

ARCHIVAL ACQUISITION OF THE RECORDS OF
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

By

SUSAN MARY ANNE HART

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Department of Library, Information, and Archival Studies

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

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ABSTRACT

While acquisition is a vital responsibility for all archival repositories, generally accepted principles and practices of archival acquisition are sadly lacking in North America. This problem is particularly apparent with regard to the records of voluntary associations, the nature and significance of which are largely unknown to archivists. This thesis studies the problem of, and proposes a system for, archival acquisition of the records of voluntary associations. To begin with, it provides a definition, description, and categorization of voluntary associations, and delineates their life cycle and relationships with other organizations. The thesis subsequently moves on to consider the records-keeping practices of voluntary associations, the relevant acquisition practices of archival repositories, and applicable archival theories of acquisition and appraisal. Ethnographic methodology is used to analyse two voluntary associations, their activities, and their records-keeping practices. Finally it is proposed that archival repositories acquire the records of voluntary associations, that this can be done by existing repositories and through such arrangements as special committees, consortiums of associations, and special repositories, and that a standard procedure be followed by repositories when acquiring the records of a voluntary association.

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INTRODUCTION

The act of acquisition is essential to the vitality of archival repositories, and to their service to society. Unfortunately, most archival repositories in North America have a long road to travel before attaining ideal acquisition policies. Archivists need to conduct research in order to reach a clearer understanding of records creators, and based on this, to develop better approaches to acquisition. The present thesis will address one area of this research need by studying the group of records creators known as **voluntary associations**.

Voluntary associations comprise a type of organization which has been especially neglected by archivists. Much of this neglect results from a misunderstanding of their nature and significance, and from a tendency to consider records creators in terms of subjects and information, rather than as types of organizations. This thesis is aimed at establishing some basis for a system of archival acquisition of the records of voluntary associations. Such a system would ensure that the records of such associations are acquired in a thorough, consistent manner and preserved for the benefit of society.

Three matters must be explained before addressing the aims of this thesis, these being the significance of voluntary associations to society, the research methodology adopted here, and the structure and contents of the main body of the thesis.

I

Voluntary associations are interesting and complex organizations, but the archivist needs to know more than this before considering the acquisition of their records. Archivist Victoria Blinkhorn has observed that just as the significance of records rests on their relationship to the creator, the significance of the creator rests on his (or her) relationship to society.¹ The archivist needs to know whether an organization is significant to the community whose records the repository is mandated to preserve. This significance may be measured by examining the pervasiveness of the organization, taking into consideration the ways in which it influences and functions for society, and the extent to which it reflects society.

That voluntary associations are pervasive in society is a fact asserted with confidence by those who have studied them extensively.² A cursory search through a telephone directory or the directory of voluntary associations at the local library, or a call to a volunteer bureau, will reveal that an astonishing array of voluntary associations exists, for example, in Vancouver alone. Two intensive studies of American cities have produced

¹ Victoria Blinkhorn, "The Records of Visual Artists: Appraising for Acquisition and Selection" (Master of Archival Studies diss., University of British Columbia, 1988), 110.

² National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action to the Government of Canada, Report: People in Action (Ottawa, 1977), 4; Albert Meister, Participation, Associations, Development, and Change, trans. and ed. Jack C. Ross (London: Transaction Books, 1984), 54; Donato J. Pugliese, Voluntary Associations: An Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), 6.

more concrete results. In their famous study of "Yankee City", sociologists Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt found 899 voluntary associations in one urban area, 357 being permanent, stable organizations. Of these 357, 52% had twenty or fewer members; 37% had 21-80 members, and 9% had up to 312 members.³ This study was published in 1941 and there has doubtless been change in the demographics of voluntary associations since then, but its testament to their vitality remains valid. A similar study of Detroit in 1951 found that 63% of the residents of that city were members of non-church associations, and that half of them were members of two or more such bodies.⁴ Similar statistics have not been amassed in Canada as yet, but the very fact that the Federal Government of this nation appointed a National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action in 1976 attests to the importance of voluntary associations in Canadian society.

Voluntary associations function for society in myriad ways. As the National Advisory Council comments, the representative democracy by which Canada operates does not adequately meet every citizen's need to contribute to shaping the nation's laws and policies. Voluntary associations, the Council contends, help to meet this need and are therefore "central to our democratic traditions".⁵ Sociologist Arnold Rose states that voluntary

³ Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), 303-320.

⁴ Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), 55.

⁵ National Advisory Council, 28-30.

associations play a major role in [American] democracy by widely distributing power over social life, providing understanding of and satisfaction with democratic processes, and functioning as a mechanism for social change.⁶ Perhaps the citizens for whom the voluntary association is most valuable politically are the members of minorities, especially disadvantaged ones; the voluntary associations which they create and which are created to help them are an important means of ensuring that their interests and concerns are not ignored.⁷ Albert Meister, a prominent German sociologist, goes so far as to say that "the basic reason for the immense development of associations in the United States has been the number of different ethnic, religious, and economic subgroups".⁸ As well as contributing politically, voluntary associations represent a substantial economic asset of a nation: for example, in 1971, one percent of Canada's Gross National Product (or \$1,045,000,000) was produced by voluntary associations.⁹ The central aims of voluntary associations also affect society. Where their focus is internal (for social, religious, or self-help purposes) they affect those members of society who are part of the associations, and have a ripple effect on their families, friends, and other acquaintances. Where their focus is external (as with political action and

⁶ Rose, Theory and Method, 51.

⁷ National Advisory Council, 30.

⁸ Meister, 54.

⁹ National Advisory Council, 27.

service associations), they affect society much more broadly, especially if they are large and successful.

Voluntary associations are historically significant as the roots of permanent, influential organizations which are no longer voluntary, such as schools, hospitals, and libraries. As these examples indicate, many government functions were first carried on solely on a voluntary basis; the effectiveness of both their service work and their political lobbying is attested to by this government intervention. An illustration of this evolution of a function from the voluntary sector to government is offered by the Human Rights Commission set up in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador a few years ago, after a Human Rights Association had existed there for some time.

Another measure of significance is the extent to which a voluntary association reflects society at large. The development of voluntary associations has been found to be related to the development of society; as a nation modernizes, the number of its voluntary associations grows.¹⁰ This leads to the hypothesis that the functions of voluntary associations are integral to a complex society. Voluntary associations reflect society also in their demographics: they include women and men, children and adults, people of different ethnic backgrounds, people living in different regions, and members of every social class.¹¹ Furthermore, voluntary associations are linked in numerous ways

¹⁰ Meister, 10.

¹¹ Warner and Lunt, 330.

to many other organizations, and when one considers their multifarious activities, including everything from playing darts to counselling people with cancer to lobbying against deforestation, one must realise that there are few areas of life in our society where the effect of voluntary associations is not felt. Archivist Darlene Roth sums the situation up well when she states that:

The character of voluntary action, mirrored in the associations which frame it, offers the most intricate picture of the changes, tensions, new directions, and structural relationships of the American community at all levels.¹²

This statement applies to the Canadian community as well as it does to the American one. Clearly, voluntary associations are very significant to society, and therefore warrant special attention from the archival community which serves it.

II

Ethnography, a methodology for the study of culture, was used for the primary research conducted for this thesis. Discussion is warranted concerning why this approach is appropriate, the theory behind it, and the manner in which it was used for this study.

Ethnography is a method most commonly used by folklorists and anthropologists, and at first glance it may not appear appropriate to archivists, because it focusses on a culture or

¹² Darlene Roth, "Pandora's New Box: A Look at the Records of Women's Voluntary Associations," Georgia Archive 7 (1979): 36.

subculture and its members, very seldom on its records. Yet archives are a kind of cultural artifact, and in order to understand them properly one must know about their creators. This is especially true at the acquisition stage, when archivists do not generally know very much about the records they are attempting to take custody of. An archival repository needs to know whether the creator falls within its mandate, and how to best approach, communicate with, and receive co-operation from this creator. Knowing the general kinds of records created and used by the organization or agency helps, but in-depth study of these is a time-consuming luxury better left for the stages of appraisal, arrangement, and description.

Ethnography is a method of cultural analysis which investigates a culture by learning about it from the point of view of its members; rather than analysing and judging a culture from the perspective of her or his own, the ethnographer becomes a student of that culture, and attempts to understand it in its own terms. For example, while a university arts student may view many of the rituals of engineering students, such as dunking one of their fellows naked into a pool, as ridiculous and non-sensical, an ethnographer will observe these rituals carefully, taking notes and conducting interviews, and perhaps participating in some of them; in the end the ethnographer will be able to write an analysis of the engineers' culture which explains it in their own terms, but in a manner comprehensible to outsiders. **Ethnographic semantics** (also known as **ethnoscience**) is a special

kind of ethnography which influenced the research for this thesis; it focusses on the language a culture uses, especially those terms which are the most detailed and significant within this language. By discovering and describing the names, definitions, uses, and categories the members of the culture themselves employ, the ethnographer can truly present a culture as it perceives itself -- at least, as truly as the ever-present scourge of subjectivity permits. In You Owe Yourself a Drunk: An Ethnography of Urban Nomads, James Spradley, the leading proponent of ethnographic semantics, uses this method to reveal that the major concerns in the life of tramps (known to outsiders as bums, street people, drunks, etc.) are "making a flop" (that is, finding a place to sleep) and surviving the rigours of "the bucket" (the courts and jail). There are about a hundred different kinds of flops, and much of a tramp's time and energy is spent in making a flop. "Making a jug" (that is, getting some alcohol to drink) is, surprisingly, somewhat less important in tramps' culture. Because Spradley observed the tramps' activities and listened to them talking among themselves (that is, he conducted "participant observation"), and asked very general questions to begin with, he was able to escape the trap of focussing on the things he originally perceived to be important to them.¹³ Ethnographic semantics is a very attractive approach for anybody who wants to understand how the members of a

¹³ James P. Spradley, You Owe Yourself a Drunk: An Ethnography of Urban Nomads (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970).

culture different from her or his own behave and perceive the world, or some part of it, which is exactly what an archivist needs to be able to do.¹⁴ In this thesis, the author will try to reach some understanding of how the members of two voluntary associations treat and think about the records they create and use, in relation to their various activities.

From the ethnographer's point of view, there are two important flaws in an ethnographic study made by an archivist. The first is the lack of training and experience in ethnographic methodology which a person in the archival profession is likely to have. Because the author of this thesis has extensively studied the discipline of Folklore, and conducted ethnography in the past, this is not a problem here. The other flaw appears insurmountable. As stated earlier, the ethnographer is supposed to allow the emphases of her or his study to reflect the emphases of the culture being studied -- but the archivist necessarily approaches an association with a specific focus in mind, namely its records, which may not reflect the main focusses of the association's culture. The description which results will not, therefore, accurately reflect the totality of the association's culture. But archivists cannot depend on ethnographers to find out about the records-keeping practices of voluntary associations for them, because this is not the sort of thing ethnographers

¹⁴ Two manuals written by Spradley were consulted for the present study, and should prove very helpful to anybody wishing to use ethnographic semantics; these are The Ethnographic Interview (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1979), and Participant Observation (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980).

focus on. The most the archivist engaged in ethnographic research can do is try to take into account all the activities of the association, not only those which are records-oriented. This provides an accurate account of the importance of records-keeping to the overall culture of a voluntary association, and of how well the records reflect that culture. Ethnography is a useful methodology for many purposes, and could be much more widely used than it is, so long as its practitioners acknowledge its limitations when practiced for specific purposes.

The first problem the author was faced with in conducting the ethnographic research for this thesis was choosing which voluntary associations to study. Since ethnography is a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach, as well as being very time-consuming, only two associations were chosen, the minimal number needed to provide some basis of comparison. In order to heighten the possibilities for comparison and to broaden the understanding of associations in general, the associations chosen were quite different from each other. One was a political action group called MADD (Mothers Against Drinking Drivers), the other a social organization named OABC (Orienteering Association of British Columbia). It proved possible to conduct participant observation of most of MADD's activities over the period of two months, and to conduct tape-recorded interviews with three of its officials at the end of this period.¹⁵ This research was

¹⁵ A note concerning the method of transcription of quotations from all the interviews conducted is necessary. Whereas a folklorist (who studies speech patterns, among other

facilitated by three factors: MADD has an office and keeps regular office hours, it makes a practice of encouraging students to research its work and records, and it welcomes the help of volunteers. OABC was a very different case, for its activities occur on a seasonal, weekend basis, at ever-changing locations, and its administrative activities are only accessible to the officials and those members who regularly assist them on an informal basis. In studying OABC, the author was confined to extensive interviews with two officials, participation in and assistance at a meet, and analysis of those OABC records presently in the president's custody. Like any ethnographic research, the research on these two associations would have benefitted from a longer period of study, but this was neither appropriate for the scope of this thesis, nor favoured by the officials of the associations themselves. Although they were all extremely helpful and co-operative, they had no time and energy to spare for further interviews.

things) would be careful to quote such interviews as exactly as possible, indicating each pause, repetition, and non-standard piece of grammar, this is unnecessary in the present context. For purposes of clarity and readability, therefore, the quotations are not exact. Any reader who wishes to know the exact phrasing used should refer directly to the tapes themselves, which have been donated to the University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections Division.

III

This thesis is structured into five chapters, as well as an introduction and a conclusion, a selected bibliography, and an appendix detailing the taped interviews made.

Chapter One, "Voluntary Associations", describes the nature of voluntary associations in general, with reference to scholarly literature. It begins by exploring the characteristics of associations, developing a definition of them, and discussing the variations within this definition. The chapter moves on to examine the life cycle of voluntary associations, to devise a functional typology of them, and finally to delineate seven different kinds of relationships which associations have with one another and other organizations, with particular emphasis on their links to government.

Armed with a good general understanding of voluntary associations, the archivist is ready to begin the real archival work, the first step of which is to learn about and acquire the records of particular associations. In Chapter Two, "Archives and Voluntary Associations", the literature on the records-keeping practices of voluntary associations is surveyed, as is the literature describing existing practices of archival acquisition of these records. A discussion of ideas, proposals, and theories of archival acquisition follows.

A qualitative study of two voluntary associations is provided in Chapters Three and Four, entitled "First Case Study: Mothers Against Drinking Drivers" and "Second Case Study: The

Orienteering Association of British Columbia", which have similar structures and purposes. Each is divided into four sections, these concerning: the aims, structure, history, and nature of the voluntary association being contemplated; the relationships which the association has with other organizations; the main activities of the association, and the records resulting from them; and finally, the role of the association's officials in its records-keeping, its filing systems, and its attitudes and practices towards records preservation.

Chapter Five, "Archival Acquisition of the Records of Voluntary Associations," draws upon the findings of the four preceding chapters to propose solutions to three problems. These are: whether archival repositories should acquire the records of voluntary associations, which ones should preserve which records, and how they should go about acquiring these records.

The Conclusion of this thesis will review its methods and findings, and make suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER ONE

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

I

Leading sociologist Theodore Caplow has defined the term **organization** as

a social system that has an unequivocal collective identity, an exact roster of members, a program of activity, and procedures for replacing members.¹

The "collective identity" refers to the name, purposes, locations, and affiliations of the organization; the "exact roster" of members sets the boundaries of membership; the "procedures for replacing members" covers recruitment and transfer among positions; and the "program of activity" is the planning towards meeting the organization's goals.² An organization can be distinguished from an informal group by the fact that the former is capable of sustained collective action, while the latter is not.³ Most organizations are authorized by the state through such things as marriage licenses, corporation charters, and voluntary association registration. They obtain this authorization for security of property holdings and in order to have recourse to the coercive powers of the state when

¹ Theodore Caplow, Principles of Organization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 1.

² Ibid., 1-13.

³ Ibid., 25.

necessary.⁴ An organization sustains two kinds of activities: internal ones, which are a means of maintaining its structure, and external ones, through which the organization modifies its environment.⁵ It is also characterized by norms, that is, expected behaviour patterns in various spheres for its members, and by sanctions, which enforce conformity to these norms, more through threat than through enactment. Every organization except the smallest is made up of components and factions which are organizations in their own right.⁶

The voluntary association is a type of organization. Scholars who write about voluntary associations define them in various ways, but six broad characteristics emerge which, if present together, distinguish the voluntary association from other organizations.⁷ Firstly, its members have an explicit, shared purpose (or set of purposes) and a shared set of activities intended to accomplish this purpose.⁸ Secondly, the

⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁵ Ibid., 72.

⁶ Ibid., 81-83.

⁷ The various discussions of voluntary associations analysed here for common elements are: National Advisory Council, 19; Ronald L. Akers and Frederick Campbell, "Size and the Administrative Component in Occupational Associations," Pacific Sociological Review 13 (1970): 241; Bernard Barber, "Participation and Mass Apathy in Associations," in Studies in Leadership, ed. Alvin W. Gouldner (New York: Harper, 1950): 479-488; Pugliese, 9-10; Rose, Theory and Method, 52; and Warner and Lunt, 301.

⁸ There may also be unofficial goals not shared by all members of the association. These are part of what makes every association unique.

voluntary association is formally **democratic**, that is, it is controlled and operated by its members. This does not necessarily mean that all members have equal levels of influence and participation -- usually a small percentage of them have high involvement -- but non-members cannot participate in the activities of the association, and all members can. Thirdly, members are **free** to join or leave. This is always officially the case, but various pressures often create a reality which is far from free. Related to this is the fact that certain people are excluded from joining. Fourthly, the voluntary association is **independent** of other organizations, and is less likely to strive for political power than for political means to accomplish its explicit purpose(s). Most importantly, it is independent of government, although the association may try to influence government, and/or may receive assistance from it. Fifthly, the voluntary association is **non-profit**, that is, making money is not a central aim, although fund-raising is generally necessary in order to accomplish its true purposes. Lastly, the voluntary association has a **formal structure**, expressed in a written constitution or set of explicit rules. The definition which emerges from these characteristics is:

A voluntary association is a formal, democratic, non-profit organization of members who freely choose to work together towards a shared purpose, independently of other organizations.

This definition raises some issues which require further discussion: how truly free and voluntary is the association? how does its democratic structure work? what degree of independence

does the association need to maintain its identity? what defines a member?

The first issue to address in considering the nature of the voluntary association is the nature of its voluntariness. Bernard Barber has pointed out that "voluntary membership is never simply psychological willingness, but rather is always patterned by a complex of social, structural, and value considerations."⁹ Some scholars consider all non-profit associations to be voluntary, but this category includes the state itself, in which membership is ascribed.¹⁰ As will be shown later in this chapter, voluntary associations have a life cycle which, as time passes and conditions change, frequently brings them to a point at which they are no longer voluntary, but prescribed. In a prescribed organization, the sanctions against non-members within the universe of potential members are so severe as to impair their functioning. For example, an American archivist who is not a member of the Society of American Archivists (SAA) lacks access to the networking and educational opportunities had by members, and in the near future will lack the opportunity for professional certification which is likely to become a requirement for employment in archival repositories; her/his career is bound to suffer. However, in the early days of SAA it was truly a matter of free choice as to whether an archivist joined or not.

⁹ Barber, 480.

¹⁰ Pugliese, 9.

Another consideration to make with respect to voluntariness is that few organizations are open to every member of society. Most are limited by age, gender, location, profession, religion, class or some other factor. Sometimes the conditions for being accepted as members are articulated in policy, as in the case of a fraternal society which requires that a new member be sponsored by an established member. Other voluntary associations stipulate that their members not belong to philosophically opposing organizations: the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)¹¹ used to enforce a rule forbidding Communists to join its ranks, and a few years ago the Mormon Church expelled a member for publicly supporting the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) movement.¹² Thus, it can be stated that an individual can be viewed by an association in three different ways: as a member, as a potential member, or as one outside the boundaries of permitted membership.

