

#### **ARTICLE**



## French archivists, the management of records and records management since the nineteenth century: are French recordkeeping tradition and practice incompatible with records management?

Édouard Vasseur

Centre Jean Mabillon, Ecole nationale des chartes-PSL, Paris, France

#### **ABSTRACT**

French recordkeeping tradition and practice, gradually built up since the nineteenth century, are associated with the principle of provenance (respect des fonds) and with the life cycle approach (théorie des trois âges). The concept of records management seems at first glance unfamiliar to French archivists, as the difficulty of translating the term records into French would attest. This paper aims to study how and to what extent French archivists have taken into account the management of records in organisations since the French Revolution and to analyse how they have embraced the very concept of records management and got involved in the development and the implementation of the ISO 15489 standard. The study concludes that language and terminology issues, as well as training and cultural specificities have played a key role in the way French archivists have approached recordkeeping systems over time.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Archival science; records management: France: recordkeeping tradition and practice

When thinking of French recordkeeping tradition and practice, the principles of provenance (respect des fonds) and the life cycle approach (théorie des trois âges) come to mind. In the recent Encyclopaedia of Archival Science edited by Luciana Duranti and Patricia C. Franks, the only article written by French archivists refers to the notion of archival fonds, a testimony to this heritage. Traditionally, French recordkeeping tradition and practice are not associated with the concepts of records. The difficulty of translating into French the term records and records management - understood as: 'The processes and controls for the creation, capture, and management of an organization's records to support that organization's operations' - attest to this.<sup>3</sup>

Does this mean that French archivists have never been interested in this matter?

The manner in which organisations manage their records has been, for several decades, at the heart of much historical research influenced by the archival turn movement. However, the study of the period after the French Revolution has not really been influenced by this movement. When Sophie Coeuré and Vincent Duclert discuss the history of French recordkeeping tradition and practice during this period in their handbook, it is mainly from the point of view of the history of public archives repositories and the problems of access to archives.<sup>5</sup> Bruno Galland does not consider in his analysis the way organisations manage their records, and he asserts that records management within organisations only really took place in the 1970s. Among the very few theses defended over the last 20 years in archival science, only one analyses the relationship that two professional groups (epidemiologists and geneticists) have with their records and the way in which they manage them. The other topics cover: the development of French recordkeeping theories and practice, the history of archival repositories, the way archives produced before the French Revolution have been managed by these archival repositories and the evolution of the archival profession.

Does this mean that there has been no tradition and practice of managing records in organisations in France since the French Revolution? How have records management theory and practice been disseminated in France? How did French archivists respond to these methods? What kind of methodological and linguistic problems did they face?

The aim of this article is to provide some initial answers to these questions, using a chronological approach. It is based on three types of sources:

- the archival professional literature more specifically handbooks and journals published by the archival community such as *La Gazette des archives*;
- the archives of archival services more specifically of the Directorate of Archives de France and the Archives de Paris;
- the few studies carried out by archivists and historians on the way organisations have managed their records since the French Revolution.

Three periods emerge from the chronological study. The first one starts with the French Revolution and ends after the Second World War, before the introduction of the records management concept in France. The second one begins with the presentation of the records management concept by Yves Pérotin in the early 1960s and ends in the 1990s, when *La Pratique archivistique française* (*French Archival Practice*) was published. The third one originates in 1996, with the development of the ISO 15489 standard and continues to the present day.

# How did organisations manage their records in France before the introduction of the records management concept?

When the French elected members of the Assembly created what was to become the National Archives, their wish was to have 'a safe place for the deposit of all original documents relating to the operations of the Assembly'. The decree of 12 September 1790 confirmed this mandate. Transferred under the authority of the Minister of the Interior under the Consulate, the National Archives lost their original mission and concentrated thenceforth on management of the archives of the Ancien Régime institutions in order to support the writing of the national history, as required by François Guizot or Jules Michelet. The shift was the same at the local level with the regional archives.

### The management of records in nineteenth century organisations

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, it would appear that organisations employed professionals to manage their records and adopted methods to implement this management, mainly

within the framework of the registry system mentioned by Theodore Schellenberg and defined in the Society of American Archivists dictionary as 'The policies and procedures that govern the recording, control, and maintenance of records within an organization through the use of registers, lists, and indexes.'9

We know very little about the archivists employed by organisations prior to the 1950s, but we do know they existed. In the Department of Finance, ordinances of 1828 and 1844 stipulated that the Librarian-Archivist was responsible for collecting and preserving authentic acts produced and signed by the Minister, assisted by archivists in the different sections. 10 At the War Ministry, the law of 24 June 1890 created a corps of archivists for the army general staff. Their mission, according to the decree of 1 May 1891, was to conduct their work: 'under the orders of officers employed in staff functions, the office services and the conservation of records'. 11 People in charge of managing records in organisations therefore existed as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

To this day, we have partial knowledge of their practices and the way they managed archives. For example, the Department of Ponts and Chaussées (Bridges and Roads), which brought together the engineers responsible for the design and control of land communication routes, set up a rational system for organising its records from the 1850s onwards. The aim was to rationalise existing practices throughout the country. The management of records was based on the uniform maintenance of business registers ('registres d'ordres') in which cases were recorded as well as inventories describing the records that had been filed. A single filing plan was adopted and applicable to all departmental services. Rules were established for the creation of records, and furthermore models for the keeping of reports and the drafting of minutes and dispatches were disseminated. As early as 1860, retention period and final disposition rules were defined for accounting documents. Thus, a formalised approach to managing records was adopted.12

In the territories annexed by the German Empire in 1871, that is Alsace and the current department of Moselle, the German administrations applied the Registratur system upon their arrival, with the aim of controlling the decision-making process by means of order offices. 13

