived experience of a small number of informants. In doing so I have consciously chosen to detach myself from a positivist definition of scientific knowledge.

Kvale and Binkmann emphasize their point that the conversational interview is not merely an unearthing of ready information, but a process of mutual knowledge production (2009; 165). In order to make this knowledge meaningful (and useful for scientific purposes) a method of analysis is required, as well as an understanding of intersubjectivity and validity.

In my analysis I will be comparing the experiences of my informants, and in addition to that engage these experiences in a dialogue with preexisting literature of theory and research. Knowledge produced throughout this research will appear as such when the interviewer and writer arrive at a subjective understanding of the informants or texts in question. Hence it could be said that this thesis attempts to adopt a dialogical approach to intersubjectivity (2009; 65) (Given, 2008).

4.1.2. Comparative small-number case study

Applying a case study research design is defined by Evert Gummensson (Gustavsson ed., 2010) as "one or more cases from real life [sic.] are used as empirical material for research, especially when knowledge in a field is entirely or partly missing and when it concerns complex phenomena."

I found that a comparative qualitative case study is a desirable choice of design for my research on two grounds. The work processes of documentary filmmaking I set out to

explore represents a huge variation from one case to another, even within the delimitations of my research questions and within the criteria of my sampling. To capture this spectrum of individual variations I find it most fruitful to conduct a holistic examination of a small number of cases. Applying a macroscopic perspective in order to obtain generalizable results would run a risk of (1) create a erroneous representation of reality, (2) deviate from the stated aim of my research and (3) leave out considerable amounts of relevant knowledge. In other words, each documentary film project is a unique case and should be studied accordingly.

Secondly, as the case study allows for much precision it suits my purpose of applying and examining a theoretical framework at depth. What the case study gains in precision, however, it loses in general applicability. For that reason it might be tempting, but ill-advised, to draw conclusions inductively from these results. Observations and results gathered from the case study should not be taken as generalizable facts applicable to documentary film directors and archival use at large. My aim is to only provide a truthful representation of the specific cases of my study.

4.2. Implementation

In this section I will present an overview of the research process, from selecting informants to interviewing them and analyzing the result.

4.2.1. Sample

The informants to this case study was selected according to a criterion of responsiveness to the aim of my research. Criteria were (1) The informants are engaged in the directing process of a work of documentary filmmaking. This engagement is of a character that allows informants to have a high degree of individual influence on creative decision making. (2) The informants are engaged in a project where archival sources are being used. This criterion did not take into consideration whether the nature of archival use was for research or artistic purposes. [see chapter 1.x for definition of archival sources] (3) An element of comparability is desired. In this study the informants are each representing a case of a documentary portrait of a late individual. Informants were discovered and recruited by a variety of means. I contacted Nefin Dinç (See chapter 5.2.1) after having heard her discussing her film project in an interview appearing on the *Ottoman History Podcast* (2018). Mohamedsalem Werad (see chapter 5.2.3.) is an informant that I was familiar with through his previous works of film. Nils Petter Löfstedt (see chapter 5.2.5.) was suggested to me as a potential informant with the help of a fellow student.

4.2.2. Semi-structured interview

The aim of my choice of method, and the semi-structured nature of the interviews was to enable the unique features of each of my case to receive the proper attention and analysis. Furthermore, due to the application of my theoretical framework I have tried to emulate the same method of research as does Yakel and Torres in *AI: Archival intelligence and User Expertise*.

As mentioned in chapter 2.2.1, I find that the aim of my study is somewhat aligned with archival ethnography as an archival scientific sub-genre. However, the methodological emphasis in ethnography on participatory field

observations within a social and cultural space is ill suited for my task. As we will see throughout the following chapters, the examined cases of documentary film projects in this study spans across several years (and sometimes decades) on end. The archives and the archival use as an interaction here becomes rather difficult to locate in time and space. The cases also represent a geographical disparity across four continents, making any attempt of meaningful participatory observation rather futile considering the scope and limitations of this research. Given the time-frame of the project I estimate that my interviews should provide enough material to explore the answers of my research questions.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed with the informed consent of the informants. In the table below interviews are presented by order of informant.

Table 1: Table of interviews

Nefin	Session 1	52 min	Online	English
	Session 2	77 min	Online	English
Mohamedsalem	Session 1	76 min	Online	English
	Session 2	92 min	Online	English
Nils Petter	Session 1	156 min	On location	Swedish

Each interview was carried out dialectically through semi-structured conversation. Adhering to Jan Trost's (2010) advice, an exaggerated and dogmatic emphasis on pre-formulated interview questions might produce a negative impact on the interview situation's potential for knowledge production. Thus, my interviews were rather guided to a number of themes according to the attached guides (see Appendix).

In two of the cases I chose to divide interview onto two sessions. This was to refine and individually adjust my interview guides in light of knowledge produced between sessions. I dedicated the first sessions to information of a more descriptive character while engaging in theoretical discussions in the second.

4.2.3. Method of analysis

When collecting and analyzing the data I coded the transcripts of the interviews according to the theoretical points of discussion. The method would best be described as a content-categorization (2009; 178). The content of information was then compared and organized in chapters as follows in chapter 5. Descriptive data is mainly presented and compared in chapters 5.1 through 5.2, while individual experiences and theoretical discussions is presented in chapter 5.3.

4.3 Ethical considerations

4.3.1. Scientific integrity and validity

There are several ethical questions surrounding the implementation and presentation of this study that need consideration. The dialogical approach to intersubjective meaning requires a great deal of reflexivity and transparency on behalf of me as researcher and interpreter. In response thereto I have aimed at increasing transparency by frequent and lengthy quotations from my source interviews when my results and analysis are presented. However, there are several instances where individual subjectivity and

biases might inflict on the scientific integrity to a less conscious degree. In the interview situation, my individuality as interviewer have been an important tool to produce and systematize knowledge. The lived experience from these interview situations is also an asset I have made use of when interpreting and analyzing my results. On the other hand, this individualized and lived experience poses a risk of becoming a liability that cannot be overcome by self-awareness alone. From inter-personal relatedness, cultural biases, language barriers and variations in the interview situation to the process of translating, transcribing and coding recorded interviews. One cannot entirely account for all internal and external factors that might converge to shape the outcome over the course of the research process. For those reasons the reliability and validity of this research relies heavily on the academic process of critical review by my peers, supervisor and examiner.

4.3.2. Identification of informants

Another ethical consideration of great importance concerns my choice not to obscure or anonymize the identity of my informants. The following is a summary of my reasons for not doing so.

1) Every informant was interviewed with the informed consent as to the purpose of their participation. Interviews were recorded with a personal guarantee of confidentiality. Recordings will not be distributed or used for purposes other than the stated research project. Informants were offered remain anonymous to the reader and have had the opportunity to cancel their participation at any time during and after the interviews. Informants have all agreed to have their names and portraits published as part of this thesis.

2) As this is a qualitative case-study, anonymization of my informants and their projects would render some practical and methodological problems. Anonymization would require that a considerable amount of uniquely identifiable features to the studied cases would have to be omitted. This would likely have had a negative impact on the production and communication of knowledge.

3) The informants can arguably be considered as somewhat public characters by virtue of their roles as directors. The same could be said about the subject characters they are about to portray through their works of film. The purpose and topic of my research is not of a nature that require my informants to reveal sensitive personal details or to reveal the identity of third parties. For those reasons I judge that identified participation in this research project is possible without harming my informants. Adhering to the research-ethical principle of beneficence (2009, p. 110), i.e. maximizing benefit and minimizing harm to participants, exposure of one's public character and ongoing film project through participation could possibly even serve as something of a benefit to informants.

5. Case study results

In this chapter I will present each of my informants and their respective documentary film projects. I will then compare them and their use and anticipated use of various sources. Following that I will analyze their experiences of archival use with reference to my theory research questions. I will end this case study by a concluding discussion aimed at answering those research questions in Chapter 6.

5.1 Case introduction

5.1.1. Nefin Dinç

Nefin is born Turkish but truly global in her life and career. She is currently based in Harrisonburg, USA, where she is assistant professor at the James Madison University's School of Media Art and Design meanwhile working independently on her own film projects. She has obtained degrees from universities in three different countries, Turkey, Scotland and USA, parallel to a long career in Film and TV-production.

Nefin has produced and directed six documentaries, the most recent of which is a feature-length film called *Through My Lens* (*Artik Hayallerim Var*, 2015). Nefin says "I always knew I wanted to become a Documentary Filmmaker." When asked about it Nefin says she consider her award-winning documentary *The Other Town* (*Öteki Kasaba*, 2011) as a moment of break-through in her filmmaking career. With an educational background in economics from Ankara University's political science faculty, Nefin considers her filmmaking to be a matter of intellectual work as much as they are works of art.

> Almost all of my documentaries are saying something political. For example *Rebetiko- The song of Two Cities* [2004] basically says that there are strong cultural roots [shared] between Armenians, Arabs, Turks and Greeks that are usually overlooked. […] *I Named her Angel* [*Ismini Melek koydum*, 2006] was produced during the war in Iraq and is about a little girl learning how to whirl[1] in Istanbul. It is basically saying that Islam is not how you portray it on American TV. […] *The Other Town* is about Greeks and Turks and how we are taught to perceive each other in a certain way. […] So I would say in general that they are all about politics. But not in an overt or didactic way.

> *Nefin Dinç, interview 1 (2019-02-22)*

Nefin's films are always carefully planned and researched ahead. Projects can span across many years at a time.

> I know some people start making their films and they finish it in a very short amount of time. I'm not one of them.

> *Nefin Dinç, interview 1 (2019-02-22)*

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[1] Whirling is a form of meditation practiced ritually by some Sufi Muslims.

I take my steps carefully [because] I don't want to make a mistake when I talk about Turks, or Turks and Greeks, or when I talk about Rebetiko music or when I talk about Mevlana (Rumi)[2] [...] I do a lot of research, I do pre-interviews, I get to know the people before actually filming.

Nefin Dinç, interview 1 (2019-03-22)

When asked about previous archival experience or education Nefin recalls that she used archival music recordings in her film *Rebetiko – The song of two cities*. Apart from that her current working project *Antoine the fortunate* is the first time she engages with archival material in her work.

5.1.2. Antoine the Fortunate

Nefin's current project is a biographic history of an extraordinary-ordinary man named Antoine Köpe. Antoine was born in Istanbul in 1897 to French-Hungarian parents. The project could be described as a filmization of Antoine's own memoirs, set primarily during World War One, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the birth of the modern Turkish Republic. Antoine Köpe is not (yet) a famous historical figure, but he lived through some of the most formative historical events that shaped, and continues to shape, modern Turkey, Middle East and the Balkans. When Antoine Köpe passed away in 1974 he left behind a remarkable personal archive which is now being processed by Nefin Dinç.

The archive includes roughly one thousand pages of written memoir in ten volumes, 600 photographs, five hours of moving image recorded on 8mm film, sound recordings and "countless" drawings and caricatures. Apart from these that are Antoine's own creations, the archive also includes artifactual objects, documents and letters that he collected throughout his life. It is currently in custody and ownership of Antoine's grandchildren in USA, where Antoine spent his last years in life.

When I was studying in Texas, my French teacher at the time [2005] mentioned in passing that she was translating some memoirs from French to English. And it was about the Ottoman empire, that's all she said, and I was very intrigued [...] As I learned more I was awestruck. [...] I'm still very surprised each time I look at the memoirs. Because, again, I read them over and over again and each time I come across something new, something interesting. [...] So since then I've been thinking about the project. I'm trying to at least publish a book based on the memoirs, create an exhibition in Istanbul [...] and also produce the documentary film. The reason is again, that the memoirs are vast. I cannot possibly use all the material in the memoirs, and I don't want it to be wasted. That's why I [want to] make sure that some aspects of it would be used in a book and some aspects could be highlighted at an exhibition.

Nefin Dinç, interview 1 (2019-03-22)

The film, which Nefin considers to be the main among her ongoing projects with the archive, has been thought of and planned for many years but production is still at an early stage. In the process of researching, raising funds and promoting the film Nefin has also been participating in, and holding presentations about the archive, at several university conferences across the world. At this point Nefin anticipates that the film

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[2] Founder of the Sufi *Mevlevi* order

will be aired on French television as a 52-minute documentary. It is yet too early to know exactly, but Nefin estimates that at least fifteen individuals will be involved throughout the production of the film. The current working title *Antoine the fortunate*, Nefin explains by quoting from the memoirs:

'My mother, who was very upset about the double coincidence of my birth on the day of the dead and on a Tuesday - a day considered to be unlucky in the east - gave me the name of Antoine – fortune. Thus providing me with the protection of Saint Antony of Padua and good fortune.'