The second issue arising from the definition of the voluntary association refers to its democratic structure. The structure of most voluntary associations is, at least initially, democratic,¹³ and thus involves a chair or president, a secretary, a treasurer, and other elected officers having regular meetings with and without the other members, for which minutes

¹¹ The CCF was a social democratic political party which preceded the New Democratic Party in Canada, 1933-1961.

¹² The pro-ERA movement was an attempt to entrench the rights of women into the American Constitution.

¹³ Alexis de Tocqueville, On Democracy, Revolution, and Society: Selected Writings, ed. John Stone and Stephen Mennell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 84.

are kept and made available to the membership. This is true of everything from the high-school drama association to the SAA. Yet the democratic ideal of a voluntary association may become eroded over time. Robert Michels postulates that voluntary associations tend to formalize their governing structures as they grow, with control eventually resting in the hands of a few, elite members.¹⁴ Whatever the intentions of the founders, a voluntary association soon amasses a largely inactive membership, while the executive makes policy and conducts and directs activities, to the point that communication between the two becomes difficult: the democracy takes an oligarchic form,¹⁵ or, as Albert Meister puts it, "delegated democracy" extends to all activities.¹⁶ In the evaluation of the association and its individual members, this development is not necessarily seen as a negative one. Even a dissatisfied member may not be willing to make the extra effort necessary to ensure participation of all members, and the executive officers may feel that conducting the policy-making and activities by themselves is the only way to get the work done: the enthusiastic but inefficient early days in the

¹⁴ Robert Michels, Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 71.

¹⁵ Barber, 484-485; F. Stuart Chapin and John E. Tsouderos, "Formalization Observed in Ten Voluntary Associations: Concepts, Morphology, Process," Pacific Sociological Review 13 (1970): 309; Rose, Theory and Method, 57.

¹⁶ Meister, 148.

life of the association may have been more democratic, but less effective in reaching the association's goals.

This issue of democracy is considered also with respect to the voluntary association's relations with its social environment: while some scholars argue that these associations are a democratic phenomenon and "a bulwark against the state" which forces the dispersion of state power, others have claimed that voluntary associations can and do exist in non-democratic nations, sometimes as instruments of the state.¹⁷ That non-democratic government is detrimental to the survival of many voluntary associations is demonstrated in cases such as the exile from the USSR of women initiating feminist organizations in the early 1980's, and the 1988 banning in South Africa of seventeen organizations associated with the anti-apartheid movement.

The third issue which arises from the definition of voluntary associations relates to the degree of independence which an association requires within society in order to maintain a separate existence. No organization has a total absence of links with other organizations and institutions in a society. At the very least, most formal associations must be officially recognized by the state,¹⁸ which gives them authorization to collect funds and conduct various activities which affect the citizens, such as public demonstrations. The National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action to the Government of Canada maintains

¹⁷ Pugliese, 6-7.

¹⁸ Caplow, 23.

that independence of society's major institutions is fundamental to the identity of voluntary associations.¹⁹ Voluntary associations may have strong links with these institutions, and with other organizations, but have basic control over their own policies and activities. Some voluntary associations are components of others: for example, the Girl Guides troupe at a local school is part of a regional, a national, and an international association of Girl Guides. No Girl Guides troupe is completely independent of its parent organization, but International Girl Guides is independent of any institution when it comes to devising plans and policies.

The fourth issue arising from the definition of voluntary associations refers to the nature of their members. A member must be a person, but may be a juridical or moral person, not necessarily a physical one. Thus, a voluntary association may be a coalition of organizations, some voluntary and others not, which have voluntarily banded together for a certain purpose. For example, the British Columbia coalition "End Legislated Poverty" includes 16 groups which aim to end poverty in the province, and among them are the First United Church, the Vancouver Unemployed Action Centre, Vancouver Status of Women, and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. The fact that the member may be an organization rather than a physical person does not alter the essence of the voluntary association.

¹⁹ National Advisory Council, 3, 19.

This discussion shows that the characteristics of voluntariness, democracy, independence, and individual membership do not necessarily occur in pure form in any one voluntary association, but they do exist in some measure in all of them. Now that their characteristics have been delineated, it is necessary to consider the ways in which voluntary associations vary within a society.

II

A single voluntary association may change over time; like any organic entity it has a life cycle. An association generally begins informally, arising from the initiative of a group of persons in response to a perceived need which can be satisfied through collective effort. The group gives itself a title and a structure, and begins to publicize its purposes in order to recruit members. It may model its organization upon similar ones. For example, a high-school drama club is formed to provide theatrical experience for any student of that school who wishes to acquire it, and mounts periodic productions for the school community and its associates, with regular assistance from teachers and parents. One high-school drama club is much like another, and this is not by chance: the common purpose and the similar circumstances make it so.

Stuart Chapin and John Tsouderos have delineated five stages of development for voluntary associations, each of which is identified by a main characteristic: (1) informality, with

limited role differentiation, (2) structural codification, with the creation of formal offices, (3) structural differentiation, with the formation of committees, (4) sectionalization, with the development of new units and regions, and (5) control reinforcement, with the creation of control units for the performance of specific functions.²⁰ As the organization develops, it also swells in membership -- indeed, these two factors spur one another on. Furthermore, the records created increase in formalization, types, and volume at each stage. Considering this, it is not surprising that a positive relationship between membership size and staff size has been observed;²¹ in fact, a large organization requires a complex administrative apparatus.²² Chapin and Tsouderos also provide an overview of the phenomena accompanying the maturation and growth of a voluntary association: meetings become regularized; there are more and more "nominal members", that is, members who seldom actively participate; the executive works longer hours, especially if permanent office staff is hired; reports to membership pass from an oral to a written form; means of joining become more impersonal and formal; and the income and property possessed by the association increase.²³

²⁰ Chapin and Tsouderos, "Formalization Observed": 308-309.

²¹ Akers and Campbell, 241-251.

²² Caplow, 28.

²³ F. Stuart Chapin and John E. Tsouderos, "The Formalization Process in Voluntary Associations," Social Forces 34 (1956): 342-344.

It is important to realise that many voluntary associations do not last long enough to evolve very much; that is, they have a short lifespan. This short life may be attributed to success: for example, the Women's Suffrage League disbanded after women won the right to vote, a myriad of anti-war associations disappeared when the Vietnam War ended, and the Temperance Leagues of the early part of this century died when alcohol was prohibited. These organizations were never meant to be permanent. Once their political goals were achieved, their *raison d'être* no longer existed. In some cases, a short lifespan is due to failure in accomplishing the association's goals. Obviously, the associations which die for such a reason are not very well known, although they are legion. However, a short lifespan does not automatically connote lack of significance to society, even if the voluntary association dies without achieving its goals.

During its lifespan, a voluntary association may acquire "satellites", that is, attract secondary organizations under its auspices. It is also likely to enter into relationships with a variety of other organizations. These circumstances are indices of maturity and stability in the association.

Once it has become formalized, institutionalized, and large in terms of membership, the voluntary association may lose its voluntary nature. This is seldom seen by its proponents as damaging; rather, it strengthens the organization by securing membership on a permanent basis. This is the case, for instance, when a church is designated the official church of a nation, or

when membership in the appropriate union is required before a person can be hired by a certain business to do a particular sort of work. When this development occurs, the organization becomes something other than a voluntary association; over time the organization may revert to voluntary membership, but such a development is perceived as a weakening.

III

The second way in which voluntary associations vary within society is by **category**; many different types of associations coexist, not always harmoniously. Voluntary associations have been variously categorized.²⁴ The categorization most appropriate for archival purposes is functional and distinguishes eight overlapping types of voluntary associations:

- (1) **political action** associations, such as political parties, protest movements, and lobby groups, aimed at achieving political power and/or using political means to modify some aspect(s) of society
- (2) **professional** or occupational associations of persons educated for or working in the same profession, meeting for purposes of information exchange, networking, and achieving common goals
- (3) **research** associations engaged in scholarly research in a certain subject area, sometimes in the form of a "think tank"
- (4) **economic** associations, including cooperatives, business associations, trade associations, and unions, intended to improve the financial resources and working conditions of their members

²⁴ For example, see Dale A. Somers et al., "Surveying the Records of a City: the History of Atlanta Project," American Archivist 36 (1973): 354; Caplow, 45; Rose, Theory and Method, 52; and Pugliese, 8.

(5) **religious** associations, such as churches, movements and groups within them, and organizations linking them (for example, the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship), aimed at promoting religious dogmas and values

(6) **service** associations committed to improving the lives of disadvantaged groups and persons, particularly through education, medical assistance, and charity

(7) **self-help** associations which work towards the improvement of the members' lives (such as Weight Watchers and Alcoholics Anonymous)

(8) **social** associations which are concerned with entertainment and social interaction on the basis of shared activities (such as sports, games, hobbies, the arts) or shared personal traits (such as ethnic origin or special ability).

The overlap amongst these categories of voluntary associations can be most clearly seen when service functions are considered, because most types of organizations engage in public service on occasion. For example, fraternal associations such as Orange Lodges are oriented almost equally to public service and socializing amongst themselves, and furthermore, are traditionally staunch Protestant organizations. However, the categorization is based on the central function clearly expressed in the constitution of most associations, not on the secondary functions which they all have. Moreover, these categories do not necessarily correspond to those perceived by the voluntary associations themselves, or to those usually adopted by archivists. They represent the typology most appropriate for archival analysis, that is, a functional one.

IV

A third manner in which voluntary associations vary is in their relationships with other organizations, including other voluntary associations. Seven different types of linkages are apparent: primary and component, co-operative, co-ordinate, competitive or opposing, lobbyist and institution, sponsor and beneficiary, and mergers. Special consideration must be given to the relationships between voluntary associations and government.

A primary and component relationship may exist between a voluntary association and some part of itself, or between a non-voluntary organization and a voluntary association within it. An example of the latter would be a sports team made up of employees of a certain bank. There are three different types of components: those whose members are completely drawn from within the primary organization (such as the local branch of a political party), those whose members are completely drawn from outside the primary organization (such as the ladies auxiliary of a men's club), and those whose members are both members and non-members of the primary organization (such as a boy scout troupe associated with a church).²⁵ A component may or may not be formally authorized by the primary organization; some unauthorized components become **factions**, whose aims are not sanctioned and are perhaps forbidden by the primary organization.²⁶ An example of this is the group within the

²⁵ Warner and Lunt, 309-318.

²⁶ Caplow, 17.

Liberal Party of Canada which tried to dislodge John Turner from the party leadership in 1987 and 1988.

Co-operation between a voluntary association and another organization is another type of relationship, one example being a musical band which uses the facilities of a Royal Canadian Legion Hall in return for playing regular concerts for Legion members.

A voluntary association may be linked to other organizations through a co-ordinate association, composed of delegates from organizations with common interests.²⁷ Co-ordinate associations were discussed earlier in this chapter, with reference to the different types of membership (juridical and physical persons as members). This relationship is a special type of co-operation.

Competitive and opposing relationships occur between associations and organizations which are either very similar or antithetical to one another. This type of relationship often proves to be a vitalizing force within the associations involved. Arnold M. Rose has observed that voluntary associations under conditions of competition and conflict tend to be more active in the pursuit of their goals, more likely to develop a complex structure and to meet frequently, to be flexible, and to exhibit greater group cohesion than other voluntary associations.²⁸ Thus, competition is a particularly significant, formative relationship between voluntary associations. Political parties

²⁷ Warner and Lunt, 312.

²⁸ Arnold M. Rose, "Voluntary Associations Under Conditions of Competition and Conflict," Social Forces 34 (1955): 159-163.

compete with one another in order to gain the right to represent the population in a democratic government. At the same time, political parties tend to have policies which oppose one another; for example, the New Democratic Party of Canada opposes free trade with the United States, while the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada supports it.

The lobbyist-institution relationship occurs mostly in democratic societies, and the institution involved is usually -- but not necessarily -- government. The voluntary association acting as lobbyist tries to publicly influence the policy of the institution in some specific areas. For example, the Women's Suffrage League lobbied to gain women's right to vote in democratic elections. Modern feminist associations have lobbied the publishers of newspapers, magazines, and school textbooks to use non-sexist language in their publications.

The sixth type of linkage between a voluntary association and another organization is **sponsor-beneficiary**. An association may receive some type of grant from a government body or a private business or foundation -- or an association may give a grant to another organization. This grant may come with certain conditions concerning the manner of its use, which can compromise the independence of the voluntary association receiving it. The main thrust of sponsorship, however, tends to support the general aims and specific programmes of the association, not to alter these aims and programmes. An example of this relationship is provided by a trade union donating money and the time of its

members to a charity for the disabled. A sponsorship may occur as a one-time donation, or as long-term assistance.

Mergers, the final type of relationship between voluntary associations identified here, involve the joining of two or more organizations in such a complete manner that their independent identities are lost. A merger generally involves two organizations of the same type, thus voluntary associations merge with other voluntary associations. An example of this is the CCF, which grew out of a merger between the Socialist Party of Canada and the League for Social Reconstruction.

Government is the most pervasive, influential organization within a nation, and therefore the links a voluntary association has with government agencies tend to have great impact on the association. All types of relationships except "mergers" can occur between a voluntary association and government, the most common being "lobbyist-institution" and "sponsor-beneficiary". Rose has observed that many voluntary associations act as pressure groups upon government, and that some measure of the social changes which they are lobbying for generally do come to pass.²⁹ The National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action points out that voluntary action "permits many Canadians ... to exercise a direct influence on the formulation and execution of public policy".³⁰ The Advisory Council states that the other main type of interaction occurs in the form of grants, payments, and

²⁹ Rose, Theory and Method, 67-70.

³⁰ National Advisory Council, 29.

support services which the government provides for assorted voluntary associations.³¹ Accounting for the manner in which the government aid is used often becomes an onerous duty for the association.³² Furthermore, government policies not aimed at voluntary associations have an indirect effect upon the associations;³³ for example a municipal re-zoning by-law may force an association to move its office to a different part of town.

Armed with some understanding of the nature of voluntary associations, their life cycle, and their relations with other organizations in society, we are ready to consider their records-keeping practices and the manner in which archivists approach preserving the archives which result.

³¹ Ibid., 153-155.

³² Ibid., 161.

³³ Ibid., 159.

CHAPTER TWO

ARCHIVES AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

I

The records-keeping practices of voluntary associations have received little attention from archivists and other scholars.¹ Archivists have some understanding of the records systems of very large national and international associations, such as the International Red Cross, which have bureaucracies similar to those of businesses and governments, but they know much less about the records of the more typical small associations possessing minimal staff and records-keeping resources.

Ellen Starr Brinton, who cares for the records of peace activist associations, has observed that little attention is paid to records-keeping in these organizations, and therefore eccentric archives are created by them;² Darlene Roth, who works with the archives of women's associations, concurs: "poor record-keeping seems to be endemic to voluntary associations"³ One reason for this state of affairs may be that voluntary associations lack the resources to hire an archivist or records

¹ The scholarly literature dealt with here is mainly Canadian and American archival literature, with some British and translations of foreign-language writings as well.

² Ellen Starr Brinton, "Archives of Causes and Movements: Difficulties and Some Solutions as Illustrated by the Swarthmore College Peace Collection," American Archivist 14 (1951): 148.

³ Roth, 38.

manager.⁴ Another is that they are often so small that they do not create a great many records, never bothering to devise a specialized filing system, and allowing very long periods to pass before old files are closed and fresh ones opened.⁵ It is common for associations to place older files in storage rather than destroy them.⁶ Two other causal factors for the relatively low volume of records are that much of the communication within a small association is carried out orally (in person or over the phone) and never recorded,⁷ and that voluntary associations have fewer financial and legal incentives to preserve records than do many other organizations.⁸ Furthermore, when the executive of an association which lacks office space changes, the records stored in the homes of the previous executive move to the homes of the new one, and many losses are sustained through this process.⁹

⁴ Roth, 38.

⁵ Robert Ballentine, "Records and Archives of the Professions," American Archivist 29 (1966): 192.

⁶ Ibid.: 192.

⁷ Eva Mosley, "Women in Archives: Documenting the History of Women in America," American Archivist 36 (1973): 219.

⁸ Nancy Stunden, "Labour, Records, and Archives: the Struggle for a Heritage," Archivaria 4 (1977): 85.

⁹ Ballentine, 194; Roth, 38. Roth tells the following amusing anecdote showing a worst-case scenario:

One rather humorous example of this process is a woman's club which reputedly carries a locked, four-drawer, filing cabinet of club "records" along with the rest of its presidential baggage. The cabinet, which requires two men to move it, has gone from chief official to chief official for years. No one knows what is inside, because no one has the key.

The possibilities under normal circumstances for deterioration, disaster, and misplacement are multiplied by the number of different persons who care for the records in different locations.¹⁰ Michael Lutzker has observed that informal structures, conflicting policies, and outside forces affect the archival records of any organization;¹¹ these forces can become negative influences on the records of a small voluntary association.

Another problem is presented by the incapability of voluntary associations to care for their own records once these become inactive. If an association is large, stable, and administratively complex, it may handle its own records very well, for example, the Association of Registered Nurses of Newfoundland and Labrador has set aside a few rooms for records storage and hired a part-time archivist to care for its archival records. However, even when a larger association has an archivist, this tends to be at the national level only, with records at all other levels circulating and split among the different officers of the association.¹² A more typical example of the way a voluntary association treats its records is the St. John's Status of Women Council, whose staff and volunteers are far too busy dealing with current business to sort through their

¹⁰ Roth, 38.

¹¹ Michael A. Lutzker, "Max Weber and the Analysis of Modern Bureaucratic Organization: Notes Toward a Theory of Appraisal," American Archivist 45 (1982): 128, 129.

¹² Roth: 38.

files, even though they wish to preserve their own history.¹³ Many organizations, including voluntary associations, have no arrangements for records preservation at all, and retain only the records of immediate value to their current activity.¹⁴

In summary, the archives of voluntary associations tend to be "unprocessed, unidentified, and uncollected" by their creators.¹⁵ The acquisition of those archives by archival repositories seems to be the only possibility of saving them from complete destruction. But in order for its archives ever to reach an archival repository, a voluntary association must take some steps to preserve them, and this is not very likely to happen. In fact, voluntary associations are activity-oriented and, as Eva Mosley points out, "like others oriented to action rather than to research, many participants in the women's movement [and other voluntary associations] are not aware of the value of keeping papers".¹⁶ Even the officials in charge seldom trouble to establish some measure of preservation for their records.¹⁷ When an association disbands, its archives are

¹³ These examples are drawn from research conducted by the author of this thesis for the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, May-July 1987.

¹⁴ Larry Hackman and Joan Warnow-Blewett, "The Documentation Strategy Process: a Model and a Case Study," American Archivist 50 (1987): 16.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Mosley, 29.

¹⁷ Lester J. Cappon, "The Archivist as Collector," American Archivist 39 (1976): 432.

usually soon lost, scattered, and destroyed, a reality well represented in the expression "instant archives" used by Gerald Ham with reference to the records of voluntary associations.¹⁸ When the choice to preserve an association's archives actually is made, this choice (or so the scant literature on the subject indicates) usually derives from an individual, personal decision, independently made by one member of the association.¹⁹ Lester Cappon presents evidence of this when he notes that the records of defunct organizations are often found among personal papers.²⁰

Thus, the initiative for the preservation of voluntary associations' records must come from the archivist. The question is, are archivists actively engaged in acquiring these records?