At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Charles-Jean Lassalle, former archivist of the War Ministry who became secretary-archivist of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' political section, developed in 1896, at the request of Minister Gabriel Hanotaux, a method of filing records applicable to embassies and consulates abroad. This method defined the rules for the creation of files, distinguishing between general correspondence files and business correspondence files, provided for the identification of cases 'of particular importance', required the identification of records and in particular reference to the standard filing plan that he designed, and recommended the establishment of an index card system recording the on-going business. All files necessary for day-to-day work had to be kept in a current operational service, separate from the archival services that were dedicated to older files.14

### Thought processes of organisations on rationalising office work

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the 1920s, the spread of new methods of producing and reproducing records - typewriters, copying machines, carbon paper,

machines to automate correspondence – and the development of the file system led to an inflation of the volume of records within organisations. One of the consequences of this volume increase was the development of a theoretical and practical thinking framework.<sup>15</sup>

Initially, adopting good classification methods seems to have been the solution to the problem. The concept and methods of documentation, developed by the Belgians Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine, were prominent in a journal such as *Mon bureau* (*My* Office), edited by Gaston Ravisse. The aim was to enable organisations to find information with certainty, to simplify the work of creating and transmitting records and to facilitate the means to access them. The proponents of scientific management, the heirs of Frederick Winslow Taylor and Henri Fayol, also insisted on the importance of classification and disseminated the methods promoted by documentation specialists, particularly within the context of the work carried out by the Comité national de l'organisation française (CNOF, National Committee for French Organisations). As a result, the training program developed (under the aegis of the CNOF) by the École d'organisation scientifique du travail (School for the scientific organisation of work) created in 1934 included in its secretarial and office management courses, a presentation of the principles of classification.

Then, as early as the 1930s, the thinking about managing records in organisations went beyond the simple question of filing. The management of the life cycle of records and the optimisation of their storage moved to the forefront of concerns, mainly for promoters of the scientific movement.

In 1929, as part of a consultancy mission in Morocco, Jean Milhaud, one of the first organisational consultants, sought to simplify the work of the protectorate's services (customs and town planning) by developing mechanisation tools, rationalising procedures, standardising the files and records used, and setting up 'practical and fully guaranteed records storage equipment'. Above all, however, he continually faced the problem of managing records and called for a general policy, detailed instructions, permanent control, and the creation of an administrative organisation service supported by an 'archival commission and service', working closely with the General Archives of the protectorate. Whereas classification remained an essential point, Milhaud's thinking was broader and covered the entire management of records, from their creation to their disposal. In 1935, promoting a rational organisation of public organisations, he considered that the definition of common rules for the management of records, upon their creation, as well as the coordination of administrations on this subject, were major elements. We were major elements.

On the eve of the war, there were more and more papers stressing the importance of good management of records. At the CNOF, in 1938, Amédée Petitgant considered it necessary to prevent an excessive and disorderly rise in production and to act both on the production and on the life cycle of records, through retention periods for each record type and the development of general repositories with the support of the chambers of commerce. This brings to mind the records centres developed a few years later in the United States and the United Kingdom, as part of records management programs.<sup>21</sup>

Have these ideas been put into practice? Undoubtedly, as exemplified by the case of the automobile manufacturing company Renault which, as early as August 1932, adopted a general instruction on the management of records, focusing on the documents that were binding for the company, systematically identifying categories of records with their retention periods, describing the procedure for the transfer to the records centre and for their access.<sup>22</sup>

## Archivists trained at the École des chartes and the management of records in organisations

In the public sector, a unified administration was set up at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, bringing together the National Archives and the archives of municipalities, regions (départements in French), and hospitals. Archivistes paléographes trained at the École des chartes gradually established themselves in these services, but also in the services that operated themselves historical archival services (Ministries of War, Navy and Foreign Affairs). Their role was mainly confined to the management of pre-revolutionary archives and to the ingest of post-revolutionary archives. At the War Ministry as at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this group of archivists seemed removed from the practices put in place by the archivists of the ministry. Does this mean that they did not at all reflect upon the management of records in organisations? From the July Monarchy (1830–1848) onwards, archivists' thinking seemed to focus on the processing of archives prior to the French Revolution (which certainly constituted the majority of the archives kept in their repositories), that is: arrangement (adoption of arrangement frameworks); description (standardisation of inventories); and access. Regarding the records of organisations, the archivists' purpose was to avoid the loss of records 'later recognised as having a real value for science, administration and families': therefore, they focused on the transfer of responsibility in the event of the departure of public officials, the control of destruction and the transfer of records to archives repositories.<sup>23</sup> The regulations ignored the way organisations managed their records. Even the instructions for disposal remained limited to lists of categories of records, insisting on the control exercised by archivists.<sup>24</sup> However, the success of these prescriptions was relative.<sup>25</sup> Addressing this problem became an issue in the late 1920s. With this in mind, Charles Schmidt, Inspector General of Archives - responsible for inspecting archive and library services - and Henri Courteault, Director of Archives - head of the National Archives and in charge of defining the archives management policy – both reporting to the ministry of National Education, drafted the decree of 21 July 1936 regulating the deposit of ministerial and related administrative papers in the state archives (at both national and regional level), with the goal of controlling the destruction and the deposit of historical archives in the archival repositories. However, the decree broke new ground by granting representatives of the Directorate of Archives the right to inspect the repositories of organisations. Nevertheless, the creation and management of records by organisations remained the responsibility of the organisations themselves and was of little concern to the authors of the decree.<sup>26</sup>

Does this mean that all archivists lost interest in how organisations manage their records? Not so, according to the following examples.

