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This study explored how reality genealogy television programming portrayed archival encounters to public viewers during journeys of family discovery. It analyzed content from prime time shows *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr* to understand how portrayals of archives, archivists, archival materials and research aligned with traditional archival stereotypes and the professional archival image. The author expanded upon previous research on the archival image and stereotypes in media by analyzing contemporary programs popular among genealogists, one of the largest constituents of archives. The study found some stereotypes were upheld while others were absent, and others were ambiguously portrayed. The findings suggested that reality genealogy television programs failed to deliver a nuanced depiction of the archival profession. The author suggested that increased public outreach and collaboration could help improve the archival image and spread understanding of the role of archives in society.

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THE ARCHIVAL IMAGE REVISITED: AN ANALYSIS OF ARCHIVAL ENCOUNTERS PORTRAYED BY GENEALOGY TELEVISION PROGRAMMING

by
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Introduction

Archivists have a long held fascination with the public's perception of archives, and for good reasons. The public's ideas of what archives are and what archivists do reflect the outward professional image archivists present to society. At the heart of archival work is a fiduciary responsibility to the public to preserve society's historical record. The Society of American Archivists' (SAA) (2011) "Core Values of Archivists" emphasizes the identification and preservation of "essential parts of the cultural heritage of society," and states the role of the archivist is to "select, preserve, and make available primary sources that document the activities of institutions, communities, and individuals." If society does not know of this responsibility of archivists or see the importance of archives to society, their mission falls flat. The archival image is how archivists represent themselves to the public and confirms their place within society.

It is now believed the archival profession's image and perceived societal importance not only affects public support but that of funding departments and agencies. Society's perception of archives impacts an institution's financial status and capacity to fulfill its mission. It is not surprising, then, that archival professionals and scholars are concerned with their image and stereotypes that manifest from public perceptions. Images of archives invoke stereotypes particularly in the minds of individuals uninitiated in archival research. As repositories of old stuff, archives are thought to be ominous, dusty intimidating, and elitist, and archivists are solitary, middle-aged, and bespectacled with poor fashion sense and even poorer social skills.

Rising to prominence as a hobby and career in the last several decades, genealogy and family history has spurred an increased interest in archival research among individuals not previously ranked among visitors of archives. Genealogists are one of the largest user groups of archives, and genealogical research is a major driving force for the public to seek out archival records. Consequently, increased public exposure to archives through family history could affect prevailing stereotypes by improving public knowledge of archives and the archival profession. In addition, genealogy's popularity brought about genealogy-based television shows that further piqued public interest in conducting their own family history research. In the last decade, these shows gained popularity on prime time television lineups, and extended their reach to a large public audience.

To counteract negative stereotypes and misinformation, archivists advocated for and now actively incorporate outreach, advocacy, and public education into their work to improve transparency – transparency in what archives are, what archivists do, and how the public can benefit from their services (Gracy, 1984; Grabowski, 1992; O'Toole, 1994; Craig, 1995; Mason, 2014). Across centuries, archives changed and evolved with societal needs, and some scholars believe the shifting role of archives and archivists within society created an ambiguity and confusion from which stereotypes originated (Craig, 1995; Procter, 2010).

In this paper, I use the Oxford English Dictionary definition of stereotypes: "A preconceived and oversimplified idea of the characteristics which typify a person, situation, etc." Walter Lippmann coined the term stereotype for modern psychology. In his formative work on public opinion, Lippmann (1922/2017) stated "In the great

blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture" (p. 81). Bodenhausen, Todd, and Becker (2007) in the *Encyclopedia of Social Psychology*, discussed stereotype formation research and one perspective asserted their formation is possibly linked to cognitive processes. This perspective stated that stereotype creation is a function of human knowledge to "organiz[e] and structur[e] one's understanding of the social environment." As people are exposed to information about members of various social groups from a variety of sources, including television and other media, they begin to form stereotypes "determined by which aspects of this parade of information he or she pays attention to and remembers" (p. 940).

The term stereotype is suggested here to be neither negative nor positive, though according to Bodenhausen, Todd, and Becker (2007), stereotypes predominately depict more negative than positive characteristics (p. 940). They also argued that, "for people to form accurate images of a social group, they would need to be exposed to representative samples of group members." This may be difficult if representative samples are "hard to come by (especially for groups that are personally encountered less frequently) if the media, gossip, and other forms of public discourse focus selectively on the more negative aspects of a social group's behavior" (p. 940-941). Bodenhausen, Todd, and Becker (2007) reiterated "it is an open question just how accurate most social stereotypes are" (p. 941).

The origins of preconceived notions, such as stereotypes, are difficult to trace, but one potential origin is media (Lippmann, 1997; Stroessner & Plaks, 2013; Ellithorpe,

2015). Lippmann (1997) argued that the stereotypes presented in our culture are absorbed through mass media as well as through family, peer groups, and interactions with others (p. xxiv). The non-archival public encounters archives through exposure to a variety of media capable of broadly disseminating information. Scholars have analyzed the image and stereotypes of archives and archivists in several formats of media, including books, film, newspapers, and television. This paper expands upon these previous media studies by examining portrayals of archival encounters in genealogy reality television programs.

In particular, this paper explores how genealogy television shows portray archival encounters to public viewers during journeys of family discovery. It analyzes content from two of the most popular prime time shows of that genre, *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr*, to understand how the shows' portrayals of archives and archivists align with current stereotypes. In doing so, this paper looks to answer one central question: How are archival encounters portrayed in two popular American genealogy television shows, *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr?* From this central question arise further inquiries. Do these portrayals of archival encounters reflect previously identified stereotypes of archives, archivists, and archival work? Do they relate to the non-archival world's preconceived notions as to what archives are and what archivists do? Is genealogical research in archives presented in a whole, truthful, and accessible manner to the public? Are the television programs' portrayals of archival encounters evidence of a changing perception of the public to archivists and the archives in which they work?

Literature Review

The Rise of the Archival Profession

> Archivists must feel a need to explore the origins of their profession, to understand the circumstances and forces that have determined its evolution, and, with such understanding, to anticipate and prepare for the future. (Posner, 1972, p. 1)

Ernst Posner's eloquent quote reminds archivists to explore their professional history to anticipate what lies ahead. The image and stereotypes of archives and archivists in the present are intricately linked to the history of the profession and its evolution into the future. What archives are and what archivists do evolved over time, and with it evolved the archive's and archivist's purposes and perceptions in society. Reflective of this importance, literature on the history of archives and the archive profession abounds (Berner, 1983; Brosius, 2003; Cook, 1983; Duchein, 1992; L. Gilliland-Swetland, 1991; Jimerson, 2009; O'Toole, 1990; Posner, 1940; Posner, 1964; Posner, 1972). Because the history of the American archival profession is indelibly connected to Europe, this literature review will first explore the writings on the origins of the profession in Europe and work toward the rise of the profession in America.

Posner, a German archivist and past professor of archives at American University, was an influential writer on archival history. His 1972 work titled *Archives in the Ancient World* was the first to highlight the ancient origins of archives. Since the creation of cuneiform tablets in the fourth millennium BCE, Posner (1972) recounted that governments, religious and economic institutions, and other official bodies produced

archival records. Officials kept track of accounts, taxes, and other administrative records, and preserved these materials for their administrative value as documentation of official processes (Posner, 1972). Early medieval archives, according to Posner (1940), were similar in characteristics to ancient archives. Whether ecclesiastical or secular, they were restricted to financial or legal records kept and arranged for administrative purposes (Posner, 1940).

Posner's writings influenced others to incorporate into their work the history of archives in general, and ancient archives in particular. Contributors to Maria Brosius' (2003) *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* examined ancient record-keeping concepts. Brosius (2003) reminded readers that these ancient repositories were not meant for public use because they belonged to kings, priests, and other authorities of the state. This meant that access to records was limited (Brosius, 2003, p. 10-11). Randall Jimerson, professor of history and past president of SAA, supported this argument. He stated that, "The concept of archives prior to the French Revolution referred almost exclusively to documents privileging legal or economic privileges to the state, the church, the nobility, or the merchant class" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 66). Public archives did not exist in the modern sense because they belonged to political authorities of the state and not the general citizenry (Jimerson, 2009).

In the late eighteenth century, Posner (1940) claimed, "the French Revolution mark[ed] the beginning of a new era in archives administration" (p. 161) with the introduction of a new national public archives in France. This signified an effort to centralize the scattered provincial depositories under one organization. Posner (1940) also argued that the Revolution resulted in the state acknowledging its responsibility to

care for its historically valuable documentary heritage. According to American historian and professor James O'Toole (1990), the French Revolution democratized society and, with it, archival functions. The French believed records were critical to preserve because they "protected the rights of the people" (O'Toole, 1990, p. 29). Posner (1940) indicated this was "the first time archives were legally opened and held subject to public use" (p. 162).

Thus, a fundamental shift began in which archives moved from privately closed to publicly open records. As a result, Jimerson (2009) argued that the French Revolution caused a "paradigm shift in archival identity" (p. 67). French Revolutionaries initially viewed archives as "hated symbols of feudal oppression" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 67) by the state and the church. After the Revolution, Western society began viewing archives as "essential elements of a free, democratic society and its citizens" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 67). Public citizens, Jimerson (2009) touted, now had the right to access government records to protect their legal and property interests and ward against government wrongs. Archives that once "served only lawyers, government officials, and interests of the crown" shifted in the nineteenth century with a promise "to serve the public interest" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 73).

According to French archivist Michel Duchein (1992), Napoleon's conquests in Europe spread the new concepts of French government, administrative, and legal functions throughout Europe. As a result, by 1815, archives had undergone radical change beyond France into the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and Spain (Duchein, 1992, p. 17). At the end of the nineteenth century, the French archival model of access and citizens' rights spread wide across the Western world (Jimerson, 2009; O'Toole, 1990;

Posner, 1940). Duchein (1992) also argued that the French Revolution paved the way for professional archival training. Because the Revolution suppressed most monasteries and tribunals where archivists once trained to read and interpret old documents, it spurred demand for the first archival schools in Europe to compensate for the loss. By the 1850s, Duchein (1992) concluded that the basis of modern archival science arrived in Europe with the arrangement principles of provenance and respect des fonds.

Duchein (1992) believed the rise of archival schools and theory in Europe enhanced specialization and helped the archival profession find autonomy from similar professions, such as librarianship. Jimerson (2009) agreed, stating that the emergence of archival theory made the work of archives "distinct from bureaucratic, historical, or library approaches to documents" and "marked the beginnings of a nascent new profession of archivists" (p. 72). Jimerson (2009) wrote that, as theory and practice grew, Dutch archivists became aware of common archival interests and established the world's first archival professional association. In 1898, this association commissioned the publication of the famous Dutch manual by S. Muller, J. A. Feith, and R. Fruin, which solidified archival theory and practice in print. The manual was widely translated and, as Jimerson (2009) argued, directly influenced the second-most influential archives manual written by British archivist Sir Hilary Jenkinson in 1922 titled, *A Manual of Archive Administration*. Jimerson (2009) went on to state, "Virtually all European and North American writing about archival theory owes a debt to Muller, Feith, and Fruin" (p. 75).

Overseas in the New World, James O'Toole (1990) claimed that European settlers and explorers brought with them their record-keeping practices. In the French manner of democratic archives, colonial Americans had a right to access public records to assure

their legal rights were protected (O'Toole, 1990). Colonists were preserving their own archival record of public documents in what O'Toole (1990) identified as the "public records tradition" (p. 30). Initially, they kept documentation of land sales, vital records of births, marriages, and deaths, and probate records. Colonists assigned responsibility of public record creation and preservation to government authorities (O'Toole, 1990). As an emerging nation, Jimerson (2009) argued, it was essential for the United States to keep accurate records of public business.

In the late 1700s, as the French Revolution continued abroad, the rise of historical societies in America marked a shifting interest in preserving private papers. The first established repository to collect and preserve these personal materials was the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791 (Jimerson, 2009). Unlike the public records collected to uphold legal rights, Jimerson (1990) argued that private papers were collected to retain evidence of the actions of great elite—and at the time, White—men and to bolster a new national identity. The rise of historical societies occurred simultaneously with the rising interest in historical study in what Richard Berner (1983) and O'Toole (1990) identified as the "historical manuscripts tradition" (O'Toole, 1990, p. 31). In this tradition, historical societies and historical studies considered individuals' records as valuable material because they held insights into the past. Personal papers, O'Toole (1990) argued, were not saved for their value to protect rights, as were public documents, but their value to document history. Thus evolved a delineation in American archival purpose with what O'Toole (1990) called "two parallel efforts" (p. 32): public officials, administrators, and clerks preserved government records as their administrative

duties; and historians and curators preserved historical manuscripts for research and writing.

Ernst Posner (1957) called the delineation in America between archives and manuscripts an "unfortunate dichotomy" (p. 7); one that he hoped was to be bridged with the work of archivists Solon J. Buck, Lester J. Cappon, and Katherine Brand. The duality in American archival approaches began in colonial times and, according to O'Toole (1990), continued into the late 1800s with the rise of the historical profession and the founding of the American Historical Association (AHA). Scholars credited the formation of the American archival profession to the work of the AHA (Cook, 2009; Cox, 1986; Posner, 1957; Russell, 1983). Jimerson (2009), echoing O'Toole's (1990) sentiments, believed AHA reinforced the duality of archival approaches to preservation with the establishment of their first two standing committees: The Historical Manuscripts Commission and the Public Archives Commission.