II

A study of archival acquisition of the records of voluntary associations divides naturally into three areas of concern: acquisition policies, actual acquisition practices, and the nature of existing relationships between archivists and the members of voluntary associations.

¹⁸ Gerald F. Ham, "The Archival Edge," American Archivist 14 (1975): 9.

¹⁹ Sarah Cooper, "The Politics of Protest Collections: Developing Social Action Archives," Provenance 5:1 (1987): 10.

²⁰ Cappon, 432.

Acquisition Policies

Although it is generally agreed in the literature that the acquisition policy for an archival repository should be well thought out and clearly articulated, many repositories continue to operate under policies which are vague, unmanageably broad, or otherwise inadequate.²¹ The result is that the archives of many significant organizations perish before reaching the safe haven of an archival repository. Furthermore, in the past fifteen years archivists of most repositories have been forced to curtail their collecting habits, by either economic constraints or the realization that the ongoing transfers of their sponsoring institutions and the existing holdings provide as much work as they can adequately perform. The records of voluntary associations which reach archival repositories under these circumstances do so by unsolicited donation.²² A conservative trend in society during the same period may also have had a negative influence on acquisition, especially with regard to the

²¹ Among the critics of contemporary acquisition policies are Susan Grigg, "A World of Repositories, a World of Records: Redefining the Scope of a National Subject Collection," American Archivist 48 (1985): 291 and Mary Lynn McCree, "Good Sense and Good Judgement: Defining Collections and Collecting," Drexel Library Quarterly 11 (January 1975); rpt. in A Modern Archives Reader, eds. Maygene F. Daniels and Timothy Walch, (Washington: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1984), 104.

²² The author of this thesis has observed this practice of passive receipt of such records at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador and the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, and been told about it at the Vancouver City Archives. Ernst Posner has noted that many American state archives have a longstanding practice of passively accepting private papers but not actively seeking them, in his American State Archives (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 346.

records of political activist groups which challenge the established systems of society: Gould P. Colman's comment that the archival profession has become politicized to the point of "skewing the study of culture by the studied preservation of unrepresentative indicators of that culture" is echoed by other archivists in print.²³

Archivists, scholars, and other concerned persons acting upon the problem of gaps in the holdings of "mainstream" archival repositories have frequently -- perhaps one may say, generally -- taken the tack of establishing either special-subject repositories or subject emphases within broadly mandated repositories. Many records of voluntary associations which might otherwise be lost have been collected by such repositories. Examples are the records of Jewish charities preserved by the Montreal Jewish Public Library and Archives;²⁴ the papers of the Swedish Engineers Society at the Swedish Pioneer Archives;²⁵ the archives of the suffragist movement at the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America";²⁶

²³ Gould P. Colman, letter to "The Forum: Communications from Members" American Archivist 36 (1973): 484; Patrick M. Quinn, "Archivists Against the Current: for a fair and truly representative record of our times." Provenance 5:1 (1987): 3; Cooper: 8-16; Howard Zinn, "Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest," Midwestern Archivist 2 (1977): 14-26.

²⁴ Evelyn Miller, "The History of the Montreal Jewish Public Library and Archives," Canadian Archivist 2 (1970): 52.

²⁵ Wesley M. Westerberg, "The Swedish Pioneer Archives," Illinois Libraries 63 (1981): 298.

²⁶ Mosley: 216.

records of pacifist associations at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection;²⁷ union files in Special Collections at the University of British Columbia, and the Archives of Labour and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University.²⁸ These repositories are scattered all over Canada and the United States, and claim unlimited jurisdictions within their subjects.

The acquisition policies of special-subject repositories help preserve the archives of voluntary associations, but they do not solve the problem of widespread neglect of these records, because these repositories are built upon faulty theoretical foundations. Their main failing is that, being oriented to subjects rather than to creating agencies, they do not take responsibility for the records of organizations which do not neatly fit under a "relevant" subject heading. None of the repositories mentioned above would be likely to seek out the records of the End Legislated Poverty Coalition of British Columbia, for example. Furthermore, these repositories are led by their interest in a subject into the dangerous quicksands of creating documentation, using such methods as oral history.²⁹

²⁷ Brinton: 147-153.

²⁸ Richard Kesner, "Labor Union Grievance Records: An Appraisal Strategy," Archivaria 8 (1979): 102-114.

²⁹ Oral history is practiced at the Western Jewish Archives of Canada [A.J. Arnold, "The Birth and Development of a Western Jewish Archives Program," Canadian Archivist 2 (1972): 26], the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs [Philip P. Mason, "Wayne State University: the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs," Archivaria 4 (1977): 137], and the Montreal Jewish Public Library and Archives [Evelyn Miller: 53], among others.

Archival repositories are not about creating historical sources, as some would have it, but rather about preserving and making accessible archival records.³⁰ Oral histories prepared or commissioned by archivists about the organizations they wish to document are not archival records.³¹ In addition, special-subject repositories tend, just as do the majority of archival institutions, to weight their acquisitions towards the papers of "prominent and notable" persons and organizations,³² and to document individuals rather than "movements".³³ Therefore, they do not answer society's need for adequate documentation of voluntary associations.

The crux of the problem with acquisition policies of all types of archival repositories lies in the lack of an established theory of acquisition on the basis of which standards can be developed. As Larry Hackman and Joan Warnow-Blewett put it,

Literature on establishing a sound acquisition policy is among the skimpiest areas within archival writing. It is not surprising, then, to find competition and duplication of effort in many functional and subject

³⁰ British archivist Sir Hilary Jenkinson has stated that "archives are not drawn up in the interest or for the information of Posterity"; his discussion of the primary duties of the archivist is also relevant here. See Hilary Jenkinson, A Manual of Archive Administration (London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., 1965), 11-15.

³¹ That is to say, oral histories are not archival records of the agencies themselves, although they may be archival records of a repository if they have been created as part of a practical activity such as producing an administrative history.

³² Linda J. Henry, "Collecting Policies of Special-Subject Repositories," American Archivist 43 (1980): 57.

³³ Zinn: 21.

areas and little or no effort in others, even in regions with numerous collecting programs.³⁴

Acquisition Practices

Not much has been written concerning archivists' approach to acquiring the records of voluntary associations per se, although numerous comments and criticisms have been made about acquisition practices in general. Lester Cappon speaks of the search for the records of organizations as a difficult task: the records of "defunct organizations" are elusive, often appearing by chance among the personal papers of their members; the records of living organizations can be even harder to acquire as officials are unwilling to either part from them or establish their own institutional archives.³⁵ Gerald F. Ham observes that there is a practice of allowing historians associated with a repository to direct and engage in much of its active acquisition, which is undesirable because it makes "the archivist too closely tied to the vogue of the academic marketplace."³⁶ This influence by historians has been a lasting phenomenon in archival repositories; Frederic Miller states that, because archival practices have long derived from nineteenth century historical methodology and emphases, acquisition has been focussed upon political and economic institutions and the lives of prominent

³⁴ Hackman and Warnow-Blewett: 15.

³⁵ Cappon: 432.

³⁶ Ham: 329.

persons.³⁷ Actual methods of acquisition have been little discussed, except for the records survey, which will therefore be singled out here.

John Fleckner defines the records survey as "a systematic procedure used by archivists, records managers, and others to gather information about records and papers not in their immediate custody."³⁸ He states that the records survey is a tool used to achieve a larger goal, this goal being scheduling and disposition within a records management programme, amassing a census of holdings at various repositories in a subject or geographical area towards a published guide, or (of most relevance here) surveying the records of various agencies in a subject or geographical area so as to plan acquisitions.³⁹ There have been three generations of records surveys in the United States during this century (the second and third occurring in Canada as well): the Works Progress Administration's Historical Records Survey during the 1930's Depression, which provided jobs and many lastingly useful reports on records across the United States; a wave of small-scale projects occurring in isolation from one another from the 1940's onwards; and most recently, a

³⁷ Frederic M. Miller, "Social History and Archival Practice," American Archivist 44 (1981): 113. Miller argues that the new influence on archival acquisition should be social history, missing the real point that archivists engaged in acquisition should eschew the influence of historians altogether.

³⁸ John A. Fleckner, "Reaching Out: the Place of Records Surveys in Archival Practice," Midwestern Archivist 2 (1977): 16.

³⁹ Ibid., 16.

series of cooperative projects intensively planned and carefully designed so as to produce optimal results.⁴⁰ In fact, records surveys have become so popular that it has been necessary for Ham to point out that they are a "logistical device", a step in the acquisition process, not an acquisition strategy in themselves.⁴¹ Records surveys most commonly use questionnaires and personal interviews, but also form letters and journal advertisements.⁴² At least one records survey has been aimed directly at voluntary associations: between 1962 and 1966, a Society of American Archivists committee concerned with the archives of professions distributed and analysed a questionnaire concerning the records of professional associations.⁴³

Archivists and Voluntary Associations

Archivists are presented in their own literature as relating to voluntary associations in two contrasting ways, that is, as nurturers and as neglectors. As nurturers, archivists have made contact with the associations they deemed significant, and continued this contact throughout the life of the associations,

⁴⁰ John A. Fleckner, "Records Surveys: a Multi-Purpose Tool for the Archivist," 42 (1979): 293-294.

⁴¹ Ham: 326.

⁴² These methods are discussed by Philip N. Alexander and Helen W. Samuels, "The Roots of 128: A Hypothetical Documentation Strategy," American Archivist 50 (1987): 529; Ballentine: 187; Richard Kesner, "Archival Collection Development: Building a Successful Acquisitions Program," Modern Archives Reader: 117; and Somers et al.: 354.

⁴³ Ballentine: 187-195.

thereby ensuring periodic and final donations from them of records which "probably would not exist today if we had not initiated contacts before many of the organizations quietly dissolved."⁴⁴ Examples of this nurturant type of relationship exist between Linda Henry of the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe and many women's organizations, between Sarah Sherman of the Northwestern University Library Women's Collection and several feminist activist groups, and between Ellen Starr Brinton of the Swarthmore College Peace Collection and numerous peace activist associations.⁴⁵ But each of these archivists acknowledges the neglect which the groups they favour receive from archivists in general, and several others see this neglect as a political problem which must be corrected.⁴⁶ Hackman and Warnow-Blewett observe that the archival community has provided no long-term assistance or guidelines to such organizations as these.⁴⁷ The very fact that archival journals have so few articles which directly discuss voluntary associations is an indication of the lack of concern for their records; this can be contrasted to the vast amount written about public records.

⁴⁴ Ham: 331.

⁴⁵ Henry: 61; Sarah Sherman, "A Case Study: The Archivist as Activist at the Northwestern University Library's Women's Collection," Provenance 5 (1987): 33; Brinton: 149.

⁴⁶ See the aforementioned articles by Colman, Cooper, Quinn, and Zinn.

⁴⁷ Hackman and Warnow-Blewett: 16-17.

It appears that archivists seldom write about their acquisition policies, practices, or relationships with voluntary associations and most other organizations, and then usually to criticize them and suggest alternatives. These alternatives are generally ideas little implemented as yet, which belong in the realm of archival theory. Recourse to a theory of acquisition is necessary in order to define the most appropriate approach to the records of voluntary associations, and this should precede any analysis of specific situations. Therefore, these ideas about acquisition will be examined from a theoretical point of view.

III

An archival repository potentially engages in two types of acquisition: it may acquire the archives of its sponsoring institution (generally a government, a public institution, or a large business), and it may acquire the archives of other bodies. The former situation is referred to as "institutional" acquisition, and the latter as "non-institutional" acquisition. Different theoretical approaches are necessary for the two types of acquisition because transferring the responsibility for records from one office of an institution to another (as when the inactive records of the Canadian Ministry of Defence come into the custody of the National Archives of Canada) is a very different matter from soliciting and acquiring the records of an organization which has no formal ties with the repository (as when the University of British Columbia Special Collections

acquired the archives of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada). Most voluntary associations lack the resources to sponsor their own repositories, and therefore archival preservation of their records occurs only in the form of non-institutional acquisition, the problems of which are addressed by a small body of literature ranging from stray ideas and proposals to carefully considered methodologies and principles.

One school of thought posits that archival acquisition should be entirely patron-oriented, that is, repositories should aim to acquire those records which their immediate clientele, especially historians, wish to have access to. Mary Lynn McCree states that archivists' "primary responsibility is to create a focussed body of materials that informs the scholar"; sentiments shared by Frank Burke and Sam Bass Warner.⁴⁸ Lester Cappon suggests that just as each generation rewrites history for itself, so does each generation appreciate and collect records hitherto ignored, and therefore a knowledge of historical trends is what an archivist planning acquisition needs. All this is reflected in Frederic Miller's stance that modern social historiography should influence archivists' approach to acquisition.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ McCree: 105; Frank G. Burke, commentary on "The Archivist's First Responsibility: A Research Agenda to Improve the Identification and Retention of Records of Enduring Value," by Richard J. Cox and Helen W. Samuels, in American Archivist 51 (1988): 49; Sam Bass Warner, "The Shame of the Cities: Public Records of the Metropolis," Midwestern Archivist 2:2 (1977): 29.

⁴⁹ Cappon: 429; Frederic M. Miller: 113-124.

There are two major problems with this manner of thinking about acquisition. Firstly, the resultant acquisition policies would have to be overly flexible, changing as often as the fashions of scholarly research, never reflecting all the different types and focusses of research, scholarly or otherwise, which co-exist; a whole new wave of acquisition would be needed for each new generation of researchers, even supposing all the records for all history would survive in limbo until the right scholarly trend comes along. The second, deeper problem lies in the assumption that service to researchers is the main responsibility of the archivist. On the contrary, prominent theorist Sir Hilary Jenkinson asserts that the primary duty of the archivist is to safeguard the archives in his or her care, and that making them accessible to researchers is a secondary duty.⁵⁰ With reference to acquisition, this principle can be restated; the archivist must orient her or his acquisition policy towards records and records-creators, not patrons. Researchers will benefit from such a policy in the long run, because a more complete and objective record of society will be preserved.

Many discussions of acquisition in the literature do not venture much beyond pieces of advice. Richard Kesner's "Archival Collection Development: Building a Successful Acquisitions Program" has a promising title, but is a disappointing list of practical suggestions about developing a subject-based "collecting focus", conducting a records survey, avoiding

⁵⁰ Jenkinson, 15.

competition with other repositories, doing fieldwork, using legal transfer of ownership forms, and so on.⁵¹ Mary Lynn McCree's "Good Sense and Good Judgement: Defining Collections and Collecting" is very similar, although its guiding idea that a repository should not attempt complete coverage of a subject area, but rather exchange information and microfilms with other repositories, is quite new in North American literature and is theoretically sound.⁵² Gerald Ham presents some more interesting ideas in his article "The Archival Edge", where he makes four proposals: that archivists cooperate more with one another (not a new idea but one worth reiterating), that better acquisition theories be developed because "conceptualization must precede collection", that collecting resources be reallocated so that a broader range of records is preserved, and that the archivist take responsibility for his (sic) demanding role and "become the research community's Renaissance man".⁵³

But these proposals are generalities laying a groundwork for theory, not theory in themselves. Slightly more substantial is John Fleckner's suggestion that, in taking a more "vigorous role" in acquisition, archivists should seek knowledge of the "universe

⁵¹ Kesner: 114-123.

⁵² McCree, 109.

⁵³ Ham: 12-13. However, Ham's ideas are not all acceptable in the light of archival theory; several statements in his article show that he thinks of archives in terms of information which the archivist must gather from all society, rather than in terms of the records which the archivist must select from all those created in society.

of documentation" available to them, using such devices as the records survey.⁵⁴ This contrasts positively with the rather odd approach of Judith Endelman, who suggests "collection analysis", that is, an intensive study of a repository's existing holdings, from which the archivist is supposed to devise an acquisition plan that builds upon the strengths and fills in the gaps of those holdings.⁵⁵ Certainly, an archivist engaged in acquisition should be well aware of her or his repository's holdings, but Endelman's approach is self-indulgent; as Fleckner has implied, acquisition planning should begin by focussing on society at large, and work its way back to the repository. In harmony with this approach, Michael Lutzker recommends that archival theory should draw upon the insights of other disciplines which study organizations, in search of a better understanding of the "inner dynamics" of records creators and of the reasons for which they create their particular records.⁵⁶ This encouraging emphasis upon the creating agency rather than research subject is supported by Frederic Miller, when he urges that acquisition policies be directed toward broad categories of organizations, such as "citizen organization", neighbourhood groups, major businesses, and labour unions.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Fleckner: 16.

⁵⁵ Judith E. Endelman, "Looking Backward to Plan for the Future: Collection Analysis for Manuscript Repositories," American Archivist 50 (1987): 340-355.

⁵⁶ Lutzker: 119-130.

⁵⁷ Frederic Miller: 118.

Even the best of the above proposals does not provide a solid guiding principle or system for acquisition; the holdings resulting from its application would be unsatisfactory and haphazard. Beyond those proposals, three systematic approaches to acquisition of non-institutional archives have been offered in the literature, by John Anderson, Helen Samuels, and Hans Booms, and the application of one of these may give better results.

John Anderson remarks that while the stable collecting environment of an institutional archives would profit from an acquisition policy having "specific, long-term collecting goals," archival repositories which acquire non-institutionally would not, because they "live in a relative instead of a Newtonian world" and are not favoured with the same knowledge base and predictable acquisition situation.⁵⁸ The two main issues these repositories are faced with, contends Anderson, are defining their "collecting parameters" and determining the best "collecting strategies". At the Research Library of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies, these issues are resolved by establishing a general subject area of focus (to document and interpret principles of liberty, independence, and freedom with emphasis on contributions by ethnic and minority groups), and then devising more specific acquisition policy statements delimited by time period, subject area, and geographical locale for a series of "successive collecting cycles". Each cycle

⁵⁸ Joseph R. Anderson, "Managing Change and Chance: Collecting Policies in Social History Archives," American Archivist 48 (1985): 296.

utilizes one or more of the following strategies: purchasing collections, conducting a research project, developing a network of supporters (to assist in soliciting records), targeting of records, conducting records surveys, and creating documentation.

Anderson feels that this approach is a good one because:

social history archives typically have less than complete knowledge of the records available in the universe from which they collect, [therefore] coherent guidance, flexibility, and a means for ongoing reassessment become equally important requirements of an effective collecting policy.⁵⁹

While Anderson makes some good points, his approach is far from ideal. It is true that a repository engaged in acquiring non-institutional archives needs special strategies for learning about its universe of documentation, but with a subject-based acquisition policy which periodically alters, a clear understanding of that universe can never be achieved. The fact that the repository also operates on the assumption that creating documentation is a legitimate archival task is another problem. It is as if an astronomer decided to study a constellation of his or her own invention, altering it every few years, and adding stars which exist only in the imagination; this research will not

⁵⁹ Anderson: 296-303; quote from 303. Two other archivists suggest subject-based acquisition strategies on a large scale, though not as well developed as Anderson's. Gregory S. Hunter suggests that repositories network to "develop a region-wide strategy to document key aspects of the area's life and history" ["Filling the GAP: Planning on the Local and Individual Levels," American Archivist 50 (1987): 112] and Sam Bass Warner goes so far as to propose that each large American city establish an archives focussed on one subject area, such as labour in Detroit, housing in Los Angeles, and so on; this, he believes, should provide enough "representative materials" to satisfy historians.[27-33]

bring anybody to a clear understanding of the universe. An astronomer can only learn about the universe by studying stars which exist independently of the human mind, and in relationships to one another which are natural to them and not culturally imposed. Just so, the archivist can only understand the universe of documentation by focussing on that which is created independently of her or his own intervention, and on categories of document creators derived from their inherent characteristics, rather than artificially imposed subject groupings. As for the six strategies to be used in successive cycles, it must be admitted that a set of alternating methods does not make a theory, even if all these methods were appropriate. Anderson does not answer our need for a workable, holistic approach to the acquisition of non-institutional archives.

