

# ***Building GLAMour:***

Converging practice between Gallery, Library, Archive and Museum  
entities in New Zealand Memory Institutions.

By

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## ***Abstract***

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The development of new technology has created a catalyst for escalating amounts of integrative practice between cultural heritage institutions such as galleries, libraries, archives and museums (GLAMs). While discussion centres on collaborative or convergent practice in a digital milieu, there is minimal critical analysis of integrative models of operation in our physical GLAM environments. The increasing development of buildings designed to house collectively our galleries, libraries, archives and museums creates challenges and opportunities for the participating entities. Resource rationalisation, tourism ventures, community engagement and technological determinism are often the embedded drivers for the expansion of these new institutional forms. While the development of these institutions increases, there is a dearth of research considering the implications of these models on the participating entities. How do the gallery, library, archive and museum domains transcend institutional silos to build GLAMour?

Through a theoretical framework of organisational symbolism, this interdisciplinary research explores the agency afforded to socio-cultural constructs in challenging the epistemological distinctions drawn between GLAM entities in a physical operating environment. By examining the symbolic points of intersection and integration in integrated memory institutions, this thesis addresses how the participating entities negotiate knowledge across GLAM domain boundaries to build and maintain a ‘culture of convergence’.

Data analysed from three New Zealand case studies shows how areas of intersection and integration manifest in the collections, identity, organisational infrastructure and institutional architecture of these models. These areas of intersection and integration recursively support and negate the development of a convergent GLAM culture. The depth of integration in the cases studied varied widely over the institutions’ life cycle. Issues

relating to differences in back of house functions, preservation management for individual collection formats, the use and appropriation of space, as well as entity worldviews also heavily influenced the development of a convergent culture.

This thesis argues that in building GLAMour there is a tipping point, which, when reached, falls beyond the advantages of cohesiveness and collective representation to a point where integrity and scholarship are impeded. Moreover, integration works best as a layered concept, with the levels and types of integration being dependent upon, and responsive to, each unique operating environment. In theorising the data drawn from the cases, maintaining the integrity of the individual GLAM paradigms whilst looking for opportunities to build integrative layers on top of core GLAM functions has emerged as a constructive approach to the development of future joined-up models of operation.

This thesis concludes that the theorised pathways towards convergence between the GLAM domains are not definitive, but rather are a fluid and dynamic process. This is a process that adapts over space/time and is recursively reflected in, and influenced by, the architecture, people, programming, services and unique integrative ethos present in individually integrated memory institutions.

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## ***1 Introduction***

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During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the historical co-location, or indeed the development of a single organisational structure, was not a novel approach for the management of New Zealand's gallery, library, archive and museum (GLAM) entities.<sup>1</sup> Many burgeoning cities looked for a rational means of providing access to library materials and museum artifacts for their developing communities. Much of what we would today call integrative practice was borne of pragmatic necessity, rather than any theoretical re-conceptualisation of cultural heritage boundaries.

During the remainder of the twentieth century, driven by subtle shifts in their core mandates and through developments in the political, cultural and technological spheres, galleries, libraries, archives and museums carved out their own unique places in the cultural heritage domain. Further changes in those same political, cultural and technological spheres have prompted resurgence in the ideology of joined-up models of operation. The drivers for these new models are multifaceted and may include resource rationalisation, tourism, community engagement and even technological determinism. Regardless of their reasons for development, many GLAM entities now find themselves operating cheek-to-cheek, in purpose built facilities under varying kinds of integrative frameworks. Given their historical divergence over the previous century, this research seeks to understand the challenges and opportunities for GLAM entities working in these joined-up models of operation. How, with their unique worldviews and differing *raison d'être*, do they come together to exchange and build new knowledge across GLAM domain boundaries?

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<sup>1</sup> In this research, the term entity is used as a holistic descriptor to encompass all facets of the gallery, library, archives or museum e.g. organisation, institution, staffing, services, collection, identity etc.

This research introduces three case studies of integrative practice between the gallery, library, archive and museum entities in New Zealand self-defined converged memory institutions. These three case studies provide empirical evidence of the way GLAM entities interact with each other and how they perceive the presence and influence of each other in their institutional environments. This negotiation, exchange and generation of new knowledge across GLAM domain boundaries form a foundation for addressing the central research question in this thesis.