Formed in 1895, AHA's Historical Manuscripts Commission searched for and compiled lists of private manuscripts in the United States to ameliorate the historians' lack of primary documentary sources. This aligned with Berner's (1983) and O'Toole's (1990) historical manuscripts tradition to preserve documents for historical research and writing. In 1899, AHA established the Public Archives Commission to survey existing government records and promote better care of public documents. This government approach aligned with Berner's (1983) public archives tradition and O'Toole's (1990) similarly named public records tradition to preserve records for legal purposes. Each committee was charged with surveying existing records throughout the country, but by

creating one commission for government records and one for public records, AHA upheld the duality of American archival approaches to preservation.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, state archives popped up throughout the United States. Jimerson (2009) linked this phenomenon to the growing public archives movement. Jimerson (2009) then argued that, in 1901, the two traditions—bureaucratically oriented public archives and historically oriented historical manuscripts—came together with the founding of the first formal state archive, the Alabama Department of Archives and History. It proved that "Archives could serve both a historical role and a public administration function" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 95), thus melding the two traditions into one institution.

In nineteenth century Britain, a shift in perception of archives and archivists occurred along a similar plane as in the United States. According to Margaret Procter (2010), professor of record and archive studies at University of Liverpool, British professionals once designated record keepers became archivists, not so much in title but in action, as they shifted into a public role of "providing access to records for 'literary' rather than legal purposes" (p. 18). The 1838 Public Record Office Act spurred these changes in duties, which expanded responsibilities beyond the traditional bureaucratic keeper role to a role of historian-helper. This was what Procter (2010) deemed more in line with an "archivist persona" (p. 18).

As their roles diversified, Procter (2010) argued that British archivists (or registrars) were seen as both government officials linked to bureaucratic functions as well as administers of documents used for historical research. By the 1880s, Procter (2010) believed the functional shift solidify as "'archivists' (though not necessarily 'keepers')

were […] seen as grouped more properly with the historian than with the bureaucrat" (p. 20). A shift from bureaucrat to archivist continued into the turn of the twentieth century when archivists were regarded as co-workers of historians—the individual who made possible the research and writing of history (Procter, 2010). The change in duties of archivists from bureaucratically oriented to historically oriented, Procter (2010) argued, confused the public's perception of the archivist.

Barbara Craig and James O'Toole (2000) argued that archivists had a dual personality stemming from their dual understanding of the "utilitarian role of records in administration and the law" as well as the "historical changes in records and the contingent circumstances in which they thrived" (Craig & O'Toole, 2000, p. 125). Craig and O'Toole (2000) conducted a preliminary exploration into how British and American portraits as well as genre paintings depicted records, documents, books, reading, and writing. They posited that the study would help archivists "understand contemporary perceptions of records by artists, sitters, and viewers" for a more holistic contextual view of textual archival records (Craig & O'Toole, 2000, p. 97). Craig and O'Toole (2000) believed that the depiction of documents in art could bridge the divide between the "contending versions of archives" (p. 125).

In the United States, the twentieth century saw movement toward a solidified archival profession. Richard J. Cox (1986), lead professor for University of Pittsburgh's Archives and Information Science program, posited that "professionalism has been a consistent theme" at least "since the founding of the first public archives in 1901" (p. 230). American archivists, like their European colleagues, felt a growing need to establish a professional identity separate from librarians and historians (Blegen, 1936;

Leland, 1911; Newsome, 1936). In 1909, the AHA created the Conference of Archivists as a hub of archival interest and action—what O'Toole called "the locus of professional archival activity" (p. 34), and what Cox (1986) deemed the precursor of SAA.

By the 1920s, new American archivists continued to follow the "high standards of professional practices being imported from Europe" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 97), including the 1898 Dutch manual and the work of Sir Hilary Jenkinson. This was still not enough to form a professional identity. Margaret C. Norton, the first state archivist of Illinois, argued that, to separate from their historian roots, "archivists needed to establish their own identity as a profession," and overcome "the popular misconception of archives as nothing more than historical documents." Norton argued that this misconception impeded progress for the archival profession (as cited in Jimerson, 2009, p. 97).

Then came the 1930s, a "crucial decade," according to O'Toole (1990), for the archival profession (p. 35). Jimerson (2009) theorized that, "Faced with problems concerning their public image and perceived role, many archivists by the 1930s recognized the need for a separate organization, apart from historians or librarians, to address their own concerns" (p. 106). At this time, dispersed and disorganized federal records called attention to the country's need for a national centralized entity similar to that attempted in France and other European countries in the last century. To address this, Congress established the National Archive in 1934 as an independent federal agency. Two years later, in 1936, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) formed to solidify the archival profession (Berner, 1983; Jimerson, 2009; O'Toole, 1990). While establishment of SAA was not the end for scholarly inquiry into the archival profession, it was a milestone for professional autonomy.

The founding of the National Archives, Jimerson (2009) argued, gave archivists "the necessary sense of identity" and the "flagship institutional base" (p. 107) to organize their profession. Established as an independent agency by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1934, the National Archives reported to the President. In 1950, the profession's institutional base was challenged when President Truman revoked the Archives' autonomy and transferred it under the newly created General Services Administration (GSA). This marked a significant time in the history of the National Archives in which it became a proving ground for the importance of archives and the profession in society at the highest national level.

In his *Diary of a Dream: A History of the National Archives Independence Movement, 1980*-1985, sixth Archivist of the United States, Robert M. Warner (1995), recounted the historic fight to regain independence for the National Archive. Warner (1995) did not explicitly state this was a professional image problem, but he argued that the subservience of the Archives under the GSA was clearly a "problem of status" (p. 37) for the Archives and for the profession. Warner (1995) explained that this was because the Archives became a service alongside housekeeping, construction, and maintenance, and the GSA "had nothing to do with the preservation of the greatest documents of American history" (p. 4-5). As such, Warner (1995) called it "a major mistake in public policy" (p. 5). In 1963, Maryland Representative Charles McC. Mathias, Jr. provocatively concluded, "the concept that GSA should become the guardian of history as well as the custodian of washrooms, store-rooms, and work-rooms" made no sense (as cited in McCoy, 1978, p. 342). The merger was ill matched from the outset, and Warner

(1995) proved that the GSA provided poor support, constrained growth and funding, and politicized the Archives during the Nixon presidency.

"One only needs to look," Warner argued, "at the history of the Library of Congress or the Smithsonian Institution, both independent units, to see how NARS fell behind in these years of "captivity"" (p. 6). Thus, Warner (1995) fought to gain independence from the GSA to improve the Archives' status with support from many external constituents, including the American Historical Association, the Society of American Archivists, and the National Genealogical Society. Over 30 years after Truman changed the National Archives' status, the fight for independence came to fruition when Public Law 98-497 was signed in 1984.

With twentieth century professional growth came concern over professional identity. In Ernst Posner's 1956 address at the SAA annual meeting, he looked to define the American archivist. Referencing what little data he had from an SAA member questionnaire, Posner (1957) concluded that "*homo archivalis Americanus*" (p. 5) were 33% female and most conducted archival and record work versus manuscript work. The questionnaire separated archival, record, and manuscript work, but Posner (1957) stated there was a "similarity if not identity of archival and manuscript activities" (p. 5), and some people who conducted record and archival work could be considered a record administrator as well as an archivist. Muddling the identity of archivists further, included as members of SAA were those Posner (1957) labeled "the historical fringe" (p. 6) of history professors, librarians, and others.

In the late twentieth century, discussions about professionalization shifted toward new avenues. In the 1970s and 1980s, O'Toole (1990) argued that the professional

archival identity continued to consolidate as "archivists achieved both sufficient numbers and sufficient institutional stability" (p. 41). This, he posited, allowed professionalization to shift toward standardization. "Consensus began to emerge on what [archivists] did, how they did it, and why they did it" (O'Toole, 1990, p. 41), and credentials and graduate educational programs formed to better standardize the education new archivists received. In 1990, O'Toole predicted that, in the future, archivists will "continue to devote considerable attention to projecting the professionalism that lies at the heart of their work and to demonstrating the usefulness of archives to society at large" (p. 47).

Another important topic that arose while solidifying their profession was how archivists defined what was an archive. Just as the role of archivists morphed over time, so, too, did the definition and use of the term "archive." In the ancient world, O'Toole (1990) believed it designated "all collections of written records, not just those of enduring value, as modern usage implies" (p. 28). Several scholars have discussed the definition, misuse, or misappropriation of "archive" and called for an improved definition to support the archival mission (Gracy, 1987; Maher, 1998). SAA (2017) addressed this need for clarity by providing a primary definition of archives for the profession.

While O'Toole (1990) believed consensus on what archivists did began to solidify in the late twentieth century, Barbara Craig (1995) and Margaret Procter (2010) pointed out continued issues of ambiguity. Craig (1995) conducted a study on Canadian newspapers of the 1990s from which she concluded the role of archives was ambiguous, and exclusion of archivists from the news resulted in an incoherent image. Procter (2010) studied nineteenth century perspectives of archivists in British media and showed archivists were portrayed as custodians, bureaucrats, historians, or even spies, which

resulted in an ambiguous image of their purpose. She then argued that the twenty-first century archivist still performed a multiplicity of tasks and, therefore, the image of their ambiguity remained (Procter, 2010). As a result of their studies, Craig (1995) and Procter (2010) suggested that archivists embrace their "inherently ambiguous responsibilities, roles and personae" (Procter, 2010, p. 23) and reinterpret it as a professional flexibility that adapts to "the current public need" (Procter, 2010, p. 24). Nevertheless, Procter (2010) and Craig (1995) concluded that this ambiguity continued to perplex the general public as evident from how journalists represented archivists in newspapers.

As can be seen, much of the literature on the history of the archival profession was interwoven with the profession's identity and public image in society. James O'Toole (1990) utilized archival history to "open the door to understanding ourselves" as humans (p. 5). He also suggested that archivists "project [their] professionalism" so as to demonstrate "the usefulness of archives to society at large" (O'Toole, 1990, p. 47). Randall Jimerson (2009) took a similar approached in his influential work on the power of archives. He used the history of archival practice to explore the evolution of power in archives and their influence on human memory and understanding of society. This understanding, in turn, suggested for archivists a path in which they "embrace the power of archives and use it to make society more knowledgeable, more tolerant, more diverse, and more just" (Jimerson, 2009, p. 185).

Richard Cox (1986), in researching sociological literature on profession formation, found that "professional status is mostly the result of image" (p. 232). The archival image is, thus, intricately linked to the development of the archival profession. Because of this, it is difficult to extract one from the other in the archival literature. The role of archives

and archivists in society shifted over time, as did the archival image and identity as rooted in the evolution of the archival profession. Public confusion over what archivists did spurred professionals to visibly establish the archival profession and better understand their image in society.

The Archival Image Problem

> The recent past has been a time of great concern over archival "image," over what the nonarchival world thinks about archives and archivists, if indeed it thinks of them at all. (O'Toole, 1990, p. 47)

The poor image of archives was under discussion at least by the 1950s, the same decade in which the National Archives lost its independence. Ernst Posner (1957), in his presidential farewell message to the SAA in 1956, strove to "define and to diagnose the American archivist as a type" (p. 4). He found difficulty in this task as archivists had not yet "captured the imagination of the American people" so as to be written about in literature and news. Posner (1957) provocatively declared that "in a world that suspected [archivists] of being mere antiquarians, lap dogs that society could easily dispense with," archivists needed to "be effective salesmen of [their] cause" (p. 9).

In the decades following the 1950s, poor image concerns among professionals mounted (Birdsall, 1973; Gillis, 1979). In one of the earliest American research studies into public perception of archives, Peter Gillis (1979) analyzed their portrayal in espionage fiction novels. He concluded that the authors presented a rather traditional and conservative concept of archives as preservers of institutional memory that collected, classified, and retrieved information in an organized manner (Gillis, 1979). Though Gillis (1979) argued these portrayals had some ground in archival theory, archives were also

portrayed as privileged and secret, which "may prove offensive to professional archivists" (p. 12). What's more, spy novel authors, Gillis (1979) concluded, "have assumed a sense of mystery and a general ignorance on the part of the public toward archives" (p. 3).

The year 1983 marked a turning point that brought a new level of attention to the archivist's image. The event: David B. Gracy's presidential speech at SAA's 47th annual meeting. Concerned with the archival image, Gracy (1984) announced the profession had an image problem and launched the Archives and Society campaign. Gracy (1984) linked the image problem with public ignorance to the "nature and purpose of archival work, ignorance of the benefits society enjoys as a result of [archivists'] labors," (p 7) and to the failure of archivists to eradicate that ignorance.

In what Gracy (1984) deemed the first archival revolution, he called for action against the profession's image problem to change the non-archivists' "uninformed and distorted image of the archivist" (p. 9). Archives of the 1980s suffered from diminished resources, with Gracy (1984) citing a lack of people, space, and resources for preservation as a few. The image problem was cause for concern because a poor image among "those with the power to allocate resources" to archival repositories "strikes at the heart of [the archivist's] existence and ability to function" (Gracy, 1984, p. 8). Gracy (1984) supported outreach as the key to expanding public awareness of archives and improving the archival image problem (p. 7-9).

Gracy's call for a revolution spurred scholars to research the public image problem. Sidney J. Levy and Albert G. Robles (1984) conducted a study for SAA's Task Force on Archives and Society to understand "how resource allocators perceive and

characterize archivists" (p. 1). This groundbreaking survey of resource allocators' perceptions of their own archives revealed that they saw archivists "as quiet professional[s], carrying out an admired but comparatively subterranean activity" (Levy & Robles, 1984, p. iv). Levy and Robles' report went on to state that archivists, while respected, were seen as powerless, passive, outdated, and politically impotent. They had low visibility and, therefore, little power to challenge the budgetary constraints placed upon them by resource allocators. The study showed that traditional stereotypes lingered, and archives were viewed as dusty and musty "dead accumulation," run by acquisitive, territorial, and possessive archivists (Levy & Robles, 1984, p. v).