Another comprehensive approach to acquisition, which has received much favourable attention in recent years, is termed **documentation strategy**, defined by Helen Willa Samuels (one of its main proponents) as "a plan formulated to assure the documentation of an ongoing issue, activity, or geographic area."⁸⁰ The idea is for a committee of archivists, records creators and researchers to work together for a certain period to ensure the documentation of a given topic. This work is to be done in the following stages: (1) choosing and defining a topic

⁸⁰ Helen Willa Samuels, "Who Controls the Past," American Archivist 49 (1986): 115. Hackman and Warnow-Blewett have a slightly different definition: "a plan to assure the adequate documentation of an ongoing issue, activity, function, or subject" [14].

to be documented, (2) selecting an advisory committee of experts and a "site" institution where the strategy can be based, (3) structuring the inquiry and examining the form and substance of the available documentation, with a concern for what **should** exist rather than for what does exist, and (4) selecting documentation and placing it at the appropriate archival repository or other institution. A documentation strategy is supposed to solve the problems of gaps in repository holdings, of competition among repositories, and of limited resources for acquisition work; it is also supposed to reflect the integration among modern institutions and the integrated manner in which modern researchers use information.⁶¹ Samuels and others have also discussed using the documentation strategy framework to encourage records creators to preserve and even specially create records bearing the sorts of information which researchers look for.⁶² Documentation strategy is supposed to encourage archivists and archival repositories to take "collective responsibilities for documentation", and to serve their institutional records as well as those non-institutionally acquired.⁶³

While the concept of documentation strategy is a refreshing alternative to the passive and haphazard approaches to acquisition common in the past, it is not a viable alternative

⁶¹ Samuels: 109-124.

⁶² Alexander and Samuels: 529-530; Hackman and Warner-Blewett: 23-26; Cox and Samuels: 39-40.

⁶³ Hackman and Warnow-Blewett: 15, 46.

for archivists. Documentation strategy does not target categories of creating bodies, but rather broad subject areas. It does not so much try to gather archival records as it does information; in fact, Samuels has defined archival records as "information gathered in any form".⁶³ When archivists start thinking along these lines, they are in danger of becoming also librarians, museum curators, and oral historians, and only a superhero or a monolithic institution can succeed in all these areas at once. The documentation strategy may be a valuable approach for a group of researchers to pursue, perhaps with archivists and related professionals acting as advisors, but its emphases on subjects and on information clash with archivists' proper emphases on agencies and records. To attempt to fill the gaps in a repository's holdings is desirable, as is to reflect the integration among modern institutions with similarly integrated holdings in a repository, but archivists need to approach this work in a different way. As for attempting to reflect the manner in which researchers use information through developing certain patterns of acquisition and influencing records creation, this is unnecessary and inappropriate meddling for the archivist, who, as has already been stated, must be oriented to records and their creators, not to information. Archivists should take collective responsibility for the archival documents of organizations which lack their own repositories, but

⁶³ Helen Willa Samuels, colloquium at the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies, University of British Columbia, November 8th, 1988.

they should do so without compromising their first responsibility of caring for the records of their sponsoring institutions. While some of the purposes and methods of the documentation strategy concept are theoretically acceptable, another theory of acquisition of non-institutional records must be found to encompass them.

The theoretical stance which provides a firm basis for acquisition strategy is that which considers acquisition in the context of appraisal. As Victoria Blinkhorn has observed, the appraisal of non-institutional archives occurs in two stages, the first of which

is related to acquisition in that it determines whether or not records offered to or solicited by the repository fall within the parameter of the acquisitions policy. This part of appraisal is ideally carried out before the records are accepted into the repository.⁸⁵

Because non-institutional acquisition is so closely tied to the first stage of appraisal, and actually can be identified with it, any consideration of it must take appraisal into account. Appraisal is an evaluative act; in its second stage it involves evaluation of the records, and in this first stage it involves evaluation of the records creator. Therefore, any acquisition plan devised for non-institutional records must include a system for determining which records creators are most valuable within the context of a repository's mandate. This difficult problem has been masterfully resolved by Hans Booms, who asserts that the key work of archivists is recognizing the value of the

⁸⁵ Blinkhorn, 38.

documentary record, and that therefore there is a strong need for guiding concepts of value. He discusses the writings of Wilhelm Rohr, who suggested that archivists focus on "archivally valuable" agencies, these being the ones most highly placed within an administrative hierarchy, and the work of George Sante, who proposed measuring an agency's value on the basis of function. Booms' objection to Rohr's system of appraisal is that it is based on a negative view of selection (emphasizing what should be destroyed) rather than the positive view of selection which Hermann Meinert had long before espoused when he argued for determining which records are permanently valuable according to fixed standards. The problem he finds with Sante's approach is that functional principles give insufficient guidance, especially for non-governmental records, which must not be neglected because "the sum of the activities of government offices does not equal the sum of historical-political life."⁶⁶ Booms argues that the principles of appraisal should be drawn "directly from the social process to which we are responsible", from society as a whole rather than merely the state, and that doing so "motivates us here to seek overall societal values for the process of archival appraisal."⁶⁷ His justification for this approach is that

⁶⁶ Hans Booms, "Society and the Formation of a Documentary Heritage: Issues in the Appraisal of Archival Sources," eds. and trans. Hermina Joldersma and Richard Klumpenhower, *Archivaria* 24 (1987): 75-92; quote from 101.

⁶⁷ Ibid.: 101-102.

the question of the value ascribed by those contemporary to the material should become the most fundamental of every archival endeavour to form the archival heritage ... If there is indeed anything or anyone qualified to lend legitimacy to archival appraisal, it is society itself, and the public opinions it expresses.⁶⁸

The archivist must therefore seek a thorough understanding of the period and area of the society from which she or he is supposed to acquire archival records. This statement echoes one of Jenkinson's, that

In relation to his charges the Archivist should be modern only so far as strictly modern questions of buildings, custody, and the like are concerned: for the rest he should be all things to all Archives, his interests identified with theirs, his period and point of view theirs. This may be a personal disadvantage to him; but it is a duty inherent in the career of an Archivist and should be faced.⁶⁹

Booms suggests that the archivist engaged in devising a documentation plan should begin by determining what is essential and characteristic for documentation purposes, based on societal values as already described; then choose the most concentrated set of documents possible so as to preserve a minimal number. The plan should cover a five to twenty year period, be made with the assistance of an advisory committee of experts on the society and period concerned, and take the form of a sanctioned model of the desired documentary heritage to be used as "a concrete orienting principle for ascribing value through an appraisal process of

⁶⁸ Ibid.: 104.

⁶⁹ Jenkinson, 124. My emphasis.

positive value selection".⁷⁰ The methodology of Booms' documentation plan resembles the "documentation strategy" system discussed earlier, with the important difference that it is based on sound archival principles.

Booms' theory is intended for appraisal but can readily be adapted into theory for acquisition of non-institutional archives such as the records of voluntary associations. This theory is more complete and suitable than any of the others discussed here, and offers an improvement upon present archival practices. But in order to successfully apply Booms' theory, it is necessary to learn more about the voluntary associations in our society.

⁷⁰ Booms: 105-106.

CHAPTER THREE

FIRST CASE STUDY: MOTHERS AGAINST DRINKING DRIVERS

I

MADD, or Mothers Against Drinking Drivers, is a voluntary association whose mission is

to reduce the tragedy caused by the drunk driver. MADD is the voice of the victim. We are dedicated to bringing victims' rights and the issues of drunk driving into the public eye and keeping them there.¹

MADD has three main goals, the first and most important being to offer support and services to the victims of drunk drivers (both the injured or killed person and his/her family members);² the second, to alter the laws and practices of the criminal justice system so that better justice is done in drunk driving cases; and the third to increase public awareness of the problem of impaired driving. The "ultimate goal" is to eliminate impaired driving altogether, and do away with the association's reason for existence.³ MADD is formally democratic, being administered by a twelve-member board of directors elected at annual general meetings. The other grounds needed to qualify MADD as a voluntary association on the basis of the definition given in

¹ MADD: Mothers Against Drinking Drivers, pamphlet (Vancouver: University Publishers, 1989), 7.

² The Executive Director of MADD has stated: "we started off being the voice of the victim of a drunk driving crash, and I think that's where we should stay. It should be our first mandate" [MADD 2:1(a)]. See Appendix A for a list of interviews and an explanation of the notation format used for them.

³ Ibid.

Chapter One also exist: MADD members are free to join or leave; MADD is independent of other organizations in its policy and decision making; it is registered as a charity with the Federal Government, and thus recognized as a non-profit organization; and it has a typical formal structure.

The association now officially known as MADD Canadian Society had its beginnings on June 14th of 1981, when a young man was killed by a drinking driver, who subsequently was given a very light sentence. Frustrated and outraged at the lack of concern surrounding the death of their son, the victim's parents banded together with other parents in similar situations and formed VOCAL, Victims of Crime and Law Society. Then they heard about a similar organization in the United States named MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Drivers), and early in 1982 one of the members of VOCAL visited MADD's founder in California to learn about this association, which had been established in May of 1981 and was already very large and well organized. As a consequence of that meeting, VOCAL became MADD Canadian Society, an official affiliate of MADD in the USA. This name change was formalized on July 7th of 1982, but already in the February of that year the association had begun modelling itself upon the American one. In May of 1987, MADD Canadian Society formally altered its name, substituting "drinking" for "drunk", but retained its acronym.⁴

⁴ Hereafter, MADD Canadian Society will be referred to as MADD, and the American body as MADD USA.

MADD's twelve-member Board of Directors includes a president, a vice president, an executive director, a treasurer, a secretary, and seven members-at-large. MADD is administered by this board, which represents the approximately three thousand members of MADD, a number that has fluctuated over the years. The main two individuals who have kept MADD alive in its day-to-day operations are Greta Scott and Helen Nichols.⁵ Scott has been President in the past, and now holds the position of Executive Director; she is the one who first visited MADD USA, and who became MADD's main spokesperson after having quit her job to dedicate herself full time to the association. Helen Nichols has been Treasurer since the beginning. For the past year and a half, MADD's office secretary has been Nancy Carr, and she too has become a mainstay of MADD. These are the three persons interviewed by the author of this thesis.

MADD has a head office located in New Westminster, as well as branches in Victoria, Nanaimo, Prince George, Penticton, Kamloops, Oliver, Abbotsford, and one on Prince Edward Island. Thus, although dues-paying MADD members are spread throughout Canada, all but one of MADD's active branches are in British Columbia. A recognized branch of MADD must have at least twenty members, including five officers, elected at the annual general meeting; each branch must submit financial reports, quarterly

⁵ The Ethics Committee of UBC requires that interviewees remain anonymous, so all personal names have been changed.

meeting minutes, and documentation of its activities to the head office on a regular basis.

The branches operate out of the homes of their members, as did the head office for a long time. At the very beginning, the head office was Greta Scott's den in her New Westminster home, then after two and a half years it travelled with her to Richmond, first in her home and then in the home of another MADD director. In 1985 Greta Scott moved back to New Westminster and noticed an office in a small commercial building for rent; she decided that it was time for MADD to have its own quarters because "the paper was just terrible, I mean paper and paper, and more paper ... it starts to take over your home".⁶ Accordingly MADD moved into the office building, and has remained there since, transferring into a larger office in the same building in the fall of 1987 (soon after Nancy Carr started working there as MADD's secretary).

At this point it is useful to address the issues raised in Chapter One of this thesis, concerning the nature of voluntary associations, with regard to MADD's situation. To begin with, this association has clearly maintained its voluntary nature, there being no persons or groups pressured to join or refused the right to join. By policy, even victims of drunk driving crashes are never solicited and when they do voluntarily come to MADD and receive its assistance, they are not required to join. A member

⁶ MADD 2:1(b).

can be expelled only if she or he does not uphold MADD's constitution, or does not pay the annual membership fee.

With regard to the issue of democracy, MADD's democratic structure is entrenched in its by-laws, but it presents the pattern of a largely inactive membership and an oligarchy-style governing body. The main means of communication between members and the association is the mail. Nancy Carr, who has been a member since MADD's inception, recalls her attitude before becoming secretary:

I was very oblivious to what was going on. I'd get the odd thing through the mail that was sent to the members, but that was about it ... I never understood the full jist of it till I actually got in here in the office.⁷

The passive approach of the membership may soon change, for a volunteer committee has been established to seek out members who would be willing to participate more, and enlist their aid with various activities normally carried out almost entirely by MADD officials (that is, directors and staff). In any case, the only thing preventing a member from becoming more active is the great deal of sustained energy and commitment this requires.

MADD has also, through conscious effort, maintained its democratic freedom from government and from its parent body, MADD USA. Until 1989 the association purposely did not accept any government grants, so that no governmental body would be able to influence its activities. Even the grants it has now accepted are for very specific activities -- a workshop and an advertising

⁷ MADD 1(a).

campaign -- which were planned in detail before MADD even requested funding. Funding from a private foundation was recently turned down because it presumed to alter the pamphlet for the publication of which the money had been offered. However, MADD is somewhat regulated by government despite the distance it keeps; in fact, as a registered charity, it must follow certain government regulations (for example, it cannot endorse particular products, businesses, or politicians.) MADD is more amenable to influence from its parent body, receiving many ideas and models for literature from MADD USA. Nevertheless it has slightly changed its own name, it initiates its own campaigns, and it doesn't hesitate to alter the literature it receives to its own specification -- always checking with MADD USA about these changes, of course. Therefore, with some inevitable compromise, MADD maintains its democratic nature and its independence from other organizations and institutions.

Regarding the nature of MADD's membership, there are three types of members, each paying different annual fees: individuals, families, and organizations.

The life cycle of MADD so far conforms to a typical pattern. The association began informally, within a few months acquired a formal structure which has since remained constant, and within a few years swelled to a large membership which eventually made it possible and necessary for MADD to have paid office workers. There is no immediate likelihood of MADD ceasing operations or becoming a prescribed organization. The number and location of

MADD branches in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada has fluctuated over time. For example, there used to be a Vancouver branch which eventually closed down, and an interested group in St. John's, Newfoundland, is planning to establish a branch in the near future. MADD USA has large, active branches in almost every state, so the potential for similar growth in Canada exists but has not yet been realised.

With respect to the typology of voluntary associations, MADD can be classified as a political action association, because it uses political means to modify society. It also functions as a research, service, self-help, and social association, but these are subsidiary characteristics.

II

MADD has an interesting assortment of relationships with other organizations and institutions. All such links will be discussed according to their type, with an emphasis on those relationships which have been most important to the development, success, and daily activities of MADD, namely the relationships with the news media, with government, and with MADD USA.

MADD is affiliated with the Canadian Criminal Justice Association, Alcohol and Drug Education Services,⁸ the British Columbia (B.C.) League of Women, the B.C. Traffic Safety Board, Correction Services, and the B.C. Victim Council, and is

⁸ MADD 2:1(b). The Canadian Criminal Justice Association is an Ottawa-based research organization. Alcohol and Drug Education Services is a private agency which engages in preventive education in schools, and lobbies government about some of the issues raised by alcohol and drugs.

therefore entitled to a vote at their respective annual general meetings (AGM's), as well as to a place on their mailing lists. These are co-ordinate associations composed of delegates from a number of organizations, including MADD. For fundraising purposes, MADD is also a member of Skyway Charities Association, another co-ordinate association which operates a bingo hall for the profit of several registered charities. Membership in this association requires rather more commitment from MADD than its other affiliations (MADD representatives are required to work on a regular basis).

MADD has a co-operative relationship with various organizations oriented to victim assistance, prevention of alcohol abuse, and so on, and routinely exchanges information with them. These include the B.C. Medical Association, the Vancouver Safety Council, and a number of organizations with aims almost identical to MADD's, such as PAID (People Against Impaired Drivers), PRIDE (People to Reduce Impaired Drivers Everywhere), and SADD (Students Against Drunk Driving). One might expect a competitive relationship to arise in such a situation, but because each association has emerged in a separate geographical area, direct competition does not occur. There is a certain amount of tension involved, however, because MADD naturally wishes to be joined by all the others. As Greta Scott explains, these organizations haven't achieved the prominence of MADD, they haven't got the support of such a large, powerful organization as

MADD USA, and while they have some good ideas, they try to take on too many "side issues" which deflect them from their goals.⁹

MADD also has a sponsor-beneficiary relationship with various businesses and foundations which advertise in its publications or provide substantial donations of funds or services towards particular projects. A good example of the sponsor-beneficiary relationship is MADD's upcoming KISS (Keep It a Safe Summer) campaign, which originated in USA and is being sponsored in British Columbia by a radio station which by fortuitous coincidence is called KISS-FM. The news media have "played a tremendous role in establishing MADD,"¹⁰ not through influencing its policies or activities, but through publicizing them in a sympathetic manner. Greta Scott affirms that MADD does not seek out media coverage, rather, from the beginning the media have taken great interest in the association, especially in its main spokesperson, Greta Scott herself. During the period of this study, Scott consented to at least four extensive interviews, two of them on talk shows. By means of such interviews, as well as media coverage of court cases, workshops, and other MADD activities, MADD is helped with one of its main goals, that of raising public awareness of the problem of impaired driving.

MADD Canadian Society is a component of MADD USA, receiving from it formal authorization to establish branches in Canada, to

⁹ MADD 2:2.

¹⁰ MADD 2:1(a).

re-publish American MADD literature, and to participate in the US programmes. However, the Canadian MADD head office is not as closely bound to follow MADD USA policy as American branches of MADD are, and it frequently departs from the practices of its parent association; for example, as previously mentioned, pamphlets are altered for Canadian tastes, with especial attention to excluding gruesome or morbid pictures and passages.

Like other voluntary associations, MADD is strongly influenced by government, but unlike many of them it influences government in return, in a lobbyist-institution relationship. Greta Scott spoke before the Federal Justice Committee in 1982 and the Canadian House of Commons in 1984, and in 1988 MADD submitted a brief to the Parliament of British Columbia.¹¹ These presentations have directly resulted in new legislation in the area of impaired driving at both federal and provincial levels. MADD's letters to the Solicitor General of British Columbia and frank discussions with the news media about the way impaired driving cases have been handled have also had an effect. When MADD started its lobbying activity, judges, lawyers, and other court officials seemed to resent the attention; "they thought we were a bunch of screaming women, you know, protestors," but after observing MADD work respectfully within the system over the years, their attitude has become much more positive and even

¹¹ Excerpts from this brief, "Recommendations and Changes in Legislation," are reprinted in the MADD 1989 pamphlet, 33-37.

helpful.¹² More importantly, the courts appear to take impaired driving cases much more seriously than they used to.¹³

The sponsor-beneficiary type of relationship is also a strong one between MADD and government. The Federal Government accepted MADD's application for charitable status under Federal Income Tax regulations in 1985. Since then, donations to MADD and membership fees have been tax deductible, making the association more economically viable. In return, MADD must follow government guidelines and account for its funding and spending. The charitable status conferred by the Federal Government reverberates at the Provincial Government level as well, by entitling MADD to participate in and earn money from bingo and casino operations, subject to provincial regulations. Sometimes government financial assistance is more direct, in the form of grants which MADD has used toward particular projects. MADD has seldom requested such grants, as its directors prefer to preserve its autonomy from government, and they wish to avoid making fundraising a priority. Greta Scott explains:

If it's so time-consuming to get the funds, and then there's so many months spent afterwards accounting for the funds, and then there's a victim waiting in the wings for you to sit down or help or visit or go to trial with them, or just to talk, then I'd choose to go with the victim. Because managing money is time consuming [and the victims are my priority].¹⁴

¹² MADD 3(b).