**How is a culture of convergence generated between GLAM entities in an integrated memory institution?**

Underpinning my interest in this topic is the concept of converging practice in the cultural heritage sector; particularly the agency afforded to socio-cultural constructs in challenging the epistemological distinctions drawn between silos of social memory, and the collections they house. Through a theoretical framework of organisational symbolism, and by examining the symbolic points of organisational integration in selected converged memory institutions, this thesis addresses how GLAM entities transcend institutional silos to build and maintain a culture of convergence. By developing an understanding of these issues, this research develops new knowledge in and around future models of delivery for our cultural heritage services. This research also provides a foundation for further theorizing of the integrative pathways for the academic and applied fields of museum studies, library studies and archival science.

The points of intersection and integration that exist on the edges of the GLAM domains require the use of an open theoretical framework to support data discovery; generating new knowledge in this interdisciplinary domain means obtaining an understanding of these institutions in totality. This research draws not only on the bodies of knowledge in the cultural heritage



field, but also makes use of literature in the fields of sociology, architecture, urban planning, management and organisational culture.

The design of this thesis spans the GLAM domains and reflects the dual positioning of the cultural heritage disciplines by using both a Social Sciences and a Humanities framework to present data and discuss findings. While Social Sciences case study methodology drives the research design, elements of historical research are also present in the individual case contexts and in the format of this thesis. *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4* provide a further rationale for the structure of this thesis and an extended introduction to the thesis content.

The framework chosen for this research also needed to support both the connections and the new conceptual spaces negotiated and generated between the GLAM entities. While there is value in considering convergence through the individual GLAM specific domains, convergence, by its very construct, supports the idea of boundary thinking. It is the points of intersection and integration between the entities that underpin this research; the use of an interdisciplinary framework helps illuminate data found lurking in the boundaries. I would like to qualify that this choice of framework is not a deliberate artifice to demote the concept of examining phenomena through a single lens, but rather it provides a platform to step outside a pre-determined way of thinking and look at an emerging concept from multiple angles. Embedding a research framework in one particular domain would have closed down the opportunity to consider the idea of integrated GLAM institutions in their totality.

Organisational symbolism provides a theoretical lens for examining how the points of intersection and integration operating across GLAM domain boundaries both recursively negate and support the development of a convergent culture. These points of intersection and integration manifest through the collections and services offered in the institutions, in the

organisational infrastructure, in the institutional space and in the development of an integrated institutional identity. The nature of the theoretical framework used in this research can sometimes mean that the language used is metaphorically heavy. This is not a deliberate aspiration to ostentatiousness, I have made use of plain English to explain concepts and draw conclusions where possible.

There is probably no better point in this thesis to proclaim my identity as a researcher. For me, everything interesting happens in the boundaries. As Gustave Flaubert once said, “Les perles ne font pas le collier, c’est le fil” which, when translated means “it is not the pearls that make the necklace, it is the thread”. This research investigates not just the manifested outputs or “pearls” of converging practice between GLAM entities in New Zealand memory institutions, but also the “thread” or fabric that supports the necklace. By examining the infrastructure of these initiatives (as opposed to just the outputs), this research examines how the organisational environment influences knowledge negotiation between the GLAM domains and in doing so, theorises current practice and considers the best way forward for cultural heritage institutions looking to build GLAMour.

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## ***2 Literature Review***

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If I see wonders, which I do not understand, they are no wonders to me. Should a piece of withered paper lie on the floor, I should without regard, shuffle it from under my feet. But if I am told it is a letter written by Edward the Sixth, that information sets a value upon the piece, it becomes a choice morceau of antiquity, and I seize it with rapture. The history must go together; if one is wanting, the other is of little value. It grieved me to think how much I lost for want of a little information (Hudson quoted in Vergo 1989, 48).

A large body of literature examines the historic and progressive commonalities between galleries, libraries, archives and museums. Also well documented is the role technology plays as a catalyst for cultural heritage sector convergence. There is no doubt that advancing technologies in the digital arena have created drivers and developed enablers for an increasing amount of dialogue between GLAM institutions. Sector-driven collaborative frameworks supporting integrative practice have also fuelled interest in the idea of possible future convergence.

Despite a burgeoning body of research documenting the impetus and development of integrative models for the delivery of cultural heritage resources (particularly in the digital arena), there is very little consideration of convergence between physical GLAM entities. There have been few attempts made to move convergence out of the virtual environment and consider the impact on the collections, staffing, ideologies and mandates in a physically integrated GLAM organisation.