The founder of the General Archives of French Indochina, Paul Boudet published in 1934 a manual explaining to archivist-librarians and secretaries the instructions adopted in the colony. This text included advice on how to manage records in organisations with the systematic establishment of a central registry responsible for registering documents,

dispatching them, gathering the replies, putting them in files (with the list of the most important documents as they arrived, written on the cover of the file), giving access to records and files, and managing disposal in close relation with the archival repositories.<sup>27</sup>

But, it is above all, the role of Charles Braibant that attracts attention. An archiviste paléographe (archivist palaeographer) trained at the École des chartes, appointed librarian and archivist of the Ministry of the Navy in 1920, and also a man of letters and a peace activist, Charles Braibant had under his authority all the archival repositories and libraries of the Ministry. He quickly became interested in the management of what he called office documentation ('documentation de bureau') and found himself at the centre of the various networks interested in this question: archivistes paléographes trained at the École des chartes, promoters of the documentation field and of scientific management. As soon as he was appointed, he sought to 'bring about a rational organisation of living archives' ('archives vivantes'). After having facilitated the design of the Official Bulletin of the Ministry, he devised a records management system based on the creation of files, the keeping of an index registry by subject giving access to files and documents, and the simplification of registration procedures through what he called 'automatic registration'. 28 He applied this method to Amitiés internationales (International Friendship), a peace organisation he founded in 1926. Two years later, in 1928, Squadron Leader H. Péchot presented this method in the Revue d'artillerie. 29 From 1936 onwards, gradually joining the advocates of scientific management, Charles Braibant promoted his method of records management in various circles (for example the Société de l'École des chartes, CNOF);<sup>30</sup> and several departments, including the National Library, implemented his method.<sup>31</sup> In 1944, Charles Braibant worked diligently to empower the archivists trained at the École des chartes with the role of 'monitor of public services for a rational organisation of office documentation' and to entrust the Archives directorate with the task of 'organising the living archives ("archives vivantes") of the country'.<sup>32</sup>

Even if the management of records in most organisations seemed to remain less than rational, French archivists were familiar with the elements that would be at the heart of the design of records management programmes in the United States and Great Britain: control of records production, classification, identification of records that bind organisations, definition of retention periods, rationalisation of storage. It is no coincidence that Charles Braibant, who was appointed Director of the Archives de France on 23 June 1948, is considered the founder of modern archives management policy in France.

## The concept of records management, its diffusion in France and its influence on the definition of French recordkeeping theory and practice

The history of records management in the United States is well known, from Brooks and Leahy's stand on the importance of more effective control over the creation, management, and evaluation of records, to the work of the Hoover Commission, the passage of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, and the 1956 publication of *Modern Archives* by Theodore Schellenberg. <sup>33</sup> At the same time, French archivists shared the same concerns as their American colleagues about the increasing production of records within organisations and aspired to improve relations with administrations. <sup>34</sup> It is in this context that the concept of records management was disseminated in France.

## Dissemination in France of the records management concept

French archivists did not really become aware of records management until the early 1960s. Some aspects of the programmes implemented in the United States and Great Britain were, however, known to them as early as the 1950s as part of the work carried out within the International Council on Archives: in Great Britain, transfer of records to the temporary records centres implemented by Sir Hilary Jenkinson at Hayes (that French archivists referred to by the term 'limbo') and the regulations governing the classification of records in administrations by the General Service Administration;<sup>35</sup> and the implementation of records centres where records were transferred and stored before disposal in the United States.<sup>36</sup> However, in France, the designation records management was never used in those cases.

It is in 1954 that the expression 'records management' was used for the first time in a French text, in an article by Isabelle Guérin. This text documented a visit in 1952 to the National Records Management Council headed by Emmett Leahy, and presented the various services offered by the Council to American companies: audits on the way records were managed, timely assessment of the disposal operations to be implemented, preparation of filing manuals for employees, advice on rationalising the way records were produced, and the use of records centres. That paper did not, however, address the thinking undertaken within the American administration, nor proposed the dissemination or adaptation of such practices in France.<sup>37</sup>

The main pioneer of records management in France is Yves Pérotin, archiviste paléographe and director of the archives of the Seine region and of the city of Paris. Appointed head of this repository in 1959 by Charles Braibant, Yves Pérotin mentioned in the work plan he submitted to the director 'the gigantic piles of documents in the annexes and the stocks of documents kept by offices that are unaware of the existence of the archival repository'. 38 Searching for solutions to address this situation, he was led to read books on records management. In a report to the Prefect of the Seine region dated February 1961, he stated, using Theodore Schellenberg's terminology, that: 'In short, the French administration has moved, unfortunately without realising, from a registry system to a filing system. Hence the poor management of files'. He then proposed to completely reform the management of archives, inspired by the American and British examples: raising the awareness of the services; identifying officers charged with managing the archives; establishing a rational policy of disposition and deposit in the archives; establishing intermediate repositories at the City Hall and in the other buildings of the Prefecture.<sup>39</sup>

He then obtained the Prefect's permission to travel successively to the United States from 18 to 28 October 1961 and then to Great Britain from 21 to 25 January 1963. Following these trips, he endeavoured to synthesise his observations in reports and papers. From his trip to the United States, he prepared the first synthesis in French on records management and insisted on the following topics: control of records production (what Pérotin names 'birth control'); rationalisation of disposition and rational storage of records in records centres after current use; and above all, in Pérotin's opinion, entrusting responsibility to the organisations' officers made possible by the clear distinction between records and archives, clearly made by American archivists but totally unknown to French archivists. 40 From his trip to Great Britain, he brought back the originality of the temporary repository system, the system of double revision to which the organisations' records were subject, the importance of the dialogue between the Records Officers in organisations and the Inspecting Officers of the Public Record Office; and, above all, the flexibility of the system, set up by Sir Hillary Jenkinson that demonstrated greater trust in organisations. <sup>41</sup> In the report he submitted to the Prefect on 25 June 1963, he additionally stressed the key role played by the financial sections and the importance of maintaining registers in the British administration, points however, not referenced in his *Gazette des archives* article. <sup>42</sup>