The 1984 analysis concluded that resource allocators valued their archives and respected archivists as skilled intelligent employees that provided high quality services. Yet, there was a misconception as to the importance of archives to the public. This was seen in resource allocators' suggestions to stifle outreach so as to curb use to only serious researchers. These suggestions kept budgetary and staffing needs down, but did little for educating the public on the importance of archives (Levy & Robles, 1984).

The Levy & Robles' study generated great response in the archival literature. Not long after the survey, Gracy (1985) added again to the image discussion. This time, he addressed potential causes or roots of the poor archival image in the public mind. According to Gracy (1985), it was linked to archivists' poor perceptions of themselves. To overcome this, he presented areas in which archivists can work to improve the archival image:

> […] by establishing a program to certify individual archivists, by adopting the techniques of marketing to promote our work, by using regional organizations to carry the message and to promote cooperation, and finally, by broadening our heretofore narrow approach to educating our publics [so as to] instill a love of

> both history and the lessons the public can draw from history. (Gracy, 1985, p. 19-22)

This was likely the first look at causes of archival stereotypes and ways in which they may be overcome.

Mirroring Gracy's areas of professional improvement, Richard Cox (1986) suggested similar improvements become a new archival agenda. These included:

> […] society's image of the archivist and its understanding of the archival mission, archivists' need to develop a stronger national voice, problems with archival education, the purpose of individual certification and institutional accreditation, and the need for archivists to acquire a broader notion of their own potential. (Cox, 1986, p. 229)

Cox was of the impression that the public held a poor unclear image of archives due to the lack of professionalism in the archival field.

Another technique to improve the archival image came from Gracy over the following years (1987, 1989). He suggested the archival profession shed the obsession of archives for the future and, instead, make the case for archives' importance to the contemporary world. Gracy (1987) charged that archivists must make themselves relevant to the present. In the same vein, he suggested SAA change their official definition of archives to focus on how archives can change society currently. That meant discarding terms within the definition that reeked of the past, the old, and unimportant. With a new current-minded definition, archivists could be equipped with a powerful tool "to improve the public's perception of the value of archives" (Gracy, 1989, p. 3).

Dutch archivist Eric Ketelaar (1995) also advocated that archivists drop the concept of archives for the future to emphasize archives for the present. He argued, "archivists should redirect their action from preserving the past to documenting the present, in order to have a corporate memory in the future" (Ketelaar, 1995, p. 455).

Ketelaar looked to focus on the archive's function of accountability to develop new public relations strategies through visibility, transparency, and access.

To improve their circumstances, archivists realized they must argue for their importance in society, or in Posner's (1957) words, become "effective salesmen of [the archival] cause" (p. 9). James O'Toole (1990) believed concern of the archival image in the late twentieth century spurred a "transition from archival monks to archival missionaries" (p. 47) as archivists began instructing the non-archival world on what archivists do (p. 47). O'Toole (1990) further argued that "all archivists have come to realize the importance of sharing the excitement and value of what they do with those who use archives or would do so if they understood them better" (p. 47). This reflected Gracy's call for archival outreach to improve their public image.

In another response to Levy and Robles's study, John Grabowski (1992) argued that archivists needed to build more awareness of archival value to improve their image. Grabowski, like O'Toole, supported Gracy's suggestion to use outreach as a means to achieve this end. He further advocated for archivists to work with the public and academic historians to improve awareness of archives and bring in more users. The more users of an archive, the more archival value could be realized. Grabowski (1992) cited the biggest group of potential users as genealogists and family historians, being "the fastest growing group of researchers in many repositories" (p. 467). O'Toole (1994) provided a prime case study in archival outreach and public relations that resulted in financial stability, an increased user base, and proof or archives' importance to society. In a strong argument for outreach, O'Toole (1994) profoundly stated, "If you hide in the basement,

others will think of you as belonging there. If you are more active "upstairs," others will accept and come to rely on you" (p. 119).

Harking back to Gracy's 1983 speech on archives and society, William Maher titled his 1997 SAA presidential address "Society and Archives." In an unfortunate report on the state of archives that echoed Gracy's sentiments in 1983, Maher (1998) indicated that many archives were at risk for lack of funding and support. Speaking at a time when electronic records were taking archives by storm, Maher (1998) posited that "if [archivists] are unable to establish control of electronic records, [they] will no longer even hold the historical and cultural capital to claim a distinctive and important role in society" (p. 253). One illustration of the archivist's tenuous position is the misuse and appropriation of the word "archives" by others outside the archive profession. Maher (1998) took his resolution of this issue beyond improving the public archival image to archivists advocating for public issues.

Eric Ketelaar (2002) took the discussion of the archival image problem in a new metaphorical direction. He argued that archives resembled temples and prisons, both architecturally and functionally. Archival institutions presented an external façade of surveillance and power, and continued that image internally through strict rituals of policing and scrutinizing patron activities as they conducted their research. Randall Jimerson (2009) advocated that the image of archives was tri-fold: they were at once a temple, a prison, and a restaurant:

> The temple reflects the power of authority and veneration. The prison wields the power of control. The restaurant holds the power of interpretation and mediation. These represent the trinity of archival functions: selection, preservation, and access. Archives are places of knowledge, memory, nourishment, and power. Archives at once protect and preserve records; legitimize and sanctify certain documents while negating and destroying others; and provide access to selected

> sources while controlling the researchers and conditions under which they may examine the archival record. (Jimerson, 2009, p. 2)

The theoretical contemplations of what archives represent continued, but what became clear in the literature of the late twentieth century is that improving the archivist's outward image and breaking stereotypes that had established over time, was important to the success of their institutions.

Archival Stereotypes and Public Perceptions in Media

> The American people have always had an ambivalent relationship to their history and to archives. Founded in part on the notion of escape from the shackles of European traditions and with the vision of being a "city on the hill" for a utopian new world, the United States has often been future-oriented and indifferent to the past. (Jimerson, 2009, p. 80)

Since David Gracy's clarion call for an improvement to the archival image, and in rare cases before 1983, archivists tuned into public perceptions of archives and archival stereotypes by studying their representation in the media. This area of scholarly inquiry assessed various forms of media to better gauge how archives and archivists were portrayed. Influential forms of media that reach the masses, such as newspapers (Boylan, 1985; Cox, 1993; Craig, 1995), fiction novels (Buckley, 2008; Gillis, 1979; Schmuland, 1999), film (Buckley, 2008; Daniel & Oliver, 2014), television (Buckley, 2008), art (Craig & O'Toole, 2000), and the Internet (Patterson, 2016) were examined for their power to disseminate information and ideas—stereotypes in particular. According to Arlene Schmuland (1999), head of archives and special collections at University of Alaska Anchorage, media can "play a role in popularizing and perpetuating images of certain professions. When authors repeat images used by other authors or in other media

forms, they are perpetuating ideas which eventually take on the status of stereotype" (p. 26).

An early twentieth century Dutch study of archivists in literature may be one of the first of its kind. Posner (1957) discussed the research in his 1956 presidential address to SAA. He explained that it examined novels, plays, and other literary works that incorporated archivists in a leading role. The results showed that the European archivist was "a kind-hearted introvert, absorbed in his endeavors and somewhat helpless in his relations with the outside world and particularly with its female inhabitants" (Posner, 1957, p. 4). This study showed early signs of negative stereotypes in Europe.

Several research studies focused on archives in fiction. In one of the earliest American studies of the archival image, Peter Gillis (1979) analyzed a particular type of novel, espionage fiction, to examine how authors incorporated archives into their plots. Gillis found that, since the 1930s, two particular ideas arose in fictional espionage writing: "information as power" and "the past haunts the present" (p. 3). He concluded that these writers produced a view of archives that is both traditional and dynamic (Gillis, 1979). Gillis (1979) uncovered several thematic archival patterns: archives have research value and can reconstruct personal identity at the expense of personal privacy; archival documentary evidence is suppressed and secrecy is used to cover up truths; information in the archival record holds power and provides power to those who access it; and archives as memory. Archivists were seen as "burrowers" who "collect, sift and file information" (Gillis, 1979, p. 10) akin to the image of a mole. Stereotypes also arose in his study that proved counter to what archives do. He found conflicting ideals of some archives upholding secrecy while others were open and accessible, and some archives

provided information on living people while others upheld personal privacy restrictions (Gillis, 1979, p. 5-10). Gillis (1979) argued that archivists must come to terms with these conflicting roles by establishing "conditions and control of access which balance research use with the administrative need for secrecy" (p. 12).

Arlene Schmuland (1999) updated and expanded upon Gillis' spy fiction research by examining the archival image in 128 non-genre-specific fictional novels. Her purpose was to understand how contemporary fiction "approaches archives, archivists, and archival work" (Schmuland, 1999, p. 25). She found that many stereotypes of archives, archivists, and their work were perpetuated in these novels, and the images authors used in their writings were often based in reality. Walter Lippmann (1922/2017) believed there to be a connection between our vision of stereotypes and facts of reality, "but it is often a strange connection" (p. 87). Schmuland (1999) uncovered that the stereotypes depicted archives as basements or tombs that held valuable and historical materials along with secrets and dust. Archivists were depicted as glasses-wearing, stiff-standing, middle-aged or elderly individuals with poor fashion sense and no social life. While depicted as meek, they also possessed a strong sense of duty and great power in the knowledge they controlled (Schmuland, 1999).

In a more casual study, Karen Buckley (2008) overviewed multiple media in the form of novels, motion pictures, and television series to investigate how archives and the archival record were represented. Her study found four themes that emerged:

> Protection of the record is equated to protection of the truth; archives are closed spaces and the archival experience is an interior one for characters; records are lost and buried in archives; and the information sought in the records invariably centres around the search for self or truth. (Buckley, 2008, p. 95)

These themes align with similar stereotypes unearthed from previous studies. Archives are often equated with truth and identity, and records are seen as closed off and buried, unable to be found. Just as Schmuland (2009) saw elements of truth in the stereotypes she discovered, so did Buckley. These included the need for protecting the archival record because of their importance to society, and archivists as dedicated to this duty.

In 2014, Anne Daniel and Amanda Oliver took the study of archival stereotypes to the big screen. They studied the portrayal of archivists in film to discover whether it pointed to a centralized professional identity. Their research found that the films supported several stereotypes, showing the archive as a fortress of many restrictions where all-knowing archivists toiled away in physical isolation. Daniel and Oliver (2014) concluded that the lack of consistent depictions of archives and archivists in film suggested a lack of a professional archival identity.

Several studies took the research away from the fictional media realm and turned to news outlets as sources of stereotypes and reality. By the 1980s, few studies focused on public perception of archives as portrayed in reality. In response to Gracy's call to action, James Boylan (1985) analyzed the "image" of both archives and archivists as found in 300 news clippings from 1981 to 1984. He found that many news articles directly dealing with archives, archivists, and archival work portrayed them in an oppressive light, as "coffered research rooms," "tucked-away cloisters" that painted a picture of "unmanageable and unmanaged skyscrapers of paper and of unsavory rot" (Boylan, 1995, p. 102) rather than useful and usable public facilities. Boylan (1985) found that archivists most often "remained faceless" (p. 102), and once in a while were compared to pack rats. He concluded that the image problem was rooted in unfamiliarity

with the profession and cynicism and mistrust of government, at least for government-run archives (Boylan, 1985, p. 103).

Richard Cox (1993) took a more systematic approach than Boylan (1985) and analyzed the image of archives and archivists in *The New York Times* during an eight-month span from 1992 to 1993. Cox (1993) also found that one of the major absences in the news stories was "the role of the archivist" (p. 217). He concluded, "archives and historical manuscripts are treated by the press as curiosities, generally associated with prominent individuals […] or prominent historical events" (Cox, 1993, p. 220). Cox (1993) believed his study results made it "clear that archival records generally only make the news when they are directly embroiled in political disputes, associated with prominent figures, or have interesting or different views" (p. 220).

Barbara Craig (1995) analyzed Canadian newspapers from 1989 to 1994. She, like Boylan and Cox, found it unsettling that archivists were missing from newspaper reports. She concluded that, "what emerges [from the news articles] is not a negative image but an incoherent one: an elusive protagonist with a blurred image" (Craig, 1995, p. 115). Craig (1995) thought the archival records were portrayed as divorced from their custodians "as if the documents lived a life independent of their place of keeping and from the people who are responsible for them" (p. 115). She believed this to be "a barrier to understanding" (Craig, 1995, p. 115) for the public.

In 2016, Caitlin Patterson moved away from the common survey of stereotypes in traditional media to better understand links between public perceptions and the use of digital technology, such as the Internet. She examined the places in which the public encountered archives to see if a correlation existed between archival perceptions and user

expectations of digital access to information. To accomplish this, she compared television, movie, and fiction encounters of archives with online encounters. Patterson (2016) concluded that the public has a "fairly realistic though very basic understanding of the mission and tasks of archives and archivists" (p. 359). She further emphasized that:

> Those who encounter archives most often in television, movies, and fiction appear most likely to subscribe to [traditional archival] imagery and are the only group who show a clear pattern in their choice of adjectives linked to traditional archival stereotypes. (Patterson, 2016, p. 359)

Patterson (2016) listed some of the top stereotypes of archivists as detail oriented, organized, intelligent, knowledgeable, and efficient. The traditional stereotypes for archives most selected were dark, musty, mysterious, quiet, and old-fashioned.

