REVIEWING THE DEPARTMENT OF MANPOWER AND IMMIGRATION COLLECTION: A CASE STUDY ON ITEM-LEVEL DESCRIPTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS IN GOVERNMENT ARCHIVES, MRP.

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Abstract

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This MRP explores the need for item-level descriptions for a collection of twelve photographs of Yugoslavian immigrants held in the Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection, government documents section, Library and Archives Canada. Drawing on archival theory and the history of governmental photography in Canada, it argues that such descriptions help to properly contextualize the photographs as performative, visual records of immigrants and thus help situate photography's role in Canadian immigrant history. Exploring the history of the collection to which the images belong, the MRP shows how images produced to promote successful immigrant integration into post-War Canada, can be understood as a more historically nuanced and valuable collection. Focusing on power relationships formed during accession practices within archival spaces, it also addresses the unintentional information provided by the prints and how it has been ignored during record creation to describe the departmental function of the photographs.

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1. Introduction

The popular history of Canadian immigration has often been dominated by a French or British lens until the pluralism movement of the 1950s when the large rise in immigration would force the Canadian government to bring a formal end to racist immigration policies in 1962.[1] Mid-century Canada would experience an influx of refugees from various ethnic backgrounds, particularly Eastern and Southern Europeans, seeking asylum following the upheavals of World War Two. The postwar period saw new economic, socio-cultural and humanitarian goals set by the Canadian government with an emphasis on national economic benefits from new immigrants.[2]

This paper offers a historical perspective on the larger context of immigration and national sentiment in mid-twentieth century Canada by analyzing the representation of Eastern European immigrant-settlers in the Yugoslavian and agriculture-based archival records from the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. This collection, located at Library and Archives Canada (LAC), was created by the Canadian government to demonstrate the labour value of new immigrants in a growing post-war economy and growing multiculturalism in Canada including governmental policies that encouraged multicultural tolerance.

The purpose of this is to demonstrate the benefit of the item-level description approach by analyzing and contextualizing photographs of Yugoslavian immigrants that are now archived as government records of LAC. Current government records are described with macro-appraisal that is only concerned with representing the governance of a department such as the

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[1] Bumsted, J. M. *A History of the Canadian Peoples.* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2011), 375
[2] Parai, Louis, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1962-74," *The International Migration Review* 9, no.4 (Winter,1975): 451.

functioning elements of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Unlike the public sector, which includes governmental objects outside of official departmental records, the private sector looks at specialized media, like photographs, at their item-level and the records' relationship to the entire fonds. The private sector's approach provides valuable knowledge as it allows the prints to be contextualized by archivists and accessible to researchers, but also draws attention to how photographs are used as government records.

Through an in-depth analysis of a series of images in the collection, I argue that the photographs in my case study can help us better understand their role as cultural objects by exploring their mobility and ubiquity in a manner that cannot be addressed at a macro-appraisal level. Using item-level descriptions on this collection will allow for prints to exist as photographic records with their own history and not be consumed by the generalization provided at a macro-level. As such, my approach is to make these photographs accessible at the item-level and to help develop their rich contextual history for researcher consideration. My approach will mimic LAC's private arrangement and description that looks to link item-level records which describe different medias and formats, to the overall scope of the fonds. I intend to present this as part of the answer to the question of how an archive should remain transparent to researchers in its history-telling without affecting the integrity of the collection.

In the case of my research, using a photo-historical lens to analyze and describe twelve prints from the Department of Manpower and Immigration will contribute to the appreciation of photographic visual literacy amongst researchers and archivists who work with photo-specific archives. For the purpose of this , I describe a photo-historical lens as a methodology for providing historical context using the function of photography to record societal values and belief systems. It will do so by analyzing their information value as prints, their captions, and how the

contents of the collection act as official visual records of immigration. In this paper, I argue that the archivist can bring new meaning to photographs and increase their historical value through in-depth descriptions. By exploring photographs as government records using this methodology, I aim to challenge the idea of archival records as neutral by confronting the context within which these prints were created and circulated. Lastly, this project will contribute to the building of a historical record for the material within the collection by drawing on its administration and custodial history that are otherwise unaddressed.

In the practical component of this , made up of an excel sheet, I argue that photographs become better available to archivists and the public at item-level descriptions. Typically, item-level descriptions for specialized media, like photographs, are described as "the lowest level of description and the smallest intellectual entity within a fonds useful for descriptive purposes."[3] Item-levels for photographs are linked to a descriptive record, in the case of this they will be linked to the series level.[4] I will demonstrate how item-level description can help to expand on the informational value embedded in these prints and how they act as performative visual records in the space of an archive. My research project applies a private description and arrangement standard to the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection which exists as a government record. By critiquing macro-appraisal methodologies, I call for a more detailed descriptive technique that gives better attention to photographs as active records by exploring the intended informational value and unintended informational value existing within these twelve prints.

1.1 History of Library and Archives Canada (LAC)

Over the past 150 years, the goal of Library and Archives Canada has been to demonstrate the

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[3]Canadian Council of Archives, "Rules For Archival Description*"* (Canada, July 2008), 6.
[4]Canadian Council of Archives, "Rules For Archival Description," 3.

importance of technology, agriculture, arts and industrialization in the formation of a national identity. "To fulfill its mission to preserve government's historical memory, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) must make decisions about the archival or historical value of the information created and maintained by government institutions."[5] This approach includes building on strategies made by archivists who select and preserve objects of national importance; being a source of enduring knowledge accessible to all; contributing to the cultural, social and economic advancement of Canada as a free and democratic society; and facilitating cooperation among the communities involved in the acquisition, preservation and diffusion of knowledge.[6]

LAC has a total archives approach to their record making systems. A total archives approach was established to protect documentation from a wide array of themes and media, governmental or public, pertaining to the history of Canada. The intent is to represent the history of Canada as a mosaic within their departmental histories. Records are acquired through Government transfer of information worth retaining for posterity as well as records that have significant historical documentation of Canada, created by individuals, organizations, or businesses.

The private sector of LAC handles private organizations and bodies of work from individuals, whereas the government sector strictly deals with departmental records including administrators and policymakers. This division between "government" and "private" is kept within the same institution. Records may overlap in terms of themes, individuals and cultural significance but are

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[5]Archives Canada, "Library and Archives Canada, Code of Conduct: Values and Ethics," Library and Archives Canada, April 9, 2019,
https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/about-us/Pages/code-conduct-value-ethics.aspx.
[6]Archives Canada, "A Brief History of the LAC Macro-Appraisal Methodology for Government Records," Library and Archives Canada, June 29, 2017,
https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/government-information-resources/disposition/Pages/macroappraisal-methodology.aspx.

perceived differently as the government section strictly represents governance in Canada while private responsibilities extend to individuals, artists, organizations, etc.

This disconnection effects inclusivity in the archive as ownership of objects impacts the extent of description in their arrangement on either the government or private side. The decision to challenge regulated standards such as specialized media begins by creating more accessible material that allows for community participation. Archivists on both the private and government sides of LAC are actively engaging with and examining documents belonging to or representing Indigenous communities, most famously in the collaborative researcher and community-driven *Project Naming*.[7] These interventions have challenged previous colonial narratives and opened up new ways to understand photographs and archives as interactive and ongoing developments - beginning with their context of creation, arrangement and description, the archivist's role as record maker and record keeper, and the photographs' relationship to other disciplines. However, the conversations surrounding other collections with similar ties to the colonialist narrative are pending.

LAC uses Rules for Archival Description (RAD) as a universal standard. The first edition for the RAD was presented in 1990.[8] Since then, there have been a number of revisions to the first edition to increase standardization of archival descriptions and accessibility in Canadian institutions. RAD remains a backbone for record creation at LAC to enforce commonality between records and databases. Outside of physical arrangement standards, RAD offers appropriate authority taxonomy for records including those pertaining to specialized media. The cultural and historic value of a photograph may expand the context of its creation, as such many

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[7]Library and Archives Canada, *Project Naming.* Canada, 2019.
[8]Ibid., xiii.

institutions approach RAD with a flexible attitude to fit the needs of their archivists, materials and audiences.

1.2 Archiving Standards at LAC

I reflect on the guideline for macro-appraisal methodology to understand the full functionality of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. I do so by addressing how the relationship between previous practices and current standard arrangement at LAC governs the system and culture of recording information. Dissecting the evolutionary practices for standard arrangement allows me to make sense of how LAC as an institution functions and to determine their goals for collecting. Additionally, recognizing the decisions for the structure of the original Department of Manpower and Immigration collection provides guidance on how the information of the photographs was expected to interact with researchers. Addressing areas of concern such as the handling of photographs under the umbrella of macro-appraisal methodology provides insight to readers on the expectations of a practicing archivist at LAC. However, it is widely recognized that building detailed standards and rules for archival descriptions are two of the most complex parts of record making that archivists may face. A major obstacle is the availability of staff and resources to focus on the writing of descriptions. For practical reasons, macro-appraisal methodology offsets these areas of concern. The following section makes sense of the practical elements involved in building a description.

MIKAN is LAC's internal cataloguing database. It is "a computer system for searching, creating, and modifying information about archival materials. The name is based on an Algonquin word, meaning "road," "path" or "discovery.""[9] Besides acting as both an internal

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[9]"What Is MIKAN?" Library and Archives Canada Blog, January 15, 2016, https://thediscoverblog.com/2016/01/29/what-is-mikan/.

and front facing database for description management, MIKAN assigns and attaches automatic unique numbers to objects. Although, a MIKAN number is not always represented as the archival reference number. This unique number is essential in locating and retrieving material at LAC. This can be conflicting with older records such as some of those in the Department of Manpower and Immigration who were previously assigned group record numbers.

According to LAC, "the goal of arrangement and description is to make archival holdings as discoverable as possible to the public, and to establish control over LAC's holdings."[10] This is done to promote consistency throughout arrangement and descriptions of government records. There are three stages of control for government records: registration, accession, and performance. The process includes assuming full control over the records; creating a registration record; building accession records; and after physical review, fully arranging and describing the collection at its appropriate level.

Before 1995, government textual archives were arranged at the National Archives by record groups.[11] Record groups relate to a particular subject heading or industry. Following 1995, the National Archive adopted a fonds method of description in accordance to RAD. During this time LAC began to actively convert previous record group descriptions to fonds descriptions.[12] New fonds would be based off the "institution's organizational structure; functions; recordkeeping systems; format or any of these combinations."[13] This system would prove itself useful by making interdepartmental relationships between documents and cultural objects present within

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[10]Ibid., 1.
[11]Ibid., 2.

[12]Ibid., 2.
[13]Ibid., 2.

LAC.

LAC has specific standards for specialized media in their government department to acknowledge that specialized media has its own unique description histories. Prior to 2014, specialized media like photographs, audio visual, art, etc. were managed separately from textual government records, meaning that if material found under the umbrella of specialized media appeared in a textual file, they would be pulled from the file and transferred to the previous specialized media unit.

LAC no longer uses this standard as it damages the integrity of the collection. A consequence of this standard was the duplication of arrangements and descriptions created in government fonds. Currently,"specialized media and digital records should be arranged and described with associated textual, non-digital records, bearing in mind that there are specific considerations for arrangement and description of specialized media and digital material"[14]

The guidelines for arrangement and description in the private archives branch also focuses on the integrity of the fonds, accessibility between archivists and the public, and usability of records. The private sector believes that defining standards should be practical but not necessarily absolute or linear. The process includes arrangement, selection, physical processing, description and disposition. A fonds cannot be described until it is arranged. Intellectual arrangement includes provenance, functional origins and record contents. Physical arrangement includes creating containers for records to be processed. The determination of archival value is based on its representation of Canadian society, nationality, and sustainability.

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[14]Ibid., 5.

Following the arrangement are descriptions detailing the relationships between the fonds and the materials found within the fonds. This is usually done very specifically, describing different media and formats. LAC's private arm also deals with the monetary value of objects, not only cultural value. I believe the private approach provides a holistic attitude to historic contextualization of photographs as it takes a funnel approach that details the full collection.