The use of GLAM institutions as vehicles for economic development and as cultural hubs for urban vitality is an important focus for the wider GLAM sector. There is growing awareness of the value of cultural heritage precincts, both in relation to the tourism market, but also in light of a return to the heart and soul of the communities they serve. Current research provides numerous examples of physical re-alignment for the co-location of GLAM entities, but also more recently the development of institutions and

supporting infrastructure designed to house our society's galleries, libraries, archives and museums collectively. These models of convergence are as varied as the urban frameworks in which they exist. They may encompass not only a city's GLAM institutions or a subset thereof, but also community information centres and cafes.

This review will examine the converged cultural heritage institution as a physical space. Writers on urban sociology and planning such as Laundry, Florida and Oldenburg provide frameworks for understanding the drivers and enablers of such models. Is the physical realignment of our GLAM institutions creating a draw-card for what Richard Florida terms "the creative classes"? Does the development of the converged institution embody elements of Oldenburg's "third place"? Alternatively, as suggested by Laundry, is the development of cultural precincts a reaction to urban fragmentation designed to bring the cultural "heart" back into our cities?

This review will also critically examine the agency afforded to the digital environment in driving physical convergence. Are we trying to replicate the format agnostic, seamless functionality offered through collective virtual platforms? Alternatively, is the prevalence of cooperative, collaborative or co-located practice generating familiarity between sectors and opening up pathways for deeper integration?

This review will begin by discussing the terminology used to define the GLAM entities and their convergent practice, as well as providing an overview of the historical foundations of the individual GLAM institutions that are the focus of this study.

## 2.1 Defining GLAMour

Current literature argues that historically little difference existed between a gallery, library, archive or museum. The terminology used to define today's silos of cultural memory has developed out of a need to provide distinct labels to represent the nature of the collections and the role of GLAM institutions (Hedstrom and King 2004; Martin 2007). Disagreement exists in the examined literature regarding the use of homogenous terminology to discuss collective concepts relating to galleries, libraries, archives and museums (Urban 2008). Description currently centres on drawing out the common characteristics or threads that run through the institutions themselves, as well as the collections they house. This research acknowledges the inherent difficulty in assigning collective terminology based on format when the very nature of that format is constantly evolving; the fluidity of collection format and the multiplicity of manifestations of each format mean a description based on collective function has more chance of retaining currency.

**Memory institution** is one such format agnostic term currently used to describe collective GLAM entities. This term encompasses the myriad of material that form the collections of our galleries, libraries, archives and museums. Memory institution is a term used by Swedish information scientist Richard Hjerpe (1994) and widely cited in the areas of information/document science and related cultural heritage sector research. This term is used to collectively define those institutions which preserve, document and disseminate society's cultural memory (Dupont 2007; Gibson, Morris and Cleve 2007; Heumann Gurian 2005; Martin 2007).

Another term often used interchangeably with memory institution is **cultural heritage institution** or **cultural heritage collection**. The problematic concept of defining "cultural heritage" however makes the use of this description open to broad interpretation and strongly dependent on

context. **GLAM** is an acronym used to denote galleries, libraries, archives and museums, this acronym, its variations in order and subsets of such, is another favoured descriptor.

The definition of “document” is also used by researchers to challenge the concept of collection separation and description based on format. Martin (2007) proffers Levy’s theoretical construct to argue that “documentary heritage” can be utilised as a homogeneous term to define all forms of cultural heritage, not just collections predominantly housed in libraries and archives. Levy states;

All documents are quite simply talking things. They are bits of the material world - clay, stone, animal skin, plant fibre, sand - that we have imbued with the ability to speak (Levy 2001, 23).

The need to describe our GLAM institutions collectively shows a desire to coalesce; in our haste to illuminate and describe commonality between the sectors, we must however maintain an awareness of differences in institutional culture. Descriptors currently in use in the related body of knowledge do not intend to marginalise the uniqueness of each sector through their application of collective nomenclature, but seek to employ homogenous terms to describe resourcefully the relevant population and to build on previously documented definitions.

This research uses the term **memory institution** when referring to models of cultural heritage sector convergence and the **GLAM** acronym is used to denote the gallery, library, and archive and museum entities.

The “act” of convergence is frequently discussed within a cultural heritage landscape, yet little theoretical consideration is given to its definition. Indeed, much of the literature examined uses the terms co-location, convergence and collaboration interchangeably to refer to multi-faceted levels of integrative practice. Bullock and Birtley state:

A phenomenon that is often confused with convergence is co-location, where two or more separate organisations occupy a single venue...Co-location creates an environment that might stimulate future convergence, but convergence is not an automatic consequence of co-location (2008, 10).