Patterson's (2016) conclusion agreed with previous studies that found there was no homogenous archival image across the population (Craig, 1995; Procter, 2010). Early on in the scholarly discussions of archival stereotypes, Ernst Posner (1957) suggested that, in real life, a single stereotypical archivist is not easily found. Patterson's (2016) results suggested "the possibility of multiple images of archives affected by multiple influences" (p. 360). Personal experiences of users could foster either positive or negative views of archives, which could dispel or confirm stereotypes (Patterson, 2016, p. 360).

Genealogists and Archives

A heavy increase in genealogy research in the late twentieth century lay in its power of self-discovery through family history. Scholars (Colket, 1980; Redmann, 1993; Weil, 2013) often invoked Alex Haley's *Roots: The Saga of an American Family,* first published in 1976, as one of the strongest motivators for millions of Americans to seek out their ancestral history. Meredith B. Colket (1980), a Fellow of the American Society

of Genealogists, believed that "*Roots,* more than any other single work, stimulated the man in the street to inquire about the genetic, cultural, and other forces that contributed to making him the person he is" (p. 3).

French professor of history and Chancellor of the University of Paris, François Weil (2013), wrote a thorough history of genealogy in America in which he argued that genealogy helps us understand "personal and collective identities" (p. 1). Hannah Little (2011), archivist for the Glasgow Women's Library in Scotland, argued that "the archive has become a theatre of meaning, memory and self-identity" for society, and genealogists in particular (p. 241). The rise of social history in the mid-twentieth century, according to Redmann (1993), compounded the interest in family history, which not only piqued the everyday American's curiosity toward their own families but created a surge among academic historians as well. New academic areas of family and community history pushed historians to seek the same primary sources as genealogists (Redmann, 1993).

Another boost in genealogical research occurred in the early twenty-first century. In 2010, genealogy scholars noted an increased interest in genealogical research they chocked up to the new *Who Do You Think You Are?* series (Alpert, 2010; Garvey, 2010; Little, 2011). At the time, president of the National Genealogical Society Janet Alpert (2010) described two new shows, *Faces of America* and *Who Do You Think You Are?,* as "the largest focus on genealogy since Alex Haley's *Roots*" (p. 3). One news headline boasted that genealogy had gone prime time (Turner, 2011), and novices to genealogy climbed on board. Laurie Snow Turner's (2011) article in the *Deseret News* stated that, *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *Faces of America* "peaked the interest of viewers around the world and motivated more people to research their family histories and

heritage" (para. 3). Genealogist and blogger Thomas MacEntee (2010) echoed Turner's sentiment, blogging that *Who Do You Think You Are?* "did a good job at bringing the fields of genealogy and family history front-and-center for American viewers."

To build an awareness of archival value and improve the archival image, archive professionals advocated outreach and expansion of their user base to genealogists and family historians (Grabowski, 1992; Levy & Robles, 1984). Grabowski (1992) argued that genealogists were the fastest growing researcher group in archival repositories. Phebe Jacobsen (1981), archivist at the Maryland State Archives, suggested they comprised 50% to over 75% of archives' clientele. Levy & Robles' (1984) research posited that the growing interest in genealogy could be used to archivists' advantage to enhance visibility and better assert "the role and importance of archivists" (p. iv). Today, genealogists are one of the primary user groups of archives (Little, 2011), yet the relationship between genealogists and archivists in the past was not always amicable.

In a paper read before the SAA annual meeting, Kenneth W. Richards (1962), archival examiner for the Bureau of Archives and History at the New Jersey State Library, explored the services that state archives should provide for genealogists. Referring to their past contentious relationship, Richards posited that, "When the amateur […] genealogist is a problem to the reference staff, this may be because the archives is not doing enough for him or, perhaps, because it is doing the wrong thing" (p. 323). He encouraged archivists to aid genealogists in finding materials using finding aids and guides. These, he argued, must be created for researchers so they "will not overburden the personnel in reference" (Richards, 1962, p. 323).

Jacobsen (1981) believed providing guides alone was not sufficient, as genealogy researchers needed instruction in their use and, thus, reference personnel to support them. David Kyvig (1975), director of the American Research Center at University of Akron, took a similar stance in that archivists should better support the needs of family historians by "familiarizing themselves with the range and nature of family history research […] to respond […] to requests for useful documentary material" (p. 510). He charged archivists to come to terms with the family biography phenomenon because it will likely not disappear (Kyvig, 1975, p. 513).

The twentieth and twenty-first century boom in the genealogy industry reflected in reading room numbers, according to Gail Redmann (1993). As the literature argued, genealogists are now one of the largest user groups of archives, yet their relationship with archivists has a rocky past. Much of the literature on genealogy and archives focused on or referenced the tense relationship between the archivist and genealogist and the need to work toward a more harmonious existence. Grabowski (1992) labeled it as a "sometimes stormy relationship" (p. 467). Jacobsen (1981) went so far as to state, "Denigrating genealogists has been a cherished avocation of archivists" (p. 342) since the professionalization of the archival field.

Jacobsen (1981) went on to provide reasons for these attitudes. Archivists believed archives were not for genealogists but for professional researchers. She argued that genealogists, in the past, were thought to be wealthy conservatives out to impress others with their notable ancestry. They did not have historical research training, and archivists found themselves doing much of the work (Jacobsen, 1981). Redmann (1993) echoed this sentiment, stating that the poor relationship was steeped in harsh judgments

of genealogists as untrained and un-scholarly researchers in search of dates and names. Jacobsen (1981) and Redmann (1993) argued that archivists placed genealogical researchers and family historians as secondary to professional historians and academic scholars who conducted what they believed to be real research. Archivists saw genealogists as inferior historical researchers due to a narrow idea of what genealogical research entailed (Redmann, 1993, p. 124).

The contentious relationship between archivists and genealogists was alluded to by Jacobsen (1981) in her use of war analogies to describe the situation: "state archives and other record repositories throughout this country have in recent years come under siege by a determined and persistent legion known collectively as family historians, or genealogists" (p. 341). She further explained that this relationship was because "each group has seen the other as the major obstacle to accomplishing mutually exclusive goals" (Jacobsen, 1981, p. 341). Jacobsen (1981) hoped to improve the poor relationship because genealogists, as taxpaying citizens, had just as much right to use archives as anyone, and archivists were responsible for making the records available no matter the researcher's purpose. Redmann (1993) reassuringly reported that, "Although the relationship between archivists and genealogists could still be described as tenuous, the past two decades have witnessed a significant trend toward understanding and cooperation" (p. 121).

As archivists realized genealogists were not going away and, in fact, were growing in user numbers, research on the information-seeking habits of genealogists arose to improve the broken relationship through a better understanding of genealogists' needs (Darby and Clough, 2013; Davison, 2009; Duff and Johnson, 2003; Redmann,

1993; Yakel, 2004). According to Redmann (1993), newfound genealogists made the journey toward self-discovery by hunting down census records, vital records, newspapers, city directories, and other accessible sources to document their family's past. While archivists and information professionals have taken an interest in the genealogical researcher, the literature is lacking in studies that analyze how genealogists perceive and experience archives.

Researchers have analyzed perceptions of archives and archival stereotypes using fiction novels, fictional television and film, news, and the Internet, and looked to find root causes of archival stereotypes. In 1993, Richard Cox believed we "certainly could stand to see other similar studies on the archival image in the cinema, television, and other forms of popular fiction" (p. 197). Gillis (1979) viewed such analyses as helpful for archivists to understand themselves and their "public persona" in new ways.

One study conducted by Hannah Little (2011) examined the BBC television program *Who Do You Think You Are?* and Alex Haley's *Roots* to explore the role of archives in family historians' articulation and search for self. This identity study does well to analyze the "highly orchestrated and carefully plotted dramatization of genealogical discovery" (p. 245) that is the television program, and Little also addressed the ways in which the public related to the search for self of each celebrity guest. However, this study did not address the portrayal of archives to which the public is exposed in *Who Do You Think You Are?* and what that means to the perpetuation of archival stereotypes.

At present, no study examines the relationship of genealogical research to perceptions of archives and archivists. Given the large role genealogy has played in

improving researcher numbers at thousands of archival institutions, and the rocky relationship genealogists and archivists have had in the past, the experiences and perceptions of genealogical inquirers is a natural extension in the literature to better understand the present state of the archival image.

Neither is there a study that addresses the representation of archives and archivists in reality television to better understand real-life images that may more closely reflect public perceptions and long-held stereotypes than film or fiction. By analyzing the portrayal of archives in television shows, we cannot quite study the public image of archives and archivists in reality, but Cox (1993) argued that we can study the potential of what that image may be and the image that the producers and directors have of archives and archivists. Just as Cox (1993) used the *New York Times* to gain "a sense of the present public image of archivy" and "insight into a potential molder of public opinion about archival matters" (p. 199), so too can reality genealogy television programming be used to better understand influential sources of public perceptions and stereotypes of archives and archivists.

Methods

This study used qualitative content analysis to examine the portrayal of archival encounters in genealogy television programming. “Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 24). Texts, in this sense, can mean literal text found in print material, but can also mean recorded speech, works of art, cultural artifacts, websites, and most importantly to this study, images in television shows. Content analysis can employ qualitative or quantitative methods depending on the purpose of the research. For this study, qualitative analysis of content was the chosen method as it allows for the exploration of meanings underlying the visual and physical messages (Wildemuth, 2017, p. 309). The qualitative approach integrates the objective quantitative analysis of messages with a view for the specific contexts surrounding the messages.

Krippendorff (2013) stated, “Recognizing meanings is the reason that researchers engage in content analysis rather than in some other kind of investigative method” (p. 27). Therefore, this method supports an examination of “meanings, themes, and patterns that may be manifest or latent” within the content of the genealogy television shows examined (Wildemuth, 2017, p. 308).

Who Do You Think You Are? and *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.* were chosen for analysis based on their positions as two of the first genealogy reality shows to air in the United States and their primetime popularity with a large viewing

audience. The American genealogy documentary television series *Who Do You Think You Are?* first aired March 5, 2010 on NBC. It was adapted from the same-named British BBC series, which began in 2004 and continues in its 14th season (2017). The American version consistently drew between 5.2 and 7.3 million viewers in its first two seasons, according to Nielsen ratings, the primary source of audience measurements in television (as cited in Wikipedia, 2018, Ratings section). In 2012, NBC dropped the series and TLC picked it up. It has since aired on TLC from 2012 to the current season nine in 2017.

The PBS television series, *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.*, predecessor of *Faces of America,* first aired March 25, 2012. The show averaged around 2.5 million viewers, which is above the PBS primetime average of 2.1 million viewers (PBS series, 2012). It has had four seasons, with the fourth concluding December 2017. As a public broadcasting company, PBS fulfills a mission to provide trusted programming to the public “uniquely different from commercial broadcasting” (Public Broadcasting Service, 2017). According to PBS, it has been rated as “the most trustworthy institution among nationally known organizations for 14 consecutive years.” They have a reach of 200 million viewers (Public Broadcasting Service, 2017).

Two series were chosen for analysis to gain a broader perspective on the media of genealogy television for two reasons. First, different types of stations broadcast each series, which may result in distinct budgets, approaches, and intended audiences. *Who Do You Think You Are?* is aired by a commercial broadcast television network, originally NBC and now TLC, and *Finding Your Roots* is aired by PBS, a public broadcast television network. Second, the two series differed in their interpretive approach. Each show takes celebrity guest stars on a journey to discover their family history and themselves, but they approach the journey in different manners. *Finding Your Roots*

presents each celebrity with a book of life from which they learn their family's story through the accumulated research of genealogists and historians, whereas *Who Do You Think You Are?* follows each guest as they travel the globe to different locations in a more active journey to learn their family history with the aid of genealogists and historians.

Their interpretive approaches may differ, but their goals are similar. According to PBS (2012), at the core of *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.* is "the basic drive to discover who we are and where we come from" (PBS, 2012). TLC argues a similar focus in *Who Do You Think You Are?* as celebrities discover details about their families and themselves through "eye-opening, impactful revelations" (TLC, 2018). Examining two series ensured a wider range of representation in the analysis.

The unit of analysis, or sampling unit, was one television episode, and the unit of observation, or recording unit, was each archival encounter within that episode. In each episode, viewers follow the celebrity guest or guests on a journey to discover their family history. Each journey may entail visiting family members, sites of interest like homesteads or museums that interpret history relative to an individual's family, and archival repositories. Only encounters with archival repositories were examined, and one episode may contain multiple archival encounters.

For the purpose of this study, an archival encounter is defined as a multi-faceted interaction with an archival repository that may include the depiction of the following:

- Approaching the institution and viewing the exterior façade;
- Walking through the institution to a research room or other destination;
- Seeing or experiencing security protocols of the repository;

- Viewing and sitting in a reading room;
- Interacting with staff of the institution;
- Handling or interacting with archival documents or other holdings of the repository; or
- Conducting a search to find archival records.

These interactions can then be deduced to what segment of the archival experience is being encountered: the repository spaces, interior and exterior; the repository staff; the repository holdings; and the overall research process, which may include searching for materials or encountering security protocols.

To be counted as an archival encounter, the interaction must include at least two of the following three criteria based on the deduced segments of archival experience: the interior or exterior of an archival repository; an information professional, whether or not they are repository staff; or archival materials and/or the archival research process. Most often, archival encounters are that of the guest researcher or the show's host, but neither of these individuals need be involved so long as the experience of the encounter is displayed for the viewing audience. For example, there may be a shot of an archive's interior and also shots of archival documents that are analyzed to advance the story line, but neither the guest researcher nor an information professional was shown onscreen. This is still considered an archival encounter because the viewing audience experienced the repository and the archival documents it held.