Over the decades, mandates and processing standards have been reviewed and revised at LAC. In my MRP, the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection has been used as an opportunity to open up the conversation of what an archivist's role of interpreting documents and photographs, was and what it has become. Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook argue that the success of the archive is based on the archivists' willingness to accept their position as the mediator or interpreter for record-making and object keeping.[15] An archivist should do this by respecting the integrity of the archive in building a transparent record. Transparency can stem from an explanation of regulated systems, theoretical perceptions applied to the collection during its arrangement, and public accessibility of material. In the case of my research, transparency is given to the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection with an in-depth analysis of its material by emphasizing the history of photography as a practice for recording and drawing on the comparison of other government photobodies. This attitude allows space for reflection and transparency. However, for this to become a successful exercise, the archive must make space for new standards of preserving material. This can be difficult to accomplish at a federal level due to pre-established regulated system. I offer my research as a

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[15]Cook, Terry and Joan M. Schwartz, "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," *Archival Science* 2 (2002):171-185.

part of the ongoing conversation around new standards as a means to reapproach facilities that handle photographs.

1.2.1 Critique of Existing Standards and Interventionist Approaches

The Department of Manpower and Immigration collection was acquired in 1971[16] when the practice of collection's arrangement and standardization fell under the records group method. This is expressed by previous LAC practices of following a specific subject heading. In their current state, LAC government records follow a macro-appraisal approach which takes a very specific method of description for the context of the fonds based on the concept of fonds neutrality through record descriptions.

Macro appraisal was introduced to the National Archives of Canada, now LAC, in 1991. In 1997, LAC reviewed their macro-appraisal methodology to bridge the practical experience garnered by their archivists with theoretical perceptions. Integrating the practical with the theoretical resulted in the new structured standard of appraisal methodology that was brought forward in 2000.[17]

Senior archivist Terry Cook, who acted as the director of appraisal and disposition programme for government records in all media between 1993 to 1998, wrote a two part document available online to describe the fundamentals of macro-appraisal at LAC.[18] *Part A: Appraisal Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional Analysis* and *Part B: Guideline for Performing an*

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[16] 9651, 1958-1960, Box 31 item number 4245, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Library and Archives Canada.

[17] Archives Canada, "A Brief History of the LAC Macro-Appraisal Methodology for Government Records," Library and Archives Canada, June 29, 2017, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/government-information-resources/disposition/Pages/macroappraisal-methodology.aspx.

[18] Archives Canada, "A Brief History of the LAC Macro-Appraisal Methodology for Government Records," https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/government-information-resources/disposition/Pages/macroappraisal-methodology.aspx.

Archival Appraisal on Government Records exist to guide archivists and researchers on the decisions made by government archivists during their appraisal of archival materials relevant to nationhood and the collective memory of Canada.

Part A is described as "an appraisal rationale and methodology for archivists to encourage greater intellectual consistency in records disposition decision-making and in the logic of its explanation and presentation in appraisal reports."[19] Unlike the private sector which focuses on and includes individuals, organizations and or businesses,[20] Government records are departmental records that document government activities and relationships between citizen and state. *Part B* is described as "guidelines for archivists to follow in order to conduct individual appraisal projects, including provision of the elements of an appropriate appraisal research agenda and the basic methodological steps which can be utilized to make records disposition decisions within the context of macro-appraisal."[21]

Some of the goals of macro-appraisal methodology include: accountability "to the Canadian public for its decisions concerning the preservation of archival records about our national history and collective memory for the benefit and use of future generations";[22] to preserve and document the functionality of the government in its role as policy administrator; and, to understand the impact of governmental activities on citizens within the context of governance. The report determines that, "macro-appraisal theory holds that the National Archives (LAC) should only acquire records which document the functions on a government-wide or on an

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[19]Ibid., 1.
[20]Cook, Terry, "Appraisal Methodology: Macro Appraisal and Functional Analysis Part A: Concepts and Theory" (Library and Archives Canada, Summer 2000), 2.
[21]Ibid.,1.
[22]Cook, "Appraisal Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional Analysis Part A: Concepts and Theory," 3.

institution-specific basis from the information created, accumulated or managed by Offices of Primary Interest (OPI)."[23] An OPI is defined by Library and Archives Canada as a "federal government institution -- department, agency, board, office or commission -- to which the authority, responsibility and accountability to perform a particular function on behalf of the Government of Canada has been specifically assigned by legislation, regulation, policy or mandate."[24]

This is explained further in *Part B*, which advises archivists that facilitating research should be the priority of the archivist in their personal projects and the project's place within the bigger role of the archive.[25] The research agenda suggested includes: analyzing record value between informational structural and functional systems; "consulting the structural site of where the most important functions take place;"[26] and, offering accountability and transparency between the Canadian public and decisions of the archivist.

Part B specifically states that "the intention of these guidelines is not to provide archivists with a prescriptive appraisal template which must be rigidly adhered to in all cases, but rather to provide the elements of an appropriate appraisal research agenda and the basic methodological steps which can be utilized to make records disposition decisions within the NA context of macro-appraisal."[27] In doing so these documents were made public to allow accessibility

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[23]Ibid., 6
[24]Archives Canada, "Government Records Disposition: Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs)," Library and Archives Canada, June 29, 2017,
https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/services/government-information-resources/disposition/Pages/faq.aspx.
[25]Cook, Terry. "Appraisal Methodology: Macro Appraisal and Functional Analysis Part B: Guideline for Performing an Archival Appraisal on Government Records" (Library and Archives Canada, Summer 2000), 2.
[26]Cook, "Appraisal Methodology: Macro Appraisal and Functional Analysis Part B: Guideline for Performing an Archival Appraisal on Government Records," 3.
[27]Ibid., 2.

between citizens and the institution so they may understand the preservation choices of archival records at LAC.

Cook acknowledges in his methodology that the approaches of the government sector towards arrangement decisions should compliment the private sector of LAC to succeed in the goal of a "total archives" approach. However, he recognizes in his standards that it is beyond the goal of *Part A*[28] to assess the relationship between government standards and private standards. Furthermore, Cook argues that "in order to preserve a documentary picture of how the government operates in society, macro-appraisal requires archivists to research and analyze functional profiles and administrative structures of government as well as its policies and business programs to identify the nature of the impact these have on individuals and groups."[29] Macro-appraisal methodology is successful in detaching an archivist from the material, and by doing so the general description creates records that describes the main functions and themes of the collection. Moverover, this standard of record making challenges unrealized interpretation faced by archivists when building detailed descriptions.

Macro-appraisal is used to outline the importance, functions and activities of major groups of records. In the case of this , macro-appraisal would be applied to documentation of immigration in government records that describe the story of Canada. As stated before, this is a resource issue for photographs as their informational value is not highlighted when they fall within the file of the Department of Manpower and Immigraiton. It occurs because in considering the images, archivists do not look at them in greater detail to determine how the photograph falls into a larger series. The benefit for macro-appraisal is that it achieves an appraisal of everything

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[28]Ibid., 4.
[29]Ibid., 5.

created by a government body at a higher level. When applied in a holistic manner it enables the identification of all the key functions of the collection. Collections that contain a high volume of textual documents are an example of how macro-appraisal is beneficial to archivists. Appraising textual documents through the macro-appraisal lens shows different types of documents with their total amount often expressed in metres. "At all levels of description, give the linear extent for the unit being described in arabic numerals followed by the phrase of textual records."[30] This allows for researchers to reference and facilitate objects existing within the file. Like Cook states in *Part B*, "archival appraisal and preservation decisions form an essential part of the audit trail which informs the Canadian public about the surviving archival record of government, specifically: what the National Archives has decided to preserve; what the public can expect to find in the current archival records holdings; when records can be expected to be added to the holdings, etc."[31] To sum up, Cook's approach offers a practical lens over an appraisal lens, giving space to available time and resources.

Nevertheless, the concept of value exists in the archivist's understanding of the records' communicative purposes in the scope of Canadian history. Limiting descriptions to a general understanding ignores the possible belief systems that are challenged or asserted in the record, as well as, existing knowledge between represented communities and bureaucratic responsibilities.

I followed methodological approaches from both *Part A* and *Part B* with my focus on identifying the relationship between citizen and state as defined by the functions of department offices. This process included extensive research of the department's history and responsibilities. My

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[30]Ibid., 3-12.
[31]Ibid., 13.

intervention of applying private standards to photographs from the Department of Manpower and Immigration photo collection disrupts macro-appraisal methodologies by challenging the myth of neutral records supported by a generalization of record description. I offer that the photographs' expressive values for national sentiment are experienced at a lower level in the arrangement infrastructure. Additionally, the deconstruction of citizen and state should be described at lower levels to allow photo records to remain active within the bigger scope of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Item-level descriptions offer consideration to the photographs' cultural values that expand beyond bureaucratic influence by describing the portraits of individuals within the collection outside of the department's perceptions of ambiguous figures to a unified nation.

Moreover, macro-appraisal fails to acknowledge the history of the photograph as a material and tool used for recording. Instead, it focuses only on the full record's presentation of governance and assumptions of societal values in the context of appraisal making.[32] As "macro-appraisal shifts the primary focus of appraisal from the record -- including any research characteristics or values it may contain -- to the functional context in which the record is created."[33] Despite that, the functional context does not include a photograph as a tool for documentation or stand-in for the historical record.

Addressing the relationship between archivist and object at an intimate level in the archiving infrastructure makes space for other disciplines to contextualize their relevance to the material. Historical holes in the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection include immigrant relationships to the photographs as spaces of resistance, cultural familiarity and tensions

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[32]Ibid., 4.
[33]Ibid., 7.

formed by nativism.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration is a large collection heavily rooted in other departmental history. Observing the prints of Yugoslavian immigrants within my case study as an example and exploring their multi-readings unlocks the informational potential within the prints outside of their immediate discipline of creation. I accomplish this by drawing out other unintentional information that is valuable to researchers, archives, and the general use of photography in Canada.[34]

One problem in this case study is that in order to give the records the historical background they lack, we must rely on the interpretation of other collections, scholars, archivists, records, etc. by contrasting and comparing other photo bodies that present similar societal values embedded in the photographic material of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The problem therein lies in the fact that historical interpretation is a controversial routine for many archivists that could challenge accuracy of record transcriptions. The conversation of these presented functions contributes to the bigger landscape of the visual literacy of immigration in Canada, through repeated categorizations of peoples demonstrated by the presence of power dynamics in the archival body.

While this situation does not present an absolute neutral record, what it does offer is the existence of other histories and unintentional information embedded within the material's subject matter. On the backend side of MIKAN, archivists are automatically documented in the description when they make any changes to the record. I offer this knowledge to frontend users

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[34]Ibid., 75-95.

to consider relationships and power structures in the archive while digging through collections.

In conclusion, this type of approach makes space for "readings" of images through interdisciplinary lenses which could provide a fuller historical value of the prints ignored by the dominance of national narratives. In the next portion of my paper, I ask how this re-using of photographs as government records to describe many government departments affects the role that archives play in the study of immigration in Canada. Addressing the role of these prints as nationalist tools for immigration helps to extend the discussion of records within archives as neutral by confronting the context in which the prints were created and disseminated, including any biases attached to them. Moreover, this confrontation helps to identify and nuance the informational value present in the descriptions and their arrangement.