Antoine Köpe quoted by Nefin Dinç, interview 2 (2019-03-01)

5.1.3. Mohamedsalem Werad

Mohamedsalem is a Sahrawi, indigenous to Western Sahara, but like a large proportion of the Sahrawi population he has lived most of his life in Smara, one of the autonomously administered Sahrawi refugee camps in south-western Algeria[3]. The Sahrawi identity, experience of exile and the long shadow of the Western Sahara conflict plays an important role in how Mohamedsalem describes himself and his work.

I am maybe someone who didn't study journalism, but someone who was forced to learn it. It's not a hobby, but it's the necessity that dictates my interest and my passion, media awareness or anything. I don't like calling myself a media-activist because that kind of separates you from the people, or thinking you are different. […] I always try to see myself as a Sahrawi trying to change the situation and for now I got into doing media and raising awareness

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 (2019-02-24)

Mohamedsalem is part of a non-profit media production team called *Sahrawi Voice* that aims at sharing the Sahrawi experience and culture with the world by specializing at producing content in English.

I would say it's citizen journalism and it's not just trying to be professional, you know. [Not] in that sense that people want you to be neutral. We don't want to be that. We don't care about being accused or pointed at as someone who is biased. As long as we are getting our facts straight and not using propaganda techniques we are fine. We are pro-independent [for Western Sahara] and we are not embarrassed of that or ashamed of that or hiding it in any way. This is something we cannot separate ourselves from when we are part of it. We try to the best of our abilities to not manipulate people into supporting us, but rather portray the situation for what it is and respecting our audience's minds and intelligence. […] We measure our success in how representative we are of reality and how much we are reflective of what is going on.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 (2019-02-24)

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[3] Most of Western Sahara is occupied by Morocco since 1975. The western Saharan independence movement Polisario has declared the *Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic* (RASD) for which they claim the territory. RASD currently operates as a government-in-exile, exercising local autonomy over the Sahrawi refugee population in Algeria.

Sahrawi Voice got started as the outcome of a series of workshops held by European activists visiting the refugee camps Smara and El-Aiún[4] between 2011- 2013. Since then their work ambitions and expertise have gradually developed with the expansion of their own media-lab. Today Sahrawi Voice consists of three individuals.

> [In 2011 we had] the website and the social media platform but just one computer, to the point in 2016 or 2015 where we would have cameras and desktop computers. Now 2019 we have almost everything we need, you know, professional cameras. There are a lot of cameras and lighting equipment, I mean we have a drone, we have everything. Everything we could have dreamed of we have it now.

> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 (2019-02-24)*

In 2017 Mohamedsalem experienced his first premiere as co-producer of a short documentary film called *3 Stolen Cameras* (3stolencameras.com, 2017). The film was well received and won several awards at film festivals around the world. Mohamedsalem is now, together with *Sahrawi Voice* and a Swedish film collective *RåFilm*, in production of their first feature-length documentary. This is his first experience of working with archival material, although he is used to working with appropriating footage shot by others than himself.

5.1.4. *The Mariem Hassan Story*

The ongoing film project is a portrait of the famous Sahrawi singer Mariem Hassan, 1958-2015. The film aims at telling the history of the Western Sahara conflict through her life and her music. Mariem Hassan became an inhabitant of the Smara refugee camp at age 17, where she worked as a nurse before her musical career eventually brought her to Barcelona, Spain. Her music and poetry, often described as a Saharan blues, earned her a legendary status in Western Sahara and beyond.

To tell this story Mohamedsalem and his co-directors are conducting interviews and extracting footage and sound from several archives. The archival sources are RASD-TV (the national broadcasting service of Western Sahara), Western Saharan Ministry of Information and a concert recording from the festival FiSahara. These are all located in the Sahrawi refugee camps. The team will also use the archive of Mariem Hassan's record company Nube Negra in Spain and possibly the Spanish national archives as well. In addition to that, Mohamedsalem is also trying to reach out and collect relevant material held by private individuals or other journalists.

The team working on the project now consists of four individuals, two from Sahrawi Voice and two from Råfilm. Mohamedsalem does most of the shooting, interview and administration taking place in the refugee camps, as he is the only one who is currently based there. Tasks such as translating and transcribing interviews are carried out by a Sahrawi Voice-colleague based in London while editing and post-production is for most part carried out in Malmö, Sweden. With ten recorded interviews, Mohamedsalem estimates that they have now got 75% of the material they will produce themselves. In terms of archival raw material they have thus far collected some two hours of digitized copies, but expect it to grow to ten hours or more throughout the process. If all goes as planned they will all converge in Sweden by June 2019 and begin composing and editing the film.

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[4] The Sahrawi refugee camps are named after- and administered as cities in Western Sahara. El-Aiún is the capital city of Western Sahara, but Smara is the larger of the refugee camps.

5.1.5. Nils Petter Löfstedt

Nils Petter Löfstedt is originally from Motala, Sweden, but is based in Malmö since 13 years. He started out as a photographer in his late teens but have made a name for himself in many different forms of artistic expressions since then. Although he still considers photography to be his primary field of expertise, documentary filmmaking is his main source of income.
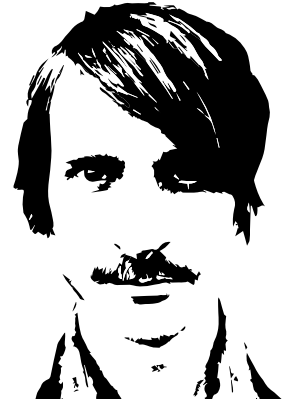
Nils Petter describes himself and his working-class background as "very far from the university in how I work and what I believe." Nils Petter, who has always been inspired by the 1960's and 70's era of documentary photography, got to know the renown Swedish photographer Jean Hermanson upon moving to Malmö. They begun working together, became close friends and Nils Petter received most of his photographic training by assisting Jean in his dark-room.

> That's how I got to know Jean, it was my education you can say. Both as a photographer and in film. We became very good friends and I feel I have learned an incredible lot from watching him, his mistakes and everything. I make use of that every day, when I'm filming, in everything.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview (2019-03-27)*

Jean belongs to an older generation of photographers who are trained in analogue photography and he never really made the transition to digitized photography. Jean is most famous for a series of documentary portraits that he made depicting workers and industries throughout Sweden in the late 1960's (Landskrona Foto, 2019). He told Nils Petter, more than 40 years later of him regretted not writing down the names of the workers he portrayed.

> Thinking of the arts and archives, Jean talked about that. […] Let's say Jean makes a photo in 1968 and at the same time you make a fine-art photo. Then the fine-art is art and Jean is some kind of documentary. But as time passes, what happens is that Jean's photo turns more and more into art with every passing year, but the fine-art photo becomes less art for every year. So now we're at a place in time where I'm exhibiting Jean's images at the finest galleries and I have people saying that this is our cultural heritage, the greatest there is. Meanwhile the fine-art photo, nobody gives a damn about it. […] Jean said so himself, 'If I'd been into fine-art it would have been gone with the wind.' So he realized it too.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview (2019-03-27)*

When Jean Hermanson passed away in 2012, he left behind an archive of more than 250 000 photographs and thus it fell on Nils Petter and Jean's children to care for it. The archive was eventually donated to the photographic archive and museum of Landskrona, Landskrona Foto. The institution belongs to the municipality of Landskrona and describes itself as "The capital of photography in Scandinavia."

5.1.6. Heaven's Dark-Room (Epilogue)

Nils Petter decided that he would finish what Jean regretted not accomplishing himself. By using the photographs in Jean's archive, Nils Petter begun trying to reconnect with the workers and places caught on Jean's camera. This journey is what would become Nils Petter's first feature-length documentary film *Himlens Mörkrum*.

> Well, when I was working as [Jean's] assistant I asked if I could make a film about him. […] While he was still alive the story was about him and his photography. The main thing by then was to document his dark-room. So that what you see in the beginning [in *Heaven's Dark-room*] is us testing around, recording some interviews, conversations and working in the dark-room. […] So that's how it started. Later when he passed away and I was in custody of the archive the film just grew by itself. After some time when I could bear watching what I had recorded and he's saying he made that mistake. That's when the idea starts growing on me that perhaps it's possible to find out some names [of workers in the portraits]. I turned out to be a journey where it all went by itself, where the archive ever more started leading it's own life. […] So now it's like it should have always been!
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview (2019-03-27)*

Himlens Mörkrum was finalized in 2017 But Nils Petter's engagement with the archive and as an advocate for Jean Hermanson's legacy har continued. In 2018 He received the Sune Jonsson-award for his work.

> To identify the depicted persons in the photographs is a contribution to Swedish industrial history, and a return of the life's work to the workers-collective where it was created. Such a work is certainly carried out in Sune Jonsson's tradition, and Nils Petter Löfstedt is thereby awarded the 2018 grant in his name.
>
> *Statement of motivation, The association of Friends of Sune Jonsson (2018)*
> *http://www.sunejonsson.se/*

His experience making the film, and the succeeding tours of exhibition of the photographs, has fostered a special connection toward the communities documented by him and Jean. To Nils Petter, this has changed his outlook on the archive and the artistic work itself.

> That's one thing I felt was important about this archive. It's so easy that you'll think that this is dead and old, black and white and a long time ago, that there are barely any connection to today. Journalists and important people say 'to think that this existed, now there is nothing left anymore.' My thing is that it does exist, it's just that we're not looking. […] Factories are still being cleaned by somebody, it's just that it's not in our consciousness to the same degree anymore.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview (2019-03-27)*

At the moment Nils Petter is working on a new TV-series for the Swedish public service television, SVT. The series will consist of five minute episodes, each portraying a story behind one of Jean's photographs. His working title for this project is *Heaven's Dark Rook – Epilogue*.
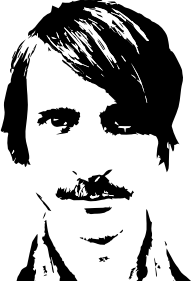
> Epilogue sounds like an ending, but in a way it's like it leads it's own life now. I don't really know what the title should be. Epilogue is probably most for myself. For my part I'm trying to divest from it so for me it perhaps is an epilogue.

5.2. Comparing the cases

In this chapter I will analyze and compare the basic features each case with regard to their work-processes and use of archives and other sources.

5.2.1. Overview

Table 2: Use of sources - Case comparison

USE AND ANTICIPATED USE OF SOURCES IN CURRENT PROJECT.			
PRIVATE ARCHIVE	✔		
INSTITUTIONAL ARCHIVE	✔	✔	✔
ARCHIVAL SOURCES: ARTISTIC USE	✔	✔	✔
ARCHIVAL SOURCES: RESEARCH USE	✔		
NON-ARCHIVAL SOURCES: ARTISTIC USE		✔	✔
NON-ARCHIVAL SOURCES: RESEARCH USE		✔	✔
MORE THAN ONE ARCHIVAL SOURCE USED	✔	✔	
MORE THAN ONE PROJECTS USING THE SAME ARCHIVAL SOURCE	✔		✔

5.2.2. Nefin's work process

Nefin first discovered the archive and studied it thoroughly before beginning to write her script for the film. The archive is used as source of information, a source of raw footage and additionally being used for narration. Narration will consist of Antoine Köpe's own words from the memoirs. Nefin estimates that this will make up 80% of the script. Creating the script is done organizing quotations of text from the memoir (*Applied specificity*, see chapter 2.5.1.) and attaching visual material to each quote, thus building a timeline. Nefin thinks that the conventional division of phases of film-production (see figure) is somewhat blurred in today's digitalized environment, not least in this project. For example, she has already finalized production of a trailer at roughly 10 minutes.

The archive material appropriated for the trailer and used as surrogates during pre-production are copies that were either given to her or procured upon visiting the archive several years back. This initial collection of material thus took place long before writing, production, or even planning the film had begun. To Nefin, the copies she procured are still sufficient to use while work is in progress. At a later stage of production Nefin will return to the archive and make new copies of high resolution that will replace the surrogates.