¹³ MADD 2:1(a).

¹⁴ Ibid.

Co-operation and competition characterize MADD's relations with two agencies of British Columbia government, Counterattack and ICBC (Insurance Corporation of British Columbia).¹⁵ Both have programmes with similar aims to MADD's, and MADD directors feel that they should be trying harder to cooperate with MADD than they have in the past.

III

A full administrative history of MADD is not needed here, but it is important to delineate the various activities of this association in order to understand its records. A description of the office where many of these activities take place, and where all of them are initiated, will help to set the scene.

The present MADD office is L-shaped; in the foot of the L is the door into the hall, and the secretary's desks complete with phone, answering machine, and typewriter. At the top of the L, where the only windows are situated, is an office with a door and a half-wall, the upper half of the wall consisting only of bannisters. In this office is the executive director's desk, the computer, and another desk (irregularly used by the newsletter editor). Between these sections is a long room containing a rectangular table and several chairs, several file cabinets, cupboards, and shelves, a set of mail slots, a small photocopier,

¹⁵ CounterAttack is a crime prevention programme aimed at reducing drinking driving and the accidents associated with it. It is partly funded by the Ministry of the Attorney General, and partly by ICBC. ICBC is a provincially-owned corporation which insures all automobiles within B.C.

a stamp machine and a scale for weighing letters, a radio, and a coffee machine. There are several displays on the walls: a selection of certificates and awards recognizing MADD and Greta Scott; some publicity photographs of MADD directors with such persons as Stevie Wonder (rock star) and Mike Harcourt (then mayor of Vancouver); several framed photographs of children (these are all deceased victims); clipboards with correspondence from MADD USA, Canadian MADD branches, government, and other sources; posters oriented to MADD's cause; and a bulletin board covered in business cards.

Using this office as a headquarters, MADD officials and members carry out activities which can be categorized into nine main overlapping areas: holding meetings, lobbying government, conducting research, court monitoring, organizing publicity, planning and implementing special projects, assisting victims communicating with members and non-members, and fundraising. Each of these activities generates documentation.¹⁸

Holding meetings is a regular activity of MADD, having four variants. There is of course the Annual General Meeting, to which all members are invited, and at which the outgoing Board of Directors makes its reports, a new Board of Directors is elected, and the activities and policies for the upcoming year are discussed. The Board of Directors holds monthly meetings the

¹⁸ As part of the research for this thesis, the author participated in most of these activities, so the descriptions which follow are based on personal experience as recorded in field notes, as well as on interviews and a review of MADD's records.

agenda of which generally includes reports on activities by branches, committees, and officials, a financial report, relevant incoming correspondence, and discussion of policies and activities. Committees also hold meetings of varying frequency. All these meetings generate agendas, reports and minutes. A fourth kind of meeting is the "one-on-one" meeting which occurs between a spokesperson for MADD (usually Scott) and a senior government official. In most cases these one-on-one meetings are initiated by MADD so as to seek information or to lobby for change, and they may occur over the phone or in person; they generate correspondence and notes, but sometimes go unrecorded; Greta Scott may make a phone-call and act immediately upon it, without ever feeling the need to document the informal meeting.¹⁷

The one-on-one kind of meeting is also a way to lobby government. The purpose of lobbying activity is to improve laws and prosecution strategies regarding impaired driving charges, and it may be aimed at various levels and agencies of government, as mentioned with reference to the relationship between MADD and government. Lobbying government generates briefs, notes, and correspondence for MADD.

A pursuit which informs lobbying, as well as some other activities of MADD, is conducting research. Much of this is a simple matter of requesting statistics on impaired driving cases from the coroners' offices and ICBC. Some research, especially that which Greta Scott conducted at the very beginning, is rather

¹⁷ MADD 2:1(a).

more difficult: "when I started to research this problem myself, I had a terrible time finding out what [had] happened," but with the help of a professor and a librarian, she eventually plumbed the depths of a few law libraries.¹⁸ Research may have a more specific nature; for instance, when victims request copies of police records and coroner's reports relating to their cases, prosecutors look into the previous criminal records of the accused, and the police investigate the drinking establishment from which the driver was coming when the crash occurred. This type of research is encouraged and initiated but not usually conducted by MADD. Conducting research generates notes, correspondence, and reports for MADD.

Court monitoring shares some of the functions of research, although it is a rather different activity. Representatives from MADD regularly attend trials of persons accused of driving while impaired; they assume the role of "court monitor". The court monitor is expected to wear a MADD badge if the trial does not involve a jury, but to otherwise avoid drawing attention to him or herself. The court monitor listens, takes notes, and fills out forms supplied by MADD, gathering information about the demeanour of the court, the details of the case, the exact time each witness speaks (so that a transcript of that portion of the proceedings may be requested if necessary), and the judgement. If problems are observed, MADD may discuss them with the media or

¹⁸ MADD 2:1(b). One fact Scott discovered was that "vehicular manslaughter" fell into disuse as a criminal charge in B.C. after the 1950's; it has now made a return.

complain to the Solicitor General, (that is, undertake the activities of lobbying and organizing publicity), thus creating news releases and correspondence. Forms collating the sentencing practices of a court over a one-month period are also compiled.

Organizing publicity is another important area of activity for MADD, being directed at increasing public awareness of the problem of impaired driving. This activity includes providing interviews and news releases to media; public speaking to student groups and other gatherings, which produces notes and of course a mention in minutes; arranging special projects; participating in community fairs, mall displays,¹⁹ and parades, which tend to be documented only in minutes; and preparing pamphlets, and to a lesser extent posters and bumper stickers, which are a major emphasis in MADD's publicity, and a major area of expenditure. MADD creates some of its own drafts, but most of the time it adapts or reproduces MADD USA pamphlets (for which it holds the Canadian copyright), and hires a local printer to provide a large number of copies for distribution.²⁰

Planning and implementing special projects is an activity which occurs one project at a time, requiring increasingly intense work before completion. Often the project is concerned with organizing publicity or lobbying government, but is part of an activity different from those because it is comprised of

¹⁹ On such occasions somebody is given the responsibility of setting up and staffing a table and some poster boards, as well as providing a money can for donations.

²⁰ MADD 1(b).

short-term undertakings with a clear start and finish, while the other activities are long-term or permanent. Some examples of such projects are a Drunk Driving Awareness Week; a Candlelight Service conducted in a significant location, where victims recount their stories; a Red Ribbon Campaign held during the Christmas season, when drivers are encouraged to tie a red ribbon to their cars signifying a commitment not to drink and drive; and the KISS (Keep it a Safe Summer) project planned for the summer of 1989, during which people vacationing with their cars will be provided with information packages by MADD, and with assistance from other bodies, such as a local radio station. The author of this thesis had the opportunity to participate in one such project: entitled "MADD on the Move," it was a weekend workshop which brought together representatives from existing prevention groups, liquor licensees, students, community leaders, and other voluntary associations, with the purpose of establishing a citizens task force in various British Columbia communities to further MADD's aims.²¹ A professional organizer was contracted to plan this workshop in consultation with the MADD directors, and numerous volunteers were called upon to assemble kits and assist in running the workshop. Planning meetings were held at more and more frequent intervals. Speakers from government, the community, and both MADD and MADD USA were invited or hired. Funding and other support was solicited from government and several other institutions and organizations.

²¹ This workshop took place March 17-19, 1989.

Documentation generated included correspondence, contracts, notes, financial estimates, registration forms, evaluation forms, reports, bills, cheques, receipts, and minutes.

Victim assistance is a central activity for MADD. Victims who contact MADD are sent a sympathy card offering help, which is provided in the form of sympathy and advice, usually by a past victim. Victims are encouraged to take notes immediately on what they remember of the crash (so that their testimony in court will have some backing), and perhaps to photograph the scene; to research their cases (as mentioned earlier); to write a letter to the attorney general requesting a senior prosecutor for the case, sending along a photograph of the victim for greater impact, and to prepare a victim impact statement to present in court before the sentencing.²²

Communicating with members and non-members is an activity which, like organizing publicity, involves publication and mass printing. Three thousand members cannot receive personal letters; MADD sends out a special newsletter or letter from the President a few times a year, a practice which has not yet become regularized, although a new "national monthly newspaper" has recently been established under one of MADD's directors. The newspaper is not exclusively aimed at members, however, and this is true of much of the material they receive from MADD. The only communications intended solely for members are notices of membership renewal, membership forms, receipts for membership

²² MADD 3(a).

dues, and agendas for the Annual General Meeting. This appears to satisfy most of the membership, and Greta Scott feels that the fact that MADD is covered frequently by the news media helps members know what is going on, and informs them that the association is continuing with its work.²³

In order for MADD to carry on this communication with its members, it must have an efficient way to store and retrieve their names, addresses, and other relevant data. MADD actually has two means for doing this, a card file and a computer file, both kept in alphabetical order, the former predating the latter. These serve as backups to one another, especially since the secretary, Nancy Carr, rationalized them in the summer of 1988. The computer file is also used to generate address labels for mail-outs to members.

Communications with non-members are also controlled through the use of card files and computer files, the non-members being categorized as "victims" (because some of the victims are also members, their data are filed under both qualifications), "donors", "professionals", and "companies/limited/corporations" (also referred to as the "businesses" or "organizational" file). An old "contacts" card file has been discontinued, and the data never entered onto the computer.²⁴ The cards for each category are pre-printed forms, each on a distinct colour of stiff paper. Non-members often receive the same materials as members, or they

²³ MADD 2:1(a).

²⁴ MADD 1(a).

may be targeted for requests for specific services or donations. Victims may receive a special newsletter or other appropriate information (which MADD sometimes passes on from another source).

Fundraising is an activity which enables MADD to carry out its mandate, even though it is not encompassed by this mandate. MADD raises some of its funds through membership fees solicited through private donations, soliciting advertising from businesses for its publications, and exhibiting a money can at mall displays. Some special projects are aimed at fundraising; for example, MADD has twice solicited donations from medical doctors through the mail with the help of a professional fundraiser. The association on occasion accepts government funding in the form of a grant. As a registered non-profit association, MADD, as already mentioned, is entitled to sponsor government-regulated gambling events, namely bingo and casino, and through them MADD earns much of the money it needs to function.

As a member of the Skyway Charities Association (SCA), which is mandated to raise funds for and otherwise promote its member associations, MADD sponsors a three-hour weekly bingo session at a bingo hall in New Westminster. These sessions are run by a manager and two other employees, but MADD is expected to assist by sending two representatives to "call" the winners' cards, pay out the winnings, sell "pull tabs" (small cards which can be opened to reveal a winning combination of symbols) and pay out the winnings from those, empty ashtrays, and occasionally do other odd jobs. These representatives participate in the

creation of two kinds of documentation: they fill out the forms showing who won how much in each game in a session, and sign a form recording the total income for that session. MADD does not receive copies of these forms, although each month it receives the minutes of the Board of Directors for the SCA, a financial report, and a cheque. MADD is annually required to submit a report to SCA showing that these earnings have been spent in the permitted manner.

MADD is entitled to two nights in a row, three times annually, of sponsorship for an arbitrarily designated gambling casino in Greater Vancouver. Casinos are mainly run by permanent staff but require five representatives from MADD, who take some responsibility for large sums of money during the course of each evening. One representative acts as "banker", unlocking and counting the gambling chips at each table, and resupplying it when necessary. Two more sit in a locked "cashiers' booth" and exchange chips for money when the gamblers request it, keeping notes of these exchanges. The other three representatives help count the money taken in, check over the records of money and chips disbursed and acquired, and sign various forms recording these details. At the end of each evening one of the originals produced from each triplicate set of forms is given to MADD, as well as a cheque and a financial report.

IV

While most of the records created by MADD can be accounted for in relation to its activities, three related topics should be discussed for a fuller portrayal of its records-keeping practices: the role of MADD's officials, MADD's filing systems, and its attitudes and practices towards records preservation.

To begin with, let us consider the role of particular directors and staff. The treasurer, assisted by a bookkeeper whom MADD employs, takes care of all the financial matters of the various activities; that is, she records money received and disbursed, manages the accounts, pays bills, sends out receipts and requests for membership renewal, and prepares financial reports. The executive director handles much of the correspondence, and does much of the planning for special projects, government lobbying, and victim assistance. A professional organizer is also regularly hired to help with special projects. The secretary maintains the filing systems, sorts all incoming correspondence, answers routine correspondence, acts as receptionist for callers and visitors, deals with most matters of membership, and represents MADD at most SCA bingo sessions. Having a paid secretary has helped MADD organize and preserve its records, maintain better contact with the public and its members, and get the routine work disliked by volunteers done.²⁵ The directors and sundry volunteers extensively assist the executive director and the secretary.

²⁵ MADD 2:1(b) and 3(a).

MADD's filing systems vary according to the functional form of the records, but with one exception are all "direct access" systems.²⁶ Financial records are filed by the treasurer in chronological order in a portable subdivided file case. The membership files and other lists of persons and organizations are, as described above, filed in alphabetical order in card catalogues and on the computer. Minutes are kept in chronological order in binders on shelves. Photographs are displayed in frames or in albums with no particular arrangement. All other records are preserved in a general filing system, of which there have been three over the years. Greta Scott set up the original system, which proved inadequate, and after a few years her husband improved upon it with a system based on the one he used in his workplace. The only indirect access filing system MADD has had, this system used a numeric index code wherein each file drawer had a letter and each file a number, with an index at the front of each drawer showing the subject of every file. But when the present secretary started work, she altered the system yet again; Greta Scott hasn't grown comfortable with it yet, but she observes philosophically that "I've heard this is very common in offices, what's a simple system to one person becomes [difficult for another]."²⁷ Nancy Carr's system is one of direct access, having an alphabetical order within each of several broad

²⁶ A direct access filing system is one which allows the user to go directly to the files without reference to an index, because it is based on subjects written out as complete words.

²⁷ MADD 2:1(b).

subject classes, these being Other Associations, Victim Assistance, Government, Advertising, MADD Branches, and so on. This filing system is not very sophisticated, and everybody sometimes has problems finding things within it. There are two probable reasons why MADD officials have not attempted to improve this system: they see a filing system as a secretary's domain, not to be interfered with, and also they are not knowledgeable enough about filing systems to alter it confidently.²⁸

The attitudes and practices of MADD officials regarding the preservation of their records are the final area of concern here. Some of these attitudes and practices stem from personality. For example, the treasurer avoids the computer because she does not feel comfortable with it, and generally does her work at home in order to avoid distractions. Attitudes to file order also vary, and Nancy Carr sometimes finds the membership catalogue in disorder, or mail inserted into the wrong slots, presumably by some well-meaning director or other volunteer; as she puts it "some people are more relaxed about how things are kept, that happens in every office".²⁹ One attitude which is a matter of policy and was stressed by all three interviewees is that all MADD's records are completely open and accessible to members, government officials, and researchers. Personal information

²⁸ These reasons are good enough to deter many small, and even large, organizations from improving their filing systems, and should not be seen as faults particular to MADD.

²⁹ MADD 1(b).

about victims is kept from media representatives, however, at least until permission has been asked of the victims concerned.

There is no systematic records management programme at MADD, or anything close to it, and instead there is a set of generally accepted practices which most people at MADD seem to subscribe to. Greta Scott has a dictum quoted by Nancy Carr as "never throw anything out,"³⁰ the idea being that any record may be useful to somebody someday. The treasurer preserves all financial records in case a government official questioning MADD's non-profit status wishes to survey them. The law requires a seven-year retention period for those records, but MADD has existed a little longer than that, and still has not discarded any financial records at all, just in case.³¹ The practice with membership and other catalogues is that when a person ceases to be a member or moves without forwarding an address, the card relating to that person is discarded. With regard to other records, it is clear that everything on file is kept permanently. By 1988 the files were getting unwieldy as a result, and the secretary accordingly transferred all records previous to 1986 to a separate file cabinet. This file cabinet functions as both a records centre and an archival repository for many of MADD's records.

Many records created and received by MADD never reach the safe haven of its files, however. The category "correspondence

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ MADD 3(a).

received" includes "junk mail", a term used to cover mail which does not relate to MADD's mandate or operations, and junk mail is routinely discarded soon after it is received. Some correspondence received, which after consideration by the executive director and perhaps the board of directors is not acted upon, is also discarded. Correspondence which takes the form of membership application forms, workshop registration forms, and the like, is discarded once the data are recorded elsewhere and the form is no longer needed. All correspondence sent is photocopied for MADD's files by the secretary, but this may not always have been the practice before she was hired. Drafts of letters are not kept. Despite the fact that court monitoring is central to MADD, the records of this activity have not been consistently preserved -- some of them are at the head office, some at branch offices, and many have either been discarded or remain in the hands of the volunteers who created them. Greta Scott sees this as a mistake now, and regrets it.³² Part of the problem here is that while forms are often used, notes are also common. Notes are produced in the course of most of MADD's activities. They usually have the form of handwritten, informal notations taken in an idiosyncratic manner by an individual, and are widely considered to be for immediate use of the creator, after which they are generally destroyed.³³

³² MADD 2:1(b).

³³ This statement is based upon personal observations of the author. The attitudes and practices concerning note-taking would be an interesting area of research for archivists.

Consequently, very few notes survive in MADD's files, the exception being telephone messages taken by Nancy Carr since she has been secretary. When she began working for MADD she took telephone notes on scraps of paper, but they accumulated so rapidly that for safe-keeping, she began entering them into a small "booklet" instead. In the back of the same booklet Nancy has kept a record of her hours of work. She has already filled one booklet, and this has been filed.³⁴ It seems that the physical form of a notebook commands more respect than the loose pieces of paper on which most notes are taken.

Each interviewee was asked which records she would make it a priority to save in the event of a fire or other disaster, a question which apparently was not considered before. The secretary stated that she would save the "floppy discs" of computer files, containing all the lists of members, donors, and so on, and mentioned the practice common to other offices of keeping extra copies of such discs in a separate location -- a practice she plans to implement sometime at MADD.³⁵ The treasurer said she would save the financial records, and explained that these include the membership list in the form of receipts.³⁶ The executive director declared that her priority

³⁴ MADD 1(b).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ MADD 3(a).

would be the photographs of victims,³⁷ after which she would save the videotape of MADD's history, and only then the membership lists and briefs to government.³⁸ It is evident from these answers that the records which are central to the specific work of each official are what she would think to save, which is quite natural but not necessarily in the best interest of the association as a whole.

The practice by some officials of preserving a personal collection of copies of MADD records is one last point for consideration. Minutes and briefs are the main documents so kept, but others are saved as well; Helen Nichols saves a great many at home, which she periodically weeds. Nichols also keeps a daily "diary" for Greta Scott and herself, with especial reference to Scott's lobbying efforts and news media interviews.³⁹ Scott and Nichols agree that this is the most complete record of these activities, but they consider the diary to be a personal record of Nichols', not MADD property, and it is kept at her home rather than in the office.

The three interviewees were also asked to define the term "archives" and to speculate as to what would happen to MADD's records if the association were ever to close down. The

³⁷ Greta Scott said that she would make this choice because these photographs are so precious to the parents of these victims. Another probable reason is that for Scott, the children these photographs represent are what MADD is all about, and their destruction would be a second death.

³⁸ MADD 2:1(b).