1.3. Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection

1.3.1 Immigration Policy in Post-WWII Canada - The Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection

In 1950, a new immigration policy was introduced that required "Canada [to] expand[...] admissible categories of European immigrants to include any healthy individual of good character with needed skills and ability to integrate."[35] This policy change occurred the same year the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was established[36] with the role to administer these policies. In 1951, the Immigration Act reached beyond Europe,[37] but stagnated in 1952 with the stabilization of administrative procedures as the only accomplishment.[38] Reapproaching immigration policies would allow for more immigrants seeking refugee status to

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[35]Bumsted, "Immigration," *A History of the Canadian Peoples*, 374.
[36]Ibid., 374.
[37]Ibid., 374.
[38]Ibid., 374.

be considered eligible as opposed to previous standards which were led by racist ideologies and discrimination towards particular professions. These new policies were reflected in the influx of displaced persons to Canada between 1948 and 1952.[39]

In the 1960s there was a shortage of skilled workers in Canada, which led to "the government prioritizing education and skills over ethnicity."[40] Many of the jobs available to immigrants during this period were seasonal and located in remote and rural areas of Canada.[41] The Canadian government provided little intervention for working immigrants to offset the lack of employment consistency, these duties fell to outside organizations.[42]

The Department of Citizenship and Immigration would evolve into the Department of Manpower and Immigration by 1960. Led by changing economic circumstances and values, the Canadian government would alter its immigration procedures to bring a formal end to blatant racist policies in 1962.[43] The photographs of people in the collection reflect the Department of Manpower and Immigration's interest in displaying Canada in terms of economic success. The collection gives a direct overview of Canada as a pluralistic nation through themes like agricultural labour represented by different working ethnic groups existing within the same image.[44] Changing demographics inspired the federal government to promote bilingualism and multiculturalism, but still with a priority interest in accepting immigrants from developed and European nations.[45] A large sum of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection would be made by the former Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division. An important

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[39]Ibid., 370.
[40]Ibid., 147.
[41]Ibid., 374.
[42]Ibid., 372.
[43]Ibid., 370.
[44]Ibid., 147.
[45]Ibid., 147.

contributing factor to the formation of the collection was that the former Department of Citizenship and Immigration's mandate was to promote cultural tolerance.[46] It provides context to the history of the collection which was previously ignored in the archival records by acknowledging an existing belief system shared between departments and demonstrated by transferred materials.

1.3.2 Collection History

The Department of Manpower and Immigration collection at Library and Archives Canada is comprised of 5,337 black and white silver gelatin prints of new immigrants, labour industries, and immigration services in Canada; all include their accompanying captions which are located on the back of the photograph or organized in a separate file in a box. Photographs within this collection document immigrants, industries and services pertaining to or affected by immigrants, and immigration throughout urban and rural Canada. The metadata from the stamps of studios and stickers of cutlines on the backs of many prints show that these photographs were used to describe the activities of immigrant workers. Supplementary to the photographs' function as government resources, the indication of media studio stamps demonstrates that these photographs were circulated publicly as much as they were issued departmentally. Examples of accredited departments found on the back of images include The National Film Board of Canada (NFB), which produced and reissued photographs within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. Equally, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division can be recognized in the titles of the original cut lines.

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[46]Ibid.,147.

Examples of stamps from external media outlet studios include *The Toronto Star*, *The Montreal Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* newspapers. In many of these cases, photographers were hired by the department or studio to produce images for the Department of Manpower and Immigration. This is important to my research as it demonstrates how the informational value in the photographs of the Department of Manpower and Immigration was appreciated for their existence as resource records for immigrant history in Canada. Acknowledging the informational value of photojournalism brings attention to their public life through their mobility, which otherwise has not been addressed in the official government arrangement.

The government arrangement of the collection is separated in forty-three documented series based on the identified immigrant ethnicities. A series is defined as "the level at which the records of a specific branch, function or recordkeeping unit of an institution reside."[47] Series descriptions include creator information or biography, administrative histories, intellectually linked to corresponding archival material, and have a bilingual equivalent. Moreover, the relationship between prints and captions are organized by a numerical sequencing system.

At some point, there was a decision to divide the collection. Whoever curated the collection did so with the objective to visually represent major Canadian themes and acts of Canadianism. In this situation it was to highlight contributions to the labour force in Canada made by multiple ethnicities as seen by the categories of peoples and portrayal of labour jobs.

Furthermore, the original sequence of the photographs in the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection was changed during the process of preservation and reorganization. It's

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[47]Ibid., 2.

unknown who organized the collection as arrangement documentation is bare. Yet the lack of provenance, custodial history and arrangement description speaks to how this government collection was built within the archive.

Emphasis of the Department of Manpower and Immigration's functionality is demonstrated by the photographs within its collection. This is presented in the arrangement infrastructure on MIKAN which only addresses the duties of the Department of Manpower and Immigration and ignores possible discourse between citizen and state.. As a result, the archive needs to be expanded upon retrospectively to reveal how the rearranging of photographs impacts their recordability.

The context of creation within this government collection is limited to how the Department of Manpower and Immigration saw their records; it does not include other interdisciplinary lenses which are activated outside of their initial creation. The informational value within this collections' description has been stopped at its subject matter. Additionally, the series' separations completely change the historical context in which these items were created. This information is lost unless a researcher were to actively search out the missing stories. The general approach to archiving does not allow for historic blind spots to be revealed. This is not to change the original narrative of the Department of Manpower and Immigration entirely; it is to open up the conversation of photography as a tool for record making and how that history may be ignored during the process of archiving. Photography as a subject is so multifaceted in the arts, social sciences, and sciences that the archive should push to include the unintended informational value witnessed by the camera during the creation of a photograph. To decolonize the archive and challenge the myth of records as neutral there needs to be more priority placed

on relationships between narratives that co-exist within the photographs rather than focusing on those dominated by nationalistic descriptions.

1.3.3 Custodial History of the Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection

The following case study (found below in Section Four) will focus on twelve prints that reflect how the Department of Manpower and Immigration managed labour jobs and immigrants during post war Canada. The contents of the collection were originally described by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division between 1958 and 1960, six years before its reorganization as the Department of Manpower and Immigration's collection.

Photographic records were given to the Department of Manpower and Immigration during the departmental transition. In my research I have found little information available on the accession process within the available files. However, some clues detailing the transfer can be found in the *Deputy Minister's Registry files: Immigration.*[48] This series record description was built to describe the Deputy Minister's files concerning immigration from the Department of Citizenship and Immigration[49] and is attached to the larger Immigration Branch sous-fonds.

The series record of the former department reveals that between 1968 and 1976 files in the series were closed out of use and transferred to the National Archives (LAC) by instruction of the successor, the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The series record describes that one of the files consists of records produced between 1947 and 1967 of activities of the Immigration Branch at the Deputy Minister's level.

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[48] Deputy Minister's registry files: immigration (block 3), 1929-1972, 134290, 67 R233-12-3-E Immigration Branch sous-fonds, Library and Archives Canada.
[49] Deputy Minister's registry files: immigration (block 3), 1929-1972, 134290.

In 1959, Laval Fortier, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, received the records related to responsibilities and activities of the new department's role. These records concern policy making, legislation and regulation, cabinet, parliamentary, inter-departmental and departmental committees on immigration; relationships with other federal and provincial departments especially those relating to immigration such as labour, health and welfare; and, international, national and special interest groups.[50] The explanation of the materials within the record was written in the scope of its description.

Many of these records parallel records relating to other specialized branches in the department or duplicate them. Files also include immigration statistics, processing and documentation of immigrants, and information closely related to the immigration process pre- and post- arrival. Some files come from the earlier department dated 1929 to 1949. Moving forward with the collection requires a deep analysis of current arrangement infrastructure and standards. In the following section I expand on the photo collections which influenced my research and a critique on current practices at LAC.

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[50]Ibid., 1.

2. Methodology

The methodology used in my takes a holistic approach to understand meaning-making in the practice of photography, as well as in archives and photo-based collections that contribute to the visual rhetoric of immigration in Canada. In doing so, I reference regulated standards that are currently active at LAC so that my work may translate between their present cataloguing system. At the same time, my research has revealed some flaws in their system and I present this as a critique of the present arrangement and description standards used by LAC, especially macro-appraisal strategies, authority taxonomy and classification for specialized media. Melding the key points of macro-appraisal ideology with the practice of item-level descriptions for photographs within the Department of Manpower and Immigration will make the records active and accessible to researchers and individuals interested in the histories found within the bureaucratic governmental collections.

Through my observation and interpretation of the collection's arrangement and available descriptions, I look to build a record methodology on a photo-historical approach to descriptions. In this project, I reference the previous work of scholars and archivists who have worked on interpreting and analyzing photo-based collections within LAC, including Carol Payne's and Zoe Druick's analysis of the National Film Board Still Division, Brian Osborne's analysis of the Canadian National Railway, LAC archivist Sarah Cook's critiques on the archival practices of the Canada Film and Photo Unit and senior archivist at LAC Jill Delaney's analysis of the "Mountain Legacy Project." In doing so I add to their methodologies to create a stand-in historical record for the Department of Manpower and Immigration that accurately contextualizes the department's photographs within the space of an archive. By considering the approaches of previous scholars, I aim to demonstrate the value of applying a photo historic lens to item-level

descriptions of government records within the space of a federal archive while challenging the myth of archival records as neutral.

2.1 Holes in the Archives

This section considers how historical contextualization can be lost in the process of archiving. It does so by presenting similar projects of notable scholars and active Canadian archivists who look to fill those gaps with their own research on photo-based collections housed at LAC.

2.1.1. Historic Depictions of Groups of Individuals.

In her chapter, "Ces Visages Qui Sont un Pays: Portraiture, Citizenship and Linguistic Identity in Centennial Canada" from the book *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971,* Carol Payne argues that there are two categories that describe government photographs. Payne describes the first category as "true" portraits or known historical figures or groups of individuals.[51] The second category, which is relevant to my 's research, depicts anonymous prints of groups of individuals in what Payne describes as "…not portraits proper, for the identities of the figures they depict were never known or were later effaced."[52] Likewise, within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection similar portraits exist that take on the compositional elements found in traditional portrait photography. Some of the elements described are frontal and profile views of immigrants participating in cultural activities or labour jobs. Unlike traditional portraiture that focuses on identification, portraits from the Department of Manpower and Immigration existed to

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[51]Payne, Carol, "Readings in the Archive," in *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, June 2013),138.
[52]Payne, "Readings in the Archive,"in *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971*, 138.

serve a system for immigrant classification through visual documentation. My analysis is that in doing so the Department of Manpower and Immigration's goal was to shift the focus away from the face of the individual in the photograph to their representation as subjects of nationalism.

Moreover, Payne argues that the NFB Still Photography Division is a good example of how visual collections are used within archives for systems of classification and identification described by their reissuing of images. This argument is relevant to my own research as the Department of Manpower and Immigration's visual index of immigrant ethnicities, labour jobs and industrial achievements are represented by what Payne refers to as "abstract cultural values or government initiatives and policies."[53] In doing so, I will offer my description of identification and portraiture as a historical record in the Department of Manpower and Immigration's collection. As the informational value of the twelve prints described at item-level in my case study explores their context of creation with how these photographs of people were taken and disseminated.

At this time, identifying the individuals pictured is not possible but recognizing that their faces and actions stood as symbols for Canadian immigration, and by extension, the Department which organized the collection, is important to understand the historical ideas of immigration. Especially when interacting with abstracted cultural icons that were used for, as what Payne refers to, nationalist generalizations[54] and contributed to the visual systems that built them. Moreover, Payne argues that this dissolution of identity not only acts as a model for an entire group or nation, but also that "they follow the archive's familiar trajectory from the specific to the

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[53]Ibid.,138.
[54]Ibid.,138.

general."[55]

Like Payne, Zoe Druick in her book *Projecting Canada: Government Policy And Documentary Film At The National Film Board* considers how the production and circulation of NFB imagery played a role in nation building through their aesthetic qualities, form, institutionalization, and audiences. Instead of comparing early films to later films, Druick tries to look for the resemblances between them. Lastly, she asks how these resemblances have masked continuities in their production of educational theory, citizenship, and government policy. Druick's analysis suggests that the existence between performative and parliamentary elements have defined the Canadian documentary genre of image making and cultural identity. Recognizing that certain themes and values are promoted departmentally is key to defining the cultural importance of the production and dissemination of immigrant photographs in the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. By considering the informational elements available in the photographs that act as records for immigration in Canada, I argue that archival spaces cannot be neutral if the aesthetic qualities and institutionalization of the photographs reflect bureaucratic viewpoints.

Using the lens of historical geographer, in his chapter "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, Immigration and the Canadian National Railways, 1925-30," Brian Osborne draws attention to three gazes that were active in immigrant photography created by the CNR as part of their settlement of Canada's west. They are defined by Osborne as the *bureaucratic gaze* which is "bureaucratic objectivity and documentary

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[55]Ibid.,145.

realism"[56] in the science of records, followed by the *Canadian gaze* which emphasizes the fears of "otherness" and challenges to dominant cultural values provoked by immigration. Lastly, argues Osborne, the *immigrant gaze* is commonly ignored by agents of colonization.[57] Through this framework he explores how photographs of early immigration act as visualizations of nationalistic ideologies.