In Nefin's case, pre-production has so far largely been an administrative process with effort going into fundraising and promotion. Nefin and her co-producer had originally thought to coincide the premiere of *Antoine the Fortunate* with the centenary of World War One, but those plans have now changed. That means the script is re-written and adjusted too. At the moment she anticipates that a French TV-channel

Figure 7: Antoine the Fortunate, phases of production
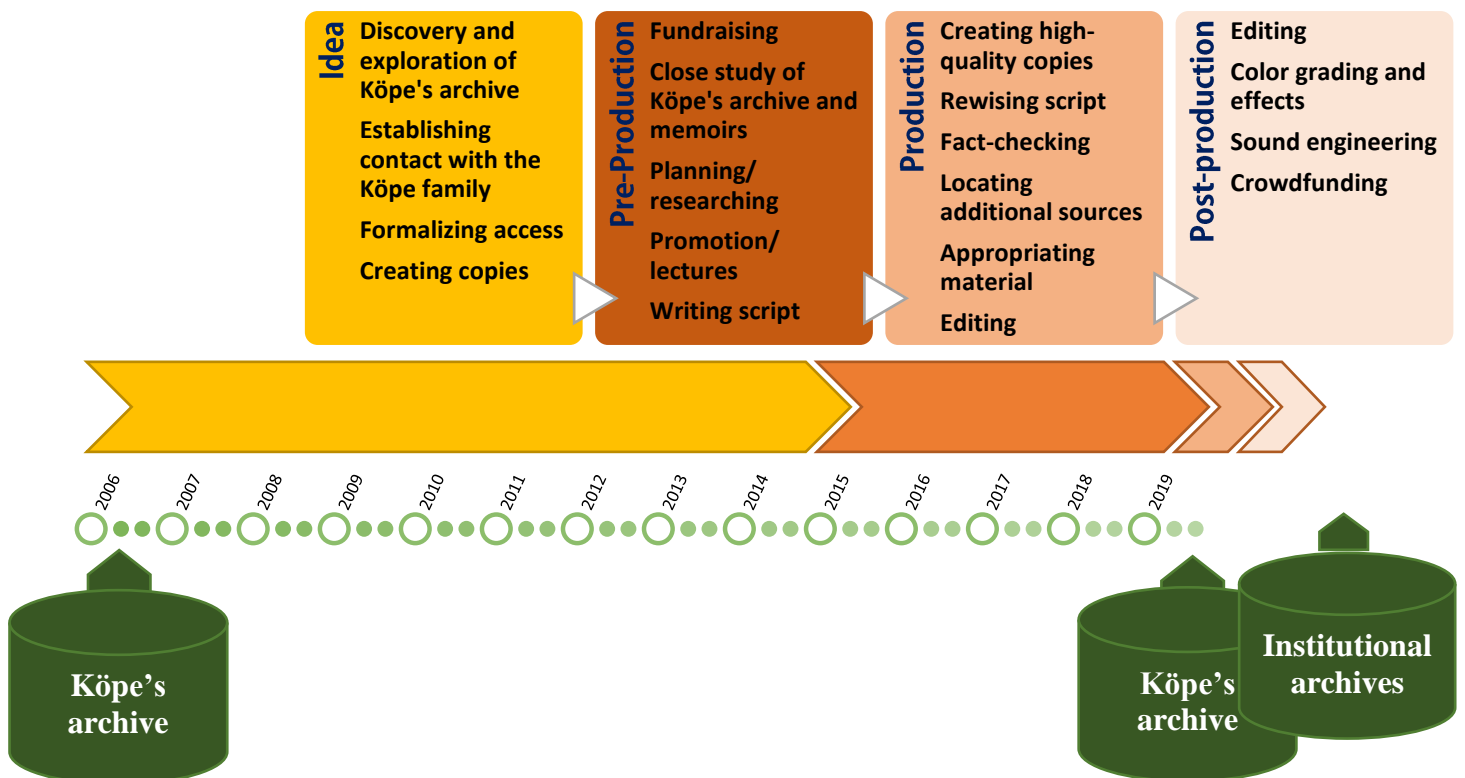
will buy and broadcast the film, but she also considers making a feature-length version for movie theaters. If so, she considers the centenary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic- in 2023, to be a possible timing for release.

Antoine the fortunate is unique among my cases in that the film will not feature interviews, and nearly all footage will be appropriated from archival sources. However, Nefin has carried out some interviews for research purposes. Apart from copies of original photography, the film will also feature 2D-animations, made from re-creating Antoine Köpe's hand-drawn cartoons. This way of using archival sources is also unique to *Antoine the fortunate* from the rest of my two cases. Furthermore, Nefin will make use of more archival sources than that of Köpe. She has already assembled a list archival of institutions, and photographic collections of relevance to the project. This will both be for purpose of research, to fact-check on details and witness-accounts that Köpe writes. She will also appropriate historical footage from other archives for visual purposes. The actual research and extraction from these archives will likely be outsourced to specialists

This part of the work is also largely determined by external factors such as funding or access barriers. For instance, one source for funds might condition her to spend parts of the budget in a certain country. Another might provide her access and copyright to certain collections. The length of the film is an adjustment to the television format, and Nefin hopes that financial conditions won't meddle too much with the content of the film when the project comes to an end.

In conclusion we can see that Nefin's use of the archive is more a case of 'using what you find' than 'finding what you need'. She discovered the archive and explored its' content long ahead of scripting the film or knowing how she would eventually use it. The archive *is* the story. That, however, does not mean she won't need other sources to tell or visualize that story. Nor does it mean that the memoirs alone determines what will become of the story. Another fact that we will get to explore more throughout following chapters is that Nefin uses Köpe's archive for more projects than *Antoine the fortunate* alone.

5.2.3 Mohamedsalem's work process

As a case, Mohamedsalem is in some ways the opposite of Nefin. *The Mariem Hassan story* is a highly collective effort throughout every stage of production. Although the team is fixed to a small number of individuals, roles within the project are more ambiguous. Division of labor within the project is of a technical-practical character, why Mohamedsalem is carrying out most of the localized legwork during the pre-production and production phases.

Writing the script and planning the collection and production of source material has been a collective work. The script is organized as chapters, each highlighting an aspect or detail of Mariem Hassan's life story and each featuring one of her songs. As such, Mohamedsalem's archival use is more a case of 'finding what you need' than 'using what you find.' Mohamedsalem estimates that this stage of pre-production is where most time will have been spent once the project is finalized. That involves researching into possible sources and administrative procedures to access them. Another point of distinction between Mohamedsalem and Nefin's cases is that Mohamedsalem will only use archival sources for appropriation of sound or footage. The background research and fact-finding that goes into scripting the film will done by other means. Sources of information and narration to the film will be recorded as interviews or speakers by the team themselves during production.

37

Accessing archives is a process that begins through investigation and research while outlining the script. It then becomes an administrative task of reaching out, requesting and negotiating access. Actual appropriation of archival footage belongs to a later stage of production and early post-production and is often preceded by another round of administration and negotiation over conditions of use. A feature worth noting to this case is that there really is no clear-cut distinction to be made made between the plurality of types of sources. Accessing an archival institution, the stock-archive of another documentary film, a record company or hand-recorded footage by an individual goes into much the same process as contacting sources for interview or reaching out for funds.

Concludingly, Mohamedsalem's case is characterized by early planning and scripting, thus moves more predictably through the typical phases of production. The content is selected in writing while production consists of creating and collecting the required pieces of material. Mohamedsalem's archival use is journalistic in purpose and largely experienced as an administrative process, which we will explore further over the following chapters.

Figure 8: The Mariem Hassan Story, phases of production
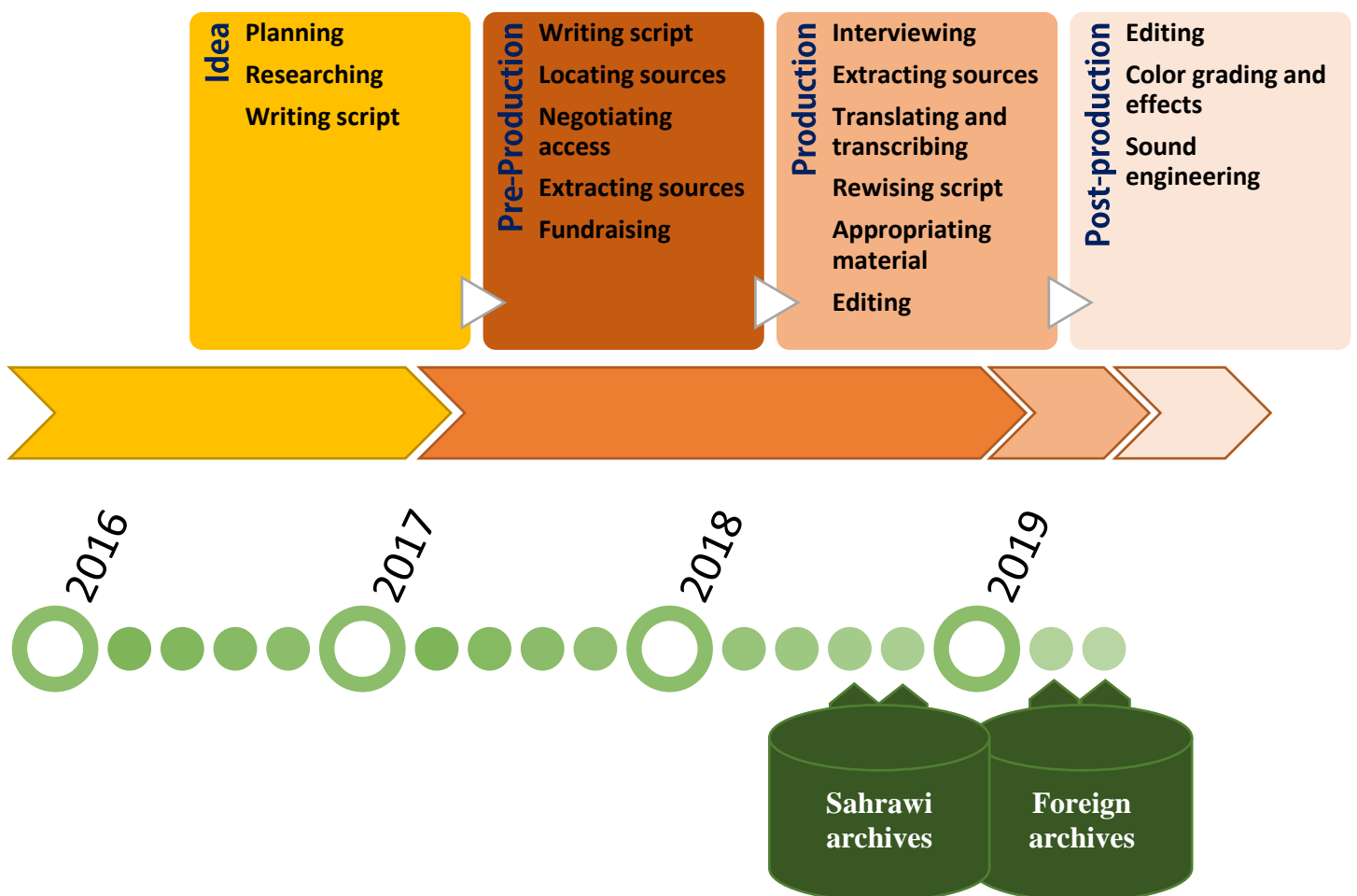
5.2.4 Nils Petter's Work process

Nils Petter only makes use of one archival source, the photographic collection of Jean Hermanson. His case is unique in that *Heaven's dark-room* documents the archive's journey into the custody of Landskrona Foto. Nils Petter's engagement with the archive, and some of the early-recorded material featured in the film, thus begun before they became his source. Nils Petter's close and personal relation to the archive, and the role that the archive itself plays in the story makes his case resemble that of Nefin somewhat. Moreover, in both their cases the same archival source is used for several of their projects. For these reasons, Nils Petter's is also case most challenging to summarize as an archive-using work process .