³⁹ MADD 3(a).

executive director described archives as a place where genealogy can be researched, and the treasurer as "fossils and stuff like that"; the secretary had the most accurate definition:

It's basically records of things ... organizations, companies, businesses, whatever ... that have been in existence, and usually an archives would take it right from the day it started until the present, or whenever it ended.⁴⁰

When further questioned, none of the interviewees had a clear concept of an "archival repository," and the institutions which they thought might wish to preserve MADD's records would be a library or a university. They do feel that their records are important, because they feel that MADD is playing an important role in Canadian society. Greta Scott and Helen Nichols would both preserve some records for personal "sentimental" reasons if MADD were to fold, because MADD represents a significant part of their lives.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Respectively, MADD 2:1(b), MADD 3(a), and MADD 1(b).

⁴¹ MADD 2:1(b) and MADD 3(a).

CHAPTER FOUR

SECOND CASE STUDY: THE ORIENTEERING ASSOCIATION
OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

I

The Orienteering Association of British Columbia (OABC) is a voluntary association having two main aims: to encourage, promote and give leadership to the sport of orienteering locally, provincially and nationally; and to sanction and supervise annually a full program of competition including the OABC Championships and periodically the Canadian Championships.¹ OABC is also expected to host other championships, such as the Western Canadian Championships (alternating with the orienteering associations of Alberta and Manitoba), and coordinate most of the communication among orienteering clubs in British Columbia, the national governing body, the provincial government, and parallel associations in other provinces.²

Orienteering is

the sport or practice of finding one's way through unfamiliar territory by means of a map or compass or both, usually involving a given starting and finishing point with a series of check points in between.³

OABC often uses the phrase "your sport for life" in its literature, emphasizing orienteering's flexibility; participants

¹ As stated in OABC's constitution.

² OABC 1:1(a).

³ Gage Canadian Dictionary, 1983 ed., s.v. "orienteering".

range from competitive young runners, through family groups with young children, to people in their eighties. All of them speak of "running a course" but they may do this at any speed, focussing on "personal best" rather than winning. Map-reading ability is also a factor in the amount of time and effort one needs to complete an orienteering course. To facilitate a range of skills, physical abilities, and approaches, most orienteering "meets" have at least three courses (novice, intermediate, and expert), and sometimes as many as fifty. An administrative structure is necessary for orienteering's central activity of meets to flourish in British Columbia.

Although OABC is by nature very different from MADD, it shares the category "voluntary association" with this organization. It has a clear purpose, as stated above; it is controlled and operated by its members in democratic fashion; there are no restrictions on who may join or leave the association; it is independent of any non-orienteering body; it is a registered non-profit agency; and it has a formal structure expressed in a written constitution.

Orienteering originated in Sweden early in this century, and has become immensely popular throughout Western Europe, where such a thing as an eight-day meet with 17,000 participants is not uncommon. Orienteering has also caught on in other parts of the world, and is practiced in most parts of Canada. With over five hundred members, OABC is the largest provincial association of

orienteers in the nation. OABC was founded in 1974, although orienteering clubs existed in British Columbia before this time.

The club is the basic organizational unit in orienteering. Clubs in British Columbia range in size from six to one hundred members, the main criteria for their existence being the ability to host orienteering meets. An elected executive including a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary, and member-at-large, as well as a set of committee chairs, officially administers each club. The term "officially" is used here because in practice, the executive often has merely an existence on paper, and most of the decisions are made in informal, face-to-face discussions, by a consensus of any members who are present or interested. Elections tend to be a matter of acclamation.⁴ There are approximately eight functioning orienteering clubs in British Columbia at the moment, a number which has fluctuated over the years. Some clubs have folded while others have merged; for example, the North Shore Orienteers and the Thunderbird Orienteers joined forces to become the Greater Vancouver Orienteering Club (GVOC) in 1985.

OABC is the co-ordinating body which unites the clubs of British Columbia. It has an executive structure similar to that of the clubs, with the difference that the executive positions are roles taken much more seriously, as befits a body which

⁴ For example, Greg Gillis mentioned that he only recently discovered that he is officially an executive member of the Greater Vancouver Orienteering Club (GVOC), having been elected months before. This is evidence that the role of an executive position often carries little weight in an orienteering club.

exists mainly to administer. The president, Greg Gillis, and the newsletter editor, Peter Cawley (who is also a past president) of OABC were both interviewed for this study.⁵ For a period in its history, OABC functioned much as a club, hosting meets on a regular basis, but after observing that such bodies are de-emphasized in the European orienteering hierarchy, Peter Cawley (when he was president of OABC) made a policy shift.

All the activity, the sport, the socializing, the athleticism, and the camaraderie should take place at a club level. The OABC should be there to be a bean-counting, paper-shuffling, money-grabbing kind of coordinating body. And so it's lurched and stumbled in that direction since then. Ideally it's functioning when it's providing communication between the member clubs and with parallel organizations, and when it's getting and disbursing corporate and governmental funds to the member clubs.⁶

Above OABC in the administrative hierarchy is the Canadian Orienteering Federation (COF), which functions to coordinate the provincial associations, set national policies and procedures, oversee national championships, administer the national squad (a group of top orienteers from which the national team is drawn), and liaise with the International Orienteering Federation (IOF) and parallel bodies in other countries. It has an executive structure similar to that of OABC, as well as some staff and office space.

OABC has no office space and no staff, although it has had both in the past. Until a few years ago, OABC rented space in

⁵ These are not the real names of the interviewees.

⁶ OABC 2(a).

the "Sport BC" building (a provincial government building where the offices of the sport ministry are located), just enough room to keep a cupboard full of records in, as well as a share in some work space, along with other sporting bodies. But this space was costly so the OABC executive decided to give it up.⁷ The cupboard was moved to Peter Cawley's basement, where it has sat ever since. As regards staff, OABC has never employed anyone on a permanent, full-time basis, although using government grants and its own resources it has frequently hired mappers and on occasion executive assistants. Nevertheless, the executive is well aware of the advantage of having paid staff to do the routine and time-consuming work which exhausts volunteers, and has been trying to convince the government to fund one such position in the near future.

OABC's nature as a voluntary association, like MADD's, is tempered by some factors. With reference to voluntary character, OABC could be seen as an ascribed association, because one cannot join an orienteering club in British Columbia without joining OABC as well (along with the COF and the IOF), and vice versa.⁸ However, there is no measure forcing a person to join a club, other than the fact that meet fees are higher for non-members. Nobody under the age of fourteen can independently compete in a

⁷ OABC 1:2(a).

⁸ Under a previous OABC policy, one could join OABC directly for a lower fee, but the clubs lobbied successfully for this situation to change.

meet, but a child can participate as part of a family or group membership.

There are five types of membership within OABC: individual, family, two types of associate membership, and honorary life membership. An associate member may be a person or group who has paid a lesser fee for the privilege of being on OABC's mailing list, or a club, youth group, school or other organization which has paid a larger fee for the full participation of all its members as a group. Honorary life membership is conferred on persons who have given outstanding service to OABC and to orienteering. Membership fee income is divided among the club to which the member belongs, and OABC, COF, and IOF.

OABC's democratic structure, while more formally implemented than that of the clubs, is still run on the basis of acclamation and consensus rather than through voting.^e While all British Columbia clubs ideally participate equally in OABC, in practice the executive is drawn mainly from clubs situated on the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island, because subsidy for travel to meetings is minimal.

OABC administers itself within the areas prescribed by its mandate, but is not a wholly independent association, its policy being partly shaped by the policies of the COF and IOF, and by the provincial government. OABC is substantially funded by the British Columbia government, and its executive lives with a degree of anxiety about whether this funding will be sufficient,

^e OABC 1:3.

and spends many extra hours of labour providing the documents which the government requires to justify this funding.

Like MADD's, OABC's life cycle began in a typical manner but has not brought the association to the point of losing its voluntary nature. It is interesting to observe that the higher in the orienteering hierarchy one goes, the more formal is its structure and role differentiation, while at the lowest level, the club, informality reigns. OABC also has a number of committees and an increasing membership, and (as already mentioned) it is trying to acquire a permanent staff member, although unlike MADD it has not yet succeeded. However, when we consider that MADD is (nominally at least) a national association with a large membership, its corresponding body in the orienteering hierarchy is COF, not OABC, and COF has paid employees. OABC has existed longer than MADD and, while it may at some point become less active due to volunteer "burn-out", it shows no signs of closing down. As to the matter of satellites, some of the clubs in British Columbia existed before OABC did, but others have been founded and they have all grown and become more formalized under the influence of OABC.

Within the typology of voluntary associations, OABC can be called a "social association", a category which includes sporting bodies. It sometimes functions as a political activist (advocating environmental controls) and a research (towards maps) association, but these are secondary functions for OABC.

II

OABC does not have the number or assortment of linkages with other organizations of which MADD can boast, but it does have some relationships worth considering. Embedded in its very identity is its place in the hierarchy of the orienteering sport; thus, the British Columbia orienteering clubs are components of OABC, which in turn is a component of COF, and the COF is a component of IOF. OABC is not the primary organization within these componential relationships, rather, the individual club is. The clubs have co-operative relationships among one another and with nearby clubs in the United States and Alberta. OABC, similarly, has co-operative relationships with other provincial orienteering associations, and with similar bodies in other countries. These relationships are what makes the aforementioned Western Canadian Championships possible, as well as the Asia Pacific Orienteering Championships (APOC), which involve orienteering associations from all around the Pacific Rim. COF co-operates with other national associations. A co-operative relationship also exists between OABC and other provincial sporting bodies, which together, with government assistance conduct the British Columbia Summer Games each year.

A co-ordinate association for OABC and other sporting bodies in British Columbia in planning the summer games each year is the "Summer Games Committee". Another co-ordinate association of which OABC is a member is the "Outdoor Recreation Council", the purpose of which is to promote outdoor recreation in British

Columbia. OABC's contact with the former is regular during the planning stages for the games, and with the latter minimal unless an OABC member happens to be on the board of directors.

No evidence was found of OABC having a competitive relationship with any other group at present, although there was mention of its Ontario equivalent having such an advanced administration that it competes with the COF in some areas, so such competition is conceivable for OABC. At times OABC may also compete with similar bodies to host national and international championships.

OABC does not participate in a lobbyist-institution relationship with any other organization on a regular basis, although member clubs may lobby OABC for policy changes, or OABC may lobby the provincial government for increased funding.

The sponsor-beneficiary relationship is important to OABC. The association sponsors the activities of its clubs through enabling communication, distributing funding, and officially sanctioning their top-level meets, that is, certifying that they are being planned in accordance with accepted orienteering standards. In turn, OABC receives sponsorship from the provincial government and a number of corporations, which give financial support and other services. For example, bottled water companies, compass makers, and airlines have all provided their goods and services towards major meets for OABC.

Since orienteering associations in Canada reflect its provincial and territorial boundaries, a merger between two of

them is very unlikely. However, mergers between clubs are possible and have occurred. OABC is unlikely to merge with any other sporting body in British Columbia because their mandates are for different sports.

As the preceding discussion of OABC makes abundantly clear, government has a very strong influence on this association, principally in the sponsor-beneficiary role. OABC deals regularly with the British Columbia Ministry of Tourism, Recreation, and Culture, and more specifically its department "Sport BC" and its "government sport consultant", who meets regularly with the OABC executive. Sport BC has rented space to OABC in the past, and it continues to give the association other services, such as access to its print shop, reduced mailing costs through its mail room, and the use of its mailing address and a mail slot for correspondence. Sport BC's most substantial contribution, however, is funding, which it provides in a manner OABC executive members always find awkward, because it is not tailored to this association's structure and needs, but rather to a generalized form of sporting body. Every year OABC is required to fill out a "program development plan" form (several pages long), essentially an application for an operating grant, which changes annually and is rather complicated and, to quote Greg Gillis, "silly".¹⁰ This form always requires a detailed budget for the coming year using categories which do not reflect OABC, and omitting categories which would. For example, mapping is one

¹⁰ OABC 1:2(a).

of OABC's greatest expenses, but because it does not aptly fit into any of the categories in the budget, the government usually refuses to fund this activity. OABC officials have argued that maps are the playing facility for orienteering, just as playing fields are to soccer teams and swimming pools to water polo, but to no avail.¹¹ Sport BC wants its funds to be spent mainly on "office work", but OABC's needs are greater in other areas. Another problem is that Sport BC divides the province into eight sections, and requires that an association have at least fifty members in each in order to qualify for the highest level of funding; while OABC has over 500 members, there are none in one of the sections and therefore it does not qualify. Once a budget has been approved, OABC must keep track of expenses throughout the year and provide interim and year-end reports (the latter being an "annual report"). Grant applications are submitted for specific projects, such as mapping or hosting an international meet. The time, effort and frustration expended throughout this process is resented by OABC, and both interviewees felt that through its demands, the provincial government controls OABC "to an unsatisfyingly large degree".¹²

III

OABC has eight activities, half of which are similar in nature to some of MADD's: holding meetings, conducting promotion

¹¹ OABC 2(a).

¹² OABC 1:3.

(this corresponds to MADD's "organizing publicity"), fundraising, co-ordinating and communicating with members and non-members, preparing maps, planning and hosting meets, participating in meets, and training. OABC has no headquarters from which to conduct these activities or create the records relating to them. The setting which is integral to OABC's central event, the meet, changes every time it is held but is invariably an outdoor venue, generally a wilderness or an untamed rural area, often in a park.

OABC holds three kinds of meetings on a regular basis. A general meeting may be held at any time with just cause, but is bound to be held as an Annual General Meeting in September or October of each year, usually concurrently with the provincial orienteering championships. At the AGM the outgoing executive makes its reports, a new executive is elected, the clubs make their reports, major events for the coming year are awarded to various clubs, and any policy and other business members wish to raise is discussed. The AGM generates agendas, reports, and minutes. Soon after the AGM, and closely linked to it, is the Annual Planning Meeting (APM), attended only by OABC and club officials. At this meeting some meet rule changes may be agreed upon, but the main business is arranging a fixtures list. A fixtures list is a calendar of events for the upcoming year, to be held throughout the province in an arrangement which is coordinated, equitable, and agreeable to all clubs. The events considered are mainly meets and training events. Other planning meetings are held to plan particular activities throughout the

year, but these are mainly at the club level. Planning meetings generate minutes and fixtures lists. The final kind of meeting is the executive meeting, which OABC must hold at least four times a year (according to its constitution). This combines aspects of the other two meetings, and generates the same kinds of records. All these meetings require travel on the part of OABC officials, and therefore they also generate travel receipts, expense claims, and cheques.¹³

Conducting promotion is integral to the aims of OABC but not to orienteering itself; it is therefore less important to this association than to MADD, functioning mainly to attract people to the sport and to upcoming events. OABC publishes fixtures lists (mainly for members), pamphlets advertising and introducing the sport in general, teaching materials, flyers for particular events (usually drawn up by the clubs hosting them), and a newsletter; it also creates drafts and mock-ups towards these publications. OABC has also partaken in National Orienteering Week promotions, and related to these and other events, produces news releases and encourages interviews by the news media. The association offers a modest junior sports promotion bursary as incentive for young participants, and this generates cheques and correspondence. OABC is regularly requested to give presentations, demonstrations, and promotional materials to school and community groups, sometimes also running "mini-meets"

¹³ OABC 1:1(a), 1:3, and 2(b).

for their benefit.¹⁴ On such occasions photographs may be displayed, although orienteering is not a sport which is easily understood through photographs; a more communicative display is maps, selected to show their variety and the way mapping standards have changed over OABC's history.¹⁵ As with MADD, many promotional activities may not be recorded outside OABC minutes, important ones may be mentioned in the association's Program Development Plans and Annual Reports to Sport BC.

OABC has two main targets for fundraising, these being the provincial government and its membership. In the process of soliciting the government for money, the association generates Program Development Plans, other grant applications, and various reports including Annual Reports. Funds raised from members take the form of fees collected from clubs, based on the number of members in, and use of OABC maps by, each club, a process which creates membership forms in triplicate (for the relevant club, OABC, and COF), membership lists, correspondence, cheques, and receipts sent to members for income tax purposes. The COF in turn demands a percentage from OABC based on its membership, and this also generates bills, correspondence, cheques, and receipts. Another source of income, again channelled through the clubs, is meet fees, a part of which is intended as a "map levy" to be spent in creating new maps. Statistical reports from the meets (commonly referred to as "meet stats") are required by OABC so

¹⁴ OABC 1:1(a).

¹⁵ OABC 2(b).

that it can bill the clubs, but these are not always forthcoming. OABC also solicits money towards certain events from corporations, generating correspondence, cheques, and receipts. In recent years OABC has sold entertainment coupon books,¹⁶ an activity which involves buying a number of these books from the company which produces them and selling them to acquaintances, producing correspondence, cheques and some form of reports. OABC has recently made arrangements to participate in a casino, just as MADD has done, and this will involve the creation of notes, forms, cheques, and financial reports.

Co-ordinating and communicating with members and non-members is partly done at meetings, and partly through correspondence in the form of notices, president's letters, and newsletters. The OABC newsletter Due West is edited by Peter Cawley, and it functions to provide a "bulletin board" for upcoming meets, training events, and available funding, to supply news of the orienteering community, to pass on items of interest culled from other publications, and to be a "journal of record" for meets (that is, to provide meet results). Cawley compiles the newsletter on the micro-computer at his work-place, and preserves only the final draft on floppy disc and a holding file of any items he has not used but may wish to include. A past president used to issue a president's letter to membership, which in Cawley's view would have more appropriately been part of the

¹⁶ These offer deductions from the cost of goods and services at various businesses, mostly restaurants.

newsletter. A current newsletter problem is that, by Cawley's own admission, he has been too busy to issue it on the quarterly basis it is supposed to follow.¹⁷ The membership list is necessary for all this correspondence to reach its destinations. Communication which occurs informally and orally at meets goes unrecorded.

Preparing maps (or "mapping") is central to the sport of orienteering; Peter Cawley says that

People who do this sport ... can be any level of fitness or activity or outdoor awareness, but you have to be a nut for maps, so that becomes the document upon which we all focus.¹⁸

Maps are familiar documents in our society, but orienteering maps are distinctive. They are far more detailed and precise than road maps, having a much larger scale (1:5,000 and 1:15,000 scales are typical) covering a very small area, as well as five standard colours and a special set of symbols, all according to IOF standards. Orienteering maps are always marked with several longitude lines reaching straight from the top to the bottom of the map. Paths and roads are drawn very precisely, because the orienteer needs to know their exact rather than their approximate route (so as to make informed decisions about a route which may not follow the path). Contours are drawn in brown ink, water is indicated with blue ink, white is used for clearings or "runnable forest" -- fairly open areas of forest where you can go through it

¹⁷ OABC 2(a).

¹⁸ OABC 2(b).

at reasonable speed" -- green is used for thick forest (different shades indicating levels of thickness), and black for anything man-made (such as roads and buildings), as well as for boulders and cliffs.¹⁹ IOF symbols indicate such things as "large trail," "indistinct trail," "marsh," "form line," "depression," "knoll," and "distinct vegetation boundary" on the map, with a legend describing them being printed in the corner.