For this study, an archival repository is defined as any repository that collects and preserves historic documents for research or legal purposes. This could be, but is not limited to, a state or national archive, library, historical society, or private institution that

preserves the files of the institution's history. An information professional, in this study, is any professional who provides expertise in the finding or analysis of information. They could be a genealogist, researcher, historian, professor, archivist, librarian, or repository staff of a different title. This may or may not mean they are staff employed by the archival repository encountered. Since the purpose of this study is to examine the image and stereotypes of archivists, data elements were not collected or analyzed for information professionals not identified as an archivist.

A selective sampling method was employed for each television series to acquire a sample of episodes taken from each annual season. To provide the most up-to-date data for analysis, the sample of episodes was taken from the most recent 40 episodes for each television series available. For *Who Do You Think You Are?*, the most recent 40 episodes were from seasons four through nine dated from 2013 to 2017. For *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.*, the most recent 40 episodes were from seasons one through four dated 2012 to 2017. A random sample generator was then used to select ten episodes per series, making sure each season was represented at least once, resulting in a total sample of twenty episodes across the two series.

The below lists represent the episodes examined for each series. The first number is the overall episode number across all seasons of the show, beginning with season one. These were the unique numbers used to generate a random selection of 10 episodes from each show's most recent 40 episodes.

Finding Your Roots:
- 8 –2012, Season 1, Episode 8
- 9 – 2012, Season 1, Episode 9
- 11 – 2014, Season 2, Episode 1
- 13 – 2014, Season 2, Episode 3
- 15 – 2014, Season 2, Episode 5

- 17 – 2014, Season 2, Episode 7
- 22 – 2016, Season 3, Episode 2
- 23 – 2016, Season 3, Episode 3
- 32 – 2017, Season 4, Episode 2
- 35 – 2017, Season 4, Episode 5

Who Do You Think You Are?:

- 30 – 2013, Season 4, Episode 3
- 35 – 2013, Season 4, Episode 8
- 36 – 2014, Season 5, Episode 1
- 43 – 2015, Season 6, Episode 2
- 49 – 2015, Season 6, Episode 8
- 51 – 2015, Season 7, Episode 2
- 58 – 2016, Season 8, Episode 4
- 63 – 2017, Season 9, Episode 3
- 65 – 2017, Season 9, Episode 5
- 67 – 2017, Season 9, Episode 7

Once the sample was selected, each episode then needed to meet the criteria for inclusion in this study. The criteria stated that each episode must portray at least one archival encounter. This ensured that every episode examined contributed relevant data to the study. Any show not portraying at least one archival encounter was eliminated from the sample, but this situation did not occur. Data collection concluded once redundancy was met. Redundancy means that the data collected from each archival encounter began repeating and no new evidence was collected.

The episodes of these shows were downloaded from online and played locally with VLC, an open-source media player capable of pausing, rewinding, and capturing screenshots of pertinent frames containing images of each archival encounter. VLC also generated within the file name a time stamp of the frame captured for future reference and reproducibility. All episodes of each series are available for purchase online via Amazon.com or the iTunes store.

A data collection sheet was created (see Appendix 1) with coding categories adapted from similar studies to fit the needs of this content analysis (Aldred, Burr & Park, 2008; Daniel & Oliver, 2014; Rudolph, 2008). The categories were based on archival stereotypes previously identified in the literature. A pilot test was then conducted by viewing and collecting data on one episode from each series using the data collection sheet. The pilot test then helped modify and better align the data to be coded based on what type of archival encounters each show portrayed.

The data collection sheet breaks down data into four sections that mimic the segments of an archival encounter previously defined: identifiers: describe the encounter and identify it from other encounters; repository data: specific information relating to the repository; information professional data: specific information relating to each information professional plus additional data if an archivist was encountered; and research process and archival materials data that coded for any research processes portrayed and the archival material examined during the encounter. These operationalized criteria are the manifest content that represent the stereotypes examined in the study.

A coding manual was created to improve coding consistency. The manual (see Appendix 2) includes the category names, definitions, instructions for assigning codes, and examples. The data collected on the data collection sheets were then compiled, analyzed, and compared to the previously identified stereotypes of archival repositories, archivists, and archival materials and research (see Table 1).

Qualitative content analysis is designed to condense large amounts of raw data into categories or themes to aid in analysis. This study used the summative content analysis approach in which the manifest content was first counted and collected and then

the analysis was extended to incorporate latent meanings and themes. This study employed emergent coding to identify and classify directly observable manifest content, which was then analyzed for patterns or themes within the data collected to examine the presence of underlying latent content. Themes were the coding unit, and coded categories were exhaustive but may not be mutually exclusive. Key terms signifying archival stereotypes were extracted from the literature to use as a preliminary basis to detect themes to be coded. Table 1 is a list of those stereotypes broken down by the subject they describe.

Archival Repository	**Archivist**	**Archival Materials & Research**
Intimidating	Intelligent	Musty or dusty
Ominous	Knowledgeable	Old or decaying
Dark or gloomy	History buff	Valuable
Dusty or unclean	Passive, introverted, quiet	Truthful
Similar to a library	Solitary	Delicate
Subterranean	Aged or old	Historical
Organized	Balding or hair in bun	Secured
Secretive	Bespectacled	Locked away
Elitist	Unfashionable	Inaccessible
	Antisocial	

Table 1: Archival stereotypes from the literature

Some of the stereotypes, such as intimidating or intelligent, are conceptual and not easily observed. To code for such latent content, these stereotypes were measured using manifest indicators. According to Wildemuth (2017), “manifest indicators are manifest content characteristics that are assumed to indicate the presence of latent content” (p. 309). For example, the intimidating or ominous stereotype of the archive was coded based on the camera angle and shot the director chose to depict the exterior of the

repository. I do not purport to be an expert on cinematographic effects, but their purpose in creating a sense of feeling from visual representation is an important factor in television production. For example, Bowen and Thompson (2013) argued that various shot types, "allowed for greater flexibility in showing an audience a more visually complex and emotionally engaging story" (p. 23).

Camera shots can carry different meanings, depending on the purpose of the director and also on how the viewer perceives the experience. A neutral angle places the viewer at the level of the researcher or information professional, encouraging them to feel a part of the discovery process. "On a psychological level, the [object] seen from below appears larger, more looming, more significant, and more powerful" (Bowen, 2013, p. 57). It shows the object has a "substantial presence, is considered "larger than life" or may, at that point in the narrative have the upper hand" (Bowen, 2013, p. 58). Consequently, the low angle could imply that the viewer "is smaller, weaker, or in a more compromised position." It could even indicate "awe or respect" on the part of the observer or "convey a space that is large and imposing" (Bowen, 2013, p. 59). That may mean viewers perceive the repository in a potentially negative light of being looming and imposing, or in a more positive respectful manner.

Dialogue of the shows, whether between the host and guest, guest and repository staff, or from the narrator, were also examined for manifest content. Any terms or phrases that related to previously identified stereotypes were collected on the data collection sheet. These were recorded as word-for-word translations along with the name of the individual, if known, who spoke the keyword or phrase.

Data Analysis and Discussion

The Archival Encounters

From the 20-episode sample, there were a total of 58 archival encounters. *Who Do You Think You Are?* depicted 36 of the 58 archival encounters (62%) and *Finding Your Roots* depicted 22 (38%). Of the total 58 encounters: 44 included encounters with a repository, a professional other than an archivist that was not repository staff (historian, genealogist, researcher, professor), and with archival materials; 5 included encounters with a repository, repository staff other than an archivist, and archival materials; 4 included encounters with a repository, a professional archivist, and archival materials; 3 included encounters with only a repository and archival materials, but no professional; and 2 included encounters with a repository and a professional other than an archivist, but no archival material.

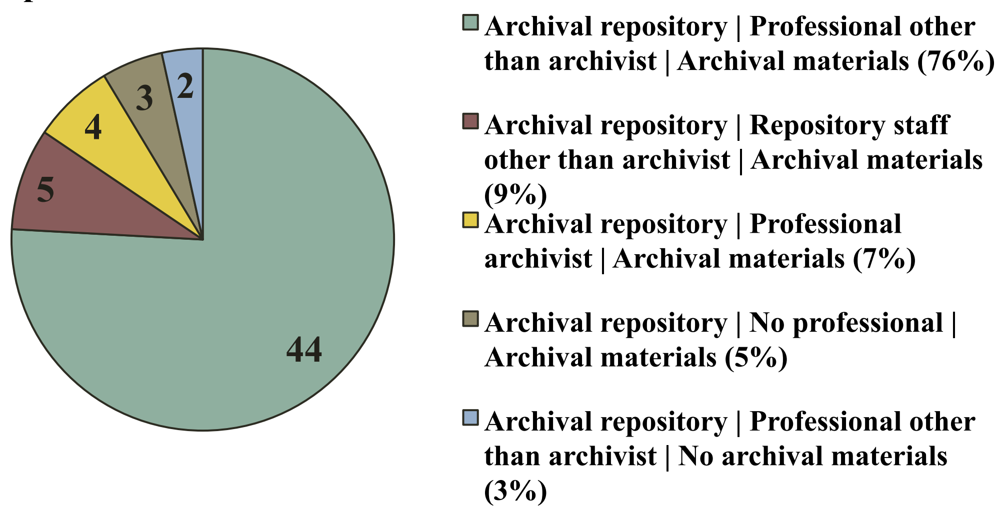

Figure 1: Breakdown of components portrayed in the archival encounters

The Repositories

The archival repositories shown in the encounters were located around the world, with 29 located in the United States, 26 located internationally, and 3 locations unidentified. The locations in the United States represented 10 states and the District of Columbia, with one location unidentified. Episodes taking place in Missouri and New York had the most archival encounters with six each. The international locations represented 13 countries with France and Germany having the highest number of encounters.

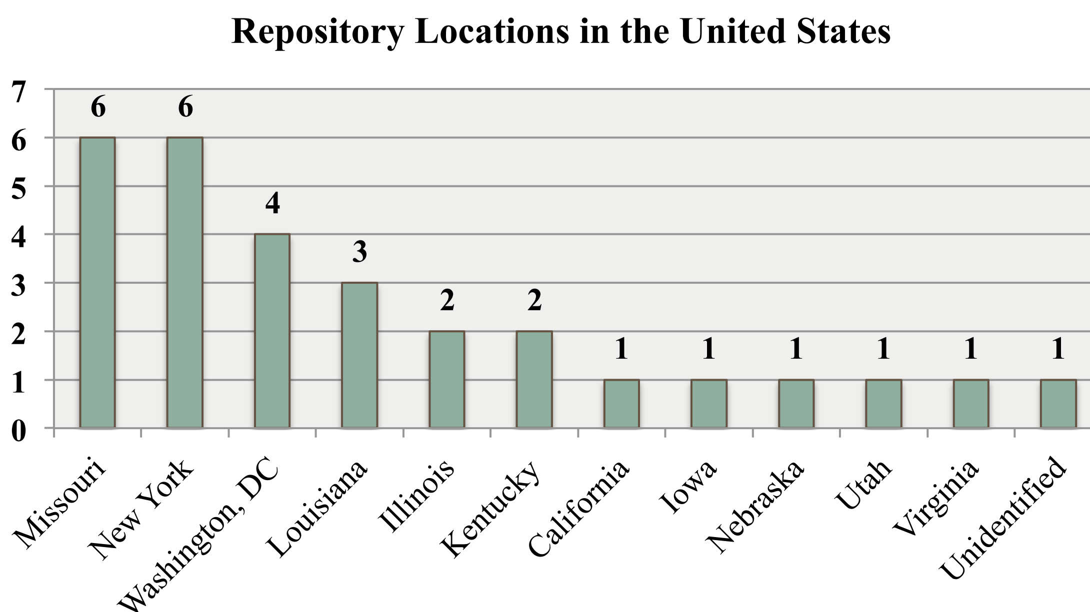

Figure 2: Locations by state of United States repositories encountered

Previous archival image studies showed archival repositories as ominous, intimidating, elitist, dusty, dark, and subterranean. This study may uphold several of these sentiments. When repository exteriors were shown, they were shot 70% of the time with a long shot low camera angle looking upward at the repository.

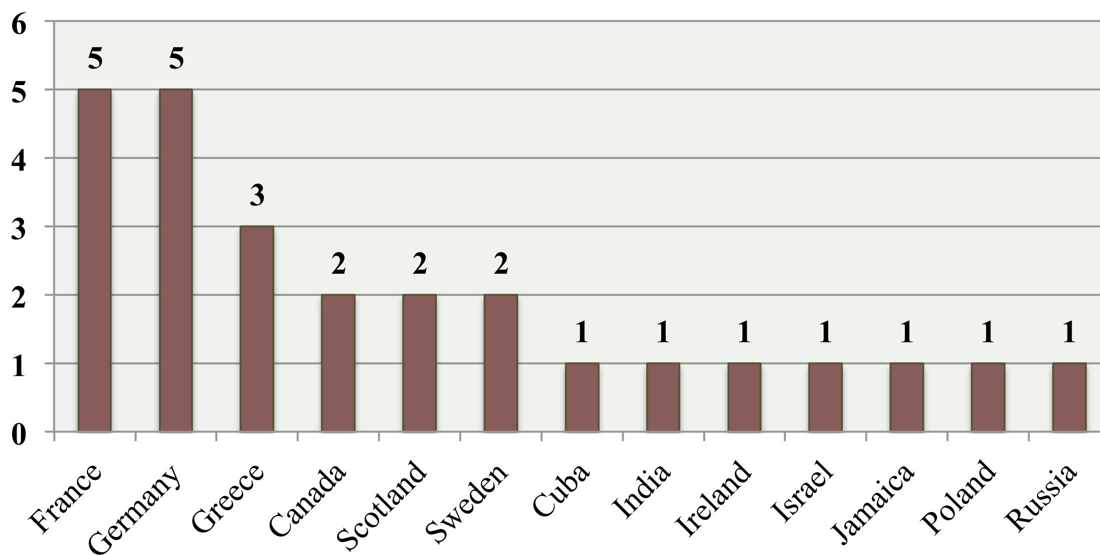

Figure 3: Locations by country of international repositories encountered

Figure 4: Low angle shot of the National Archives, Washington, DC, taken from Season 5, Episode 1, Who Do You Think You Are?