Relating to the archive and the photographs as documents within an institutional framework, Osborne looks at immigrant photography based on its archival categorization by names, locations, and dates. Part of this cataloguing system included immigrant classification, such as the monitoring of non-preferred immigrant behaviours and the reduction of their image to capital resources, such as their value as representations of labour and progress.[58] While these photographs were originally made to act as internal methods of classification for the federal government they also function as multifaceted records with active yet unintentional information embedded within them.

For this reason, contextualization of immigrant photography in the space of an archive should include its full informational potential. Applying the presence of these gazes to my own research on the Department of Manpower collection achieves a couple of things. First, it draws attention to the bureaucratic issues in the cataloguing system that reduced the image of immigrant identities to their economic value. This reduction of individualism in the record is repeated with the act of macro-appraisal when the main interest lies in emphasising the functionality of the

[56]Osborne, Brian, "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, Immigration and the Canadian National Railways, 1925-30," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination,* ed. by Schwartz, Joan M. and James R. Ryan (London:Tauris, 2009),178.
[57]Osborne, "Constructing the State, Managing the Corporation, Transforming the Individual: Photography, Immigration and the Canadian National Railways, 1925-30,"189.
[58]Ibid., 178.

department. Since photographs are dynamic sites[59] with multiple ways of interpreting, to fully develop a holistic history all narratives relevant to the imagery should be addressed outside of just the department's function. In the case of my , these rich descriptions would include Canadian and immigrant narratives.

Overall, the portraits used in my act as models for nationalism by representing portraits of immigrants and their narratives as cohesive in a unified nation. Drawing on Carol Payne once again, having these anonymous portraits act as "images that may not be portraits in the strict sense provides another metaphor for one of nationhood's central demands of its citizenry: to identify oneself firstly as a subject of the nation."[60]

2.1.2 Visual Culture of Canada and Archives

It seems that analysing photographic materials dedicated to immigration history does not begin until the later half of the twentieth century and into the first two decades of the twenty-first century. By then many authors began to approach their case studies with the intention of understanding photographic material culture in relation to the production of the concept of the geographic imagination.[61] The key function, in many of the methodologies I have outlined, has been influenced by the need to find a "meeting place"[62] between objects made, how they circulated, and how and where they were housed. Finding a resemblance between objects of past and present and how they have been recontextualized through their movement in different institutions has been important. This observation ties in well with Schwartz' and Cook's

[59] Ibid., 163.
[60] Ibid., 147.
[61] Langford, Martha, McManus, Karla, Cavaliere, Elizabeth Anne, Parisien, Aurèle, Murray, Sharon and Guillaume, Philippe, "Imagined Communities: Putting Canadian Photographic History in its Place," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 296-356.
[62] Murray, Sharon, "Pictures At The Port, Imagined Communities: Putting Canadian Photographic History in its Place," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 298.

understanding of an archive and the authority that it has on valuing cultural objects.

Outside of understanding how photographs are processed in archival institutions, understanding how photographs are read and handled is an integral part of this essay's research. Brian Osborne unpacks what he describes as three ways of seeing, using his case study on the Canadian National Railway collection held at LAC. Osborne draws on Joan Schwartz who argues that photographs are 'dynamic sites' where a multitude of gazes intersect,[63] Roland Barthes takes two approaches to seeing photography that expands on perfect illusionism[64] within a photograph verses an "intractable reality."[65] Lucy Lippard's "grains of truth in a moment"[66] aligns photography's place in the value system by juxtaposing modernist understanding of an image as straight and postmodernism understanding of an image as reflective.[67]

Communication media was used by the Canadian government to promote cultural policies as a citizen building technology. Zoe Druick uses the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) to describe the relationship between governmentality and visual culture. Druick examines documentary films produced by the NFB between 1939 and 1985. She uses these documentary films to study how the arrival of a new cultural policy developed a new cultural institution in Canada. As well as looking to answer how that policy had been interpreted and changed over the course of the NFB's activity.

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[63]Ibid., 163.
[64]Barthes, Roland, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1981), 119.
[65]Ibid., 163.
[66]Lippard, Lucy. *Partial Recall: Photographs of Native North America.* (New York: The New Press, 1992), 23.
[67]Ibid., 163.

Carol Payne in *The Official Picture: The National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division and the Image of Canada, 1941-1971* looks at modes of reading archives. In the second half of her book she examines landscapes, race, nation building tactics, immigration and citizenship between 1950 and 1960. She remarks on photographs that demonstrate these themes and how they serve as a purpose for national sentiment. For example, her dissection of topography photography compares land use and expansion to the authority of the camera's lens, arguing that its inherent indexicality is extremely compelling for the landscape's reformation.[68] This observation is critical to my research as land use while presented in the prints, has been ignored by the department's original arrangement. Lastly, Payne argues that "landscapes has long been among the most potent of shared symbols in the formation of the 'imagined community' of nationhood."[69]

Making a connection between the framework of Brian Osborne's gazes from early nineteenth-century immigration photographs adds historical context to the department's collection. Re-evaluating labour and immigration as important bodies of study demonstrates a new Canadian attitude determined to acknowledge a non-English history of Canada. Scholars Robert Harney and Harold Martin Troper[70] review and categorize immigrant photography between 1890 and 1930 in their book *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930*. Topical themes in the book include neighbourhoods, unself-conscious portraits, and businesses documented by families, government departments and private, religious-based social organizations. Much like Brian Osborne's analysis of the CNR, these scholars argue that photographic objects reveal tensions between immigrants and Canadian born citizens, the

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[68]Ibid., 109.
[69]Ibid., 109.
[70] Harney, Robert, and Harold Martin Troper, *Immigrants*. (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd, 1975).

balance between Canadian assimilation and cultural familiarity, and geographical mapping of southern Ontario. These photo-bodies weigh personal photographs at the same level as government documents which activates the immigrant gaze.

By studying their subjecthood and medium, the photographs from the nineteenth-century act as examples of documents for understanding ethnocentrism, immigration, and the urban condition carried over to mid-century Canada. These photographs along with the photographs described from the Department of Manpower and Immigration show the impact of immigration, struggling diaspora and present-day existing communities. In doing so the photographs' used as records to signify challenge temporal and spatial sensories by questioning the merit of a photograph outside of when it was created and the purpose for its creation. Re-occuring themes within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection compared to earlier photographs of immigrants model the visual history of immigration, resistance to nativism, the existence of ethnic hierarchies, landscape photography and national sentiment.

2.1.3 Immigrant History, 1950-1960

Kerry Badgley discusses tensions between white Canadian settlers and immigrants

in his article "'As long as he is an Immigrant from the United Kingdom': Deception, Ethnic Bias and Milestone Commemoration in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1953-1965." Badgley describes the public relations strategy for celebrating the millionth post war immigrant to Canada in 1953, arguing that the preselected immigrant was chosen by federal policy-makers to reflect the attitudes of immigration officials including the Department of Immigration and Citizenship. As a result, the ideal "candidate" was white, British, and male with previous economic success before immigrating and was expected to continue thriving working in a trade

that was in demand in Canada. Badgley challenges traditional immigration narratives by analyzing the use and influence of public relations on immigration policy in Canada. He notes that the role of these PR events was to frame how the Canadian public perceived the immigration department and federal influence on public opinion of immigration.

Badgley discusses the standard for candidates and potential media outlets who were circulating these images to focus public attention on social acceptance of immigrants and immigration. The selected candidate put forward the "Britishness" of Canada. This choice was decided in order to not offend the Canadian public with the "wrong" type of immigrant[71]. However, the context of these photographs, and by extension the publicity event, trivialized the problems that large numbers of immigrants, many of whom were not of British origin, experienced upon arrival, such as working in trades which were not secure because of seasonal changes[72]. Moreover, Badgley questions the integrity of the decisions and approaches to education by arguing that immigration represented by white Europeans, particularly British ones, did not benefit the acceptance of non-white, non-European immigrants. He concludes that the perception of "non-traditional" immigrants into Canada was carried over into later departments. Badgley's work parallels my own research as both cases discuss the public use of immigration photographs. Furthermore, Badgley's critiques of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration are important to my own research as he constructs a framework of how photographs and values of immigration would have been used interdepartmentally.

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[71]Badgley, Kerry, "As Long As He Is An Immigrant From The United Kingdom: Deception, Ethnic Bias And Milestone Commemoration In The Department Of Citizenship And Immigration, 1953-1965," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 3, no. 33 (Fall 1998): 130-144.
[72]Badgley, "As Long As He Is An Immigrant From The United Kingdom: Deception, Ethnic Bias And Milestone Commemoration In The Department Of Citizenship And Immigration, 1953-1965," 5.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Photography Theory

This looks to the work of postmodernist scholars who apply deconstructionist methods to understanding photography as a practice and method for coding societal values.This literature provides context to how documentary photographs operate to reinforce social power dynamics; a particular concern for understanding their mobility and accessibility. These sources highlight the importance of reflexivity in looking at photography. Reflexivity is needed by the viewer, which in my case includes the archivist, when evaluating the value of the prints in the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection in connection to the rhetoric of immigration in Canada.

In his essay, "The Body and Archive*,"* photographer and theorist Allan Sekula addresses photography's ability to act as an agent of social order. Sekula uses examples from multiple disciplines that have engaged with photography such as the Metropolitan Police Acts of 1829 and 1839[73] and criminal portraits of the 1840s, who used photography as a method to record systematic patterns of "dangerous classes" during early urbanization. As well as drawing on photography's own history, Sekula references William Henry Fox Talbot's book, *The Pencil of Nature*. He argues that Talbot's calotype recognized a "new instrumental potential in photography."[74] This new potential invented what Sekula refers to in his text as the social body. The social body would be described as instrumental realism that "only the photograph could begin to claim the legal status of a visual document of ownership." Sekula concludes that photography, because of its inherent likeness, established a terrain of order through multiple

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[73]Sekula, Allan, "The Body and The Archive," in *The Contest of Meaning*, ed. Richard Bolton. (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1989),344.
[74]Sekula, "Body and Archive," 344.

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disciplines and generalizations.[75] The Department of Manpower and Immigration collection similarly builds a social order through its documentation of the immigrant working class by grouping them as subjects of the nation-state.

In Martha Rosler's seminal essay, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (on documentary photography)," she challenges documentary photography's ability to reform by addressing how it shapes social discourse through visual imagery. Like Sekula, Rosler acknowledges the terrain of order in which photography has participated in, specifically within the tradition of documentary photography, and how those social generalizations impact our way of reading visual images and our own understanding of social relationships. Rosler critiques a particular form of victim photography that acts to preserve class privileges. "Documentary photography, as we know it, carries (old) information about a group of powerless people to another group addressed as socially powerful."[76] She states that subjects have become victims to the camera, this change has divided documentary photography into two types: the public interest, dedicated to social redemption, and a weighted interest in exoticism, tourism, and voyeurism.[77] I believe that Rosler's discussion, on how power dynamics formed between the camera, viewer and subject effect the visual literacy of class systems, should be engaged with during the contextualization of government documents of working-class immigrants.

In his introduction to *The "Public" Life of Photographs,* Thierry Gervais uses the exhibition of Black Star photographer Charles Moore to discuss the new public contexts of Moore's work. In it, Gervais describes the different public spaces that have interacted with and influenced the

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[75]Ibid., 345.
[76]Rosler, Martha, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (on documentary photography)," in *The Contest of Meaning*, ed.Richard Bolton (Cambridge: Massachusetts, 1989), 306.
[77]Rosler, "In, Around, and Afterthoughts (on documentary photography)," 306.

public reading of Moore's work. Noting that "the dissemination of Moore's images highlights the fact that ubiquity and mobility have always been essential components in the understanding of photographs."[78] While the material within the department's collection is not as overtly political or violent as Moore's images are, what can be taken from Gervais understanding of Moore's work and applied to this project are that photographs have constant fluctuating meaning and their "readings" are heavily influenced by their presentation. In this case, understanding the prints' informational value within the archive and outside of it. It includes the print's mobility and accessibility which changes the function of the collection to include the Canadian and Immigrant dynamic outside government administers authority.