While the visual appropriation of Jean Hermanson's photographs only counts for a relatively small part of the content of the film(s), they are used thematically to drive the story. As a documentary *Heaven's dark-room* is different from the other two cases in that it documents and follows a story of events acted out without pre-written script or a source of narration. Much of the research to *Heaven's dark-room* thus takes place in the field and in front of the camera, as Nils Petter travels to discover the places and faces once caught by Jean. In doing that Nils Petter

Figure 9: Heaven's Dark-Room, phases of production

Heaven's Dark-room: Epilogue
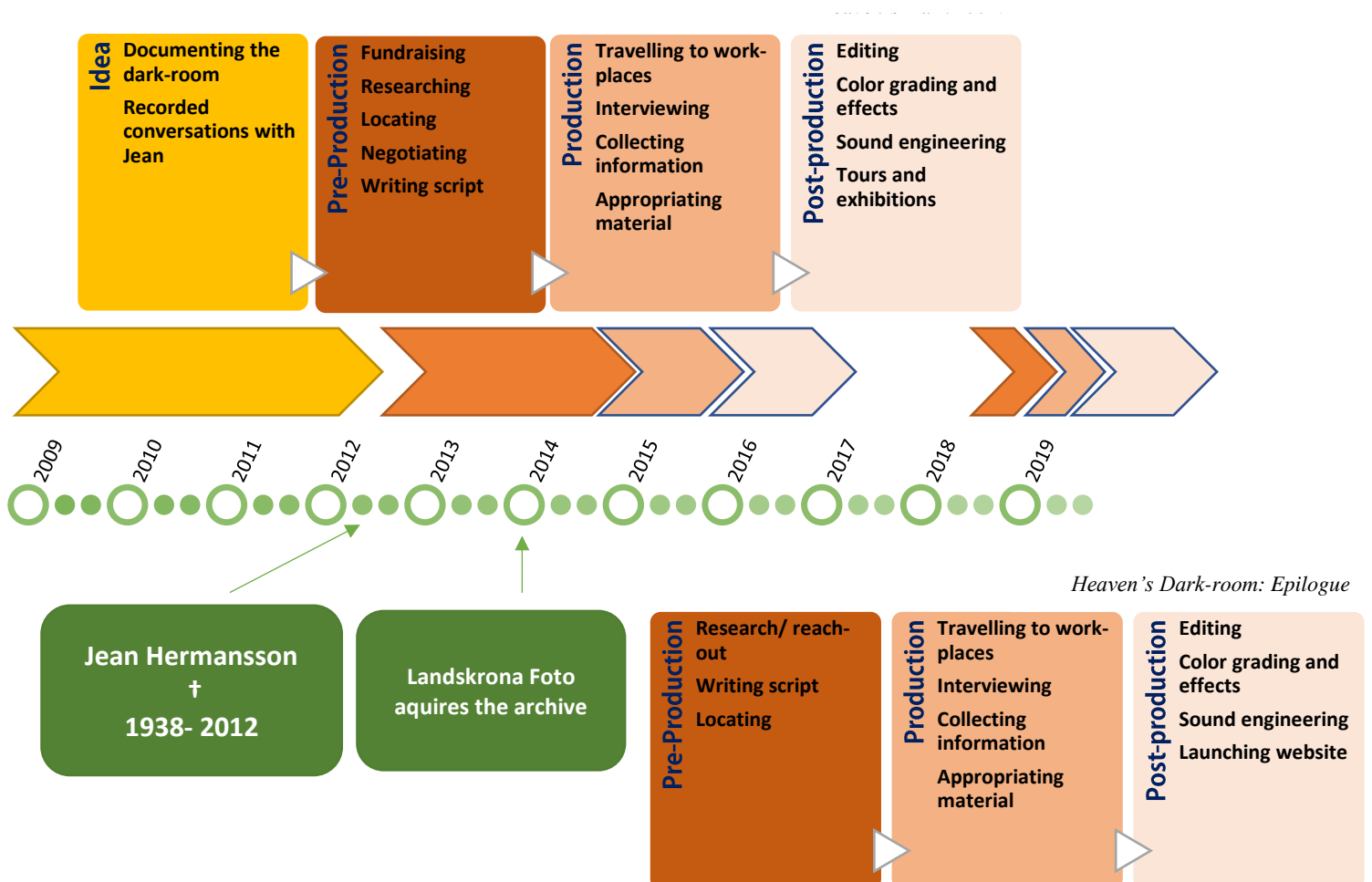
also collects and adds descriptive metadata and new information, missing from the archive at the beginning of the project. The process of recording *Heaven's dark-room* thus becomes the process of research used for scripting the *Epilogue*. The photographs featured in *Heaven's dark-room* are selected due to their artistic or representative qualities (*iconic* specificity) and due to Jean's personal affection for them. In the *Epilogue* mini-series, where each episode is centered around one photograph, they are selected on grounds of the story or interview subject attached to them. So too, phases of production remains more blurred in *Heaven's dark-room* and more predictable in the *Epilogue*.

As envisioned by Nefin, Nils Petter too has used the collection for the publication of a book and for tours of photographic exhibitions. Doing so, Nils Petter and Nefin are both transcending their roles as documentary film directors, and even their role as archival users, into something more of general advocates for their respective collections. However, a major feature of Nils Petter's work on the archive which is not (thus far) manifested by Nefin, is the journalistic collection of new sources of information to the archive. This is a feature that we will return over the course of this case study, making Nils Petter stand out as particularly difficult to capture using conventional categories of "user", "records creator" "director", "producer" "artist" "archivist", "researcher" or "journalist."

5.3 Analysis

5.3.1 Archival Intelligence and User Expertise
In this section I will analyze the applicability of Yakel and Torres' theoretical model.

Strategies for reducing uncertainty and ambiguity
From what I have learned, the subjects of my three case studies can all be said to have harnessed certain skills and features of expertise from their experience as archival users. Nefin and Nils Petter are themselves rather explicit in this regard.

> **Interviewer**: At this point, who would you say is the number one expert [on the archive of Antoine Köpe]?
>
> **Nefin**: I think probably it is me. […] I have been reading and re-reading, so I am at least one of them.
>
> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

> In the beginning the archive felt like a monster that you couldn't grasp. You open a binder and just 'whoa, what's this, here are these photographs and here are those.' Nowadays I feel more like I have a big part of the archive within me. I can look at a photo and I know where it was taken and what year it was. Sometimes I know some story behind it and so on.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

What Nils Petter express here fits Yakel and Torres' concept of "uncertainty and ambiguity", and how he has managed to overcome that feeling by growing his expertise. However, the applicability of the concept ends there.

Nefin and Nils Petter have both spent several years working closely with their respective archival collections to the point where there are hardly any room for uncertainty and ambiguity left by Yakel and Torres' definition. One could say that in Nefin and Nils Petter's case they have each obtained levels of expertise that are simply too great for Archival Intelligence to remain a meaningful concept. Certainly this is in part a result of their cases revolving around collections that are limited enough of scope that a total grasp is a possible reality. Yet their expertise and deep understanding of their archival collections also stems from a more holistic nature of their archival use. This is a feature of their usage that makes them stand apart from the research-users that Yakel and Torres founded their theory on.

> I am in correspondence with historians and I know they are looking at it in a very different way. When they look at the materials they are trying to come up with certain theses or points about a certain part of the memoir. I don't do it that way, I look at the material to see how the story can be told effectively. They are more interested in if the knowledge in the material would add to the historiography of a certain area, so it's very different.
>
> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

In that regard, Mohamedsalem's case is more representative of Yakel and Torres' users of archival institutions. Mohamedsalem and his colleagues have first spent a substantial amount of time writing script, planning and locating archival sources beforehand. When approaching the archive Mohamedsalem thus has his mind made on what source material he intends to make use of.

> We wrote the story and then started looking for the footage […] Where can we get this, and is it there? And if it is there, is it accessible? Can we get clearance to use it? All those questions, we did like literally a year of skype meetings. Sometimes every two weeks, sometimes every week, brainstorming and talking about all those questions before we started shooting.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

As it turns out though, the procedure of extracting and appropriating archival material is quite different in Mohamedsalem's case compared to Yakel and Torres'. Where Yakel and Torres writes extensively of the process of browsing catalogues and making use of archival finding aids, this is not the case for Mohamedsalem.

> I usually just wrote for them a list of the things that we hope for. And told them that it would be great if you could find this material for us, so I wasn't involved in like, going through materials or anything with them.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]*

The practical user experience of Mohamedsalem is to a great extent dependent on the archivist's ability to carry out his search requests. As such *strategies for reducing uncertainty and ambiguity* in the archive itself does not concern him directly. "If they say 'we couldn't find it now', tell them that you have time and you can wait. And so you get it or you know it's clear that they don't have it or can't find it." (Mohamedsalem Werad, Interview session 2)

Nefin, who is also planning on using institutional archives as a source for visual material as well as for research, similarly says that this part of the work will be

outsourced to others than herself. "If we get funding from Germany or France I think we will have an archivist or an archival researcher from there to go and find the material for us." (Nefin Dinc, Interview Session 2)

It was interesting however, to discover that all my interviewees talked at length about the research they conduct to arrive at the archival sources in the first place.

> What I do is, I have [a spreadsheet] and I made headers, like 'photo', 'animations', 'photo coloring', 'photo books' about the era. Films related to World War One, before and after. And I put a link right next to it. And I also made a list of photographers that were taking photos in the Ottoman empire at the time. […] What national archives are holding, what library of congress is holding in their archives etcetera. […] When I read a book on WWI, when I see something, of course internet is amazing! When I talk with people they recommend some films and when I look at WWI films and look at the credits you see lots of information there too. That's how!
>
> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

In Mohamedsalem's case this search for undiscovered visual material is intertwined with the journalistic process at large.

> Mostly you just rely on what you have seen in documentaries or try to find the people who might have done something on a certain subject. In this case […] around the life of Mariem Hassan, we know people who worked with her most of her life. So we know which people we can ask and which doors we should be knocking to find those materials.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]*

At this level of research, Mohamedsalem draws from his domain knowledge to reduce the uncertainty and ambiguity of the contents of the archive.

> So say for example we want to highlight Mariem Hassan, the fact she was a nurse in the Sahrawi refugee camps. We ask for footage [of] early days of hospital you know, patients, that kind of footage we are looking for, and preferably from this time to that time, you know.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]*

In another example, he demonstrates how this domain knowledge sometimes is getting him ahead of archivists themselves. "Her last concert, I was surprised that [RASD-TV] couldn't locate it, I know that they have it. Because they were there but didn't have a copy. We couldn't find it." (Mohamedsalem, Interview session 2)

Intellective skills

Yakel and Torres names two manifestations of intellective skill that they identify as features of archival intelligence; (1) *User's ability to understand representational relationships*, and (2) *ability to plan and strategize their archival research*.

As I have discovered, my informants demonstrate a process of browsing that is at times more indirect, and at times, more holistic than what Yakel and Torres describe. In either of those cases, the function of representational relationships is not of their immediate concern. When my interviewees talk of surrogates and representational relationships, it usually refers to technical aspects of the filmmaking craft. In the process of editing and composing, a filmmaker needs to create a surrogate

copy, or proxy, of his or her footage that is of low resolution in order not to drain processing power of the computer while working with it. Upon finalizing the project, this surrogate is replaced by a high-resolution material. In that sense, all my interviewed cases create and use representational surrogates of the source. This is, however, not the kind of representational relationship that Yakel and Torres have in mind. As we have seen though, the ability and imagination required to visualize a material before seeing it or knowing it exists must also require a certain level of intellective skill. As demonstrated by Mohamedsalem in the previous section, this skill can sometimes draw from a high domain knowledge. Moreover, it could be argued that documentary filmmaking as an artistic work by very definition a highly intellective process.

As far as Yakel and Torres' second definition of intellective skills, planning and strategizing their archival search, this too is a skill intimately linked to the creative work process. Here again I observe a difference between Nils Petter and Nefin on the one hand, whose works are centered around one defined archive, and Mohamedsalem on the other. For Mohamedsalem, archival visits and search requests are preceded by a long process of planning, researching, and structuring of the narrative story. This process is partly creative, but to a large extent, also administrative. The intellective task of planning a research strategy *within* the archive itself is not something that Mohamedsalem takes part in. That remains a task for archivists and technicians of the repository or in some cases individual private owners of the material. Mohamedsalem's intellective skills are in this regard more applicable to the process before and after locating the actual archival source.

Nefin and Nils Petter for their part have obtained their expertise by a slow process of close exploration of the archives. In Nils Petter's case, this process begun already at the point of creation of the archive. As such their detailed knowledge of their archives is not the result of a carefully planned and executed research strategy, but rather several repeated explorations over years or decades. Whether these are unstructured browsing sessions or purposeful pursuits of a certain research topic matters less as it is the totality of time spent with the archives that have earned them their expertise. Nefin gives examples of both.

> When I was [visiting the location of the archive] I just looked through, because I didn't know what I was going to do in the film at the time. So now I will be much more prepared when I go there [the next time].

> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

What this shows is that the exact intellective skills that Yakel and Torres define in their study are ill-suited and hardly applicable to any of my cases. As documentary film directors there seem to be other expressions of intellective skills that helps their archival use.