The data for archive interiors indicated that the interior spaces most viewed in the two series were reading rooms (20 encounters), open stacks (20 encounters), and secure stacks (15 encounters). Reading rooms were likely one of the most shown spaces as they were used for viewing archival materials or for guests meeting to converse with information professionals. The shows depicted the interior spaces most often as organized and clean (83%), and mostly bright (78%). This is a positive image of archives that does conform to the traditional stereotype of archives as organized, but not to the stereotypes of musty, dusty, dark, and subterranean.

Several instances of the narrator's dialogue countered and complicated the organized image visually portrayed. He stated that archives were "subterranean" with "hard to find" records. The phrases "buried in the archive" and "deep in the National Archives" reiterated the subterranean image. These phrases may also align with the inaccessible and secretive stereotypes if the difficulty of finding "buried" records deters researchers from accessing the materials.

Figure 5: Clean and bright interior space at the Quebec National Archive with Melissa Etheridge, taken from Season 6, Episode 8, Who Do You Think You Are?

Interior repository spaces were shown 41 times (55%) from eye-level and most often from a long or medium shot to incorporate more of the room. This neutral angle places the viewer at the level of the researcher or information professional, encouraging them to feel a part of the discovery process.

Figure 6: Eye-level shot of the interior in an unidentified archive in Poland, Season 1, Episode 8, Finding Your Roots

The Information Professionals

Of the 58 professionals encountered, four (7%) were identified as archivists. The majority of professionals encountered were historians (about 41%) or researchers/genealogists (about 26%). The high number of historians could reflect the purpose of the television shows to contextualize family history. The high number of genealogists could reflect the shows' focus on genealogy as a tool to explore each guest's family, or the necessity of genealogists to conduct the research. Several of the genealogists were identified as Ancestry professionals or as being hired to research for

the show. The producers likely used the professional genealogists that conducted the research to then present their findings to the guest stars. It was also surprising to find that only 9 of the total 58 information professionals encountered worked at the repository in which they were encountered. Four of those were the archivists, and the others included directors or managers and one secretary.

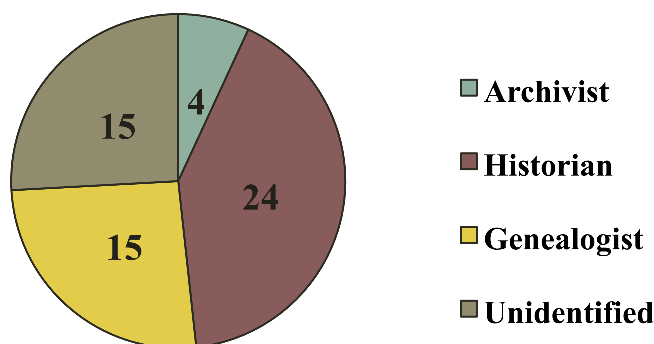

Figure 7: Breakdown of information professionals encountered based on profession

Of the four archivists encountered, three looked to be over 50 based on their appearances, all dressed conservatively, and two wore eyeglasses. Because of the extremely small sample size of four archivists, it is difficult to extrapolate any meaning from these numbers. They do provide several interesting points, but more evidence is needed to draw any substantial conclusions.

From this information, the high age of over 50 for the majority of archivists falls in line with previous stereotypes of archivists as middle aged. The eyeglass wearers (2 out of 4) are a neutral result, which does not give any insight as to whether archivists are, indeed, bespectacled. Four out of four archivists dressed conservatively, which does possibly refute past stereotypes of archivists' poor fashion sense. Though, this is a

difficult point to make because these individuals knew they were on camera, which likely altered their daily behavior and influenced their fashion choices. These data points do show, however, how the directors and producers of the television show utilized information professionals, and their general appearances portrayed to the audience.

Similar to Cox's (1993) study of *The New York Times* coverage of archives, this study showed one major absence in the genealogy television shows– the role of the archivist. Jimerson (2009) recapitulated that, although twentieth century scholars "considered the societal importance of archives, they often overlooked or ignored the people who work in these repositories" (p. 343). The observations of this study align with previous research on archivists' representation to society.

The Research Process and Archival Materials

Of the 58 archival encounters, 23 (40%), showed some level of research while 35 (60%) showed no research process. One archival encounter could show more than one research process, therefore the 29 research processes shown span the 23 total encounters.

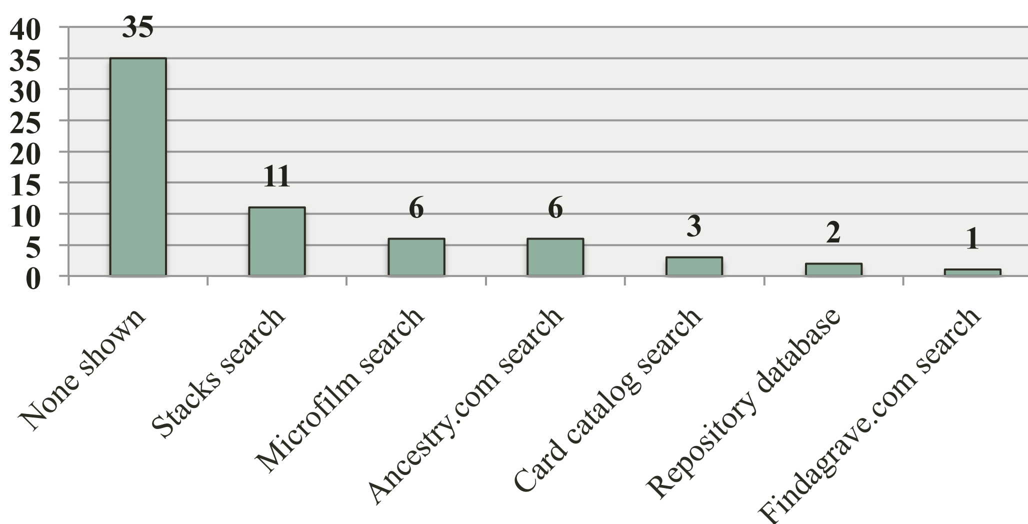

Figure 8: Number of research processes portrayed based on type

The most encountered research process was the act of searching the stacks. These were most often closed stacks, which do depict a level of security, but the fact that the

Figure 9: Retrieving materials from closed stacks at the National Archives of Scotland from Finding Your Roots, Season 4, Episode 2

audience is viewing closed stacks is not made clear. The scenes showed professionals retrieving archival containers from the stacks, and twice the guest stars helped in this process. The next two most-shown research processes were microfilm searches and Ancestry.com searches. The microfilm search included either scanning drawers of film boxes for the right reel, or skimming images on a microfilm reader, or both. The Ancestry.com searches occurred most often in *Who Do You Think You Are?* likely because the show is sponsored by Ancestry. These searches were often name-based searches to find census records, newspaper articles, or other digitized content.

Figure 10: Guest star, Cynthia Nixon helps pull archival materials from closed stacks from Who Do You Think You Are? Season 5, Episode 1

The archival encounters did not consistently show the research process used to find the referenced materials in the archive. Much of this research occurred behind-the-scenes by professional genealogists contracted to research the guest stars' genealogies. Because of this, the shows depicted the research process on a very shallow level.

If security measures at the repositories existed, they were not usually shown to the viewer. Only three encounters displayed visible security measures. One encounter showed a security guard at the entrance to the United States National Archives in Washington, DC. Another showed locked bars on the window exterior of the Jamaica Archive. The third encounter showed a grated metal security door at the entrance to a Cuban church repository. This does not align with previous stereotypes of archives as secure, locked-down, and inaccessible. Quite the opposite, the lack of security depicted in the shows and the ease with which guests were allowed to help pull materials from the secure stacks alludes to archives as open and accessible.

Figure 11: Barred and locked windows at the Jamaica Archives, Jamaica from Finding Your Roots, Season 2, Episode 1

Archival stereotypes also depicted materials as delicate, old, and decaying. Many of the items examined could qualify as old, but the little use of cotton or nitrile gloves indicated they were not as delicate as the viewing public might think. Only 13 of the 58 archival encounters required the use of white cotton gloves by both information professional and researcher. In every case, they were used to handle paper or bound

Figure 12: No gloves worn by historian in Military Archives, Berlin, Germany from Who Do You Think You Are? Season 4, Episode 3

materials. Of the 13 instances where gloves were worn, 11 of the encounters occurred at international archives. The two encountered in the United States were government archives, one in Kentucky and one in Missouri.

The archival materials encountered were mostly paper documents or bound items. Of all 76 items examined, 37 were originals, 20 were print reproductions, 6 were microfilm reproductions, and 13 were digital reproductions.

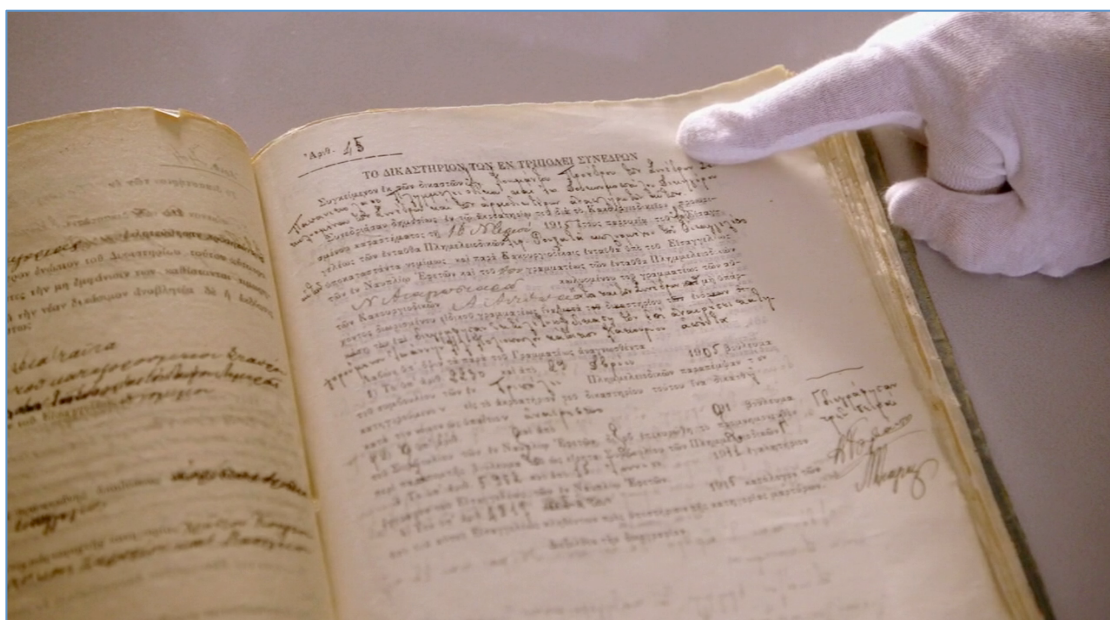

Figure 13: Gloves worn by guest star at General Archives in Greece from Who Do You Think You Are? Season 9, Episode 7

The archival research process is not a nuanced part of these television broadcasts. Security measures were rarely shown and the act of searching for materials was not always depicted. The few times guest stars were filmed in the closed stacks was also misleading to the public who may get the impression that those stacks are free to browse with little security taken to protect the materials. Surprisingly, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. does cue viewers into the intricacies of research and resources expended to conduct

genealogical inquiry. He stated, “researching a person’s ancestry is extraordinarily labor-intensive and there’s absolutely no guarantee of success.”

Figure 14: Guest star J. K. Rowling conducts an online repository database search at the Paris Hospital Archives from Who Do You Think You Are? Season 7, Episode 2

It is also clear that the reality genealogy television shows examined presented a message of self-discovery through genealogy. At the end of their journeys, guest stars discussed the impact the newly obtained information had on the way they viewed themselves and their families. Some even felt it changed their identity or the way they identified with the world around them. This reiterates Buckley’s (2008) point that “records are lost and buried in archives; and the information sought in the records invariably centres around the search for self or truth” (p. 95). This may be an indication that the shows uphold the stereotype of archives as truthful and valuable.

Limitations and Future Work

Exploring the portrayals of archival encounters in reality television programming is not a direct observation of archival stereotypes upheld in society, but what the creators of the programming wish to present to their audiences. Matheson (2005) stated some scholarship "suggests that reality television is less about reality than it is about television: the lens has the power to produce a particular sense of the real" (p. 106). Genealogy television shows are no different. The creators have a purpose and follow storylines to tell a specific narrative. In this way, this study observed how genealogy television shows chose to portray archives and how archival encounters wove into the written storyline. The power of television media to project the creator's purpose and views onto their audiences in no way belittles the fact that media is a powerful means of creating or upholding traditional societal stereotypes.

Qualitative analysis of content has its weaknesses to consider. For one, manifest indicators chosen, as indicative of the latent content, are subjective to the researcher's knowledge and inherent biases. In other words, the study observations may be questionable if the manifest content is poorly representative of the latent content to be analyzed. Another way in which this method is prone to researcher bias is that the nature of content analysis requires inference and interpretation of the collected data (Wildemuth, 2017).