3.2 Record Making and Metadata Theory

In her article, "Studies in Documents Shrouded History: The Canadian Film and Photo Unit, Records, Creation, Reuse, and the Recontextualizing of "Lost" Audiovisual Heritage," Sarah Cook argues for the importance of detailed provenance and custodial history for record-making using the lost audiovisual collection from the Canada Film and Photo Unit (CFPU) as a case study. Cook builds context by addressing remaining records pertaining to the audiovisual history in Canada. Cook's methodological process begins with the material history of the collection. She addresses the earlier preservation issues which led to its accidental destruction, ultimately impacting the lack of documentation for the CFPU. Then she explains the collection's cultural and historical value as an asset to the Canadian identity formed during and after World War Two through the film's material value.

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[78]Gervais, Thierry, introduction to *The "Public" Life of Photographs*, ed. Theirry Gervais, Sophie Hackett. (Toronto: RIC Books, 2016), 7.

I adopted this approach within my own interpretations and observations of the current collection arrangement prior to my own intervention in order to understand the Department of Manpower and Immigration as a function which includes its role as a public administrator. Then I turned to understand the cultural value of the photographs to the conversation of immigration in Canada.

Within the available custodial history, Cook examines how transferring the audiovisual material between different institutions expanded on the description of the content. One issue she addresses is how varying accession standards at different institutions can create discrepancies in the record's management. Furthermore, she states that the lack of fluidity in the collection's provenance is part of the problem for record-keeping and acts as a handicap for the contextualization of these records. This issue could be expanded to many other collections situated at LAC which lack proper documentation or a clear historic trail. Specifically, with my case study, reissuing photographs through different departments like the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division muddies the trail of proper documentation expanding on accession decisions.

Cook relied on existing metadata found in the stock footage and dope sheets, and oral histories put together by an outside organization to help identify what the CFPU collection's job was when active in acting as a record for Canadian history. I have also relied on the available metadata in the twelve prints I selected to understand their informational value. In my situation, it was the captions and stamps which explained the prints that were valuable as government resources for describing the classification of immigrants. These captions provided context on who their original creators were or who influenced the public issuance of sequences found in photo-collections.

Jill Delaney explores the importance of intentional and unintentional informational value in her study of the Mountain Legacy Project housed at LAC in the article "An Inconvenient Truth? Scientific Photography and Archival Ambivalence." She discusses the traditional scientific use of photography as a tool for recording typography in Canada but raises questions in the appraisal and acquisition decisions done during its record making. Delaney argues that "these photographs open up a window to understanding a sometimes neglected yet functional tradition in documentary photography: the scientific photograph."[79] Understanding how government bodies retrieve information from records is relevant to the Department of Manpower and Immigration because their collection uses photographs as records for social science. In doing so, the collection arrangement addresses the practical use of the photographs to create and describe political ideologies and immigrant acceptance but discounts the function of the camera to record. A repercussion from disregarding the instrumental elements of a camera includes ignoring possible belief systems that exist within the photograph and expand outside of government bodies.

Other dilemmas that archivists face, in making decisions on defining the archival value of records with high informational value, include establishing its merit in the functional analysis and macro-appraisal criteria. Informational values in government records are expected to "be created, collected, or maintained exclusively by the federal government and, they must have national significance."[80] In the case of the Mountain Legacy Project, as a photo-topographic collection some of its assets are outside of the discipline of map-making and extend to current

[79]Delaney, Jill, "An Inconvenient Truth? Scientific Photography and Archival Ambivalence," *Archivaria* 65, (Spring 2008):76.
[80]Delaney, "An Inconvenient Truth? Scientific Photography and Archival Ambivalence," 92.

environmental change studies.[81]

The Department of Manpower and Immigration also features some of the concerns Delaney raises in her article, namely the extent to which the collection is able to be valuable to studies outside of the discipline and department in which it was made. An archivist must negotiate between both the practice in which the photographs were made and how they apply as a modern record. Broadening the scope of the departments too widely will not let the full informational value speak for itself, they must be incorporated by the archivist.

Archivists hold a responsibility to show these layers of context like a geologic history of multimedia collections at LAC. The above case studies argue that it is up to the archivist to unearth these stories, by doing so an archivist maintains the position of historic interpreter offering their own record and understanding of its informational value to the collection.

3.3 Archival Theory

This section expands on other theoretical approaches to appraisal standards and theory within archives. The repeated question addressed throughout this section by scholars is how can the practice of archiving influence conversations of collective memories, power structures and nationalism within an archival body? To answer this question, scholars look at deconstructing the myth of a record as neutral and instead position it as a performance of cultural values.

In her article "Having New Eyes: Spaces of Archives, Landscapes of Power," Joan Schwartz argues that archives are active spaces which negotiate power and construct memory. She notes

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[81]Ibid., 92.

that there is often a disconnect between archivists' and academics' understanding of the archive as a functioning body. Looking to the impact of postmodern methodologies on archival studies, including a range of approaches that contain conversations left out by previously established records, she states that while postmodernism as a social practice has forced the archive to look onto itself and its position of power, academic intervention is too disconnected from the process of archiving. Applying postmodernist theories to visual records makes space for interdisciplinary approaches in the archive. This approach would account for power relationships formed in the visual literacy of immigrant photography by looking at immigrant histories outside of the traditional nationalistic lens and a place of collective memory.

Canadian archivist Terry Cook suggests in his article "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth:Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," that to unite archival theory and archival practice is to position the archivist as reflective and the archive as transparent. Cook divides archival practice in three steps: appraisal, description and archival accountability[82]. These steps prompt record-makers to ask questions about the collection and their own biases. However, according to Cook, finding aids and descriptions should begin to be deconstructed at the micro-appraisal level. This level puts priority on the record's function, structure and information value. Cook argues that this method "reflects society's values through a functional analysis of the interaction of citizen with the state."[83] However, this approach does not consider photographs or photography within the archive as photographs become available at item-level descriptions. For this reason, I argue that to accomplish Cooke's goal, an archivist must challenge the misconception of records as neutral by looking at the context in which the

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[82]Cook, Terry, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," *Archivaria* 51, (Spring 2001): 29.
[83]Cook, "Fashionable Nonsense or Professional Rebirth: Postmodernism and the Practice of Archives," 30.

collection was arranged and described.

In "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," co-written by Schwartz and Cook, they agree that the archive has always been a place of performance guided by routine systems which have evolved from past practices. This means that records are active bodies built from the interpretations of archivists in the context of history. The authors argue that transparency within the archive can only take place if archivists accept their new role as mediators and interpreters during the record making process, rather than claiming to be mere custodians. It includes removing the myth of records as neutral and archivists as detached technicians. Doing so allows for new communication styles such as oral histories and technological spaces within archives and between their researchers. Schwartz and Cook assert that records are unneutral documents written for audiences who want to access them. They conclude that the dichotomy of theory and practice should not be divided or dependent.

The relationship between theory and practice for record description in a fonds should be considered, but an archivist should be flexible in their record making. That is because both theory and practice are built with a strict framework that may limit the archivist's ability to make a transparent record without going against a standard in either discipline. What that does is to allow for the misconception that records have the authority as objective or neutral by suggesting that archivists have limited control during the record creation. This problem can be fixed by acknowledging that theory and practice can co-exist in an archive mindfully when an archivist makes decisions based on both for a record creation.

4. Case Study: Building Descriptions and Description Issues

4.1 Case Analysis of Two Prints

While mining the collection of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, two prints from the twelve found in the Yugoslavian series presented themselves to me as examples of portraits of nationalism. Below I will do an in-depth visual analysis of these prints to demonstrate the important historical and cultural information found within them and the significance of describing this information to make sense of the potential of the collection. I do so by looking at the prints as individual objects then considering their larger role within the space of the collection. I address how immigrants within this photo-collection are represented, described and interacted with. Lastly, through my description and anaylsis of the prints, I highlight the historical and cultural values of the Department of Manpower and Immigration that are otherwise left undocumented in the collection's current formulation.

To develop my case study, I took an inventory of the Yugoslavian series of photographs in the collection; then compared and contrasted them to other photo-collection bodies. The connection between internal and external sources of immigrant photographs to the Department of Manpower and Immigration contributes to the conversation of immigrant representation by strengthening the function of immigrant photographs taken by policy makers for their use of records for nationalism. Moreover, recognizing the potential of the records to function outside of their original context applies to a contemporary conversation around photographs as performative elements in the immigrant experience and formation of memory[84]. This is reinforced by the depiction of immigrants through the immigrant lens which has been otherwise overlooked in earlier analyses of photography documenting immigrants' lives.

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[84] Edwards, Elizabeth, "Photographs and the Sound of History," *Visual Anthropology Review* 21 (2005): 27.

I focus on subject matter and medium to pull descriptive information from the photographs and increase understanding of their history and contemporary place in the archive. Without comparing the photographs to other collections, the Department of Manpower and Immigration stays informationless. For example, the Department of Manpower and Immigraiton's relationship to the NFB Still Photography Division means that the creation of those select images were likely done under the guidelines of NFB officials. The immigrant story and portrait "rendered it an effective metaphor for the cohesive, united nation, a message central to the division's mandate." [85] As such, the qualities of the NFB Still Division photographs can be transferred to the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. Carol Payne's particular understanding of NFB photography is extremely relevant to the photographs extended to the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Her analysis of NFB content is the crux of my own, as her examination of prints as records goes outside their subject matter. Payne defines how stylistic elements of documentary photography with a focus on immigrants in the NFB Still Division collection aided memory building within the space of an archive. Assisted text and style of photograph contribute to an understanding of how policy makers wanted immigration to be categorized and remembered. However, their divorce and rearrangement in an archive changes the function of the photographs to scientific documents of types of peoples. Ultimately, the public and departmental circulation of these photographs served as a project for nation-building.

Furthermore, contextualizing the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection at a lower level is relevant to Jill Delaney's argument about photographs as records of science; in my case, the study of social science, and the informational potential contained outside of their original creation. The crossover of content substitutes as a record of photography's history by

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[85]Ibid., 162.

speaking to photography's role in describing Canadian history through its documentation and categorization of citizens and immigrants.

Within the archive are power structures between classes of immigrant and classes of Canadian as defined by policy makers. The Department of Manpower and Immigration determined these structures by economic value and labour participation. My argument is that researchers and archivists need to address those concerns when interacting with photo bodies similar to the Department of Manpower and Immigration. It includes taking into account the Canadian gaze and the Immigrant gaze. The citizens and immigrants represented in the twelve photographs of my case study are depicted firstly as subjects of nationhood with their identity as individuals considered as secondary.

The starting point for my description begins with identifying the descriptive elements in the photograph to make sense of the image. The combination of description and interpretation covers the moving parts of the photograph outside of the original object. Descriptive elements in the photograph cannot provide an understanding or appreciation for the photograph in its role as a record. The archivist has to fill those holes through interpretation based on how the archivist values the photograph and prioritizes the facts surrounding it. Descriptions of photographs should be done by their physical description, evaluation of informational value and relationship to theoretical ideas. By doing so in my case study, I have reaffirmed the relevance of the Department of Manpower and Immigration to other current topics of conversation such as ethnic representation and collective memory formed in the archive of immigrant groups. I also offer this knowledge as a part of the administrative history of the collection that is lacking in the Department of Manpower and Immigration description.

Since the creators of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection took immigrants in Canada as the primary focus, I decided to observe the Yugoslavian collection at a more intimate level because of my personal heritage. The Yugoslavian collection is housed in Box 6221, volume 30 and contains 53 prints with 19 duplicates. After building an inventory of available prints, I built item-level descriptions for prints previously described with the same singular identification number, 4245.[86]

4245 A [refer to appendix 1] is comprised of two identical silver gelatin prints of seven men in a field surrounded by tall grass. Five of the men are grouped together in the background engaged in farming activities. One of the men is standing and carries a basket of grass on his head. Another in the foreground wears a straw hat and reaches into the grass. None are addressing the camera. The surrounding land is flat with a visible horizon line.