This research is concerned with convergence that results from single entities coming together in such a way that they share elements of organisational infrastructure. Zorich, Waibel and Erway best define this for the purpose of this research:

The endpoint of the collaboration continuum is convergence, a state in which collaboration around a specific function or idea has become so extensive, engrained and assumed that it is no longer recognized by others as a collaborative undertaking. Instead, it has matured to the level of infrastructure and becomes, like our water or transportation networks, a critical system that we rely upon without considering the collaborative efforts and compromises that make it possible (2008, 10).

Convergence as applied to this research concerns itself with the development of new transformative organisations constructed from individual GLAM entities, which are integrated to the extent that elements of their practice and ideology become meaningless when separated.

While debate and discussion continue regarding the appropriate terminology and the definitions of that terminology, it seems appropriate to consider OCLC researcher Lorcan Dempsey's view that having the right descriptive word implies an understanding and maturity of theory. We should view our current grappling with collective terminology for GLAM entities as an inherent phase in the movement towards cultural heritage sector convergence (Dempsey 2008). As related concept and theory mature, so too should nomenclature.

## ***2.2 The Foundations of GLAMour***

It is widely acknowledged that the central collective mandate of GLAM institutions rests in the transmission and representation of society's accumulated wisdoms. This knowledge is carried through tangible and intangible markers of our cultural heritage. Galleries, libraries, archives and museums assist in the collecting, organizing, preserving and transmitting of these accumulated wisdoms through the provision of forums, and in the generation of spaces, which foster a sense of community and a deeper understanding of others. These institutions both educate and act as civilizing agencies (Bennett 1994; Heumann Gurian in Corsane 2005; Martin 2007).

Collectively, GLAMs are charged with the responsibility of housing and providing access to collections that preserve, document and disseminate this cultural memory, and these institutions can exist in a multitude of hybrid forms (Dupont 2007; Gibson, Morris and Cleeve 2007; Martin 2007). The nature of such collections include "archival material, historical and literary manuscripts, maps, prints, photographs, oral history resources, works of art and artefacts" (Martin 2007, 80). Our galleries, libraries, archives and museums form a subset of the wider classification sometimes referred to as institutions of memory. Also included in this designation are digital libraries, distance learning sites and film/video recording facilities (Heumann Gurian 2006; Hjerpe 1994).

Cheerleaders for cultural heritage sector convergence argue that the boundaries we currently perceive between GLAM institutions are those grounded in an ideology that can be challenged. This is an ideology which is increasingly impacted upon by advances in new media, as well as through the move towards globalisation and the democratisation of culture (Hedstrom and King 2004; Martin 2007; Proffitt and Waibel 2005). Writers such as Martin (2007) and Rayward (1998) maintain that the division of society's memory into silos separated by format and organisation, as well as



the resulting current distinctions drawn between GLAM institutions, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Writers on GLAM sector convergence consider the historical aims and objectives of GLAM institutions to be increasingly mirrored in the converging ideology they are beginning to share (Rodger, Jorgensen and D'Elia 2005).

While the argument that GLAM entities are re-aligning is supported by observations of the distinct foundations of each sector, it is important to create a foundation for GLAMour by reviewing each entity's ideology and mandate. Robert Martin reminds us of the inherent distinctions in each GLAM institution:

In spite of their similarities, and in spite of the apparent momentum toward convergence, libraries are not archives and museums are not libraries. There are very real differences between these cultural heritage agencies (2007, 83).

There is not the scope in this review for a detailed historical analysis of the foundations of GLAMs and their convergent, divergent or parallel evolution,<sup>2</sup> but as Hedstrom and King point out “there are good reasons why libraries, archives and museums have evolved on separate paths” (2004, 1).

The birth of the modern museum can be traced to the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries when pre-existing models, based on early private and scholarly collections of artifacts such as cabinets of curiosities, “were re-invented as open public museums” (Hooper-Greenhill 2004, 559). Fundamental to the mission of the museum and gallery as an institution is the selection, interpretation, preservation and exhibition of objects of cultural heritage that create and maintain culture and identity for their communities and wider society (Corsane 2005; MacDonald 2006). The purpose of the modern museum is increasingly shaped through the emphasis placed on education

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<sup>2</sup> For an historical overview, which provides more detail regarding the commonalities between GLAMs in the creation and maintenance of knowledge communities see Hedstrom and King (2004).

and interaction. A shift in ideology can be traced through a change from passive collection development and classification towards an active, open and user centric approach to the interpretation and communication of cultural information (Hudson 2004; Skramstad 2004). With the “new museology,” an object or icon-centred paradigm is transformed into an information-centred paradigm in which context and materiality is valued. Stam argues that:

The new museology specifically questions traditional museum approaches to issues of value, meaning, control, interpretation, authority and authenticity. These challenges have implications for both internal operations and external relations of museums. They point to the importance of the ‘information base’ underlying museum missions and functions, and its potential for supporting more cohesive and integrated institutions (Stam 2005, 54).