Any research will encounter bias in data collection, and measures can be taken to better understand what levels of bias were introduced through human judgment. There is

always bias "Any time humans observe phenomena or interpret meaning" (Wildemuth, 2017, p. 311). As such, this study could analyze bias by employing multiple coders to ensure the results were not skewed by one coder's subjective judgments. The use of Krippendorf's *alpha* to measure inter-coder reliability would provide a better understanding as to how much bias existed in this study. Because this study was exploratory and does not affect individual people, a lower level of agreement would be sufficient (Wildemuth, 2017, p. 312). Due to time constraints placed upon this study, Krippendorf's *alpha* was not measured. Further studies into the portrayal of archives in television could expand upon this research and measure the biases to better understand the study's validity.

The scope of this study left out many avenues of exploration. Very important but out of scope is an inquiry into how the genealogy television shows were received by the viewing audience. Cox (1993) reiterated this point, stating "Archivists lack any data on the perceptions of archives or their work held by […] the general public" (p. 222). More needs to be done to understand how viewing audiences consume and internalize television depictions of archival encounters, and whether their internalizations result in positive or negative stereotypes about archives, archivists, and archival research. There is also little to no research on what image genealogists hold about archives, archivists, and archival research. Archivists, though some of their views about genealogists are seen in the literature, have not fully shared their views on genealogists either. If the literature is accurate in stating that contemporary genealogists and archivists have a more understanding relationship of one another, a new study should be conducted to measure this change.

Conclusion

Two of the most popular genealogy television series, *Who Do You Think You Are?* and *Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr,* uphold several traditional archival stereotypes portrayed in the literature. Archival repositories are seen as organized, subterranean, and possibly intimidating. Archival materials are shown as accessible and inaccessible, and some but not all are depicted as delicate and valuable enough to wear gloves. There is no depiction of their must and dust, and it is unclearly portrayed as to how locked away and secure they truly are. The research process is shown as simplistic to nonexistent. The little depiction of archival research presented only delves surface deep into what genealogy and archival research entails.

Archivists are middle aged and knowledgeable, but there are not enough data points to conclude this is a stereotype. The absence of archivists in most archival encounters, on the other hand, is unnerving. This does not wholly represent archival research, and relegates the hard work archivists do for researchers to the background. This observation aligns with previous studies. Craig (1995) thought the archival records were portrayed as divorced from their custodians "as if the documents lived a life independent of their place of keeping and from the people who are responsible for them" (p. 115). Craig (1995) believed this to be "a barrier to understanding" (p. 115) for the public.

The portrayals of archival encounters by the two reality genealogy television programs fail to deliver a nuanced depiction of the archival profession. Further inquiry may shed more light on whether these shows accurately reflect public perceptions of archives or if they are establishing an incomplete image of archives and archivists in society. Archival work and archival research are complex and difficult to grasp even for trained archivists. Craig (1995) and Procter (2010) concluded that, perhaps the ambiguity and complexity of the archive and archivists' roles must be embraced more fully. Archivists and archives need to be more visible to the public, and David Gracy's decades old call for more outreach may help illuminate and explain the ambiguities and complexities involved in archival work. Better exposure and collaboration in the communities archives serve could foster understanding and mutual relationships with the most valuable stakeholders of all, our users.

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Appendix 1: Data Collection Sheet

IDENTIFIERS
Show Title:
- ❑ Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.
- ❑ Who Do You Think You Are?

Episode ID: Year Aired ____________, Season __________, Episode __________

Guest Star/Researcher: ____

Archival Encounter ID: ___________

REPOSITORY DATA
Repository Name: ____

Repository Location: ____

Type of Repository:
- ❑ Academic archive
- ❑ Academic library
- ❑ Business archive
- ❑ Government archive
- ❑ Historical society
- ❑ Museum
- ❑ Private archive
- ❑ Private library
- ❑ Public library
- ❑ Religious/Parish archive
- ❑ Other ______________________
- ❑ Unable to determine

Architectural Style: __________________

Camera Angle of Repository Exterior:
- ❑ Eye-level
- ❑ High angle
- ❑ Low angle
- ❑ Canted angle
- ❑ Point-of-view
- ❑ Exterior not shown

Camera Shot of Repository Exterior:
- ❑ Long shot
- ❑ Medium shot
- ❑ Close-up
- ❑ Exterior not shown

Camera Angle of Repository Interior:
- ❑ Eye-level
- ❑ High angle
- ❑ Low angle
- ❑ Canted angle
- ❑ Point-of-view
- ❑ Interior not shown

Camera Shot of Repository Interior:
- ❑ Long shot
- ❑ Medium shot
- ❑ Close-up
- ❑ Interior not shown

Areas of Repository Shown:
- ❑ Entryway
- ❑ Public service desk
- ❑ Reading room
- ❑ Open stacks
- ❑ Secure stacks
- ❑ Office/staff area
- ❑ Unable to determine

Characteristics of Interior Space:
- ❑ Organized
- ❑ Disorganized
- ❑ Clean
- ❑ Dusty
- ❑ Bright
- ❑ Dark
- ❑ Underground/Basement
- ❑ Other _______________________

INFORMATION PROFESSIONAL DATA

Professional Encountered: Name ________________________, Title __________________

Repository Staff:

- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No
- ❑ Unknown

Profession:

- ❑ Archivist
- ❑ Librarian
- ❑ Historian
- ❑ Researcher/Genealogist
- ❑ Professor/teacher
- ❑ Other ______________________
- ❑ Unable to determine

Complete the following section only for archivist and/or repository staff.

Sex:

- ❑ Female
- ❑ Male
- ❑ Unable to determine

Age:

- ❑ Young (Under 30)
- ❑ Middle age (30-50)
- ❑ Mature (Over 50)
- ❑ Unable to determine

Race/Ethnicity:

- ❑ White
- ❑ Black or African American
- ❑ Hispanic, Latino/Spanish
- ❑ American Indian/Alaska Native
- ❑ Asian
- ❑ Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander
- ❑ Other ______________________
- ❑ Unable to determine

Hair Color:

- ❑ White
- ❑ Gray
- ❑ Blonde
- ❑ Blonde-gray mix
- ❑ Blonde (obviously bleached)
- ❑ Red
- ❑ Red-gray mix
- ❑ Brown
- ❑ Brown-gray mix
- ❑ Black
- ❑ Black-gray mix
- ❑ No hair
- ❑ Hidden/Unable to determine

Female Hairstyle:

- ❑ Short
- ❑ Long
- ❑ Worn up
- ❑ Worn down
- ❑ Hidden/Unable to determine
- ❑ N/A – Male professional

Male Hairstyle:

- ❑ Short
- ❑ Long
- ❑ Full head of hair (Not bald)
- ❑ Receding hairline
- ❑ Bald spot
- ❑ Fringe hair only
- ❑ Totally bald
- ❑ Hidden/Unable to determine
- ❑ NA – Female professional

Eyesight:

- ❑ Always wears eyeglasses
- ❑ Sometimes wears eyeglasses
- ❑ Never wears eyeglasses

Style of Dress:

- ❑ Conservative
- ❑ Sloppy
- ❑ Ordinary
- ❑ Traditional
- ❑ Eccentric
- ❑ Militaristic
- ❑ Unable to determine

Behavioral Characteristics:

- ❑ Appreciates history
- ❑ Disgruntled
- ❑ Shy/Introverted
- ❑ Outgoing/Extroverted
- ❑ Isolated/Solitary
- ❑ Knowledgeable
- ❑ Impartial
- ❑ Quiet
- ❑ Curious
- ❑ Nervous

Dialogue Keywords that Describe the Archive:

- ❑ Musty
- ❑ Dusty
- ❑ Dark
- ❑ Damp
- ❑ Other ___________________________

RESEARCH PROCESS AND ARCHIVAL MATERIALS DATA

Depiction of Research Process:
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

Mode of Search/Research Depicted:
- ❑ Online repository database
- ❑ Online open access database
- ❑ Online subscription database
- ❑ Card catalog
- ❑ Microfilm search
- ❑ Repository stacks/container search
- ❑ Other ____________________

Security Measures:
- ❑ Security guard
- ❑ Registration
- ❑ Closed stacks
- ❑ Detectors
- ❑ Only staff can handle materials
- ❑ Other ________________________

Gloves Worn:
- ❑ White cotton gloves
- ❑ Blue nitrile gloves
- ❑ None shown

If Gloves Worn, Worn By:
- ❑ Professional
- ❑ Guest/Researcher
- ❑ Other ____________________

Form of Item(s) Examined:
- ❑ Paper document
- ❑ Photograph/Still image
- ❑ Newspaper
- ❑ Other periodical
- ❑ Book
- ❑ Maps
- ❑ Diary/Journal
- ❑ Film/Moving image
- ❑ Object/Artifact

Format of Examined Document:
- ❑ Original
- ❑ Surrogate – Microfilm
- ❑ Surrogate – Print reproduction
- ❑ Surrogate – Digital reproduction
- ❑ Unable to determine

Item(s) Used to Construct Historical Narrative:
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

DATA COLLECTION NOTES

Appendix 2: Coding Manual

IDENTIFIERS

Category Name	Definition	Instructions	Examples
Series Title:	The title of the television series from which the data is collected.	Identify the television series by choosing between the two options provided.	Finding Your Roots with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; Who Do You Think You Are?
Episode ID:	The numbers used to identify each episode. This includes the overall episode number in the series, the year it aired, season number, and episode number.	Fill in the year the episode aired, the season number, and episode number.	Episode ID: Year aired 2013 Episode ID: Season 4 Episode ID: Episode 8
Guest Star/Researcher:	The individual who is involved in the archival encounter. This is whoever travels to the archival repository, who meets with a professional, and/or who examines the archival materials to research the family history.	Identify the guest star/researcher who is involved in the archival encounter. If the celebrity guest visits the site, use their name. If Henry Louis Gates, Jr. visits the site, use his name instead of the celebrity. If neither the celebrity nor Gates visits the site, enter NA.	Gwyneth Paltrow; Henry Louis Gates, Jr.
Archival Encounter ID:	The number that uniquely identifies each archival counter within a series.	Give each archival encounter a unique 3-digit number, beginning with 001 in the first episode and proceed incrementally across all episodes of the series. If the same repository is visited multiple times, generate a unique ID each time. Do not duplicate IDs within a television series. Do not begin at 001 for each episode. Continue the count across all episodes of each series.	011

REPOSITORY DATA

Category Name	Definition	Instructions	Examples
Repository Name:	The name of the institution visited where research was conducted.	Transcribe as displayed on screen or as dictated. You may need to look up a repository in an online search to verify the name. If a foreign archive, provide translated Anglicized name followed by native language name in parenthesis. If no repository is named, mark as Unidentified.	National Archives of France (Archives Nationales)
Repository Location:	The city/town, state, and county/province in which the repository is located, and country for international locations.	Transcribe as displayed on screen. If all components of the location are not provided by the show, you may need to look up a repository's address in an online search to elaborate on location (city/town, county/province, state, foreign country).	Paris, Ile-de-France, France; Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Type of Repository:	Identify what kind of repository is visited.	This could be indicated in the repository name provided on screen or in dialogue. If not, look up the repository's website online to decipher what type of repository it is. If the type of repository is not identified and cannot be easily deciphered by an online search, mark as Unable to determine.	Academic archive; Academic library; Business archive; Government archive; Historical society; Museum; Private archive; Private library; Public library; Religious/Parish archive; Other; Unable to determine
Architectural Style:	The style of architecture in which the repository was designed based on the exterior façade.	Identify the architectural style by examining the exterior façade of the repository building. Refer to Owen Hopkins' (2014) *Architectural Styles: A Visual Guide*, for visual guidance on identifying styles. If the exterior of the repository is not shown, mark as NA.	Baroque; Gothic; Modernist; Romanesque; NA
Camera Angle of Repository Exterior[i]:	The way in which the camera is angled to display the exterior of the repository.	Describe the camera angle used by the director to capture the repository exterior. If the exterior of the repository is not shown, mark as Exterior not shown. Choose from the options below: • Eye-level – a frontal shot taken from straight on at	Eye-level; High angle; Low angle; Canted angle; Point-of-view; Exterior not shown.

		zero degrees, as if the viewer is level with the building. • High angle – a shot taken from above the zero degree line looking downward to make the building look smaller. • Low angle – a shot taken from below the zero degree line looking upward to make the building look larger and looming. • Canted angle – a shot taken at a diagonal making the building look uneven on the horizontal line. • Point-of view – a shot from a character's eyes, making it look as if the viewer is the character. • Exterior not shown – choose this option if the exterior of the repository is not shown.	
Camera Shot of Repository Exterior:	The distance in which the camera view is shot to display the exterior of the repository. A shot is "the smallest unit of visual information captured at one time by the camera that shows a certain action or event."[ii]	Describe the type of camera shot used by the director to capture the repository exterior. If the exterior of the repository is not shown, mark as Exterior not shown. Choose from the options below: • Long shot – a wide and encompassing shot that shows a large spatial area, likely showing the whole of the building. • Medium shot – a moderate distance shot that best mimics how humans see the environment most immediately around us, likely showing a portion of the building in a comfortable proximity from the camera. • Close-up – an intimate shot providing a greatly magnified view of the building, which will likely show more detail of the structure and design of the façade. • Exterior not shown – choose this option if the exterior of the repository is not shown.	Long shot; Medium shot; Close-up; Exterior not shown.