Each print comes with two captions: a general storyline uniting the prints together and a description of the activities shown within the print. The original caption is credited to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division. It is titled *Bold experiment in farming turns waste bog to market garden.*[87] The caption details how "new Canadian Gregory Javitch," who is a Russian-born immigrant, came to Canada from France in 1950. He first started working in the vegetable growing business in Sherrington, Quebec and Alfred, Ontario. In 1959, Javitch bought 650 acres of the Moose Creek Bog in Ontario, and by 1960 had produced 14,000 tons of root vegetables. Selling throughout North America, the farmer is

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[86]Ibid., 9651.
[87]9651, 1958-1960, Box 31 item number 4245, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Library and Archives Canada.

portrayed as an ideal immigrant candidate who worked laborious jobs that ultimately benefited the local Moose Creek economy. By employing women, men, and children, and promoting new farming practices with modern technologies, he is seen as an example of an immigrant success story. However, without the caption there would be no identification of the Yugoslavian immigrant worker or the field owner Javitch's own history of immigration and success in Canada.

The 4245 A caption reads: "Among Immigrants employed on Moose Creek farm are Yugoslavs and Italians as well as Belgian and Dutch. Here they are weeding onions"[88]

Besides reading the subjects in print 4245 A as working immigrants, male and white, identifying which person is Yugoslavian is almost impossible. Moreover, the narrative of immigration that is written is limited to what the department and its predecessors expected it to be - ambiguous Eastern Europeans working labour jobs alongside Canadians. Without the context of their description, the intellectual value of this collection falls flat and affects the bigger conversation surrounding government records that use photographs to build a visual literacy of immigrant history in Canada. The weight of the image of a Yugoslavian and other recorded ethnicities represented is reduced to prioritize the visual demonstration of a unified nation.The workers in these prints act as interchangeable archetypes, what Carol Payne refers to as "the suppression of specifics and emphasis on typologies."[89] These archetypes allowed for prints to be mobile and reused in different contexts. This is demonstrated in the prints' seamless transition between departments, representation of people and groups, archival space and media as subjects to the visualizations of nationalistic ideologies.[90]

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[88]9651, 1958-1960, Box 31 item number 4245, Dept. of Manpower and Immigration
[89]Ibid., 116.
[90]Ibid., 178.

Moreover, quotations act as a mediator between representation and the representation of representation.[91] The authoritative style of the quotations contribute to the presentation of "objectivity" found in between text and visual text.[92] Often photography made for cultural production situates itself between the space of state and citizen. It is also designed to represent the Canadian population and effectively manage it. The instrumental realism offered from the camera stands as an example of the bureaucratic gaze that portrays immigrant workers as an objective subject in the Department of Manpower and Immigration. The only name recorded in this series is Gregory Javitch - none of the other workers are identified but they are just as important to the story that is being shared and documented.

The Department of Citizenship and Immigration policy was rooted in an interwar attitude, meaning that much of its theory came from a social science background, which often encouraged ideology around the marketing of empire and mass education. The Department of Manpower and Immigration would adopt this ideology with the former department's objects.

This visual representation of landscape in the story of Javitch's farm is seen to promote federal use of geographical photography for national development and agricultural reformation. As in much earlier geological photography, the caption "views the natural through the lens of culture, consistently emphasizing visuality as a way of reordering the physical environment."[93] In the case of Javitch's story the reordering of the physical environment from barren and unusable to a successful functioning farm doubles in value. Javitch represents the economic benefit of

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[91]Ibid., 323.
[92]Ibid., 323.
[93]Ibid., 109.

immigrants, the success of cultural assimilation and agricultural advancements with the reshaping of an Ontario landscape from unattainable to prosperous.

4245 B [appendix 2] is a silver gelatin print of nine men on their knees in a field of tall grass. Like the previous print, there is an emphasis on the surrounding flat land with a visible horizon line. Three men in the foreground look towards the camera and smile for the photographer. Four men in the back acknowledge the camera mid-movement.

The cutline and department history suggests to me that these two prints relate to an entire editorial photo series covering the story of Gregory Javitch. The ten connecting photographs exist under the series titled *Vegetables.* All have individual cutlines written by and for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Information Division describing the subject matter.

The cutlines function to demonstrate the importance and growth of agriculture in Canada to the Canadian public and as part of the governmental archival record. Placing the photo series within the Department of Manpower and Immigration changes the portrayal of Gregory Javitch's farm into an extension of the policy maker's interventions. While there is no proof of the Department of Manpower and Immigration involvement in the farm, housing the photo-series beneath their collection gives authority of the photographs' intended use to the department and its administrators including its portrayal of people. The lack of information available in the photo series' construction and archival arrangement allows the bureaucratic gaze to be dominant with a formal presentation of objective realism in the photograph's capacity as government resources.

The Canadian gaze is activated during its public circulation of photographs. Thierry Gervais defines the value of production in the circulation of photographs as "one link in the mass media chain that affects our understanding of visual news."[94] It's impossible to understand how these photographs would have interacted with Canadian audiences or how Canadians would have reacted to them without more research into the publication of the photographs, but the accessibility that Canadians had to these reissued photographs raises questions about how the Department of Manpower and Immigration and its predecessors intended to promote the public categorization of immigrants. As it is, the immigrant gaze is completely dismissed as their identities are secondary to their existence as a labour resource in the record. The purpose of this photo series remains hidden to the collection and to the public to which it was once circulated to. The production and mobility of photographs undermine Canadian interaction and immigrant representation. Moreover, the lack of documentation makes it difficult to understand exactly how policy administrators used the collection outside of my own speculations.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration collection is a clear example of where an archivist could use further description to elaborate on the history of the print. I argue that archivists in a federal archive sometimes struggle to be transparent and accessible with all the information provided in the print. Recognizing that the bureaucratic gazes exist with the Canadian and immigrant gazes speaks directly to the broad cultural value of this photo collection. In doing so, it creates a transparent record by giving agency to citizens and documenting their relationship to state records. Macro-appraisal only allows space for the bureaucratic gaze and for priority on records that document department governance. Lower level descriptions of collections like item-level descriptions offer the embedded qualities of the

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[94]Ibid., 11.

photographs that describe power relationships between institutions and immigrant representation, citizen and state.

The twelve photographs' arrangement was decided by the department and limited to the photographs' bureaucratic roles until this point. Yet today the purpose of the photographs and their history of use is only vaguely reflected in the records. Undescribed records or records with limited descriptions do not make them neutral documents; what it does is reduce their full context. Ignoring key elements relevant to the record, like its context of creation and also its context of circulation, takes no notice of who was engaging with the prints outside of government resources. If anything, acknowledging this hole raises more questions about how government records are handled archivally. Compared to similar collections, it's clear that multiple narratives can exist in one plane. LAC's scarcity of information for the collection means that those stories that exist under a nongovernmental lens cannot be added to the record because their existence is not acknowledged in the first place.

The photo sequence selected does not offer any groundbreaking nuances. It is likely that this sequence was picked by department officials because of the success of Javitch's farm in and outside of the community. As Badgley writes, there is a criteria in the selection of subjects for photo documentation of the collection. Once the photographs become available at item-level descriptions they begin to contribute to conversations surrounding the practice of image sharing and mobility of photographs by studying "those responsible for the dissemination of images, their belief in the power of the photographic medium, the goals they pursued, and the constraints they face."[95]

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[95]Ibid.,11.

Since the original sequence of the twelve photographs is unknown, their separation and priority over their subject matter and not their function as a photo series leads to their informational potential. It spearheads the analysis of the relationship between an archive as an institution and tool for memory building by using the documented communities who are represented within the archive to construct a social memory of immigrant communities.

My analysis emphasizes how confronting the medium of photography in a record description challenges macro-appraisal methodology, which otherwise tends to disregard the medium's ability to record likeness. Overlooking the functions of photography limits the analysis of the material to just the surface level of the subject matter as truthful without addressing the embedded information in the construction and dissemination of the photographs. The difference between description and interpretation is difficult because an archivist has to decide during their interpretation of record data the significance or insignificance of the material which may be tied to their own potential biases or assumptions about it. This continues record inconsistencies in the original arrangement infrastructure developed by department officials.

Making sense of an image through interpretation looks at what the image is representing, expressing, responding to or belonging to. Reconsidering the descriptions within the collection to represent immigration history in Canada as a whole and not just documents of immigration for the Department of Manpower and Immigration includes looking at the photographs' communicative and expressive purposes in relationship to their assisted captions. Photographs like the twelve described in my case study were taken with the documentary "shooting straight" approach and present themselves as effortless recordings of events or moments but they are

not entirely truthful. Considering what is included or highlighted and what is ignored in the photograph is important to the print's construction and the reading of it. Belief systems, values and existing knowledge are seen in how the photographs were created but also in how they are described and arranged in an archive. As Terry Barrett has written, "to interpret is to account for all the described aspects of a photograph and to posit meaningful relationships between the aspects."[96] The camera's skill to record likeness does not bring attention to embedded power struggles of the photograph or its ability to create a terrain of order in the archive. The subjecthood of the photographs within the archive generalizes characteristics of an immigrant to validate the mandate of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. Challenging the presentation and preservation of immigrants through archival description and standards brings awareness of inconsistencies found within the original Department of Manpower and Immigraiton record. Without addressing these variables, the records maintain the authority of being objective without nuance.

Looking at the tone of a photograph and the sense of a photograph offers a new language of meaning to the print. The visual understanding of the print begins at what is shown then and ends at what is implied. In the case of the twelve prints I use, the focus of my analysis is on representation of a person, a kind of person and kind of immigrant as described by Brian Osborne's three gazes: the bureaucratic, the Canadian, and the immigrant. Missing the metaphors in a photograph misses the expressive aspects of the photograph.[97] Apparent information on the surface of the photograph does not disclose what the photograph or the collection is really about.

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[96]Barrett, Terry, *Criticizing Photographs: An Introduction to Understanding Image* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2006), 43.
[97]Barrett, *Criticizing Photographs: An Introduction to Understanding Image*, 44.

Overall, studying representation of Yugoslavian immigrants and Greogory Javitch's role as land and business owner presents data on their assimilation into Canada by their involvement in agricultural labour jobs. By extension these examples provide considerations for interpreting and describing the rest of the existing collection outside of the *Yugoslavian* and *Vegetables* series. They also offer potential directions for research including the analysis and understanding of the integration of Yugoslavians into post-war Canada.

What I have described in these twelve prints is repeated in other parts of the collection. Evaluating the information potential of these prints secures their place as important cultural objects at LAC but also as part of the Canadian immigrant story and collective memory. This case study feeds some of that knowledge back into the collection as the prints from photo-stories were not meant to be read in isolation. During their public life and circulation, these prints were supposed to be experienced within the context of their attached text. Addressing these factors in their descriptions secures the records as active and accessible to the Canadian public which would have otherwise remained unreachable in their current description.

4.2 Context

This section gives a general analysis of the conditions of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection prior to my own intervention and the steps taken subsequently. For the sake of transparency between myself, other archivists, the archive and future researchers, I have described my intervention in detail. I prioritize the merit of using a photo-historic lens when handling photographs in a government archive and provide insight to the methods taken by me

to fulfill standard requirements at LAC while also respecting the medium of photography. This portion of my gives context to the intellectual decisions I made during my research and assessment of the collection so that future researchers and archivists may have a point of reference if they chose to either navigate through the Department of Manpower and Immigration's collection for their own research or add to its contextual history archivally. Included in this section is a framework of my goals and intentions with the collection, the original general description, and details of the specific parts of the fonds from which the twelve photographs being studied were sourced.

I intend to describe twelve photographs with accurate titles, copyright, dates and function. By doing so, I provide information about the prints that was otherwise left empty in the collection.