Knowledge of archival theory, practice and procedure

From the three points in the archival intelligence model, *knowledge of archival theory practice and procedure* comes across as the most applicable. As in the previous discussions, the user experience in this matter is shaped by the unique features of each studied case. But also shaped in part by their personal backgrounds. Yakel and Torres identify three characteristics of how users manifest this knowledge:

(1) Internalization of rules; (2) assessment of one's knowledge and that of the reference archivist; and (3) language ability and conceptual understanding of archives.

Knowledge of archival theory, practice and procedure among my interviewees respond quite predictably to the level of institutionalization of the archives in use. Nils Petter and Mohamedsalem who are both engaged with public archival organizations and institutions talks at greater length of these points than does Nefin whose primary engagement is with a private collection. In alignment with Yakel and Torres' observations, Mohamedsalem expresses an initial astonishment and a gradual internalization of rules regulating the archival procedure.

> **Mohamedsalem**: Let me just interrupt you to say I wish we have someone who was a specialist of taking care of this [laughs] It was really difficult.
>
> **Interviewer:** Can you explain the difficulty?
>
> **Mohamedsalem:** Difficult because you don't really know the rules that are governing this field. You are not aware, you are not familiar with previous cases, precedents that you can follow. What can be used by anyone, what is defined as commercial use, all those concepts. Someone like, really a specialist.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

> I used to think of an archive as someone who has all the material and if the boss or responsible says 'give it to them' or 'sell it to them' you give. Almost like a shop. But you know, there are rules governing that and the usage of that. And contracts, writing those and the articles and sections you are signing was just something, you know, mind blowing!
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

Interestingly in this case, Yakel and Torres' *internalization of rules* is carried over to a user experience of another kind that is also defined by rules of another kind. Mohamedsalem here refers to rules regulating copyright and distribution, while the type of rules that Yakel and Torres anticipate are more of the kind that Nils Petter is confronted with.

> It's so strange, [the archive of Jean Hermanson] enters an institution and suddenly you are not allowed to drink coffee in the same room and you've got to wear these white gloves. What has happened? He could have lived for another 20 years and we could have been drinking coffee and doing whatever we wanted with it!
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

In Nefin's case, rules of conduct and use of the archive is less an imposition on behalf of owners or jurisdiction and more a process of bipartisan agreements, human relationships, and trust.

> We created a relationship. They trust me, they understood that it takes a lot of time and I informed them about the developments from time to time. […] You know, they are not filmmakers, they didn't even know that anybody would be interested in the material.
>
> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

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In terms of assessment of one's knowledge, it again seems that Mohamedsalem's experience best corresponds with those that Yakel and Torres defines. As we have seen, Mohamedsalem relies on his domain knowledge and the archival intelligence of the archival staff.

Nils Petter is an interesting case because his experience is situated on "both sides" of the institutional custodianship. Due to his experience and expertise on the photographic archive of Jean Hermanson, he makes the assessment that both his domain knowledge and artifactual literacy is greater than that the archival staff. Where he asses the greatest knowledge contribution of the archivists is in terms of preservation.

> Right now I'm so locked up in thinking it is *them* [the archival staff] that should be learning from me. It's like a hubris. But then you go to a meeting and it's a lot that is being dealt with around negative-pockets, how it's supposed to be scanned, how it's preserved and stuff like that. There they really have a lot.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

As Mohamedsalem's experience is the case that relies the most on the ability of archivists to carry out his search requests, he recognizes the language and communication as a skill he has developed.

> Being able to explain yourself and exactly what you need, and also being able to accept the limitation on that they might not have what you are asking or hoping to have. That's something I think I have been learning and furnishing that skill. But I think that in terms of rules and specifics to the field of archives, that's still something I lack
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

During my conversation with Nils Petter, I was at one point struck by something that I found to indicate a strong sense of archival intelligence in his experience.

> So I've been helping out as a consultant when [Landskrona Foto] was about to digitize the whole thing. So I came up with the plan that when they digitize it, it should keep the same structure as his analogue [archive]. That you should recognize the archive even though it is not physical anymore, his archival structure should be digitized. I felt that when they started it was like they were just scanning at random. So I said 'this binder should go as one'. I felt it was good to tell them 'we're doing it this way now'. Now you can transfer an image to where it belongs, you can give it a number and you can see what work-place it is from. It's going to become a good archive, digitally.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

What Nils Petter express here could be seen as an urge to preserve original order in the archive, something that is a trait typically associated with archival theory, practice and procedure. This was something that he was unaware of until I pointed it out. When asked about it though Nils Petter attributes this archival intelligence to his experience as a photographer rather than his experience as an archival user.

> Well it started with that I have my own analogue archive. I started photographing when I was 18 […] I've been constructing it by myself kind of. Then when I got a computer I started scanning my whole archive, and later I met Jean who just ran a total chaos with his incredible archive at some

computer. So I had to step in and try to help him. With how to scan and so on. But I could never really get it to work

This touches upon something that I think could be another feature of archival intelligence, particularly connected to artisans such as documentary filmmakers. I will discuss this further in the chapter **5.3.2 Alternative Archival Intelligence** in the section **Self-archiving Archival self-awareness.**

5.3.2 Alternative Archival Intelligence

In this chapter I will discuss some of the results that I have found to be interesting in terms of archival intelligence, but Yakel and Torres do not directly include that.. As we have seen, Yakel and Torres' model runs into some errors when applied to the documentary film directors of my case study. The following is an attempt to formulate an alternative model that would better capture the experience of these users.

The ability to take on different perspectives

Rather than obtaining skills suited to locate some specific item or piece of information from an archive, which seems to be at the core of Yakel and Torres' model, documentary film directors develop skills that enables them to make use with what they have found. There are not much in the way of suggestion that the interviewees have had to struggle with their ability to understand representational relationships. Compared to an archival research user of a 'traditional' kind, the documentary film director can make archival sources useful in more than one way. To uncover the potential usefulness of a source is, in that sense, an important intellective and creative skill. This requires a more open approach to the archive and the ability to look at an object or a source from different perspectives.

As we have seen, the intellective work has already been a substantial part of Nefin's long engagement with Antoine Köpe's archive. Her practical experience of constantly re-interpreting her sources is something that has harnessed her expertise on the archive but also challenged her to make a better film.

> For example, I was presenting at a conference here at the James Madison University [...] It was about post-colonialism. [...] It forced me to think about colonialism, post-colonialism and how it is tied to the memoirs of Antoine Köpe. So always, you know, dealing with those theoretical challenges keeps you on your toes, let's say. And probably it forces you to make a better documentary. Even though you do not include all that information in your film.

Nefin Dinç, interview 1 [2019-02-22]

> I'm using the lectures as a tool to force me to think about the documentary film and also inform the public about the memoirs. [...] In Cambridge university the workshop that I presented at was about Hungarian people living in the Ottoman empire. So it forced me to think about Antoine's Hungarian background. And forced me to look at the photos and the info in the memoirs about the Hungarian perspective in the memoirs. In Istanbul when I gave a presentation at the orient institute of Istanbul it was about the city under occupation [...] So I focused on what was happening in Istanbul at the time and what was happening in Antoine's life.

To Nefin, this is an experience that captures and develops archival intelligence as she sees it. "Probably, it made me more intelligent in terms of dealing with these archives. Probably at the beginning, I wasn't equipped to do it." (Nefin, interview session 2)

Similarly, Mohamedsalem talks of how an archival source can display multiple layers of usefulness.

> So technically speaking, the best material is the best digitization and the best quality of picture that's there. And portraying what you want to talk about […] that's good material. […] If you had to choose one over the other, then you would go, of course, with the information [over the visual quality]. Because of your decision that it is going to be based on archives, then of course the more authentic the better.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]

Nils Petter has had the experience of working alongside archivists, not only as an archival user. He mentions this as an ability that archival staff themselves could benefit from enhancing. "When you get educated [as an archivist] the education should include arts to some degree. I think you could take any stupid archive and find infinite ways to use it." (Nils Petter, Interview)

The ability to manage an abundance

As discussed in the previous section, the archival use in these studied cases is not primarily a process of finding the one most useful source within an archival structure. It instead takes the character of piecing together a patchwork or mosaic from a pool of carefully examined raw material. This pool can be an entire archival collection, as in the cases of Nefin and Nils Petter, or extracted copies from several archival repositories as in the case of Mohamedsalem. Before the film is finalized in its' structure and composition, the directors have developed a deep familiarity with the source material and more-or-less knows it by heart. Perhaps this process demands other kinds of skills and archival thinking?

> In terms of materials, usually they say it's a good problem there, having too much. Not knowing or confusing which ones to use. That's usually a good problem to have. But falling short and not finding enough materials, that's a problem.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]

In Yakel and Torres' model, archival intelligence seems aimed at avoiding the vast abundance of irrelevant sources in an archive, separating the right needle from the haystack. To a documentary film director, on the other hand, as stated by Mohamedsalem above, a certain level of overshoot abundance in raw-material is healthy to his project. Similarly, Nefin seems to find it a rewarding and integral part of her work to carefully explore hours of video, read thousands of pages of text and photography, although most of it will not come to "use" in her finished product. Indeed, Nefin too is planning to further expand the body of raw material by drawing from more external archival sources. Perhaps creating a haystack of useful needles is a better metaphor for what these users hope to get out from visiting the archives.

Self-archiving and archival self-awareness
There is one type of archival thinking that surfaced in the conversations I have had for this study that is not discussed by Yakel and Torres. Mohamedsalem and Nils Petter both talk about how the archival experience has made them reflect on their own work and the importance of self-archiving. Mohamedsalem mentions this as his first lesson learned from his experience working with the Mariem Hassan documentary.

> A thing [that I've learned] is; appreciate the archive you know. I mean, why it's important to have a different copy of your work and to know its' value. That it might be today nothing, and old tape. But ten years, twenty years from now that's a treasure, you know.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]

In his words, the "appreciation, not so much the technical skills" is what the experience as an archival user has given him. However, when discussing further Mohamedsalem explains in detail how this awareness is also reflected in practice.

> We try as hard as possible to have at least three copies […] And storing them in different places. Because it is not strategic to, if some natural crisis happens […] or someone wants to steal it. It's just not a wise thing to store them all in the same place. And a computer is not the best solution, because it can break. And the film material we each have one, and there is a central one that we don't have connected to the internet because we don't want to have any problem with like, big one containing everything.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]

Perhaps this could be viewed as another form of archival intelligence embedded with the documentary professionalism. It appears though that reasoning like this is brought to the fore by the archival user experience, at least in Mohamedsalem's case.
Nils Petter relates to this awareness as "A headache among many photographers."
"Every new-years eve, [Jean Hermanson] lived by the square of Möllevången[5], so he would sit guarding his archive with a fire extinguisher. He knew the importance of it."
Nils Petter was also reflecting on preservation capabilities of various formats, which has him worried for the future.

> There's a lot of technology that can get wrecked if you think 50 years ahead. If Jean would have been photographing digitally it's not certain that this archive would have remained. Negatives are a superb medium. You could scan an image at it can be perfect without nobody caring for it for 50 years. I could be the first person that pulls out this filmstrip after it was placed in the binder and it is still perfect. It's not going to be like that with hard drives, that you can just plug it in 50 years and it will start running.

Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]

Making an archive come to life
At the core of all these cases is the artistic process using of archival material to tell a story in a film. This process is different in some aspects of how academic research makes use of archives and archival material. What I have found by applying the archival intelligence model suggests that this difference in user purpose also makes a difference in terms of user experience and user needs.

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[5] A square in central Malmö, infamous location for fireworks during New-year's eve celebrations.

This experience involves a separate kind of archival intelligence that I think could be best summarized as archival empathy.

> I feel that when you really have come to understanding an archive, when it really comes to terms is when you've been at the same location. Where you've talked to people. That's when you understand it all. You understand how he was photographing, you really get a lot of understanding.
>
> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

> When I walk around in Istanbul I always think about how Antoine walked on those streets. Always when I look at the archive as well, but especially when I'm in Istanbul, when I'm in Pera, the European neighborhood at the time. How he felt in those streets, what he saw. I'm trying to be him from time to time. So I feel responsible […] to make sure that we do justice to his collection.
>
> *Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]*

What Nefin and Nils Petter describe is a feature of in-depth knowledge and understanding of the archive as a source. As a trait of their user expertise, I think empathy, in this case could be understood as archivally intelligent. This empathic feature of archival intelligence captures the ability to create meaning from the archival source and to recontextualize that meaning to the world outside of the archive. Moreover, this meaning-making process equally demonstrates the ability to bring meaning back from the outside world to apply a better, more holistic understanding of the archive.