The process of making a map is long, expensive, and complicated. OABC has a policy of commissioning four new maps a year under the direction of its "Map Co-ordinator". The first step is to acquire a government air photograph of the area and send it to a cartographic company to prepare a base map suitable for orienteers, generally a mylar map four times the size of the final version (and thus, twice the scale). A pre-existing map not prepared for orienteers, or an outdated OABC one, may be used as a base map instead. The second step is for a group of volunteers or people hired on contract, all with orienteering experience and some training in map-making, to conduct "fieldwork". They take a copy of a small section of the map, perhaps tacking it to a small board, and walk the relevant area checking for all the details an air photo or an inaccurate old map may have missed, making corrections as they go along on the map draft. Fieldwork involves "pace counting" and frequent compass bearings, and it takes many, many hours to complete. The corrections may be marked in any colour, but later the

¹⁹ OABC 1:1(b).

fieldworker will transfer them in the standard colours to a clean copy of the map. When all the fieldwork has been completed, the corrected base map may be checked again by somebody, and only then turned over to a professional or experienced orienteering cartographer for making a perfected base map.²⁰

Finally, the large mylar base map is taken to a printer by the map co-ordinator, and one or two thousand map prints are made.²¹ These maps are then sent to the club which is hosting the meet they are required for. Of course, most of them will not be needed immediately, and these are stored for use at a future meet. When all the maps of a printing are used up, the base map may be reprinted, but more likely new fieldwork is done and the map is improved and updated, to take account of mistakes, oversights, and the changes wrought by new roads, forest fires, or a beaver dam. A new map is a delightful thing for orienteers, and Greg Gillis asserts that a meet will have a three or four times greater attendance if people know it is going to present a new map.²²

In order to make a new map, a club must apply to the OABC for funding, sending a request to the Mapping Co-ordinator which includes a detailed plan of how the map will be completed and used. The mapping co-ordinator submits a list of approved mapping projects to the treasurer, and if the treasurer accepts

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ OABC 2(a).

²² OABC 1:1(b).

it, the mapping co-ordinator sends the club notification stating whether and how much OABC will fund the map, generally contributing the total cost of air-photos and base maps, and a certain amount per hour for fieldwork and map drafting. After the work is done, the club sends its receipts to the treasurer and is reimbursed with OABC cheques. Contracts and grant applications are also created in relation to maps.

Maps vary greatly for four main reasons, the first of which is that mapping standards have changed a great deal over the years. For example, OABC's earliest maps are printed in black and white only. These maps are much harder to read than coloured ones, which is part of the reason that training maps showing only contours and water (brown and blue) are made to this day; such maps are not appropriate to a competitive meet, but they are a useful training device which forces the orienteer to pay closer attention to contours, and makes a familiar area seem new and challenging. Maps also vary because of the interpretation of individual mappers and cartographers: map-making is a creative act.²³ The creative aspect of mapping can be noticed in the variations which occur among maps produced in different regions. For example, the concept of thick vegetation in prairie Alberta is quite different from the one held in British Columbia,

²³ OABC 1:2(a). Gillis described an experiment conducted in Finland a few years ago, when fifteen experienced mappers were asked to map the same small area, and the results were all quite different from one another.

therefore, a map area coloured dark green does not necessarily correspond to the same type of vegetation in the two provinces.

Further work must be done with a map when a club is planning and hosting a meet. First of all, a set of courses must be plotted, each of which involves choosing a numbered series of "control points" (usually numbered between one and 14), marking them on one of the printed copies of the map, and connecting them with straight lines; this becomes a master map. The course is marked in red for easy scanning. The next step is for those involved in planning the meet to hang "controls" in the designated places, controls being cubes of fabric on wire (or cheaper cardboard versions), usually coloured white and orange or red, with strings threaded through the top so they can be hung from bushes and other objects. Hung from the control is a paper punch (also termed a "card spike") with a unique configuration of pins. Each control is permanently marked with letters or numbers, such as "82" or "V08". Orienteers are given a small printed or photocopied course sheet showing a concordance between the number of the control as marked on the map, the number or letter identification on the actual control, and a description of the landmark on or near which the control is located, such as "path junction", "boulder", or "building NE corner". Experienced orienteers use a course sheet where the landmark is described using an IOF symbol rather than words.²⁴ There are four types of

²⁴ According to Greg Gillis, although there are charts and workshops which teach the meaning of the symbols, the main way they are learned is through experience: "you go to the location

meets: A, B, and C meets, and championship meets, which are actually a kind of A meet. An A meet is a high quality event, measuring up to rigorous IOF standards, with several officials involved to check one another's work and carefully plan the competition. A new map is always used for an A meet, so that no competitor knows quite what to expect. OABC sanctions four A meets a year, for which the hosting clubs fill out sanction forms and submit them to OABC for approval; after this approval has been given, OABC is responsible for the quality of the meet along with the club. Each year, one of the A meets is also the provincial championship event, and the person who runs the most difficult course at this event in the shortest time is declared the best orienteer in British Columbia for that year. As mentioned earlier, other championships may also be hosted in the province in a given year, such as the Asia Pacific Championships and the Canadian championships. B meets are organized by only a few people in a less rigorous manner, and are held much more frequently. C meets involve the least amount of formal planning, and may be organized by only one person; a club may hold these as often as once a week. C meets are generally advertised only within a club, B meets are entered on the OABC fixtures list, A meets are advertised to all members of OABC, and championships are publicized even more widely. The advertising takes the form

on the map and see what's there," or after the meet one can ask another orienteer what a symbol means. [OABC 1:2(a).]

of meet flyers, and notice of the meets also occurs in the fixtures lists. Meets also generate correspondence.

Before an area is mapped, and each time it is used for a meet, a letter requesting permission to use the land must be sent to the relevant authority, usually a park warden, and another letter received granting this permission.

Hosting a meet involves other sub-activities as well, which are perhaps best described from the point of view of one participating in a meet. After receiving notice of the meet from a fixtures list or a meet flyer, the orienteer goes to the starting area of the meet, which is generally held on a Saturday or Sunday from about 10:00 until 2:00, at any season except winter. There she²⁵ sees a few cardboard signs giving instructions and a table or board with various flyers and fixtures list, as well as some flagging strung across the finish line, and some more marking the starting area. Following the instructions on the signs, she presents herself to the registrar of the race, where she signs a waiver for insurance purposes, fills out a safety card with her name and address, as well as the number of the course she wishes to follow, and is given a control card marked with numbered squares and her course number, in return for an entrance fee. If she does not already have them, the participant is asked to buy a whistle (in case she gets lost or needs help) and to rent a compass. At this time she may also

²⁵ The author will use the female pronoun throughout this description, because it is based on her own experience, not because men do not participate in the sport of orienteering.

be given a map and a course sheet in a plastic case and directed to go and check it against the master map for her course. Near the master map are several red pens and pencils, with which she is expected to record the course onto her own map. At an A meet, the course is pre-printed (using a special printing form devised for the purpose) or pre-drawn onto the maps, and the competitor is not given the map until immediately before starting. Then she goes to the starting official to be given a starting time, which may be almost immediate if there is nobody else wishing to start at that moment. The starting official marks the safety card and control card with the orienteer's starting time, and keeps the safety card. (The safety cards enable the meet officials to know how many orienteers are out on which courses at any given time, and if they've been out for over three hours, that it is time to begin searching for them. All courses are designed so that the orienteer at the appropriate level of skill should be able to complete them in an hour or less.) Using a clock which beeps at regular intervals, the official permits the orienteer to start her run at the prescribed time.

The orienteer sets off towards the first control on her course, folding her map in such a manner that the section she is using is easily scanned. When she reaches the control, she marks the square labelled "1" on her control card with the paper punch; because this card is stored with the map in the plastic case, an edge of the map is also marked with pin-pricked holes. She proceeds to the next control, choosing the route which she

estimates she can travel most swiftly and accurately. Occasionally she may "get lost" as orienteers often do, in that she becomes uncertain how her position corresponds with the map, although she may know the general area she is in. Time spent regaining "contact" with her map is a common occurrence, especially for the novice. If the orienteer becomes completely lost, she can give up the course and blow her whistle or go to the "safety bearing", usually a road to which the compass may be easily oriented and followed. When she has been to all the controls she proceeds to the finish line, and the finishing official immediately writes the exact time on her control card. The official then checks the punch configurations to make sure they are all correct, and then puts the card on display with the other control cards, for the viewing of all participants. After all or most people have finished the meet, an informal "post-mortem" takes place, when they compare their route choices and results, and discuss the accuracy and quality of the map and route. Sometimes this continues into a potluck supper or lunch at a nearby pub.

After the meet is over, the club and the competitors may create further records of it. The club makes notes concerning the competitive statistics of all participants in the meet. (OABC has tried and is again attempting to establish a form for recording these, because it has to report on meets to COF, but clubs have not been very consistent in sending in their results to date.) Meet results for all A meets are recorded in the

newsletter. The competitors also keep records, ranging from making notes (perhaps on the back of the map) on their time and some other competitors' times, to drawing in the route they actually took between each control on the map, to keeping "training logs" or diaries, recording all kinds of specific details.²⁸ The competitive records of orienteers, in whatever form, are kept throughout each year, and qualify them for appropriate levels of participation in championships, as well as membership in the "national squad" (for which the COF has responsibility and keeps the records).

Training and certification covers a range of sub-activities which vary in their formality. A group of orienteers may go into the woods with a map or a special training map (marked only with contours and water) and conduct various training exercises, testing one another's navigational skills informally. But in orienteering there are also certified coaches and "recreation instructors" who have more advanced systems of training, especially for a "Junior Participation Program" involving badges for various levels of achievement, as well as provincial team training, and they compile reports on their activities. Correspondence is created regarding these training events, and they are announced in fixtures lists, flyers, and the grant applications and reports to government. Clinics are regularly held to teach mapping skills, meet organizing, and coaching, and certificates are awarded for achievement in these areas.

²⁸ OABC 1:2(a).

IV

Three issues remain to be discussed regarding the records of OABC: the role of officials in their creation, the filing systems, and the attitudes and practices which exist concerning records preservation.

While participating in meets is something everybody in OABC does, and general meetings and training events are widely attended, the administrative activities of OABC are conducted mainly by officials. At the club level the specific role of each such position is blurred, but at the provincial level it is respected much more closely. Greg Gillis stated that his duties include supervising all the work of OABC, scheduling executive meetings, being a liaison with the other provincial sport governing bodies, the provincial government sport consultant, and COF, as well as communicating regularly with the clubs by means of correspondence and reports, to shape policy, to find a successor, and to keep the association alive and active.²⁷ The constitution also states that, along with the treasurer, the president has signing power for all contracts and financial records. The secretary's role is described very well by the 1988 Secretary's Report to the AGM:

Generally my job included OABC mailouts (preparing, copying, folding, stuffing, labelling, mailing), updating mail lists [with the membership co-ordinator] ... mailouts for other clubs, keeping track of mailouts, answering phone or mail requests by mailing information and phoning, collecting the mail and distributing to appropriate persons, setting up

²⁷ OABC 1:1(a), 1:2(b), and 1:3.

meetings with the Government Consultant and with executive, preparing agendas, preparing and distributing the minutes, events scheduling and preparation of flyers, preparation with the Treasurer of government funding grant applications and annual report, ordering supplies, preparation of the Planning meeting, and who knows what else??!28

The treasurer deals with all the financial affairs, such as paying bills, supplying cheques for OABC needs, preparing budgets and financial statements, keeping the accounts, and arranging audits. Other officials in OABC have specific roles effectively described by their titles: newsletter editor, mapping co-ordinator, and so on.

The main characteristic of OABC's filing system is the fact that ever since the cupboard for semi-active and inactive records was moved from Sport BC to Peter Cawley's basement, and probably even before that to some extent, the files of each official are kept in the home or work-place of each successive holder of this position, and never brought together with the other OABC files. Officials are completely free to cull or rearrange their files, and little notice may be taken if they fail to hand their files on to their successors. A new filing system may be devised by each holder of a position; Greg Gillis' predecessor received his predecessor's records so late that he had already begun his own filing system, and he simply kept the previous records separate and ignored them; Gillis in turn found his predecessor's system

²⁸ A printed copy of this report is stored "loose", that is, not in a file folder, in the OABC president's box of records.

"bizarre" and started yet another system.²⁹ Thus, which records are kept and how is a matter hard to assess, being closely related to the many personalities involved in running OABC over the years, some of whom kept every last receipt and letter, while others saw very few records as being useful in the long run. A file box of past president's records which Greg Gillis keeps on his living room floor contains files with the following labels:

- correspondence
- pre- '87 business
- Outdoor Rec[reation] Council
- technical
- APOC [Asia Pacific Orienteering Championships]
- Alberta, juniors, badge, etc.
- Alb[erta] meet flyers
- sport recognition
- potential members
- insurance
- constitution
- program dev[elopment] plan
- from D.F. [a past president]
- to deal with Sat[urday] 2 April
- articles for president's letter
- planning, executive

The box also contains a number of loose papers. Gillis keeps his current files on his kitchen table, and also gives some of the records he creates and receives to the secretary, who keeps a drawer of OABC records at her work-place.³⁰

As the reader can gather from this description of the filing system, records preservation is not a high priority for most OABC officials or members, and the records under the control of the few who do care represent only a small part of the OABC "fonds".

²⁹ OABC 1:2(a).

³⁰ Ibid.

The first OABC president kept "virtually everything ... in three-ring binders complete with photos of events, newspaper clippings, maps from events ... three boxes worth".³¹ Greg Gillis says he throws away about 90 percent of the records he generates as the current OABC president, saving mainly minutes, copies of all correspondence and applications to government, and non-routine incoming correspondence.³² As newsletter editor, Peter Cawley discards all items after he has used them. When he was president, Cawley attempted to organize all the past files, but some important ones were missing.

I think those are in the hands of people who at one time or another attempted to do that job, and if we put a call out we could probably retrieve a lot of it, but those things do tend to go. What we're great in, we have our old maps and we have all that sort of business. You can see we're not [oriented to] the business of our organization.

The maps are stored in tubes and a large blueprint box on top of the cabinet of OABC records in Cawley's basement, and include mylar originals and printed copies of most of the maps OABC has had printed over the years. Cawley, a trained librarian, makes a practice of donating copies of every map to a couple of map libraries (and of every newsletter to the National Library of Canada).³³ However, it should be observed that the maps preserved in libraries are not marked with the routes used at

³¹ OABC 2(a). Photographs are not taken or used on a regular basis by OABC these days, although they have been used in newsletters and pamphlets.

³² OABC 1:2(b).

³³ OABC 2(a); this also refers to the preceding quotation.

various meets; such maps, which are true originals, are the personal property of participants, and may or may not be also preserved permanently by the officials and clubs which hosted these meets.

There is some interest among OABC members and officials in preserving the history of the association. An orienteer who lives in the Kootenays has collected together some of the earliest records and is planning to write a history of OABC.³⁴ Greg Gillis is very supportive of such an idea, partly because he believes that after a history has been written, the inactive records could be discarded. The records of a defunct club have come into his hands, and he is very pleased with their completeness as compared to those of his own club, although he has mixed feelings about encouraging other clubs to do the same; "if everybody started keeping books like this we could fill an apartment with just club histories". But Gillis decries the practice of one club official he knows:

he's taken ruled paper, writes on it by hand, and staples it together, and carries it around in a pocket. So it's all frayed and wrinkled, and that's gonna get tossed in the garbage [someday].³⁵

Gillis feels that better records-keeping and preservation, as well as a central repository for the records, would lead to better funding, improved meet planning, and a general ability to

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ OABC 1:3.

"learn from history". Others in OABC appear to feel the same way he does, however none of them has acted upon this feeling.³⁶

While both interviewees had some idea of the nature of archives and archival repositories, neither believed that archivists would take much interest in the records of OABC. They felt that only other orienteers would care about the history of orienteering in British Columbia. Peter Cawley thought that the British Columbia Museum of Sports might take the OABC records, but this is not likely to happen because that institution is geared to mainstream sports and memorabilia.³⁷ Greg Gillis stated that if OABC were to fold during his tenure, he would send the records in his custody to COF, but both he and Cawley observed that most of OABC's records would languish in the basements of past officials.³⁸

³⁶ OABC 1:1(a), 1:2(b), and 1:3.

³⁷ OABC 2(a).

³⁸ OABC 1:3 and 2(a).

CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHIVAL ACQUISITION OF THE RECORDS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The central issues to be considered here are whether archival repositories should acquire the records of voluntary associations, and if so, which repositories should preserve the records of which associations, and finally, how they should go about acquiring these records.

I

This thesis has shown that voluntary associations are significant to the communities which archival repositories are mandated to serve; that society has entrusted to archivists the responsibility of preserving its records to the best of their ability; and that there is grave danger of loss of the records of the many associations which lack the resources and initiative to preserve their own archives. These three facts demonstrate that archival repositories should acquire the records of voluntary associations.

II

The problem of which repositories should acquire which records is a complicated one, and while it mostly relates to individual repositories, it should be considered first in terms of the entire archival community.

It is natural and usual for an archivist to consider acquisition mainly in terms of her or his own repository, but society is best served if archivists take a more general approach. If the archival community takes responsibility for all the records of the society it serves, the resulting acquisition plan can move logically from the general to the particular, with clear and harmonious decisions being made about which repositories should acquire which records. This would benefit not only voluntary associations but also other organizations.

When acquisition policy is considered in terms of the individual repository, the principle of complementarity comes to the fore. Blinkhorn has argued that questions of provenance and pertinence lead the archivist astray when considering an artist's work,¹ and the same can be said of voluntary associations. These questions place a false emphasis upon the finished work of art in the case of artists, and tempt the archivist to consider the association in terms of where it has had influence and effect instead of where it has operated in the case of voluntary associations. For example, one "final product" of MADD's labours is altered government legislation, and MADD has achieved this alteration at both the provincial level and the national level. The national effect the association has had might lead some archivists to argue that its records should be preserved by a national repository, but this is a false direction to take,

¹ Blinkhorn, 112-116.

because most of MADD's operations have occurred within one province.²

Blinkhorn states that:

the principle of complementarity dictates for a repository to acquire only those organic groups of records for which the repository itself or other institutions in the area have supporting sources, primary or secondary. Of course, this principle is valid also in the case of acquisition by repositories having a territorial jurisdiction or an institutional acquisition function.³

Based on the principle of complementarity, the repository of an institution with which a voluntary association has especially strong links is the most appropriate place for its records to be preserved. This way, the association's records will complement the related records of the repository's sponsoring institution. A business archives may preserve the records of a charity, foundation, or soccer team which was either a component or a beneficiary of the business. A university archives should preserve the records of all the student societies of that university, as well as those of the Faculty Club, University Women's Club, and so on. A government archives should preserve the records of associations which have been heavily influenced and financed by that government.

² The fact that MADD is, at least nominally, a national-level organization is a better reason for its records to be preserved at the national level, but this does not alter the inadequacy of the justification offered above.

³ Blinkhorn, 116.

Many government-sponsored archives are also mandated to acquire the records of significant organizations and agencies which have no direct links with that government, so in the absence of other appropriate repositories, the records of many voluntary associations may be acquired by a government archives at the appropriate level. For example, the records of OABC could be acquired by the British Columbia Archives and Records Service, and the records of COF by the National Archives of Canada. The government hierarchy of local, provincial, and national levels is often mirrored in the structure of voluntary associations, but archivists cannot blindly assume that the records of associations belong at the corresponding levels of government repositories. For example, a local club of OABC may produce very few administrative records, and these may be so closely tied to the records of OABC itself that they are meaningless if kept separate. These records should be preserved with the OABC records at the British Columbia Archives and Records Service. This is not necessarily true of all the clubs of OABC; some of them may have great independence and good records-keeping practices, and their records should perhaps be preserved at local municipal archives.

In the event that the association is large and wealthy enough to sponsor its own archival repository, this naturally usurps the rights and responsibilities of all other repositories to acquire its records.

The direct acquisition of the records of voluntary associations by existing archival repositories is only one solution to the need for improved acquisition and preservation of these records. Three other possibilities are: the creation of special councils or committees to keep track of voluntary associations and oversee the preservation of their records; the creation of a consortium of voluntary associations aimed at better records preservation; and the creation of special archives. These approaches are not mutually exclusive, and indeed would be most effective if they were practiced concurrently and co-operatively.