It is undoubtedly in the *Manuel d'archivistique*, begun in March 1962 but only published in 1970, that Yves Pérotin best summarised the lessons he had learnt from records management. In the chapter he devoted to 'archives en formation' ('archives in the making'), he deplored the fact that French recordkeeping tradition and practice only took into account records from the moment they left the offices of organisations and dreamt of a system where 'the archivist would follow the genesis of files from the very moment they are created to the moment they are disposed of'. Praising the British system, he advocated first for greater involvement of archivists, because they generally only visited the office out of duty rather than interest; secondly, for the consensual establishment, after debate, of records schedules and the creation, by specialised and trained staff, of general schedules similar to those drawn up in the United States; and, lastly, for the development of records centres, according to flexible and adaptable models. In short, he asked archivists to play the role of advisers in records management, without attempting to be lawyers or accountants.<sup>43</sup>

At the end of the 1960s, the broad outlines of records management were therefore known to French archivists, thanks mainly to the work of Yves Pérotin. <sup>44</sup> He took great care to disseminate his work, including the report on his trip to the United States; some of his colleagues then expressed particular interest in ideas about the involvement of archivists in the management of records in organisations. <sup>45</sup>

## The implementation of records management: Yves Pérotin and the SCOM

For Yves Pérotin, theoretical discourse was not enough. He attempted to put records management into practice and his work touched all areas of organisational records. First, he endeavoured to raise awareness among managers, in conjunction with the Organisation and Methods Office of the Prefecture, by organising a series of conferences and writing a number of publications intended for them. He also worked to improve his knowledge of the management of records of certain organisations leading to their rationalisation. His action targeted particularly the General Inspectorate of the Prefecture, the urban planning department, the finance directorate, financial control and certain government offices. 46 Influenced by the American example, in March-April 1962 he also launched a major survey of the 1,000 or so organisations under his control, in order to determine the state of their stocks and flows of records (creation and disposal) and to establish, on a scientific basis, their storage needs. He also endeavoured to organise records centres, and recommended to the Director General of the Archives de France, André Chamson, the creation of records centres in the Paris district. Finally, he improved the disposal procedures implemented by his repository.

All these steps and experiments are described in the annual reports that he sent to the Prefect of the Seine region and the directorate of the Archives de France. The framework of these reports was significantly revised in 1962 and introduced a section entirely dedicated to 'archives en formation', reflecting his thinking at that time.<sup>47</sup>

Yves Pérotin's initiatives were not isolated and were complemented by work undertaken in parallel by the Ministry of Finance, within the Central Organisation and Methods Service (SCOM, acronym standing in French for 'Service Central d'Organisation et Méthodes').<sup>48</sup>

Created by a circular from the Ministry of Economy and Finance dated 28 December 1959, the SCOM aimed to coordinate the work of the Organisation and Methods offices of the various administrations, to rationalise their work methods and to organise staff development and other training courses. As the heir to the structures underlying scientific management, the SCOM built on their work and quite naturally became interested in the way records were managed, through the methods used for filing and reproducing documents.<sup>49</sup> At the end of 1961, it launched a specific study on the management of records, focusing on issues of classification, microfilming and storage, headed by Maurice Durand-Barthez, archiviste paléographe and Head of the Ministry of Justice Archival Services.<sup>50</sup>

The 'Records' working group of the SCOM began meeting in February 1963 and brought together archivists and specialists in organisation and methods. Robert Favreau, archivist at the Ministry of Construction and then deputy head of the Technical Service of the Archives de France, played a central role. The group carried out several actions over its five years of existence: the publication of papers in the SCOM Bulletin and of brochures dedicated to records and archives in order to raise the awareness of administrators;<sup>51</sup> a study on the rules for the storage and disposal of records in the various administrations; and above all, a project to recast the regulation of archives by means of a draft decree.

All this work sought to improve the way records were managed in organisations and to provide solutions to identified problems. Records management was clearly influencing the working group's thinking, particularly the drafting of a new decree on archives; its development was based on the observation that the decree of 21 July 1936 required an overhaul in accordance with the following principles: appointment, within the administrations, of a high-level manager for records management, similar to the British Departmental Records Officers; identification of liaison officers and operational staff trained and responsible for implementing records management procedures; systematic communication to the management of the Archives de France of the filing schemes drawn up by the administrations; listings, established by the administrations, of the most important records to be preserved and of records of secondary interest to be destroyed, with the support of the Archives de France; rationalisation of transfers; implementation of records centres; and regular inspection of the records centres by the archivists of the Archives de France. The introduction to the draft decree insisted on the need for administrations to be efficient and on their responsibility in terms of records management, thus following the broad lines of records management programmes. The final version of the draft text was submitted for inter-ministerial review in November 1967.<sup>52</sup>

At the end of the 1960s, France seemed ready to follow the lead of the United States and Great Britain and develop regulations and programmes inspired by records management.

## Records management or 'pré-archivage'? French recordkeeping theory and practice

Nevertheless, records management did not take root in France. When he left the Paris archival repository in 1965, Yves Pérotin could only note his failure: the presentations he had set up were no longer asked for and, above all, the necessary resources were lacking. In 1970, Michel Duchein, in the *Gazette des archives*, considered for his part that everything that had been tried to rationalise the management of records in organisations 'remains embryonic and somewhat in its infancy'. Twenty years later, Christine Pétillat and Hélène Prax, editors of the chapter on contemporary archives in *Pratique archivistique française*, could only conclude that 'it was unrealistic in the French administrative tradition to claim to imitate this entire programme of action, particularly the role played in the creation of records'. Both positive and negative factors can explain this failure.