The archival mandate, while apparently similar to that of the museum and gallery, is grounded in the need to store the cultural, business, organisational, government and personal records of society. The original evidence contained in archives provides an historical record, which supports accountability in all aspects of our cultural memory (Loo, Eberhard, Bettington and Smith 2008). Fundamental to the concept of archival science is the importance of original order and provenance; the individual items housed in archives are organised to ensure the continuity of relationships between items are maintained, as well as the context in which they were created. Archives as institutions exist in a multitude of forms and often operate under the umbrella of their parent organisations.

Historically archives and libraries were considered to share a parallel mandate. The effective management of the ever-increasing volumes of published material and the positioning of archival institutions as “repositories for the scientific and scholarly study of the past” facilitated the construction of a distinctive path for each (Hedstrom and King 2004, 11). The fundamental role of libraries however, rests in the storage, access and dissemination of knowledge. While their core *raison d’être* has changed

little over the centuries, what has altered is the nature of the information they manage, as well as access to that information and the specialisation of their services.

The library as institution is as varied in type and in service as the formats of information which they currently manage. I argue that libraries and archives, more than any other GLAM entities, have felt the impact of recent advances in digital technology. Both these institutions have had to deal with an exponential increase in a multiplicity of formats born out of the digital environment. The impact of technology on their methods of delivery, as well as the management of access to that digital information, has posed challenges to their traditional operations. While museums and galleries begin to grapple with the management of digital manifestations of physical artifacts, or the management of digital installations, libraries and archives are dealing with the distinct challenges inherent in the management of and access to vast quantities of digitally born and digitally stored information. While museums and galleries have begun to embrace technology as a vehicle for the management of their collections, the foundation of those collections are still largely grounded in a tangible and containable context. Very little of the literature generated from within the museum and gallery sector specifically defines or addresses physical convergence between GLAM entities, let alone looks forward to future changes in role or purpose. There is however, some awareness of digital collaboration and some interest in the different models those future museums might explore. In a discussion of the application of library models to the museum environment, Heumann Gurian (2006) views the current challenges faced by museums as similar to those of libraries and asks if there is value in looking at the application of library models to museum practice. In order to illuminate collections in storage in an “essential museum”, Heumann Gurian advocates replication of the browsing functionality afforded through the library model where collections are not relegated to storage but are always on display, thus allowing visitors to browse and construct their own information pathways.

Heuman Gurain also acknowledges that while there is benefit in looking to the wider cultural heritage sector for insight, there are also inherent issues regarding space and time in creating such functionality and access. In dealing with these issues, Heumann Gurian does not predict the demise of the current museum model, but rather considers whether to review and recombine

Out of these and other new threads may come the likelihood of producing institutions that use a multiplicity of meaning-making processes that fit better with people's natural learning and cultural transference styles (2006,76).

In an anthropological analysis of cultural heritage sector convergence, Sassoon states “archives have spent decades trying to get out from under the skirts of libraries and in this sense, archival institutional history has been about divergence from other sectors [or domains] in order to create their own identity” (2007, 3). Bullock and Birtley develop Sassoon's idea further by suggesting that “as libraries, galleries and museums each contain archives, this phenomenon of divergence may have been more widespread than a simple break from library traditions” (2008, 13).

Sassoon discusses heritage sector convergence and the archaeology of archival thought by proposing that the concept of convergence is based on two perceptions. Sassoon sees the current foundation of convergence as driven through technological advancement and by two additional catalysts. The first is related to the notion that “all cultural institutions hold collections of stuff” and the second is “what we all do is similar across the GLAM sector”. Currently such convergent ideology is grounded in “what we do, rather than what we think” mentality. Sassoon challenges the archival profession to extend their theoretical horizons, to extend the notion of format and function and to consider the materiality of objects as well as the role of archival thought in the wider construct of cultural heritage (2007).