> I am familiar with the situation and the story and the experience. What I didn't witness myself it was witnessed by others that I still have a chance to meet and talk with. Let's say we have a video of a Sahrawi smiling with the Spainiards. I can easily say it's not authentic portrayal of Sahrawi in this situation because the stories and experiences of my parents and all older people that I've got to meet and talk to, before even this project was anticipated.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

In short, archival empathy is an ability that helps documentary filmmakers become successful archival users.

5.3.3 Access

The concept of archival meaning-making and memory *reconstruction* as an active process is a central element to Menne-Haritz theory *of access as an archival paradigm*. The ability to make an archive come to life through user interpretation and reconstruction of the past is in Menne-Haritz definition the very act of remembering. As such the empathic ability to create and tell a story from an archival source situates the documentary filmmaker as a compelling case when discussing *access as an archival paradigm*. Over the following chapter, I will explore and discuss some of the user experiences around access and accessibility of this case study.

Nefin- Exclusive access

Nefin is unique among my studied cases in that her user experience is of a private archival collection. Antoine Köpe's personal archive (memoirs) is private not only in the sense that it is privately owned but have until Nefin's involvement only been privately used.

Nefin's discovery of the archive, her relation toward it and the family is also a private, individual experience. So too is her access.

In contrast to my other two cases, it is Nefin who stipulate terms and conditions of access and use of the sources, not the owners. Nefin keeps information such as the whereabouts of the archive protected. She is also keen to preserve her exclusive access meanwhile working on it. This relationship of access is formalized in a contract between her and the family since the time of her early encounters with the archive. These conditions of exclusivity do not restrict Nefin's use of the archive as her source nor limit it to any number of projects. Given, of course, that use does not bring harm the archive or the family.

Nefin's exclusive, personalized access seems to encourage her to use the archive for more than just the film. Presenting, promoting, and invoking curiosity to the collection in different forums, such as academic conferences or podcast stations also serves to promote her documentary filmmaking effort. This relationship also makes her feel personally responsible toward Antoine, his family, and life's work. That responsibility is expressed by her desire "not to waste" content that she cannot fit into the film, why she looks at book publishing and exhibitions as possible means to complete a more holistic use of the source.

The feeling of personal responsibility and affection is also projected to the future, where her film is finished and where she wishes to see the collection donated or deposited for professional archival custody and preservation. The exclusivity and individuality of access here seem to move Nefin from an instrumentally defined users into an advocate of much more complexity. In this sense, the experiences of Nefin and Nils Petter again seems to have much in common.

Nefin's case demonstrates that regulating access can, in fact be a tool used by documentary filmmakers themselves. From a documentary filmmaking perspective, the circumstances surrounding this case might not appear as very special compared to other situations and other sources where confidentiality, source-protection, and exclusivity is a conventional practice. From the archival perspective, however, Nefin's case appears exceptional and counter-intuitive. This kind of information behavior is something that Menne-Haritz' fails to take into account, just as I have not come across it in any previous archival user studies. Perhaps that is an indication that archival science and the archivist profession is actually more invested in a custodial paradigm than what we realize. The specific circumstances in this case also points to how personal collections like that of Antoine Köpe are sometimes found at the margins of our conceptual understanding of 'archives.'

Mohamedsalem- The struggle against access barriers

Mohamedsalem's experience of access to archives is largely conveyed as an administrative process. Within the production team, these tasks are roughly divided so that Mohamedsalem is in the response of local Sahrawi sources while his co-director in Sweden administers most contacts abroad. His native familiarity and personal network in the Sahrawi refugee camps is an asset, Mohamedsalem thinks. Still, he

repeatedly expresses astonishment over the administrative endeavor facing the team in order to access the archives.

When dealing with local authorities, Mohamedsalem describes it as a process of negotiation.

> **Mohamedsalem:** So say, for example we need a clearance of copyright from one of the ministries. You have to go through the chapters of [requested] material, you write them down and then you have to think about all kinds of questions you could be asked during the meetings. Calling the people that have the call to decide who to give that right to or not. […] And tell them what you are about to do and that you would like to meet them personally. Because usually people prefer it, you know, when you talk to them personally than over the phone. Just be prepared. You don't have to explain too much, but also explain in the most basic possible terminology what you are about to do, why it's important and what you need. And then when you finish, promise them [RASD-TV and Ministry of Culture] that we will give [them] a copy, that [they] can keep and also the right to use it. That's kind of the negotiation. Once you get that you get the letters [of approval], you go to the [Television archives management] and you talk to them again, show them the letter of your permission and then going to the people, the technicians who are going to work in it. Get their phone number, talking respectfully to them and be patient while they are looking for the material.
>
> **Interviewer:** And what could be the types of questions that you prepare for being asked?
>
> **Mohamedsalem:** For example, […] 'who is working on this project?' 'What is the story about?' […] Details, questions, 'When is it going to be premiered?' 'When are you going to finish the work?' […] 'Have you done anything similar before?' and all that, you know. Also it's a problem to not have any kind of budget you know, to not have any kind of financial compensation for the material they are giving you, that's also crucial. Explain that you are not getting anything out of it, financially speaking. Hope that you are straight, that you are doing it because it is important, that it can be helpful for the [national] cause.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

It is, of course, impossible to make an exact estimation or judgement, but there are multiple aspects of the situation described here to suggest that Mohamedsalem's localized knowledge is the main access key. He is able to navigate through the administrative chain of command, anticipating the survey of questions and being able to express his purpose with respect to formal and informal sensitivities.

In the end, though, Mohamedsalem is of the impression that he has got an easier time than does his co-director negotiating access and copyrights in Europe. Thus far they have not been denied access to any of his requests and have not had to submit to any restrictions in their use of local sources. Mohamedsalem mentions his "clueless" inexperience in copyright and legal procedures as one crucial obstacle, but the access barrier above all is the financial restraints.

> This is my first project, but usually people say [about] films that are based on archival materials [that] you spend a lot of money on just licensing materials, and I think it's true. In our case it's a story that has a lot to do with the past, yet we don't have the money to buy the license. So it's a really tricky situation. You have to be creative, and sometimes just realistic and to work with what you have.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]*

As an example thereof, the team had initially planned to use archival footage from the national archives of Spain, but have had to change their mind as that would be too expensive. Denied access can thus sometimes even become an incentive for creativity.

A common feature among all three projects in this case study is that a substantial part of the process is devoted to funding the work. For Mohamedsalem's *Mariem Hassan Story* in particular, access to archival sources are directly dependent on the team's budget and ability to raise funds. This ability is in turn partly determined by matters such as status, fame, and prosperity in one's career.

> As far as the institutions, those who provide funding and those people [I think] would be more willing to hear from you and trust you and support you. Depending on, that would be like correlative with the measure of success you achieve.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 1 [2019-02-24]*

When negotiating access to archives, these immaterial assets can also sometimes be used as compensation when money is short.

> The more people like documentaries and watches them, the easier it is. Because they know the value of what you're doing. The less interested they are in that sort of thing the harder for you. […] *3 stolen cameras* was helpful because when you see that the same people who was working on that project is now working on this project. So that was something to our side. And they would say 'oh yeah I heard you on the radio' or 'I watched it' or 'it was screened somewhere'. Usually it paves the way for you to be taken more seriously and people tend to be more supportive.
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

Apart from gaining a better understanding of the legal contexts regulating access and distribution rights, Mohamedsalem mentions this ability to strategically negotiate as a skill he wishes to develop in order to become a better archival user.

> How to negotiate, you know. Because so far we are depending on the good will of the people and their passion about those projects. Are there any other ways to motivate them?
>
> *Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]*

As this experience reveals, the personal attitude among archival staff and management can, at times make a difference. This difference is all the more important, the smaller the scale of the project's budget.

To conclude then, we can observe in Mohamedsalem's case how a multiplicity of factors converges when determining access and accessibility. Where financial restraints raise one barrier, social skills, knowledge, creative cunning and time can be useful assets to overcome.

Nils Petter – An agent for access and user participation
Nils Petter's long-standing involvement with the photographic archive of Jean Hermanson partly transcends the role as an archival user. As an associate and close friend to Jean, he was present before, during, and after the process of institutionalization of the archive. His close association has also enabled him to obtain a certain right of access tied to his person. This was by the requirement of Jean's family

upon donating the collection to Landskrona Foto. Thus, Nils Petter's role resembles the experience of Nefin, and like her, he feels a strong personal commitment to the fate of the archive. To him, the purpose of preserving the collection is to enable its' use.

> My opinion is that if you [an archive] have a budget, the same amount you spend on preservation for all eternity should be spent on making it visible. I think that's actually more important, that it should be seen. It sort of becomes a matter of philosophy. If you have something that aren't seen, do you really have it? And it costs a lot of money that we're all chipping in. So I think you need to do some re-thinking. I'm trying to keep working with this archive, to make it an example of how much it can come to life.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

This purpose finds expression through different means and is also a feature of the film *Heaven's Dark-room* where Nils Petter returns to find and identify the individuals that were once portrayed by Jean Hermanson. In the wake of the film, he has been involved in arranging and touring photographic exhibitions in various places around Sweden that were once documented by Jean. This is something that Nils Petter express pride and satisfaction of participating in. It highlights the importance that he attributes to the locality as a means of providing access.

> So then when the film was done we begun our tour at Björneborgs *Folkets Hus*. I Brought 250 photos with me [from the archive] that he shot on location there. […] So one part of it was this exhibition and they played the film. And then you got to write [information about the photographic motives]. […] It was an awesome feeling, filling the entire *Folkets Hus*. It was like this little township got their history told through images. All this information [that was collected] is now going back into the archive.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

The collection of information to the archive runs as a bearing element through much of Nils Petter's work with it. This makes his case an interesting case of user participation in of itself. In timing with the premiere of his ongoing project, *Heaven's Dark-Room Epilogue*, Nils Petter plans to release a new experiment of radical user-participation. The aim is to make parts of the photographic collection accessible online and to use that platform for users to submit information and further documentation to the archive.

> So I'm thinking that we'll make it 'himlensmörkrum.se' where you'll be able to click onto 'Luleå Iron works' and there you'll find a 'Furnace 90' so you could go there or click 'The Foundry'. There you'll access the photos that has got names attached to them and those that doesn't. So [the web page reads] 'Do you recognize anybody? Let us know!' That's how I'd like to set it up. That's what I'm dealing with, fighting and trying to raise money for.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

This is an example of how Nils Petter considers the living archive to function as a work of art in itself.

> That's exactly what I want to highlight in [Heaven's dark-room Epilogue], that now the archive lives on by itself. That's how you should feel you know, that the archive is bigger than me, it's bigger than Jean, you can't fathom what it is because it's so much. That's what I want to highlight.

> If you have that page and you put up photos from all these work places, and then send some ten photos to the local newspaper where they are taken. And you say 'now they're here, klick on here, send an email if there is anything.' Then if somebody recognizes their mom you say 'grab your phone, record an interview' and you put that up there too. I'd like to make it kind of a self-playing piano.

<div align="right">Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]</div>

Although his personal access to the archive is unrestricted, Nils Petter talks about institutional access barriers that he thinks prevents others from using it. These barriers are manifested in the attitude and priorities on behalf of the archival staff. This is an experience he shares with some of the romance literature novelists surveyed by Radick (2017).

> I think you need to inject another kind of knowledge. Another way of seeing archives in these places. I have met people working in archives and it seems like you become somewhat damaged from working only with archives. Like anybody gets damaged in their own field when they get too caught up. So it's good to change of perspective when you look at archives.

<div align="right">Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]</div>

> The institution puts money into tending to the archives in their custody. What they don't understand is that they're raising walls. They find it arduous when people want to make a project. I have unrestrained access because the children [made it a condition] that I would have the right to keep on working. So I think this should be a wake-up call over what we have and what we could be doing. With our culture, with all that culture that are in archives. It's endless.

<div align="right">Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]</div>

Apart from this attitude, Nils Petter also thinks that there are sociocultural and communicative barriers that make archives less accessible.

> You see these institutions saying 'we have this archive-browsing function, and you can type in and search like this' and then I say 'there is no Volvo factory worker going to browse your archive, it's not going to happen no matter how much you wish for it, because that's just not where you are.'