Camera Angle of Repository Interior:	The way in which the camera is angled to display the interior of the repository.	Describe the camera angle used by the director to capture the repository interior. If the interior of the repository is not shown, mark as Interior not shown. See definitions of terms from "Camera Angle of Repository Exterior" category provided above.	Eye-level; High angle; Low angle; Canted angle; Point-of-view; Interior not shown.
Camera Shot of Repository Interior:	The distance in which the camera view is shot to display the interior of the repository.	Describe the type of camera shot used by the director to capture the repository interior. If the interior of the repository is not shown, mark as Interior not shown. See definitions of terms from "Camera Shot of Repository Exterior" category provided above.	Long shot; Medium shot; Close-up; Interior not shown.
Areas of Repository Interior Shown:	The interior areas or spaces of the repository shown on screen.	Choose as many from the following options as is necessary: • Entryway – interior space within the doorway prior to entering the repository's main interior, such as a lobby or portico. • Public service desk – A high counter or desk where staff member sits to assist researchers. • Reading room – A location in which researchers view collection materials, usually with long tables lined with chairs. • Open stacks – Bookshelves accessible to patrons that often hold circulating materials. This can be deciphered if the book spines display call number labels. • Secure stacks – Shelving units inaccessible to patrons that often hold non-circulating archival materials. These are often high capacity or compact shelves that move with a turn knob and store archival boxes of materials or rare books. • Unidentified stacks – Use this option if the type of stacks is not easily identified as either open or	Entryway; Public service desk; Reading room; Open stacks; Secure stacks; Unidentified stacks; Office/staff area

		secure. • Office/staff area – Any space that looks as if it is not meant for patrons to use. These areas may contain office workspace, desks with personal items displayed or stacks of in-progress work. • Unable to determine – Use this option for any interior space that is not clearly deciphered as one of the above options.	
Characteristics of Interior Spaces:	The visible characteristics of the repository's interior spaces as shown.	Describe the characteristics of the interior spaces of the repository as shown. Choose as many as is necessary. Use the Other option if a characteristic is visible that does not conform to the options provided, but that indicates a certain stereotype of archives. •	Organized; Disorganized; Clean; Dusty; Bright; Dark; Underground/Basement; Other

INFORMATION PROFESSIONAL DATA

Category Name	Definition	Instructions	Examples
Professional Encountered:	The information professional's name and title that is encountered, likely at the repository.	Transcribe the professional's name and title as displayed on screen or as dictated. This should be the individual the researcher/guest sits down with to examine and understand the archival materials. If no professional is encountered, mark as NA. If they are encountered but not introduced, mark as Unidentified.	Sue Smith, University Archivist; Joe Johnson, Historian
Repository Staff:	Whether or not the information professional encountered is an employee of the repository.	Identify whether the information professional is an employee of the repository based on their title. If an employee, their title may indicate this, or if they're not an employee of the repository their title will indicate what institution they are affiliated with Most often, researchers, genealogists, historians, and professors are not employed by the repository but by the television show to conduct the research needed. If it cannot be determined based on the provided information whether the professional is or is not an employee of the repository, an online search may clarify. Otherwise, if it is difficult to determine, enter Unknown.	Yes; No; Unknown
Profession:	The basic category of profession of the information professional.	Based on the information professional's title, as deciphered in the Professional Encountered category, place their profession into a broad category. This is often conveyed in their title. As displayed on screen or as dictated.	Archivist; Librarian; Historian; Researcher/genealogist; Professor/teacher; Other; Unable to determine
***[iii]Sex:**	The biological sex of the archivist.	Identify, based on visual appearance, what is the biological sex of the professional. If it is unclear, mark as Unable to determine.	Male; Female; Unable to determine
***Age:**	The age, in years, of the archivist.	Estimate the age range of the professional as best as possible based on their visual appearance.	Young (Under 30); Middle age (30-50); Mature (Over 50); Unable to determine.
***Race/Ethnicity[iv]:**	The race or ethnic identity of the archivist.	Describe the race or ethnicity of the professional based on context, verbal identification, or appearance. If of	White; Black or African American; Hispanic, Latino,

		European descent, mark as White. Only use Other if the professional explicitly verbalizes or by other means identifies their race or ethnicity that does not fit into one of the provided categories. If not explicitly identified and an educated guess cannot be made, mark as Unable to determine.	and/or Spanish; American Indian and/or Alaska Native; Asian; Native Hawaiian and/or other Pacific Islander; Other; Unable to determine.
***Hair Color:**	The visual color of the archivist's hair.	Indicate what color hair the professional has. If they are bald, mark as No hair. If their hair is covered and not visible, mark as Hidden/Unable to determine.	White; Gray; Blonde; Blonde-gray mix; Blonde (obviously bleached; Red; Red-gray mix; Brown; Brown-gray mix; Black; Black-gray mix; No hair; Hidden/Unable to determine.
***Female Hairstyle:**	The hairstyle of a female archivist encountered.	If the professional is female, indicate what hairstyle they have. If they are bald, mark as No hair. If it is a male professional, mark as Male professional. If their hair is covered and not visible, mark as Hidden/Unable to determine. Choose as many as is necessary. For example, one individual may have short hair worn up.	Short; Long; Worn up; Worn down; No hair; Male professional; Hidden/Unable to determine
***Male Hairstyle:**	The hairstyle of a male archivist encountered.	If the professional is male, indicate to what degree the male professional is bald. If it is a female professional, mark as Female professional. If their hair is covered and not visible, mark as Hidden/Unable to determine.	Not bald (full head of hair); Receding hairline; Bald spot; Fringe hair only; Totally bald; Female professional; Hidden/Unable to determine.
***Eyesight:**	The extent to which an archivist wears or does not wear glasses to correct their vision.	Indicate the status of the professional's vision based on whether they wear corrective lenses, and how often they need them while on screen.	Always wears eyeglasses; Sometimes wears eyeglasses; Never wears eyeglasses
***Style of Dress:** [v]	The style of clothing the archivist wears.	Describe how the professional is dressed based on their style of clothing. Choose one of the options below: • Conservative – A type of dress that conforms to	Conservative; Sloppy; Ordinary; Traditional; Eccentric; Militaristic;

		“traditional aesthetic tastes” that is “sober and conventional in style.” This includes suits, dresses with ample coverage, and business-like attire. Do not use this for traditional ethnic dress (see Traditional below). • Sloppy – A type of dress that is “loose, slack, or ill-fitted.” • Ordinary – A type of dress that is “usually experienced” and “not singular or exceptional.” It is considered “undistinguished in appearance, “commonplace,” and “plain.” This includes contemporary dress that is commonly seen worn in the 21st century. • Traditional – A type of dress defined as “the ensemble of garments, jewelry, and accessories rooted in the past that is worn by an identifiable group of people. It will seem to be “handed down unchanged from the past.” • Eccentric – A type of dress that is “irregular, odd, or whimsical” and deviates from ordinary, conservative, or traditional dress. Militaristic – A type of dress that is proscribed by a branch of the military. This includes military uniforms and dress that mimics a militaristic style.	Unable to determine
***Behavioral Characteristics:**	The behavioral characteristics the archivist displays while on screen.	Identify certain behavioral characteristics as displayed by the professional while on screen. Choose as many as is necessary from the following options: • Appreciates history – Displays excitement for sharing and learning history. • Disgruntled – Unhappy or perturbed. • Passive/Introverted – Displays social passivity in interacting with others and keeps to themselves, talks low of softly.	Appreciates history; Disgruntled; Passive/Introverted; Outgoing/Extroverted; Isolated/Solitary; Knowledgeable; Impartial; Quiet; Curious; Nervous

		• Outgoing/Extroverted – Displays social verbosity and ease in interacting with others, talks loudly and boisterously. • Isolated/Solitary – Alone with no interaction with others. • Knowledgeable – Displays sufficient amount of knowledge on the subject under discussion, answers questions fully. • Impartial – Treats others fairly and justly and does not show bias when providing information. • Quiet – Does not talk much or talks in a low soft voice. • Curious – Asks questions or shows interest in learning new information. • Nervous – Shows discomfort or verbal or physical shaking or quivering	
Dialogue Keywords that Describe the Archival Encounter:	Keywords in conversations among guest star, information professional, host, and/or narrator that relate to known stereotypes.	List any keywords used in dialogue between any two constituents in the show (professional, guest star, or host) when visiting or discussing a repository or archival materials that refer to the archival encounter, or keywords used by the narrator when narrating the storyline. These keywords could be about the archivist, the repository, or the archival materials examined. If the keyword does not match the options provided, use the Other option to quote the word or phrase exactly as used.	Musty; Dusty; Dark; Damp; Other: Hidden in the archive; Other: Buried records.

RESEARCH PROCESS AND ARCHIVAL MATERIALS DATA

Category Name	Definition	Instructions	Examples
Depiction of Research Process:	Whether any research process is shown on screen.	Identify whether or not any aspect of the research process is depicted or described	Yes; No
Mode of Search/Research Depicted:	If a research process is depicted, the mechanism in which the researcher searched for and found the information needed.	Denote what type of research is shown based on the type of search mechanism used to conduct the research. Choose from the following list: • Online repository database – any website, search engine, or database used to search specifically within the repository's holdings. • Online open access database – any website or online database that is free to access. This includes sites such as Findagrave.com and Familysearch.org. • Online subscription database – any online site that requires a subscription for access. This includes sites such as Ancestry.com, Fold3.com, and Newspapers.com. • Card catalog – a physical catalog of cards in alphabetical order used to find materials on the shelves of the repository. • Microfilm search – the use of a microfilm reader to skim and search through microfilmed documents • Repository stacks/container search – Using the physical labels on containers in the stacks or on the shelves to find the physical materials needed.	Online repository database; Online open access database; Online subscription database; Card catalog; Microfilm search; Repository stacks/container search; Other
Security Measures:	The equipment, environment, or other people or techniques used by the repository to ensure the safety of its collections.	Identify any of the measures taken by the repository to keep the collection materials safe. Choose as many as is necessary. If a security measure used does not conform to the provided options, use the Other field and indicate what type of measure was observed. If no security measures are shown, select None shown. If it is difficult to determine	Security guard; Registration; Closed stacks; Detectors; Other; None shown; Unable to determine.

		whether a security measure is displayed, select Unable to determine.	
Gloves Worn:	Whether or not an individual retrieving or examining archival materials wears gloves, and what type of gloves are used.	Identify whether the professional or guest star wears gloves when handling materials based on the type of gloves worn. Then determine the type of gloves based on observation. Cotton gloves are white with a fabric texture. Nitrile gloves are blue with a rubber texture. If gloves are worn and they are not cotton or nitrile, select Unable to determine type of gloves. If either the information professional or the guest researcher does not wear gloves, mark as No gloves used.	White cotton gloves; Blue nitrile gloves; Unable to determine type of gloves; No gloves used.
If Gloves Worn, Worn By:	The individual that wears the gloves when encountering archival materials.	If gloves are worn, make note of who wears the gloves, whether it is the professional, the guest/researcher, or both. If someone other than the professional or guest/researcher is shown wearing gloves, identify the individual in the Other field. If both professional and guest/researcher use gloves, check both boxes.	Professional; Guest/Researcher; Other
Form of Item(s) Examined:	The format based on physical characteristics of the archival materials retrieved or examined during the archival encounter.	Identify the kind of item or items the guest/researcher examined while visiting the repository. This is based on the physical characteristics of the archival item's composition. Choose as many as is necessary to represent each archival item examined. Make a list of each item in the Data Collection Notes at the end of the form and mark what format the item was in (as identified in category below).	Paper document, Photograph/Still image; Newspaper; Other periodical; Book; Maps; Diary/Journal; Film/Moving image; Object/Artifact
Format of Item(s) Examined:	The productive means by which the archival item examined was created.	Denote whether the item(s) inspected and/or handled are the original or a surrogate of the original, such as a reproduction or microfilmed image. If it is a surrogate, differentiate between the reproduction formats of microfilm, print, or digital reproduction. Microfilm will be on plastic reels and examined using a microfilm reader. Print reproductions will be printed on paper or materials	Original; Surrogate – Microfilm; Surrogate – Print reproduction; Surrogate – Digital reproduction; Unable to determine

		used to mimic the original. Digital reproductions will be viewed on a computer screen, usually in an online platform.	
Item(s) Used to Construct Historical Narrative:	Whether the archival materials are used to create a historical narrative or placed in a historical context, often by reenactments or a story narrative.	Identify if the item(s) inspected are placed in historical context or used to construct a historical narrative or reenactment scenes. These scenes may take the form of a live reenactment or illustrated using additional historical images with a narration of the historical context.	Yes; No

DATA COLLECTION NOTES:

This section on the Data Collection Form is used to record any thoughts on the data collection process, any observations that do not fit into the coding categories, or to elaborate on any coding category that needs further explanation. At minimum, and if archival documents were examined during the archival encounter, list here each document and its format (whether it is an original, or if a surrogate, what type of surrogate).

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[i] Camera angle vocabulary and definitions were taken from: C. J. Bowen & R. Thompson, (2013), *Grammar of the Shot,* New York: Focal Press; and G. Moura, (2014), "Camera angles: The art of manipulation," *Elements of Cinema Blog & Podcast*, http://www.elementsofcinema.com/cinematography/camera-angles-and-composition/.

[ii] Thompson, R. & Bowen, C. J. (2013). *Grammar of the Shot.* New York: Focal Press, p. 2.

[iii]*Only fill in these categories if the information professional is identified as an archivist. Leave blank for any other type of information professional.

[iv] Race/Ethnicity categories and definitions were adapted from the US Census Bureau: "Race," United States Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/note/US/RHI425216.

[v] Definitions of conservative, sloppy, ordinary, and eccentric are taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary Online:* "conservative, n. and adj." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/39569. Accessed 5 February 2018; "sloppy, adj." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/182077. Accessed 5 February 2018; "ordinary, adj. and adv." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/132361. Accessed 5 February 2018; "eccentric, adj. and n." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, January 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/59245. Accessed 5 February 2018. Definition of traditional dress taken from the *Encyclopedia of Dress and Fashion*, Ed. Valrie Steele, Vol. 3, Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2005, p. 331.