At the fonds level, the description for the entire photo collection is "Immigration Program photographic records and posters."[98] During my own observation at the lower series level, I recognized that the series were arranged thematically. Their general note in the description is written as "urban and rural areas across Canada; activities and occupations of immigrants across Canada, including: Germans, Japanese, Hungarians, Icelanders, Moravian-Slovaks, Greeks, Estonians, Italians, Chinese, English, Irish, Latvians, Swedes, French, Belgians, Norwegians, Scottish, Luxembourgeois, Russians, Czechoslovaks, Syrians, Australians, Austrians, Danes, Dutch, Finns, Indians, Jews, Poles, Portuguese, Romanians, Spanish, Swiss, Ukrainians, Welsh, West Indians, Yugoslavs, Algerians, Americans, and others; aborigines; photographs of various industries and services in Canada." [99]

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[98]Ibid., 9651.
[99]Ibid., 9651.

The function of this photo collection was internally used at LAC to describe nationhood by definition of the Department of Manpower and Immigration through photographs of industrialization, immigration, and agriculture. My analysis of the interdepartmental use of the photographs is based on a comparison to Carol Payne's study of the NFB Still Division which looked at circulated photographs by different department bodies. I argue that by drawing connections to Carol Payne's study on NFB photographs in the archive, the Department of Manpower and Immigration also used this photo collection as an internal reference for policy makers and archivists. There is no documentation asserting whether the arrangement of the collection was determined by the archivist of the former National Archives of Canada, now LAC, or by an administrative staff member to the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

The acquisition file contains a number of newspaper clippings circulated throughout Canada that are detailed with photographs from the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. As mentioned before, a large sum of the collection contains original captions provided by the former Department of Immgration and Citizenship. This additional function for the photographs proves that many of these prints were designed to conceptualize immigration and multiculturalism for Canadian audiences with an emphasis on portraying new immigrants working labour jobs.

The discovery of newspaper clippings in the acquisition file draws attention to the arrangement errors in the collection. For example, one of the newspaper clippings is of the Benicovic family arriving in Montreal, Canada.[100] Written above the photograph of a man raising his child in the

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[100]Acquisition-Photos Canada. Dept. of Manpower and Immigration collection, 1958-1960, 1971-200, WM 9120-1971/200, Library and Archives Canada.

air is bold text that reads "Icelandic Heir for Yugoslav Refugee"[101]. The Benicovics are of Yugoslavian origin but the photograph is stored beneath the *Icelanders* series. The reason for this is because the family's son was born in Iceland during their immigration journey. My assumption is that the language in the title caused the previous archivist to determine that the interactions in the subject matter of the photograph were better suited for the *Icelanders* series. This judgement makes me question the criteria for the collection's arrangement and description and of the archivist who handled it.

Without documentation done by the original archivist to give evidence or reason as to why a Yugoslavian family's photograph was placed in the *Icelanders* series, there remains no explanation for further researchers or archivists to make sense of this photo's place in the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. In my next steps I address the inconsistencies found in the archivist's decisions in describing ethnic representations in the rest of the collection. As such, this type of error in arrangement reoccurs in the entire collection and is explored thoroughly in my own case study. Documentation on whether or not the people portrayed were consulted during the arrangement process or how they felt about their images in the collection is nonexistent. To combat this, reuniting photographs to their photo stories allows for a cleaner landscape within which to research and explore other variables.

I offer this case study for awareness of the multirooted histories documented in the Department of Manpower and Immigration's photo collection. It includes acknowledging existing files within the collection that are not counted in the original description. Examples of existing files that if considered would have been described as series according to the original description structure

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[101]Acquisition-Photos Canada. Dept. of Manpower and Immigration collection, 1958-1960.

are *Tobacco, Poultry* and *Miscellaneous Farming.* As well as the series pertaining to this case study - *Vegetables.*

Explanations of arrangement decisions are based on my own research of immigrant photographs and other photo bodies that pertain to immigration in Canada. This case study began with a general observation of the *Yugoslavian* series. After selecting two photographs of interest, I looked to detail their history and relevance to the collection's history. I do this to observe how these photographs contributed to the visual literacy of immigration history in mid-century Canada. Yugoslavia dissolved between 1989 and 1992, arguably the collection of Yugoslavian peoples in this series are from different existing republics and ethnic backgrounds such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. The term "Yugoslavian" or "Yugoslav" is no longer a practicing identifier amongst these communities but to protect the integrity of the archive and avoid further misidentification of people portrayed in the series I have made the decision to keep the title of Yugoslavians during my intervention.

In this brief analysis, I have demonstrated how the original general description of the collection imitates the conditions of macro-appraisal methodology but fails to introduce the photographs as records. This is because macro-appraisal methodologies disregard item-level descriptions, which ultimately limits the informational potential of the photographs' subject matter and medium of photography. To combat this, the application of private standards for specialized media like photography was used and focused on at the lowest level of the arrangement infrastructure where there are item level descriptions. This method allows the photographs to become attainable records within the archive. Moreover, addressing their related captions gives context to how the photographs were meant to be read with their text in the public sphere and outside

the space of the archive. Prior to my interaction with the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection, the MIKAN record notes that the description had only been modified twice in 2001.[102]

To the best of my ability I have tried to remain detached during record creation but am not fully able to do so because of the gaps of history in the collection, which are filled by my comparisons of other similar photo projects. However, documenting it allows for future archivists and researchers to follow my process and contribute to or challenge the material within my case study by recognizing the power of photographs as record documents.

4.3 Practical Structure of Item-Level Descriptions

Following a template provided to me during my residency at LAC at the private sector [refer to appendix 3.1], I built an excel sheet to provide a smooth transition of descriptions to their datasystem MIKAN. This section provides a detailed explanation on how the excel sheet was constructed and defined from left to right.The excel sheet satisfies RAD standards and uses specific codes to describe specialized media such as photography. Beneath the barcode column, I wrote the barcode of the container for easy search on MIKAN's backend system which is only accessible to LAC employees for retrieving objects. Barcodes are placed on the container once the container has moved to a permanent status. Following this, I wrote the container number beneath the container column so that archivists know in which container the prints exists. In this case it was volume 16. Next, I provided the item number in the item number column: it's the object's identification number which at this point was 4245. Then I wrote titles for the prints which previously did not exist. RAD states that if a title that is provided is not

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[102]Ibid., 9651.

created by the creator of the record, a third party providing an interpreted description of the item denotes this using square brackets,[103] so I constructed titles from their related captions for consistency between records. The captions I made were developed to describe the subject activities within the print. For prints 4245, they are: [Yugoslavian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch immigrants work on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm in Moose Creek, Ontario]. Moreover, this method of appraisal and description could be applied to dates based on an educated guess.[104]

The excel sheet asks for the extent of the individual item-level which expresses its unit volume [refer to appendix 3.2]. Since there are two prints that share identification numbers, 4245 is described as 1 of 2 and 2 of 2. This lets the archivist know that there are two existing records tied together.

I explored how Prints 4245 A and B are part of a larger photo series previously unacknowledged by LAC. My intervention of applying a photo historical lens begins by providing provenance to the photographs during my investigation of the prints' mobility and ubiquity, function as government records and their recordings of people. I believe that providing this context to their record would add to the bigger conversation of how photo collections of immigration contribute to the visual literacy of immigration in Canada. I accomplish this by examining how these prints act as a record for their public survival. This project asserts that these prints should not be read in isolation as they would have been circulated within the context of their text.

My decision to incorporate the entire photostory needed to be managed while respecting the

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[103]Ibid., 5.
[104]Ibid., 4-11.

integrity of the archive. Keeping the original physical arrangement acts as a record for the intellectual decisions made by the department during the creation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collections.

To address their mobility, I listed their related prints' and captions' numbers in the column for general notes. Doing this will allow researchers to search out the correlating content but also acknowledges that other material within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection exists that is similar to the arrangement of this photo series. Furthermore, in the general notes, I included the *Yugoslavian* series in which they were originally found.

The thematic code column includes their materiality. In this case, it is described as photography. MIKAN uses the 1200 code to describe photography. So for all descriptions that are built, 1200 is repeated beneath this column. This approach proves consistent for all descriptions following 4245. The place of publication would be Canada as they were made in Canada for the Canadian government. There is no specific date of creation for print 4245 recorded, instead I filled in the start and end dates columns [see appendix 3.3] used in the fonds description between 1958 to 1960. These dates represent the general timeline for when these photographs were taken.

The fonds description states that there are no restrictions on use.[105] All credit within the fonds description is given to LAC [see appendix 3.4], and for this reason it was described as such within my excel sheet. This would also be a repeated pattern for the entire Department of Manpower and Immigration collection and the photographs that were examined specifically in

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[105]Ibid., 9651.

my case study. The terms of copyright code is described by MIKAN as 90 which translates to their backend system as open documents available for use and viewing. The last column is used to indicate any descriptions or signatures found on the print, this is where I noted if they came attached to their original captions.

Realizing that it would be easier to find related prints based on their captions, since they all shared the same identification number, I looked through all the separate caption files that played off the agriculture theme and discovered ten prints that all had the same title and larger story similar to 4245.

Although the remaining ten prints didn't discuss immigration, their smaller captions described activities within the photographs that included other Canadian community workers like women and youth workers. It also described how Javitch's farm functioned. These ten prints are Prints 1836, 4251, 4252, 4253, 4254, 4257, 4259, 4260, 4261, and 4262. They are beneath the series *Vegetables*. Without having access to the backend site this would never have been known because his series is not described within the original public facing MIKAN description. I only found the container after going through the obtained material module which gives a brief description of the material within volumes when you order. Other series examples from the same container as *Vegetables* that are not described by the current MIKAN description are miscellaneous farming, tobacco, sugar beets, and poultry[106]

After physically retrieving the new material, I input the information into my excel spreadsheet in the same steps as described above. The only differences are the unique titles I created to

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[106]Ibid., 9651.

accurately describe the activities in the print and draw attention to the larger context of the photostory and representation of peoples. Each print is also inspired by their cutlines in brackets. Only 4257 has a date which was sourced from the caption. In the general notes column I wrote that they were a part of the *Vegetable* series. MIKAN numbers are automated once they officially become a part of the system at a later date.

I offer the information I collected to be incorporated into the scope and context of the collection so that other researchers and archivists will have a rounded understanding of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection.

4.4 Future Concerns

In this section I address major obstacles that LAC or any archivist attempting to write descriptions may face. The first challenge is the collection's mammoth size. In its entirety there are 5,337 prints that would need to be individually observed and recorded, which would require many long hours to do. This is an obstacle because the specific collection may not take priority for LAC, which is reasonable considering LAC's overall record and object counts. The second obstacle is finding the prints' provenance since much of the collection's history is left empty. Again, this may not seem valuable to the archivist or the institution as the collection may not sit as a high cultural priority. Thirdly, building descriptions without applying too much interpretation may be difficult especially if the material is personal. Descriptions written with bias is a possibility, as Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook argue in "Archives, Records, and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance," the archives are places of performance. As such informational priority is determined by the archivist based on their understanding of the record's history and their idea of value. Just as Terry Cook has provided in "Part A: Appraisal

Methodology: Macro-Appraisal and Functional Analysis" and "Part B: Guideline for Performing an Archival Appraisal on Government Records," the myth of records as neutral can be overcome by publicly providing standards for their citizens to understand the intellectual decisions taken by archivists. From an optimistic position, publizing standards allows space for critique of current regulations from outside or internal sources. This approach can benefit the archivist and archive with a fresh look on standards that need revision or simplification and allow for other archives to garner influence for their own collections which may deal with similar issues to the ones presented in my case study.

This observation leads to my next point. To make the prints visually available to the public digital e-copies must be made available online to view. This strategy creates an entirely new set of issues outside of this and raises important questions about the value of digital preservation and the digital landscape as a new viewing site. Government item levels are only made when a digital copy is made and given an e-copy number; currently no digital copies exist for the Department of Manpower and Immigration. It follows that the next step would be to digitize these prints in order to allow them to take shape outside of their registration number. This is an important step in removing the narrative of objectivity in records as the record's authority is challenged through its availability to non-academic audiences. Reintroducing prints from the collection to the public allows for represented immigrants or Canadians to take agency over their image outside the Department of Manpower and Immigration's record of their existence. Making the photographs publicly accessible pushes for the immigrant narrative/gaze which has otherwise been overlooked and could be accomplished through online repositories constructed by LAC.