According to Michel Duchein, the training of archivists and administrators was to be blamed first and foremost.<sup>55</sup> Too few in number, with little training to focus on the post-revolutionary period and the functioning of contemporary institutions, *archivistes paléographes* as a body failed to provide an ambitious and coherent discourse on the management of records in organisations. Yves Pérotin agreed with this conclusion and regretted the lack of appetite for archival science among the students of the École des chartes.<sup>56</sup>

The attitude of the Archives de France also appeared ambiguous after the directorate was attached to the Ministry of Culture in 1959. While Charles Braibant showed an interest in the management of records in organisations, this did not seem to be the case for André Chamson, his successor from 1959 to 1971, who was nevertheless encouraged by Maurice Durant-Barthez and Yves Pérotin to pursue records management.<sup>57</sup> Guy Duboscq, director from 1971 to 1975, was too focused on the design and construction of the Cité interministérielle des archives, a large French-style records centre, to take an interest in the management of organisations' records. As for Jean Favier, director from 1975 to 1994, he saw in the archives only the 'historical heritage of the nation', all the while pushing for the strengthening of the system of 'missions des archives' in the ministries, a subject that we will be discussing in the next section.<sup>58</sup> Michel Duchein, head of the Technical Service at the Archives de France, was in favour of tempering the ambitions of archivists<sup>59</sup> and did not believe records management applied to anything other than case files. 60 However, he relayed Yves Pérotin's reports and papers 11 and supported the efforts of records management programmes to standardise and streamline recordkeeping.<sup>62</sup> When W. D. Osbrun, President of the International Records Management Federation, met him in October 1975, he refered him ... to the SCOM.<sup>63</sup> In his review of Gustaaf Asaert's pamphlet on records management in the United States for the Gazette des archives, Duchein concluded by asserting 'that French-style préarchivage is far from this American conception [of records centres]'.64

The failure of the implementation of records management in France lies, first, in the cohabitation with the Organisation and Methods offices with the archives services, and, secondly, in the existence of a French recordkeeping theory and practice based on *préarchivage*.

When records management was brought to the attention of French archivists, it was in fact already under the purview of the Organisation and Methods offices. In the early

1960s, it is the SCOM that audited the way in which records were managed, reorganised the registries, redesigned the printed matter, studied the problems of filing records, reorganised procedures, and developed mechanisation. Yves Pérotin was quite aware of this competition and echoed it to the Prefect of the Seine region. <sup>65</sup> On his return from the United States, he could only ascertain that his fellow archivists had already been approached by the 'French budget bureau'.66

The alliance between archivists and the SCOM was not sufficient to solve the problem, as it came too late. From 1962-1963 onwards, the Organisations and methods offices entered a period of decline and saw their vision of state reform compete with other approaches, in particular the so-called rationalisation of budgetary choices, which rapidly monopolised attention.<sup>67</sup> Increasingly isolated within the Ministry of Finance, the SCOM failed to convince the Ministry to promote the adoption of the draft decree on archives. Other reasons for the failure of this project included: the refusal of the ministries to allow archivists to control the management of their records too closely;<sup>68</sup> mistrust of the Department of Finance regarding the estimated cost in terms of premises and staff;<sup>69</sup> and, above all, the determination of the Ministry of Finance to set up its own records centre and archives repository, under the impetus of its archivist Alice Guillemain, who was an archiviste paléographe and curator at the National Archives, but who was opposed to the vision developed in the Manuel d'archivistique. 70 The reminders sent by the Ministry of Culture, up until 1970, remained unanswered. In November 1974, the Committee of Inquiry on the Cost and Performance of Public Services spoke of the need to 'definitively reconcile the Archives de France and the Department of Finance'. 72

However, the main cause of the failure of records management in France lies in the fact that a recordkeeping theory and practice was already established in the early 1960s, based on pré-archivage, which would be enshrined in the law of 3 January 1979 on archives.

First, the pré-archivage theory was based on the premise that there was no break between organisations and archival repositories. French archivists rejected the distinction between records and archives, but endorsed the existence of a succession of phases in the life cycle of archives, according to the theory outlined by Yves Pérotin in 1961 in the journal Seine-et-Paris and later developed in the Manuel d'archivistique. 73 From this perspective, the role of archivists was to identify archives with secondary value among the records of organisations, to prevent organisations from destroying them, and to ensure that they were transferred, after a reasonable period of time, to an archival repository. They were primarily interested in records as historical archives in the making, not as tools for the smooth functioning of organisations.

To improve the identification and transfer of archives to the archival repositories, French archivists developed several tools. At the State level, Charles Braibant initiated in 1952 the permanent secondment of archivists from the National Archives to the ministries. These 'archivistes en mission', initially responsible for controlling destructions and transfers to the National Archives, nevertheless played an essential role in improving the management of records by their assigned ministry, by drawing up specific schedules and then generic schedules.<sup>74</sup> In 1961, André Chamson and Guy Duboscq launched the project to create a large records centre, the Cité interministérielle des archives, based on the British model, under the authority of the Archives de France. The purpose of this centre, inaugurated in Fontainebleau in 1969, was to receive ministry records, in close collaboration with the 'archivistes en mission', to sort these archives and, once their primary value had lapsed, to transfer them to the National Archives.<sup>75</sup> The staff of the Archives de France developed schedules to identify archives at the local level, provided listing of records to be kept and records to be destroyed, on an organisational or functional basis, and encouraged the creation of records centres.<sup>76</sup>