The creation of special councils or committees concerned with the records of one type of records creator is not a new idea; in Great Britain there is a Business Archives Council, and in New York a Physics Institute, both of which keep registries of records creators and regularly intervene when the creator dies, directing her, his, or its records to the most appropriate repository. The North American archival community could use these as models for establishing permanent local, provincial, and national committees concerned with the records of voluntary associations. These committees would be led by archivists, but should also have interested researchers and representatives from voluntary associations among their membership. They would be charged with maintaining an exhaustive registry of all voluntary associations within their territories. Using this registry, such a committee would keep track of an

association and, when and if it ceases operations, make contact with the retiring officials and encourage them to direct their records to the most appropriate repository. Ideally, the committee would maintain regular contact with the voluntary associations in its area and encourage good records management practices among them. This will not only improve the chances of repositories receiving complete and well-ordered "fonds", but also make it more likely that associations will choose to place their records in archival repositories.

The concept of a consortium of associations is also a constructive one. Such a consortium would be composed of representatives from all the voluntary associations of a particular area, or perhaps of one type of association (for example, sports associations), as well as advisors from the archival community. The consortium would concentrate the modest resources which most associations have for records-keeping, and use them to rent or purchase some office and/or storage space. This space could be used to hold and work on current records, to store semi-active records, and/or to store inactive records in lieu of donating them to an archival repository. In other words, the consortium could decide for itself whether to pool resources to create a shared office, records centre, or archival repository --or all three, if possible. The resources might also be found to hire a secretary, archivist or records manager to care for the records in this space. Whatever is decided, the preservation of all the records of the associations involved will be improved.

OABC, as has been mentioned, once benefitted from a similar arrangement overseen by Sport BC. There are successful consortiums of municipalities in Europe which share archival repository space.

The final possibility is the creation of special archival repositories for voluntary associations. These could, as implied above, be sponsored by the associations themselves. The archival community at large should work hard to find sponsorship for such repositories, particularly from government. The need for such repositories exists even when government-sponsored repositories are willing to acquire the records of voluntary associations, because the records of voluntary associations must always come second to those of a repository's parent institution. Returning to the concept of an archival community serving society at large, the importance of a particular type of organization to society should obviously be reflected in the priorities of the archival community. A type of organization which proves significant, as has the voluntary association, should be allocated ample resources. Even if government institutions are considered more important to society than voluntary associations, voluntary associations should not be consistently neglected by the archival community in favour of them.

Special repositories mandated to acquire the records of voluntary associations, whoever sponsors them, can be created or adapted. Many repositories with good resources, but vague or theoretically unsound mandates, could be made more purposive by

redirecting their aims to a certain type of organization. For example, the component of a university archives which presently collects a variety of provincially relevant records could focus on economic associations in the province, especially if it already has extensive holdings of union records. If the repository is especially created, it can take a similar focus, depending on its resources and the existence of other repositories with mandates which must be respected. A repository could be mandated to acquire the records of all types of voluntary associations in a province or state, or only the records of political action associations in that region, or only the records of voluntary associations in a given municipality.

When a special repository is established, it should negotiate with existing repositories to find its appropriate niche. Some repositories may be pleased to narrow their scope and place some of their responsibilities in the hands of a new repository. If none of the local repositories is specifically mandated to acquire the records of voluntary associations, the special repository should meet with little opposition. However, some local repositories are likely to have a policy of accepting such records on an irregular basis; in this case, the new special repository will need to convince them to cease this policy. If at all possible, those records of voluntary associations already in the holdings of existing repositories should be transferred to the new repository whose mandate encompasses them. Archivists involved in establishing a special repository should bear in

mind, however, that they will only receive respect and co-operation from other repositories if they earn it through high standards of archival practice, and by proving their stability, both of which take time.

III

The final issue relating to the acquisition of the records of voluntary associations is the manner in which acquisition should proceed. The strategy proposed here is tailored to the two associations studied in this thesis, but can be adapted for the acquisition of the records of other associations also.

Acquisition should begin with the first step of appraisal. Following Hans Booms' theories, archivists can analyse the place of voluntary associations in society, discovering in what ways they are valuable or significant, "essential and characteristic". This can be accomplished with the help of an advisory committee working for a set period, as Booms suggests.⁴ This committee could be the same one suggested earlier in this chapter, with the central purpose of registering and monitoring voluntary associations. In addition, a repository -- in conjunction with the advisory committee -- could sponsor an exploratory study of voluntary associations in its community, using records-survey style questionnaires and/or in-depth case studies. Co-operation among archivists and repositories throughout North America would be invaluable for the task of evaluation; once a set of good analyses of voluntary associations has been made by and for

⁴ Booms: 69-107.

archivists, they can be shared and used to build acquisition strategies for all archival repositories. This work should benefit from an understanding of the nature of voluntary associations in general. The functional typology of voluntary associations outlined in this thesis should also be helpful, if only in ensuring that no particular type of association is ignored by archivists.

When a particular voluntary association's records have been targeted by an archival repository as appropriate for acquisition, one archivist should be assigned to contact the association. This archivist should approach the association by making an appointment with one of its senior officials. At this appointment, and throughout the whole proceedings, the archivist should maintain an approach which is caring (the members of an association are involved because they care about it, and will avoid the influence of persons who do not), informal (the usual style of activities within the association), forthright (to engender trust), and flexible (voluntary associations are extremely variable). If the attentions of the archivist are accepted, he or she may then make an ethnographic study of the association on a scale which reflects the repository's resources and its knowledge base about voluntary associations such as the one being studied. This study could involve participant observation and interviews, and be aimed at revealing the mandate, history, structure, and voluntary nature of the association, as well as its relationships with other

organizations, its activities and the records produced in relation to them, the roles of its officials in records creation, its filing systems, and the attitudes and practices towards records preservation within the association. The archivist should pay special attention to the records creation process surrounding central or unusual records, such as OABC's orienteering maps.

The findings of an ethnographic study of a voluntary association may well discourage the archivist. The association may, like OABC, have no office base, and therefore its records may be widely scattered and idiosyncratically cared for. Even if the association, like MADD, has an office and one or more central filing systems, the quality of these systems may not be very high, and good records-keeping may not be a priority for the association. These factors should not deter the archivist from acquisition, because they are not a valid basis on which to omit an organization from the record of society.

Three records-keeping practices of individual members of associations should receive special consideration from the archivist. The first of these is the preservation of personal copies of some of the association's records by members who attach a sentimental value to them. An association such as MADD preserves its original documents at its office, but an association such as OABC may not preserve its originals at all. This brings us to the second type of individual members' records-keeping practice, that is, the preservation of original records

of an association by its members among their personal files, rather than with the other records of the association. The third type of individual members' records are truly personal records, being those created by members of an association in relation to their activities within it, but wholly at their own initiative and for their own purposes. Examples of these are the diaries kept by the treasurer of MADD for herself and its president, and the training logs and other notes on personal performance kept by orienteers participating in OABC meets.

In considering records preserved by individual members of an association, the archivist must first consider whether they add any information essential to the understanding of the association. The records preserved by the association should ideally be adequate in this regard, but it has been shown that this is not so for all associations, and in such cases the records preserved among the personal files of their members may prove invaluable. The archivist who determines that these records are a necessary supplement to the association's "fonds" is faced with a dilemma, whether to acquire the entire "fonds" of the individual who has hitherto preserved these records, or to acquire only those records which relate to the association.

One frequent situation is when the records created in the name of an association are kept by their erstwhile officials and not filed with the other records of the association. Many associations, like OABC, lack office space and therefore store their records in the homes of their members; however, not all of

them make even a nominal practice of having their officials hand records on to their successors. Thus, the president of an association may write and receive voluminous correspondence in its name during his or her tenure, but after that tenure is completed, file this correspondence with his or her unrelated personal records. These records can be easily distinguished from one another using the science of diplomatics,⁵ and diplomatics can also help prove the distinctness of the association's records in such cases, for according to its principles the juridical person in whose name a document is issued or received, as distinct from its writer or individual recipient, is its author. Therefore, those records which were created by the association itself, and preserved among the personal files of an individual member, should certainly be considered for preservation by a repository which has taken responsibility for the records of the association, regardless of whether the remainder of these personal files are acquired and preserved or not.

When original records of an association have been preserved by an individual member of it, they cannot automatically be replaced among the other files of the association, as if they had never been removed. Such replacement should be thoroughly documented in the inventory and on notes accompanying the records themselves, so that the researcher will be able to clearly distinguish these records. This is necessary because their

⁵ Diplomats is the study of the creation and forms of archival documents.

authenticity is suspect, since custody has been broken, and also because their absence may have altered the operations of the association in some important way, and their presence may therefore create a false impression for the researcher of the records-keeping practices and history of the association.

Documents and files which are merely copies of records created and received by an association, made and preserved by individual members, belong to those members. However, unless altered after copying, they are at least as relevant in relation to the records of the association as in relation to the personal files they have been preserved among. This is not to say that these records have an existence independent of any "fonds", in fact, it could be debated that they can only be fully understood if both the individual's "fonds" and the association's "fonds" are preserved. The records should remain in the "fonds" of the individual, but if their originals are missing from the association's files, "microfilms of complement" should be made of them, and they should be described together with the other records in the inventory of the association's "fonds", accompanied by a thorough explanation of their custodial history.

The third type of records preserved by individual members of an association are those which are truly personal records of their own activities in relation to the association. These are clearly part of the individual's "fonds" and the association's "fonds" has no claim to them. The repository which holds the association's "fonds" may, if it deems these records valuable

enough, acquire the "fonds" of the relevant individual on the basis of the principle of complementarity; in other words, this "fonds" is relevant to the repository's mandate because it complements some of its other holdings. However, most of the records of such a "fonds" may possess a low value for the repository, too low to justify expending resources on them. In such a case it may be legitimate to copy these documents and treat them as single items, not archival records, that is, to microfilm the relevant files and describe them in the inventory of the association's "fonds" as bibliographic material, as well as explaining their origins.

If the repository does acquire, for whatever reason, the records of a member of an association as well as the records of the association itself, and if these records are related to one another, then cross-references should be provided in their inventories, but the records must be kept separate in accordance with the principle of "respect des fonds".

Now that this digression on the matter of the records of individual members of an association has been dealt with, it is possible to return to the central issue of acquiring the records which the association has preserved for itself.

Once the archivist has researched an association, she or he should know on what terms to ask the association to donate its inactive records to the archival repository. An emphasis on posterity would have most effect on an association such as MADD, while the satisfaction of having its records in an accessible,

safe place may be the factor which persuades an association like OABC. The donation is also influenced by the relationship between the archivist and the association, and the internal dynamics of the executive body which must make the donation decision. Acquisition might be legitimately postponed or prevented if the association is not ready to part with any of its records, or if the archivist feels that a transfer is not yet advisable.

The main goal of the archivist engaged in acquisition is to ensure the preservation of those records which are important to society, and which his or her repository is mandated to care for. If it is possible for records to be preserved and made accessible without being placed in the custody of the repository, then there is no need to actually acquire them. The association has every right to keep its own records indefinitely, and if it chooses to do so the archivist's role is to encourage satisfactory records preservation standards. Large, important associations can be urged to request government assistance to employ an archivist/records-manager, in lieu of the tax exemptions they might receive if they donated their records to a repository.

Because of the association's own preferences, and the fact that it will continue to create more records as long as it exists, once an agreement for acquisition of the association's records by a repository has been reached, the archivist should draw up a transfer of custody agreement. This contract should specify that in the event of the closure of the association, all

its records would be transferred (by donation or purchase) to the archival repository. This is an especially important point for voluntary associations which exist for a brief period and die abruptly, as their records will survive only by chance or with the help of a vigilant archivist. If the association agrees, the contract should also specify that transfers of inactive records to the repository will occur at regular intervals, such as when new officials are elected.

Archivists can ensure the preservation of the records of voluntary associations not only through contracts with them but also through outreach programmes. In this, as well as the other acquisition work, committees concerned with voluntary associations and consortiums of associations could be of great assistance. Together with the archivists, they can try to raise voluntary association's awareness about such things as the existence and role of archival repositories, the significance of the associations' records, and the benefits of using simple records management techniques. Outreach can take the form of public speaking, workshops, pamphlets, and letters, all aimed specifically at voluntary associations. An association which takes notice of the advisory committee outreach messages will be encouraged to improve its records-keeping practices and to approach the committee or relevant repository for assistance, or to join a consortium of associations as described above. As voluntary associations become more concerned about the preservation of their records,

the repository can unite with them to create better facilities for this purpose.

The archival repository's outreach to voluntary associations should be conducted at a certain distance, for the archivist who becomes over-involved with a particular association is in danger of misspending his or her repository's resources, and of taking on the viewpoint of an insider or a researcher, thus losing the objective stance an archivist needs.

The approach to acquisition of the records of voluntary associations outlined in this chapter is admittedly idealistic. In order to conduct all the work suggested, the typical North American repository would have to radically alter its approach to the acquisition of non-institutional records, which presently tends to occur unsystematically and with an emphasis on the records of defunct organizations. However, many archivists on this continent have been actively attempting to improve their repositories in every conceivable way, and they are meeting with success despite their limited resources. If they acknowledge the importance of voluntary associations to the society they serve, North American archivists will find a way to acquire and preserve their records more effectively. Further research will be needed, but the study conducted for this thesis and the approach suggested here was meant to provide a valid starting point.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has had one central purpose: to establish a basis for a system of archival acquisition of the records of voluntary associations by the North American archival community. In order to accomplish this purpose, it was necessary to study the nature of voluntary associations and their records-keeping practices, to examine archival practices and theories which have been and could be applied to the acquisition of the records of associations, and to develop a tentative acquisition plan.

Ethnography was the methodology chosen for the primary research of this thesis, and it effectively revealed a great deal about the records-keeping practices of two voluntary associations. As a qualitative approach, it achieved a good depth of understanding of these associations, although the breadth of data made possible by quantitative studies could not be achieved. Both qualitative and quantitative studies have advantages and disadvantages, and can build upon one another; it may be useful for the archival community to distribute a questionnaire to a sample of voluntary associations someday, for example, and the present study could inform the creation of such a questionnaire.

Before the results of the ethnographic research were discussed, this thesis provided a descriptive study of voluntary associations in general, presenting several general

characteristics of this type of organization. Voluntary associations have a democratic nature and often take an active role in the democratic functions of the nations they operate in. They are dynamic and have a typical life cycle which sometimes includes developing into other types of organizations important to society, and they occur in several different functional types, none of which should be overlooked by archivists. Voluntary associations have a complex network of relationships with other organizations, especially with government, another factor which weaves them tightly into the fabric of society.

The next area of inquiry in this thesis was about the records of voluntary associations, that is, how they are kept by the associations themselves and later by archivists. There was disappointingly little published information available on these concerns, but that little clearly indicated a neglect of the records, both by the associations and by archivists. Archival theory also appeared unsatisfactory at first, since not much of it applied to the acquisition of records of voluntary associations, but the ideas of Hans Booms provided excellent guidance for developing a system of acquisition.

Following these discussions, a description of the results of the ethnographic research was embarked upon. Considerable information had been gathered about two associations, presenting an overview of their aims, structure, history, relationships, activities, and records. Although quite different, both associations conformed to the general nature of voluntary

associations. MADD, the association which had a permanent leader, staff, daily activities, and an office, demonstrated better records-keeping practices than OABC, which had an ever-changing set of officials, operated mainly on weekends, and lacked office space. Both had a history of filing systems which changed according to the tastes of incoming officials, and experienced frequent difficulty locating particular files. Both associations made a special practice of preserving the records of their relations with government, and also of some other records which they perceived as important, but neither had any apparent knowledge of records management techniques. Both had officials who cared about the history of their associations, and who expressed regret over the loss of many records, but who were not sure how to effect an improvement in the situation. Neither association had clear plans about preserving its records against present hazards or future dissolution of the association. Even those officials who knew what an archival repository was did not believe it would take an interest in their files, which they envisioned being preserved in their private homes and perhaps in libraries, if at all.

After this descriptive study had been made, it became possible to present several proposals. It was suggested that voluntary associations warrant consideration from archivists engaged in acquisition, and that this consideration should be viewed as a responsibility of the entire archival community rather than of each repository alone. Respecting the principle

of complementarity, a new system of acquisition should utilize existing repositories, special committees, a consortium of associations, and new repositories specially created to ensure the preservation of the records of voluntary associations.

Each archival repository should analyse the role and significance of voluntary associations within its jurisdiction. The core of this approach to acquisition is choosing to acquire the records of particular associations on the basis of their significance to society; after this is done, an archivist should diplomatically approach the association, if expedient to learn about it using the ethnographic approach followed in this thesis, and arrange for better preservation of the records by the association, as well as eventual acquisition of these records by the repository. Community outreach aimed at voluntary associations is also encouraged.

While these proposals, taken together, create an acquisition strategy of some substance, more research is needed in order to develop a comprehensive strategy which is both detailed and widely applicable. As mentioned earlier, not only are further qualitative studies such as the ones undertaken here needed, but also quantitative ones could be useful. Such studies need not encompass every voluntary association, for once a representative number have been completed, they can be applied to the records of other associations with some confidence. Certain aspects of records-keeping practices could be delved into more closely; for examples, it would be useful to study some associations at all

levels of their hierarchy, to discover what happens to the records of a branch or club which disbands while other parts of the association survive, and to learn more about the practices of note-taking and preserving such notes.

Some of the methods and findings of this thesis and other studies related to it could be well applied to other types of organizations as well, for archival repositories can benefit from improving their acquisition practices regarding all types of records creators.

This thesis has suggested an ideal course of action for improving archival acquisition of the records of voluntary associations which may or may not prove practicable; whatever the case, it has provided a foundation which future researchers and archivists can build upon.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEWS ON TAPE

Five interviews were recorded as part of the research for this thesis, all on cassette tapes using a Realistic CTR-51 machine with an external microphone; the details are given below. In accordance with the guidelines of the Ethics Committee of UBC, pseudonyms are used for all informants. The interviews are referred to in the body of this thesis according to: the acronym of each association; the number of the interview (1 through 3); the number of the tape, where applicable (for example, three tapes were used for one of the interviews); and the letter of the side of the tape (a or b) from which the reference or quotation is taken, where applicable (some tapes are recorded on one side only). For example, MADD 2:1(b) signifies the second interview with an official of MADD, the second side of the first tape.

MADD 1 -- secretary, Nancy Carr -- sixty minutes recorded on both sides of one 60-minute tape, March 23rd, 1989, in New Westminster. [ref.: MADD 1(a), 1(b)]

MADD 2 -- executive director, Greta Scott -- one hour and twenty minutes recorded on three sides of two 60-minute tapes, April 11th, 1989, in New Westminster. [ref.: MADD 2:1(a), 2:1(b), 2:2]

MADD 3 -- treasurer, Helen Nichols -- forty minutes recorded on both sides of one 60-minute tape, April 11th, 1989, in New Westminster. [ref.: MADD 3(a), 3(b)]

OABC 1 -- president, Greg Gillis -- two and a half hours recorded on five sides of two 60-minute tapes and one 90-minute tape, April 1989, in Vancouver. [ref.: OABC 1:1(a), 1:1(b), 1:2(a), 1:2(b), 1:3]

OABC 2 -- newsletter editor, Peter Cauley -- one hour recorded on both sides of one 90-minute tape, April 1989, in Vancouver. [ref.: OABC 2:(a), 2(b)]