Similar projects that have brought their photo collections online and received information about the individuals represented in the photographs were *Project Naming*,[107] the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21,[108] and the oral histories found within the CPFU project.[109] Resources may be limited as this timely initiative would require a significant amount of attention which may be costly to the institution, especially in regards to long term digitization preservation.

Lastly, since it is extremely difficult to find the layouts for how these prints were circulated publicly in print, it is hard to understand how or if prints were cropped, adjusted, sequenced or how the gaze of the viewer was meant to be pulled across the photo series. This information is pivotal to understanding the Canadian dynamic in the record as it represents the photographs' public life.

Sarah Cook addresses administration issues in her study of the CPFU. The dominant issue she identifies is the lack of consistency in the custodial history of the CPFU caused by its dismantlement between cultural institutions throughout North America. Her concern for the collection is relevant to the issue of proper documentation of photographs and mimics the struggles I experienced during my own research of the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. The Department of Manpower and Immigration collection has not been separated institutionally but photographs from the collection have been reissued departmentally.

To move forward with my current contextualization of the collection, the description must acknowledge the Department of Citizenship and Immigration's transfer to the Department of

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[107]Library and Archives Canada, *Project Naming.* Canada, 2019.
[108]Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, *Canada: Day 1 - In Their Own Words Oral History Videos*, Canada, 2019.
[109]Ibid.,125-148.

Manpower and Immigration, reissued images that come from other various sources, and the many evolutions of LAC arrangement standards. Consciously including this information into the overall description affects the idea of content value within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection. This occurs because the administrative history stands as a record itself and the cultural value of these photographs becomes reconsidered during their move through archival standards and departments. As such, macro-appraisal methodology that documents the departmental functions in the record is beneficial in mitigating the above issues.

The overall description analysis including realistic difficulties that may affect the longevity of this project are necessary to address as they offer awareness of archival practice struggles during the collection's construction.

5. Conclusion

I offer my research to stand as a historical record for both the collection and for contributing to the conversation of how photographs can function in archival spaces as modes of memory making and record keeping in a larger federal institution. To the best of my ability this was accomplished by contextualizing the production of prints, circulation of prints, and arrangement and description of prints within and outside the archive. By extension, I have challenged the idea of records as neutral by positioning them into the larger conversation of archival responsibility and memory. By doing so, my research insists that the rational role of the archival institution creates and defines relationships between communities.[110] Lastly, I offer this case study to give the reader insight into the importance of archival standards pertaining to photographs by observing the process of building arrangements, which includes a custodial and administrative history of the collection, the archive as a body, and the dissemination of the twelve prints outside of their function as archival records.

Ignoring the history of photography when describing prints that act as cultural records limits their ability to participate historically at a larger level by disregarding their full informational potential outside of surface-level descriptions. By adding item-level descriptions to this collection, I explored multiple elements that went into the construction of these prints. My analysis demonstrates that these images remain active, not just in their subject matter but as cultural objects and historical records. Photographs are multi-layered and need to be observed as such; not only should their original context be kept but more must be done to make them relevant for future researchers. In this , I challenge the role of macro-appraisal as too structured and limited

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[110]Langford, "Imagined Communities: Putting Canadian Photographic History in its Place," 296-356.

in its methodology and as only benefitting the survival of the bureaucratic gaze. Currently, the bureaucratic context dominates the photographs within the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection and only allows space for nationalistic ideologies in the archive. This is especially relevant since LAC has been exploring methods to achieve reconciliation and decolonization in the archive. Their efforts included expanding the conversation to the galleries, libraries, archives and museums (GLAM) sector with a variety of insight and opinions prompting how LAC may renew relationships with indigenous communities.[111] Expanding the conversation to other representations of minority groups, specifically immigrants, will challenge the representation and categorization of people exclusively used previously for the federal government. Photographs must be recognized for their inherent qualities examined in photography theory such as challenging instrumental objectivity and power dynamics built by the institutionalization of photographs. Doing so adds a contextual layer to the medium's value in reading the Department of Manpower and Immigration collection otherwise ignored in the practical process of archiving.

In my example above, I demonstrate the importance of developing descriptions based on photo-historical knowledge and expertise which gives a better understanding of the roles of photographs as records in government departments. This value is reemphasized in my methodology and literature review which connects other photo collections and studies by scholars and archivists who look to fill the same roles. This approach helps to provide the photograph's full informational potential as a record in the context within which it was created and its importance as a current record. Even though item-level descriptions aren't a new

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[111]Archives Canada, "Exploring Decolonization on the Road to Reconciliation: Report Published," Library and Archives Canada, March 23, 2018,
http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/news/Pages/2018/decolonization-reconciliation-report.aspx.

concept for many photo-based collections, presenting a photograph's value as an active record in other collections is important to the record's preservation and collection's value.

Additionally, the informational value in these prints can help contemporary researchers remark on Canadian attitudes towards immigration during the mid-century, before the creation of the Department of Manpower and Immigration, during its activity, and its influence afterwards. This conversation can expand outside of the collection to include other narratives of land expansion through agriculture and industrial movement; nationalism; and tensions experienced by immigrants. Prioritizing where photographs need to be described in a collection would be the optimum approach. Understandably this is a slow and timely process as it requires a deep understanding on what the record was used for in a department, as well as a good understanding of photographic history, yet looking at photographs as records beyond their subject matter is important to the construction of a visual history of Canada. While macro-appraisal methodology is beneficial for large scale collections, stakeholders, and detachment as an archivist in their description, it disregards the informational potential embedded in photographs as a medium to record. To combat this, more available training on the functionality of photography as a medium to record should be considered for many archivists who work outside of the photo department and will deal with photographs in future situations.

6. Appendices

FIGURE 1: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Yugoslavian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch immigrants work on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm in Moose Creek Ontario],1958-1960, 4245.
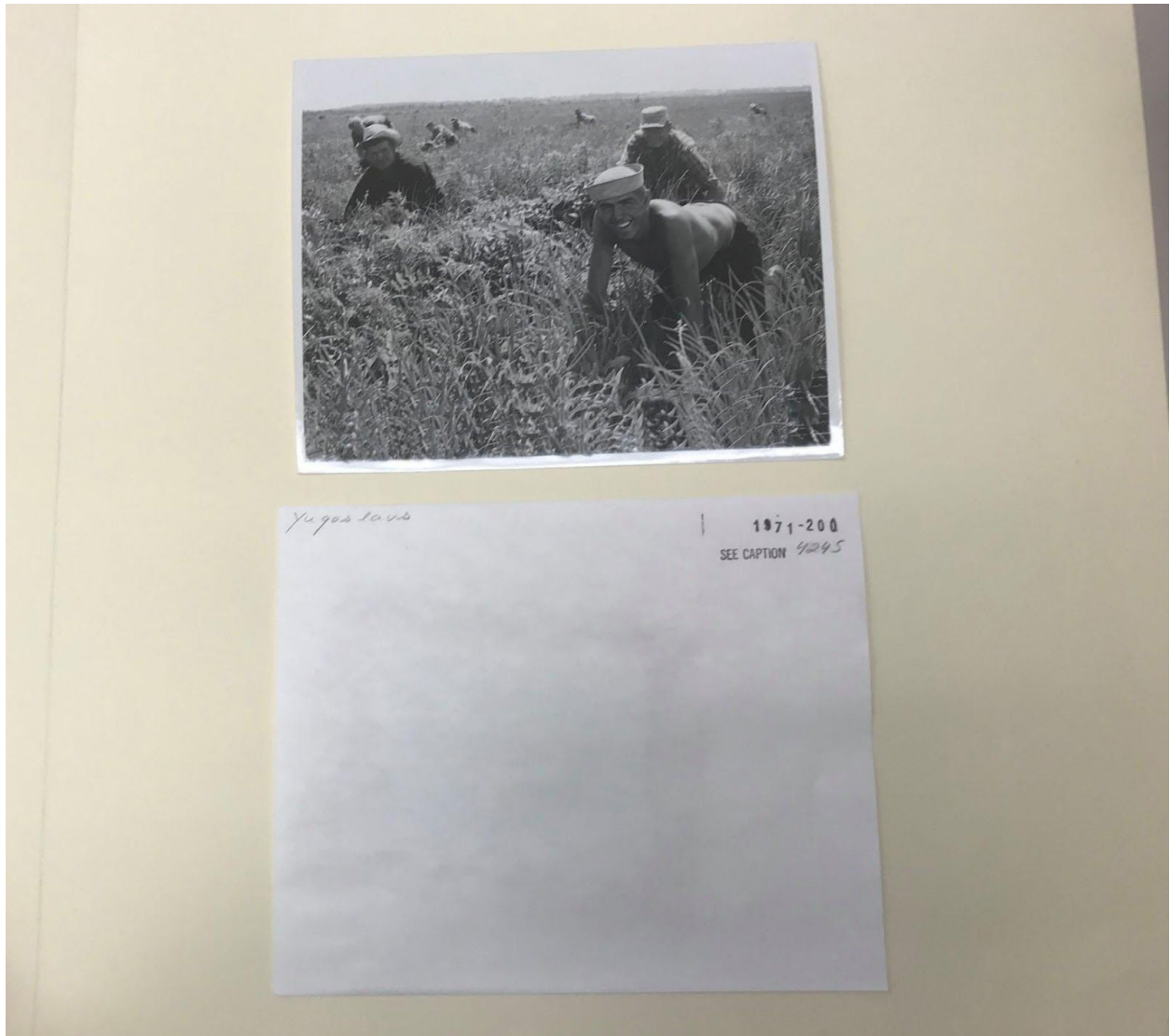
FIGURE 2: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Yugoslavian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch immigrants work on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm in Moose Creek Ontario],1958-1960, 4245.

Barcode number	container number	MIKAN number	item no.	title
2001139498	13		4245	[Yugoslavian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch immigrants work on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm in Moose Creek Ontario]
2001139502	13		4245	[Yugoslavian, Italian, Belgian and Dutch immigrants work on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm in Moose Creek Ontario]
2001139502	16		1836	[Couple tends to Russian Immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm]
2001139502	16		4251	[four unidentified men working tracter on Russian immigrant Gregory Javitch's onion farm]
2001139502	16		4252	[two men toss bags of onions on tracter from Gregory Javitch's onion farm]
2001139502	16		4253	[7 men prepare onions for delivery from Gregory Javitch's farm in Alfred, Ontario]
2001139502	16		4254	[one man on truck prepares to take bagged onions to new store shed]
2001139502	16		4257	[Gregory Javitz's farm at Moose Creek Ontario]
2001139502	16		4259	[3 local highschool boys found work weeding cabbages on Russian Immigrant Greogry Javitch's farm]
2001139502	16		4260	[line of women work hard tending to the land while a man looks over]
2001139502	16		4261	[group of women face camera while picking onions]
2001139502	16		4262	[half body shot of group of women posing for camera while picking onions]

FIGURE 3.1: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Description Excel Sheet], 2019.

extent	general note	thematic code	places of publication	date
1 of 2	yugoslavians	1200	Canada	
2 of 2	yugoslavians	1200	Canada	
3	vegetables	1200	Canada	
3	vegetables	1200	Canada	
2	vegetables	1200	Canada	
3	vegetables	1200	Canada	
3	vegetables	1200	Canada	
3	vegetables	1200	Canada	1960
2	vegetables	1200	Canada	
2	vegetables	1200	Canada	
2	vegetables	1200	Canada	
1	vegetables	1200	Canada	

FIGURE 3.2: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Description Excel Sheet], 2019.

start date	end date	media	part of:	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	
1958	1960	photography	Department of Manpower and Immigraiton Fond	

FIGURE 3.3: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Description Excel Sheet], 2019.

terms of use: credit	terms of copyright	signatures and inscriptions
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	verso: 4
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	verso: original caption
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	
LAC	90	

FIGURE 3.4: Department of Manpower and Immigration Collection [Description Excel Sheet], 2019.

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