Generally speaking, the French *pré-archivage* contributed to improving relations between organisations and archivists, ensuring a more rational transfer of archives to archival repositories. It failed, however, to improve, except on an ad hoc basis, the management of records in organisations themselves. However, very few organisations maintained practices inherited from the registry system or close to records management. The Port of Marseille<sup>77</sup> and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>78</sup> were two exceptions. The picture of the management of records in organisations painted in *La pratique archivistique française* in 1993 or in the report written by Guy Braibant, son of Charles Braibant, in 1995, remained very gloomy.<sup>79</sup>

## The diffusion in France of the ISO 15489 standard: will France finally adopt records management?

In 1996, when ISO sent the Australian draft standard AS 4390 on records management to its various members, the French archival context was undergoing profound changes.<sup>80</sup> The transformation of the Cité interministérielle des archives from a records centre into an archival repository between 1986 and 1993 marked the failure of the French attempt to create shared records centres. The ministries were therefore obliged to take charge of managing their own records until disposition. This trend was further confirmed by the Prime Minister's circular of 2 November 2001 on the management of records in State services and public agencies. New players were also appearing in the world of recordkeeping: firstly, young archivists trained in universities' archival training courses (since the end of the 1970s, more and more French universities have been offering archival training, whereas the profession of archivist was previously reserved for archivistes paléographes, for historical researchers and above all for agents trained on the job);<sup>81</sup> and secondly, records and archives management consulting firms. On the business side, the growing need for efficient policies on records management became more obvious with the emergence of a legal framework on the digital economy, the digitisation of processes and the introduction of regulations recognising the evidential value of electronic documents, as well as the growing number of regulations imposing a strong traceability of actions (for example Sarbanes Oaxley, Basel III).<sup>82</sup>

## France's role in the standardisation of records management

The draft Australian standard on records management from ISO, when received by the French national organisation for standardisation (Association Française de Normalisation, Afnor) in October 1996, was initially oriented towards quality management professionals and the ISO 9001 standard.<sup>83</sup> However, the project was quickly redirected towards *documentalistes* and archivists, who took over at the beginning of 1997. The initial draft of the text, notwithstanding its interest, puzzled the people contacted by Afnor – *documentalistes*, archivists in the public sector and archivists of companies – such that the text

was disapproved during the probationary investigation. The main reasons were: an abundance of details that had no place in a standard; a French translation, and in particular the vocabulary used, too far removed from the vocabulary used in France, which had itself already been standardised; a lack of references both to national regulations that may be applicable to companies and to work in progress at the International Council on Archives. France was therefore opposed to the text, along with other countries such as Denmark, Germany, Norway, Sweden, the United States and Great Britain.

However, France decided to fully commit to this standardisation project. As early as July 1997, it took part in London alongside the United States, Great Britain and Sweden, in the first meeting of the ad hoc group set up by ISO on the draft standard. French representatives, satisfied with the non-adoption of the standard as it stood and the creation of a dedicated subcommittee within ISO Technical Committee 46, were nevertheless sceptical about the ability to achieve a result because of recordkeeping traditions that were foreign to each other and the excessive influence of private sector players, particularly consulting firms. They insisted that the draft standard should take into account what they considered to be the foundations of French recordkeeping theory and practice: the principle of provenance, the life cycle theory and the two values of records (primary/secondary)

Starting in 1998, France participated in the new Subcommittee 11 of ISO Technical Committee 46, created on 4 December 1997 in order to achieve the standardisation of records management, on the basis of the Australian proposal. A national commission was set up for this purpose on 24 March 1998 - symbolically using the French terminology of 'archives courantes et intermédiaires' (current and semi-current records) - and henceforth France took part in all the meetings of ISO Technical Committee 46, and more particularly Subcommittee 11: at Athens in May 1998, Washington DC in December 1998, Paris in May 1999, Melbourne in November 1999 and Berlin in May 2000. France focused its intervention on several areas: the overall structure of the standard, with several proposals for reorganising the summary (for example in December 1998); the glossary, naturally, which was at the heart of its criticisms in 1996; the delineation of responsibilities, in line with the discussions that took place in the 1960s and led to the text of the 1979 law; the editorial work, on the basis of the new versions of the text proposed by the Australian coordinators - even if France was insufficiently involved in the work of drafting the technical report. The work of the French group brought together, within Afnor, archivists from the public sector, who deliberated in a special group, records managers and archivists from the private sector, documentalistes and consultants.

At the end of this phase, France considered that the standard was able to meet French expectations for the development of records management practices within its organisations, even if the text excessively reflected, in its view, the Australian concepts. It therefore agreed that the draft standard should be circulated in March 2000 and voted in favour of the standard in May 2000. The French translation became available in October 2001.<sup>84</sup>

### A rapid dissemination

The ISO 15489 standard was already receiving a great deal of attention in France during the period of its development. The favourable context described above was undoubtedly a major factor, but we must also take into account the buy-in and personal involvement of personalities such as Marie-Anne Chabin, Sylvie Dessolin-Baumann and Geneviève Drouhet.