<div align="right">Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]</div>

Related to his own user experience as a documentary filmmaker Nils Petter also recalls financial restraints as an access barrier. Jean Hermanson too directed documentary films, but that material could not be used in *Heaven's Dark-room* due to the heavy licensing price.

> In those days it worked in a way that SVT automatically owned them. So at one point we couldn't afford using Jean's films in [Heaven's dark-room] because they are held by a unit of SVT that is obliged to make profit from them, which is absurd. So we said we couldn't use it. In a film that SVT is co-producing about a photographer that [made films for them] and we couldn't use it. Completely absurd! So there's a thing that really prevents using it. Films that should be available and displayed. We've all paid for that content collectively but then they own it.

Nils Petter, himself a practitioner and copyright holder of his creations, is somewhat critical towards institutional copyrights that risk undermining access and use.

> Sometimes a copyright that's in the wrong place can prevent things from happening to it. […] Take this exhibition we made last summer with the [Malmö art gallery] that really turned out to be a hit. […] So there comes the private [initiative]. We wanted to make something with it, and so it was an interesting collision with the public [ownership], with an institution. So I had to work a lot and try to make it happen. So I'm thinking that if the copyright is held entirely by an institution it can kill quite much. I think it's good to blend in with private stuff, you know. Films and such. That it should be allowed to be used and that somebody else should be allowed to earn a buck. […] There is a lot that could come to better use.

As an agent for access, Nils Petter calls for a more active engagement an encouragement on behalf of archivists.

> Well once you actually get yourself to an archive you can get to hear the craziest things. There should be a greater outflow of information. An institution would be able to make help of artists and kind of 'here, have a look at this, you should create something from that.' At least that's what I think.

In conclusion, bringing access to secondary users is something that Nils Petter works very actively and consciously as part of his creative process. As a primary user, Nils Petter is intimately involved with his archival institution to the point where he seems to have acquired a considerable inside-knowledge. Drawing from this experience, his user-perspective is sometimes expressed as a conflicting interest towards the institution. In Nils Petter's perspective, access is more than a passive right to use, but an act that he wishes to see archives participate more in.

5.3.4 Community

In this section I will analyze my informants' experiences of community and relate the cases to Cook's community paradigm.

Nils Petter – Class as community

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Nils Petter takes a rather passionate stand in making Jean Hermanson's photographic archive accessible. When discussing this, he often refers to the experience of the class as a barrier between communities. Nils Petter makes a distinction between something that could be described as a "cultured" or "middle class" community, to which the archival organizations are seen to belong, and the "working class" where he places himself and Jean Hermanson. Note here that I will relate to the working class, not as a sociological or economic concept, but as the culturally defined *community* (see chapter 3.3.1.). More importantly, Nils Petter considers the photographic works of Jean as something that belongs to the working class, and his works to be a continuation of that legacy. As such, the confinement of

the archive to "middle class" institutions is a deprivation of the working class communities of its communal cultural heritage, unless it is brought to their access.

> This archive takes place in the working class, while institutions are middle class. […] They can't communicate, they don't understand each other. The working class turns silent when somebody from the fancier world comes around because they feel like, 'oh now I better shut up because here comes a journalist.' The most important to me then is to go 'hello I'm not a filmmaker' kind of. First we establish some kind of connection and after that we can record. So then I could say something about my grandfather working there, crack some joke from Olofström and so on. That's also knowledge you know.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

In this description, Nils Petter asserts himself to the working class *community* as a way for him to obtain access in his professional role as a documentary filmmaker. In this example, the class is a community rooted in the experience of industrial labor, but in many instances, Nils Petter relates to the community by definition of location or workplace.

> What I've noticed works best is to first show a sample [of photographs] in local papers, or radio or something. But also nowadays it's been pretty cool to join 'All of us living in Luleå' or 'Old Luleå' or 'The plant in Björneborg', facebook groups. Then I feel very far from how institutions work. So once I join a [facebook-] group, upload a photo and write a little bit about Jean and 'hello, is there anybody recognizing anything?' 'Where is this photo taken?' On some occasions it just goes 'bang', it just explodes! You get names, this person, that person and sometimes just 'that's me on that photo!' So just by a few clicks you get the photo back home again. To the people. Afterwards you really have a lot of ideas on where to go shooting.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

> Additionally, it's local history. Where [Jean] has been is a jackpot for that small community.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

Identifying and locating a photography's communal context here becomes a tool for Nils Petter.
Through his work then, communal knowledge is added to the archive.

> Now I find it so awesome, like when we were in Motala I brought several hundred photos and then I found a guy that I could hand them over to. So I'd say to him 'help me out with this' and then half a year later I come and collect them and they are completely filled with information without anyone having to do any work. Or I mean it doesn't require any resources. The same thing in Olofström, there is an old man there where I'd just go 'here!' That's the best thing he knows, old photos and such. So he's been trawling the archives of Volvo and recognizes stuff, you know.

> *Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]*

The sense of community is as most prominent when discussing his experiences from traveling and re-visiting the locations where Jean's pictures were taken.

> So what's happening to me then is that a whole archive comes to life. Turns into flesh and blood and real life. The whole archive has changed to me. When I was with Jean and working with him,

the whole archive felt so old. It's so old, it's impossible to find anyone or all the work places are gone. And the that turned out not to be true. That's such an exciting thing to see the archive come to life in so many ways. People are calling me and things happening all the time. Somebody discovered their father or something, it never ends!

Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]

In Nils Petter's concept of making the archive come to life, it is the sense of community and belonging that could be seen as the life-injecting ingredient.

Everything goes together! I view this almost as one and the same artistic project, art, film, books. And then all what is happening! What happened in Björneborg at Folkets Hus [community center] was like a part of the artwork. People came there and saw themselves in the photographs and then sat to watch the film. And in these parts of the film where the workers are given homage the atmosphere went like crazy. People were crying! And I felt like, if we're going to talk of some kind of finished work then it should be exactly that what happened in that room. It can't get any more beautiful than what's happening in that moment.

Nils Petter Löfstedt, Interview [2019-03-27]

Nils Petter's communal perspective seems to have been strengthened throughout the process of information gathering and research. In the course of that work, Nils Petter's artistic use of the archive, merged with his community documentation and efforts to bring community access to the collection has moved him across the roles of user, creator to advocate and archivist. The documentary film projects based on the archive too has merged into bits and pieces of a much broader context of the archive as its' artistic creation. This notion of the communal interaction as part of the artwork is perhaps best captured in Nils Petter's vision for a community-generated online collection that he hopes to launch. This merging or transcending of his role as a user makes Nils Petter's case correspond quite literally to Terry Cook's definition of "participatory archiving—the activist-archivist mentors' collaborative evidence- and memory-making." Should we conclude then that Nils Petter, is in fact more of an *archivist* than an archival *user* in the community paradigm?

Nefin – Community mediator
Nefin's main archival source is the written memoirs of Antoine Köpe. The memoir is at the same time an artifactual object in the family archive, a primary source of information for Nefin and a work of literature. It belongs both literally and figuratively to the family. Antoine's stated purpose is to write his life-story into the family's collective memory, hoping that his offspring will carry in this tradition, expanding the archive. This intention makes Antoine's work a seemingly good example of community archiving.

Antoine Köpe talks about how his father wrote about the Köpe family and how he, Antoine, is continuing his fathers work. He hopes that people will continue expanding the family legacy, to say. In that sense I think the family are happy that we are doing it.

Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-27]

After our deaths, mine and that of my devoted and beloved wife, all of this documentation, memories and documents shall go to the Köpe grandson who will have showed his devotion to this

family, unless I dispose of it during my lifetime. For whoever receives my memories, I invite you to continue my work by adding memories from the new generation. Thus resulting in documentation that will be more and more interesting for our descendants.

Antoine Köpe, read by narrator in one of the project's trailers (antoinekope.com).

Nefin's work with turning the memoir into a film takes the character of a user from outside of the community who gains access, aiming at striking a mutually beneficial purpose for the community and her audience.

In her previous work, Nefin is used to raising questions around identity and belonging, seemingly comfortable with taking an outside perspective.

What I like about him is that he lived in this multi-ethnic, multi-national, multi-religious empire, and it was natural for him to mingle with all sorts of people and I enjoy imagining that. Because the world we live in is very dry in a sense. That's how I see it, very one-dimensional in my opinion, so it's very fascinating what he has to say to us. How it was normal for him to be around all sorts of different people. And it's hard for us to imagine, for us in Turkey that this was the case one hundred years ago. That's why he grew on me. And the film called *The other town* it deals with nationalism, on how one-dimensional it is so it's kind of a continuation of that work.

Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-27]

Although the production of *Antoine the fortunate* will eventually involve a team of several production companies and specialists, Nefin's artistic career is largely her individual project. Tasks within the project are divided according to conventional roles of production, and Nefin seems to value her artistic independence and professional integrity.

There are no sponsors. If I need to talk about Turkey, they prefer to give the money, you know big funders, to projects that wouldn't stir anything. Something sterile maybe. And they would give the money to big shots, big names and I'm not either. This is about World War One and how the Ottoman Empire collapsed and the modern Turkish republic. So it really touches upon sensitive issues so they don't want to support this. Also I'm not a big name, I don't know important people in Turkey, so I don't have any relationship in that sense. In western Europe […] things are probably easier, there are large funds. I know in Germany there are. It's easier, you really don't need to seek a patron to make your documentary. And I'm planning to do crowdfunding toward the end of the project. Once everything is in order I'm planning to look for money to finalize and to distribute it.

Nefin Dinç, interview 2 [2019-03-01]

Similarly, most of Nefin's work with *Antoine the fortunate* thus far has been carried out by her alone, in occasional correspondence with her co-producer in Greece. In this regard, Nefin's experience is running somewhat contrary to the case of Mohamedsalem's collective style of production. When applying Cook's paradigmatic reading, perhaps then Nefin's experience is best described as a case of postmodern archival use. Individuality, identity, and integrity characterize both archival and artistic expression. The role she takes within the communal context reminds of Cook's description of the postmodern *mediator*-archivist as "a conscious mediator aiding society in forming its own multiple identities through recourse to archival memory (2013; 113)."

Mohamedsalem – Sahrawi as a community

Mohamedsalem's sense of the Sahrawi refugee population as a community prevails throughout our conversations. As we have already seen, Mohamedsalem relates his artistic and journalistic work as a function to serve the interest of his community. The *Mariem Hassan Story* is written and told from a perspective of shared community membership, and Mohamedsalem has indeed utilized his community membership as a means of access in his archival use.

Mohamedsalem's ambiguous self-description, documentarian, citizen journalist, media activist, or "just a Sahrawi trying to change the situation" is interesting in the light of Cook's theory. Community membership comes first, while vocation is secondary. This is another contrast to Nefin who "always knew [she] wanted to become a documentary filmmaker."

Mohamedsalem also conveys a perspective where it is within the community he gets his vocational status.

> So in my situation, the fact that I'm in a refugee camp and all those difficulties, it might make you, maybe, maybe classify [Sahrawi Voice] as a media outlet. But in a different place you are just a regular person with a certain hobby. I know people would not treat you the same if you are an established journalist, or a filmmaker or you are enjoying the backing of a huge company and media outlet. […] I felt that a little bit during a talk we gave at Göteborg University for a journalism class. And it was me and [another Sahrawi citizen journalist] and a photographer from Associated Press. […] He was a piece of shit and people were treating him *not* accordingly. It worked with them, he was so full of himself, people asking him all their questions, targeting him and almost ignoring us. And that's really [laughs] not nice to have, you know.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]

At the same time, Mohamedsalem too needs to assert himself as a community member or a community agent to obtain access to archival sources.

> Our peers who are doing stuff, blogging in Hassaniya arabic, people know them. But that's not the case for us, so you [have to] understand that also. Be ready to explain why they haven't heard of you and why you do what you do in English. Explaining that there is a lot of people who do it in Arabic and there is a lack of material in English, that's why you are taking up that challenge. It can be appreciated by them.

Mohamedsalem Werad, interview 2 [2019-03-14]

The practical production methods that Mohamedsalem and his team employ are also interesting with Cook's fourth paradigm in mind. Roles and division of labor are somewhat ambiguous within the group, and an internal archive is shaped, used, and facilitated collectively with a high degree of self-taught archival intelligence. Moreover, Mohamedsalem's archival awareness, his journalistic research, and artistic practice merge into a practice that transcends either of these roles, bearing some resemblance to the case of Nils Petter.

> Personally when I find something interesting on the internet about Western Sahara I just download it and if I ever need it, like for a project we are going to screen or anything we just have a copy of it. Of course it is not the best, internet-version but it's something. Then if I ever need it then you should try and connect with those people to get permission to use it. But not just leave it there

because people might not have it, it can be taken down from the internet, it might be lost. Even themselves they can lose that material they have so it's gone, you know.

As such Mohamedsalem's case fits well as a role model of the contemporary information- and media landscape that Cook envisions the contemporary archivist to "mentor".

6. Concluding discussion

6.1 Archival Intelligence

When I set out to conduct this case study, I expected that my findings would suggest a general applicability of Yakel and Torres' archival intelligence model from one category of users to another. As these results show, however, my expectations were not met. As this is a qualitative small-number case study, it does not provide means to re-phrase Yakel and Torres' model into a more universally applicable model of archival intelligence in users. Yet, I hope that careful analysis of these results could still serve to identify some errors in the model.

6.1.1. Holistic small archive experience

Nils Petter and Nefin each represent a case of what I have called holistic use of archives. As seen in Chapter 5.2, their respective film project is firmly based on the close reading of one particular archival collection. The writing-browsing dynamic here begins with browsing and examination of the source, which then will determine how the source is used for the project. In Table 2, we see that both Nefin and Nils Petter are using their main sources for several projects apart from the film itself. That too is an outcome of their holistic experience where several modes of usage are converging in one and the same archive by one and the same user. Yakel and Torres presuppose that archival users knows how they will use a source and thus would know how to distinguish a useful source from a useless one. Archival intelligence, therefore, is framed as a set of abilities to arrive at usefulness and avoid uselessness. Nils Petter and Nefin shows that this is not necessarily the case, usefulness can be discovered and invented over the course of the project(s).

6.1.2. Indirect institutional archival experience

Mohamedsalem's case represents a writing-browsing process that begins with writing. The case makes a clearer distinction between useful and useless sources, although we can still observe multiple layers of usefulness (See page 47). Mohamedsalem's experience better resembles the purpose of Yakel and Torres' archival intelligence, but as we have seen in Chapter 5.3 is to a higher degree disconnected from the archival browsing process. This has led me to frame Mohamedsalem's as a case of indirect archival experience. Traits of archival intelligence, research and user expertise are helpful to arrive at the archive but is there outsourced to professionals. In that, Mohamedsalem's experience resembles that of Yakel and Bost's study on *administrative use* (1994). As an experience of institutional archives, Mohamedsalem is most responsive Yakel and Torres' *knowledge of archival theory, practice and procedure*. His main challenge as an archival user is framed as an overwhelming experience in the face of rules regulating his usership.

6.1.3. Further research

The results of my study suggests two important factors that the Archival Intelligence model fails to take into account. First, the model does not consider ways in which the

purpose of archival use might affect expressions of archival intelligence. To identify user groups according to the purpose of their archival use (rather than their information need), more quantitative examinations across the spectrum of archival users would be a welcome contribution to the field. It is my conviction that the archival science community could benefit more and take inspiration from the library and information sciences, both in terms of their results and methodology as well as a general attitude toward the study of usership.

Secondly, I suspect that archival user studies, not least my very own, suffer from a blinding one-sidedness in our individualistic approach to archival users. This too could be counted as a liability of the Archival Intelligence model. The cases of documentary film productions that I have examined are to varying degrees examples of teamwork. Collective or collaborative aspects of archival use points to some important questions to reflect upon, as my study have only begun scratching the surface of. When analyzing archival users as teams rather than individuals, static categories of user, records creator and archivist might have to be renegotiated. In doing so, methodologies of archival ethnography would provide valuable tools of research. Yakel's concept *community of records* could serve a suitable point of departure for an expansion of research and theory into this topic.

6.2. Access

Cases of documentary filmmaking adds several layers of complexity to the question of archival access. Documentary film-use of archives partly takes Menne-Haritz' concept of memory-*reconstruction* one step further into an actual re-*appropriation* of archival sources. Doing so, documentary film users and the archives they are accessing are faced with questions around copy- and distribution rights. This added layer of legal and commercial complexity is something that is in part external and indifferent to Menne-Haritz' conceptualization of "access as an attitude" (Menne-Haritz; 61) on behalf of archival institutions and individual staff.

Nonetheless, Menne-Haritz' access paradigm could fit within a broader discussion spanning across multiple levels of society. The emergence of the remix (Routledge 2015) as a cultural genre and creative tool, the renegotiation of immaterial ownership and privacy are some examples of the (supposed) paradigmatic shift occurring throughout the contemporary information landscape.

In this case study, access is proven to be a factor of great importance. There is however no one single user-perspective to take away from my results, but rather a plurality of examples of how access is still largely a negotiated relation between user and owner. Nefin's case demonstrates that access-regulation is sometimes a tool that documentary film directors can employ themselves. Nils Petter on the other hand demonstrates that bringing access can be an equally applicable component in the artist toolbox. Mohamedsalem's case highlights access as a process embedded with the overall journalist craft. Nils Petter's view comes across as particularly responsive to Menne-Haritz' theoretical reasoning. To him re-appropriation and use of archival sources is sometimes framed as a question of philosophical or existential nature. Access as archival *raison d'etre*.

Confronted with the archival experiences of these film directors, not very much seems to support the idea that access alone would account for a universally embraced paradigm across the archival world. To fully explore that topic, research oriented toward the archival staff and institutions would make a better case. If, however, one

takes the perspectives of these users, a useful archive is indeed an accessible one. In that perspective, which is shared by Menne-Haritz, the documentary film itself makes an interesting tool for access. Apart from the secondary access to an audience of viewers, both Nefin and Mohamedsalem demonstrate that an important way to discover archives is through other filmmaker's works. Nils Petter similarly suggests that there is an untapped pool of potential archival users in the artistic communities. An archival organization that aspire toward making their collections more accessible or visible to use might thus find that documentary film directors could make a strategic partner to such ends.

6.3. Community

As part of my case study I have analyzed the experiences of documentary film directors as actors in a communal context. Results show that there is a certain awareness and conceptualization of archives as community belongings on behalf of my informants. How they see their own agency in relation to communities vary slightly from case to case, but they all contain elements of what could also fit within Cook's description of community activism.

Nefin comes across as someone who aims at using archival- and communal access to convey a human story. Her agency as a documentary film director is expressed as a desire to mediate and build bridges between communities. To that end, communal gatekeeping could pose an access barrier and necessitates a great deal of sensitivity and reflexivity on behalf of Nefin. In her ongoing project, *Antoine the fortunate* responsibility (rather than community loyalty) is an important factor that she needs to balance against possible future demands or limitations on behalf of project sponsorship. Nefin's desire to "make justice" to the archive and legacy of Antoine Köpe is an expression of this feeling of responsibility. This makes her role as mediator extend beyond the documentary film project into a role of advocate and access-bringer of Köpe's archive in general. With reference to Cook's four paradigms then, perhaps Nefin's case could be seen representing the mediator-role being passed over from the postmodern mediator-archivist to her as archival user. Cook's ideal activist-archivist would perhaps find its' role in connecting sincere and responsible mediators like Nefin with the communities and community records that she wishes to access.

Mohamedsalem and Nils Petter are by contrast seemingly more invested in their respective community loyalties. Mohamedsalem's *Sahrawi Voice*, is by its' very name telling of the role he takes as community agent. His role partly resembles the mediatorship of Nefin in that he is an inside actor interpreting a communal story to an outside audience. The communal archivist that Mohamedsalem needs would similarly be one that facilitates and connects him as a user to the useful sources within the communal context, archiv. This sets him apart from Nils Petter who rather sees the archive of his use as *by* the community *for* the community. Nils Petter who himself embodies many activist-archivist traits, repeatedly calls for something of an inversion of the archivist role I envisioned aiding the cases of Mohamedsalen and Nefin. Rather than serving archival users by connecting them to the community sources of their desire, Nils Petter envisions archivists proactively recruiting and inviting artists and community members as users of archives they didn't know of.

In all three cases, calls for post-custodial archivist intervention surfaced in different ways. That seems not, however, to be the kind of top-down intervention of organizational streamlining experts as envisioned by Gerald Ham (1981). The desired

intervention is rather aligned with the dynamic activist of Cook's community paradigm. Nefin and the Köpe family calls for an archivist with institutional ties that could help manage and preserve Antoine's personal archive. Somebody with preservationist skills to help Nils Petter with his photographic negatives. Somebody skilled in digital storage to help Mohamedsalem and his team, or somebody who knows distribution laws and negotiations. Or somebody who can map out and create databases for possible sources.

Apart from mediators or community voices, documentary filmmakers are also records creators. In this regard Mohamedsalem's team serves particularly well as an example of a micro community engaged in internal archiving. Similarly, Nils Petter refers to something that could possibly be described as a community of photographers, each building personal archival collections of their own. However, there is nothing mentioned throughout my interviews that would suggest the existence of documentary filmmakers as a "community of records", in the like of Yakel and Torres' study of genealogists (2007). As it is not included in the aim of this thesis, additional research needs to be done to properly explore this subject. I find it interesting nonetheless when, for example, Mohamedsalem discusses how he tries reaching out to fellow journalists and filmmakers in order to access and appropriate their footage. Nefin too mentions how she carefully studies the credit-rolls of other filmmaker's works for tips and guidance to archival sources. Seeing how wide-spread re-appropriations seems as a practice in documentary filmmaking, I am left curious as to why more communal structures of record-sharing does not seem to have erupted among these creators. Perhaps forging or encouraging such a mutually beneficial community of records is one of the tasks at hand for Cook's communal activist-archivist?

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Appendix I: Guide for first interview sessions

Walk through career and personal background
            Documentary filmmaker or something else originally?
            How did it start? Documentarism or film?
            When did you decide to go pro?
            Archival experience or education?
            Personal field of expertise?
            Next level; what skills do you aspire to develop?

Previous work:
            How do you get ideas?
            What determines which ideas get materialized?
            Differences and similarities now and then?
            Do you have a genre?

Ongoing project
            Walk through, how did start?
            Who is involved? Division of tasks?
            Idea developed?
            Simultaneous projects?

The archive
            Management
            Staff
            Space/ storage
            Users

Describe the archival material
            What? (material and content)
            Creators/ collectors?
            How much?
            How is it organized?

A day of work
            Hours- a day and total?
                  Most time-consuming task?
            Struggles along the way?
            Relationship to owners?
            Competition and/ or relationship to "patrons"?

Have you or somebody else been working to reorganize the archive?

Last question: Is there any literature, film or anything else that you think I should read and watch to gain a better understanding of you and your current project?

Appendix II: Guide for second interview sessions.

Follow-up from last interview
> Personalized to informant.

Inventory
Of archival sources used.

Rules and conditions given by owners?
> By you?
> How formalized is it?

A day of non-administrative work with the film?
How do you prepare?
Hours- a day and total?
> > Most time-consuming task?
> > Now vs Beginning
> Struggles along the way?
> > Now vs Beginning?
> Relationship to owners?
> > Now vs. Beginning?
> Competition and/ or relationship to "patrons"?
> What kind of help would you ask an archivist?

Theory:
Compare to your personal stock-archive?

In effect, aren't you expanding the story and the archive through your work?
> Ownership?
> Digitation and copies?
> Future access?
> Editing as appraisal?

Where does one archive end, where does your archive begin?
Where does your archive end and where does your "product" begin?
Comparing material you've used to multimedia- and autobiographic behavior of today?
> Documentarist techniques?
> Comparing to how you would know a living person?

Archival Intelligence
> Thoughts on the phrase?
> **Archival theory, practice and procedure**
> > Comfort in archival environment?
> > Language? Do you and archivist/ holders understand each
other?
> > Who can you ask for help?
> > Do you get asked for help?
> > Internalization of rules?
> **Strategies for reducing uncertainty and ambiguity**

How do you know where to start?

Understanding the structure of the collection? Is that something you would like to?

Logging browse history?

Intellective skills

Is there any representational relationships?

How do you plan your archival visits?

Artefactual literacy

Are you familiar or involved in the process of migrating material or in other ways making it "readable"?

What do you then do to the material in making it understandable to the viewer?

Methods of application

How do you value material (when requesting it form archive)?

Do you usually know what you will get when you request it?

Do you ever get surprised by what you find?

When applying it in the film: Visual, sound, information, symbolism?

History on film

Do you have a historicity (interpretation, theory or perspective of history)?

In general?

With this film?