As early as 1998, the Association des documentalistes et bibliothécaires spécialisés (ADBS) launched a major communication campaign centred on the draft standard, supported by the Association des archivistes français (AAF), which seemed to be less active: a one-day workshop on 'Records manager, a new profession for information and documentation professionals' was held on 25 March; whereas a complete dossier on the subject was published in the journal *Documentaliste – sciences de l'information* with the participation of Philippe Barbat, archivist at the Archives de France and member of the French delegations to ISO. 86

The movement picked up speed in view of the publication of the standard in 2000. Geneviève Drouhet, along with two other authors, Georges Keslassy and Élisabeth Morineau, published a first book on records management. The ADBS and the AAF formalised their association on the subject by founding a professional 'Records management' group which led, in 2002, to the organisation of a new one-day workshop and, in 2005, to the production of a guide for the application of the standard, Comprendre et pratiquer le Records management. Analyse de la norme ISO 15489 au regard des pratiques archivistiques françaises (Understanding and practicing records management: Analysis of the ISO 1589 standard in view of French archival practices). Beginning in 2001, the standard was the object of presentations, for example, to Aproged, the Association of Electronic Document Management Professionals, on 6 November 2001. The ADBS also created a website dedicated to the standard (http://records-management.fr), by 2005 at the latest. The Abrégé d'archivistique, a handbook published by the AAF, included a presentation of the standard, at least as early as its first edition in 2004.

Very quickly, training organisations echoed the standard and organised courses designed to facilitate its adoption, such as the AAF which, as early as 2001, offered the training course: 'Principles and Practices of Records Management'. An article in the *Gazette des archives* published in 2012 and presenting all existing university training courses attested the presence of modules dedicated to records management in Angers, Mulhouse and Versailles-Saint-Quentin. It was undoubtedly the Institut national des techniques documentaires (INTD, National Institute for Documentation Technologies), attached to the Conservatoire national des arts et métiers (CNAM), that went the furthest with the development of a certified training course on the subject.<sup>93</sup>

Several working and discussion groups on records management continued in the following years. The most notable was undoubtedly the Club des Responsables de Politiques et Projets d'Archivage (CR2PA, Club of the Managers for Archiving Policy and Projects), founded in particular by Richard Cazeneuve, engineer and head of the records management policy of the Réseau de Transports électriques (Electricity Transmission Network, RTE), Marie-Anne Chabin, records management consultant and Daniel Colas, another engineer, head of document management and archives at the automobile manufacturing company PSA. Over a decade, this association carried out a major awareness-raising campaign among companies, published several white papers – for example on the issue of electronic messages – and produced two massive online

courses (MOOCs) dedicated to the subject, advocating for an approach based on risk management, and not on the historical interest of archives.<sup>94</sup>

Finally, France continued to be involved in standardisation efforts, but probably in a less coordinated manner than in the years 1996-2000. On one hand, work went on at Afnor and ISO (Technical Committee 46); but on the other hand, France was not really involved in the European work of the DLM (acronym for 'Données Lisibles par Machine', machine-readable data) Forum on the MoReq (Model Requirements for the Management of Electronic Documents and Records) standard, even if the first version was translated into French by Marie-Anne Chabin, with the help of sponsors, in 2004, and the second version was translated at the initiative of the Archives de France in 2008, 95

## Significant impediments remain

Records management has therefore been widely used in France since the end of 1998, but does this mean that it was straightforward to embrace? Terminology and confrontation with the French recordkeeping theory and practice were significant impediments in this area.

The question of terminology has, since 1997, proved to be a hindrance to the development of the international standard, which complicated the dialogue between Anglophones and non-Anglophones, but also among English-speaking archivists.<sup>96</sup> The problem was particularly acute in France, whose recordkeeping tradition, like that of Germany, does not distinguish between records and archives, and where French archivists tend, as soon as terminological questions arise, to turn to their Frenchspeaking Canadian colleagues, who have their own recordkeeping tradition. In 1996, the translation recognised by Afnor for the term 'record' was 'enregistrement', a term naturally used in the first French version of the draft standard in February 1997.<sup>97</sup> In 1997, the AAF proposed the Canadian term 'gestion des documents' to translate records management, which could pose identity problems for archivists associated with ADBS documentalistes. Consequently, the sub-committee set up in France in 1998 took the name 'gestion des archives courantes et intermédiaires' (management of current and semi-current records), using terminology inherited from the work of Pérotin and the 1979 law on archives. When the French version of the standard was published in 2001, a compromise was found; the term records management was not translated, but the expression 'document d'archives' was used to translate the term records. 98 At the end of the 2000 decade, the message became definitively blurred with the multiplication of expressions. In April 2009, the General Terminology Commission first decided to recommend the translation of records management by 'archivage (recordkeeping)' and of record by 'document à archiver' ('document to be archived'), a vocabulary used in the French translation of MoReq2 and ICA-Req. 99 In June 2009, the white paper published by the CR2PA on electronic messages talked about messages 'that bind the company', leading to the formalisation of a new translation for record, 'document engageant' ('binding document'). At the same time, the CR2PA promoted the concept of 'archivage managérial', insisting on the responsibility of companies to manage their records, which amounted to a new translation of the notion of records management. Finally, in September 2010, when Afnor launched the public inquiry on the draft standards of the 30300 series, the French Canadian expression 'document d'activité' ('activity document') was chosen to translate the term record. The confusion was then at its peak, provoking heated debate within the profession and further confusing French archivists. 100

The clash with the French recordkeeping tradition has been just as complicated. Since the first standardisation work in 1997, French archivists have been analysing the texts submitted by the ISO in light of the concepts on which their professional practice is based: the principle of provenance; the life cycle of archives (théorie des trois âges); the concept of 'archives courantes (current archives)' incorporating what the draft standard meant by record, but also all documents produced or received by organisations, even those without evidential value; the particular perspective on documents and records of archivists who dedicate themselves to the identification and preservation of historical archives, and not to the efficiency and legal liability of companies. 101 The fact that the initial training of French archivists - at the Institut national du patrimoine (National Institute for Cultural Heritage) as well as in French universities - focuses mainly on history, on archival arrangement and description and on access by third parties, is undoubtedly related to this situation.

The latest version of the Abrégé d'archivistique, published in June 2020, clearly attests to this confusion. The first section of the handbook uses and attempts to define the terms 'records management', 'gestion des documents d'activité', 'document d'archives', and 'enregistrements'. It is interesting to note, however, that in the titles of its different sections, the English expression 'records management' prevails. 102

### An uneven implementation

The publication of ISO 15489 and the emergence of a professional community centred on records management have undeniably had a positive effect on the way organisations manage their records. The increasing number of archivists, who are graduates of university archival training courses, dedicated to the management of organisational records (in public administration as well as in private enterprises), was undoubtedly key to this change. 103

Private companies have quite naturally been the most inclined to adopt and implement the principles of records management. The 2012 issue of La Gazette des archives and the CR2PA blog provide a few examples of the achievements implemented at La Poste, Orange, PSA, Total, Safran and L'Oréal. 104 Government agencies also implemented records management principles, such as the National Library (BnF), where an electronic records management system was set up between 2004 and 2009;<sup>105</sup> or the Agence pour la formation professionnelle des adultes (Agency for continuing professional education, AFPA).<sup>106</sup>

In the ministries, apart from the example of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had succeeded in adapting its registry system, records management also inspired archivists where the Archives de France relayed the standard and its concerns, particularly in the management of electronic records. Public sector archivists provided guidance on the management of records by setting up filing schemes, taking charge of case files, particularly career files at social affairs ministries, supporting projects to digitise records by drafting procedures, and identifying vital records, particularly at the Ministry of the Economy and Finance. In many cases, the theory and practice of records management has influenced the practice of archivists.

Despite all these efforts, the implementation of records management remains limited in French organisations. In the private sector, faced with the difficulty of convincing company directors, an association such as CR2PA was led to develop the concept of 'archivage managérial', with a view to remind them that good records management is essential to good business management. <sup>107</sup> In the public sector, the situation is equally complicated by the lack of a sound managerial culture among senior public service managers. The audit on the modernisation of archives carried out in 2006 and 2007 unsurprisingly concluded that there was a need to streamline the production and management of records, drawing on the theory and practice of records management. 108 However, it did not result in any overall implementation, due to the lack of interest in the conclusions of this audit on the part of the new government (after the 2007 elections), but also due to a lack of follow-up within public sector by the Ministry of Culture, that was more concerned at the time with the project to build a new National Archives repository in Pierrefitte-sur-Seine.

### Conclusion

This historical study shows that the French recordkeeping tradition is not incompatible with the notion of records management. Even before the Second World War, records management practices existed in France and issues at the heart of records management theory (control of records creation, definition of retention period, records centres) were already the subject of debate. Yves Pérotin played an essential role in introducing French archivists to the theories of records management in the early 1960s. Thirty-five years later, France took an active part in the development of the ISO 15489 standard. Since 1998, the ISO 15489 standard has been widely disseminated within the French archival community. On several occasions, whether at the CNOF, SCOM or, more recently at CR2PA, French archivists have allied themselves with engineers who are by nature concerned with the more rational management of organisations.

Nevertheless, French archivists seem to have never completely adopted records management. There are many reasons for this: terminology of course, and the lack of commitment on the part of managers, especially in the public sector. However, in our opinion, the national recordkeeping culture and tradition have also played a major role. French archivists, because of the training they receive and of the idea most of them have of their profession, are infinitely less concerned with risk management within organisations. Their main focus is the identification and preservation of documents and records having potential archival value, in a continuum logic. In the French tradition, archives are intricately linked to heritage and culture and not to the management of organisations, nor to efficiency. It is no coincidence that the Archives de France are attached to the Ministry of Culture.

These are preliminary conclusions, based on our research. However, more in-depth research is required on the way organisations, both public and private, have managed their records since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We also need to study the way French archivists have embraced the ISO 15489 standard and put it into practice on a daily basis. We hope that this article will encourage young French researchers or professionals to take an interest in these issues in the coming years.

Lastly, what is the status of records management in France in 2020? The situation seems in fact ambiguous. The portal dedicated to records management (http:// records-management.fr) has been abandoned. The last document published on the AAF website by the working group on records management dates back to 2015. However, their professional group on LinkedIn is still active and the last publication is dated August 2020. 109 The publication of the new version of the ISO 15489 standard in 2016 elicited almost no response - no articles were published either in the Gazette des archives or in Archivistes – even though a communication plan was in place. 110 It is difficult to answer why, even though Marie-Anne Chabin tried to give some explanations on her blog. 111 However, the latest version of the Abrégé d'archivistique published in 2020 presents the broad outlines of the ISO standard. 112 Nevertheless, records management continues to occupy a secondary place in the initial training of archivists. However, its profile is growing in the training programmes of the universities - the École nationale des chartes scheduled a training session in records management for the first time in September 2020, which unfortunately was cancelled 113 - and the latest version of the professional framework produced by the AAF devotes an entire section to the skills and competencies of records managers. 114 It is as if the subject has disappeared from the French archival radar, while other subjects such as vital archives, digital preservation, the impact of the European Union General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and memory issues continue to be the subject of passionate debates. Should we conclude that French archivists have integrated records management into their practice to the point where it is no longer a subject of debate? In our view based on the current knowledge in this field, the question remains open.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

### **Notes on contributor**

*Édouard Vasseur*, archiviste paléographe, Ph.D., graduated from the École nationale des chartes and the Institut national du patrimoine. He was head of the holdings department at the Centre des archives contemporaines (2002–2006), archivist at the Ministry of Culture (2006–2012), chargé de mission at the Ministry of the Armed Forces (2012–2015), then functional head of the Vitam digital preservation program (2015–2019). He is currently Professor of institutional history, diplomatics and archival science (19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries) at the École nationale des chartes.

#### **ORCID**

Édouard Vasseur (b) http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1503-2075