In a study of archival convergence with other GLAM entities, Bullock and Birtley analyse “the urge to converge” (2008) through an anthropological theoretical framework. Bullock and Birtley argue that there has not always been a clear, straightforward path of converging ideology within the GLAM sector (2008). Through this lens, alternatives to convergence are considered such as divergence and parallel evolution. These ideas are applied to the GLAM entities in light of the history and differences in the development of their individual ideology and mandates. This concept of convergent, divergent and parallel evolution provides a framework for the discussion of convergence because it accounts for the variations in development patterns between the entities.

Discussions centred on commonality and convergence between the GLAM sectors are strongly represented in the library literature (see Dupont 2007; Enser 2001; Hedstrom and King 2004; Marty 2009; Rayward 1998; Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008; Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008 as a starting point). The reporting on collaborative and convergent initiatives is predominately generated from within the library sector. This strong representation is perhaps a reaction to the impact of technology on traditional library practice, or the need to carve out new directions and re-establish legitimacy in a wider online-orientated information environment. The need to integrate and assimilate information technology into the library’s ideology, both as system and as digital object, arguably bring concepts of collaboration and convergence closer to reality for libraries.

Not only can we draw distinctions between the institutions through their strategic and operational mandates, but also in light of the theoretical and academic frameworks of the individual disciplines themselves. The scholarly disciplines we now call library and archival science have developed at times along parallel paths; archival science is still considered in some schools to be a subset of library science (Cox 2001). This concept of divergence was established through a series of key treatises published in

the mid nineteenth century in which archival science placed an increasing emphasis on the archival principle of provenance, preservation of the evidential record and the lifecycle of that record (Gilliland-Swetland 2000). In contrast, library science has evolved through concentration on theory and practice relating to user-centric access, bibliographic organisation and the use of technology to support operational mandates.

Museum studies is generally defined as the analysis of museum and gallery history, theory and practice. Museology specifically encompasses training in technical aspects of museum and gallery practice in the heritage sector (Labrum and McCarthy 2005). Museum studies as a subject has developed over the twentieth century by drawing on a host of related disciplines such as “art history, history, sociology and anthropology, cultural studies, gender studies and leisure studies”. It is essentially a field with a genuinely interdisciplinary focus (MacDonald 2006; McCarthy and Copley 2009, 396).

One common feature of all GLAM academic disciplines is the belief that academic study should be closely integrated with practice. Library and archival science, along with museum and heritage studies all face the challenge of maintaining a balance between the development of theory and the imparting of technical skills designed to enhance practice (Gilliland-Swetland 2000; Labrum and McCarthy 2005).

A recent Cultural Heritage Information Professionals (CHIPs) workshop discussed

The ability of educators to meet the information needs of cultural heritage organizations and to encourage closer relations between education and practice in library and information science, museum studies, and archival studies programs (Marty 2009).

Initiatives such as these show convergent thinking permeating not only across GLAM sector practice, but also into the theoretical constructs as well as the training and education of our cultural heritage professionals.

While there are clear distinctions and at times intersecting histories for each GLAM entity, David Carr provides a vantage point through which to examine the collective nature of GLAMour. Carr teases out the commonalities between the cultural institutions and comments on the complex interaction between the user and agency. For Carr, a cultural institution requires the presence of several elements in order to meet criteria. These include “The presence of a collection; A systematic, continuous, organised knowledge structure and scholarship, information and thought” (Carr 2003, xv). By thinking about the interplay of human beings and these institutions, Carr theorizes the interaction between the user and cultural structures.

Cultural institutions are only in part places dedicated to the capture and control of knowledge through objects; they might more usefully be understood not as places at all but as the evanescent constructive moments they contain. We need to understand that libraries, museums, archives [and galleries] also hold voices, insights, processes and in their surprising discoveries, possibilities of mind (2003, 59).

Carr’s writing challenges us to view GLAM institutions as more than the sum of their service, collections, physicality and [self-applied] roles in society, to move beyond the tacit to the ephemeral, fluid multiplicity of context and to understand the unspoken personal engagement that occurs between the people, the institutions and the environment in which they operate.

### ***2.3 Convergence Catalysts***

Through a discussion of the terminology used to describe integrative practice between GLAM entities it becomes clear that the lack of consensus makes it difficult to differentiate between research dealing with integrative models of operation such as co-location, collaboration, or convergence. While each has value in the discussion, literature pertaining to the ideology and practice of convergence as transformative embedded infrastructure occupies only a small yet significant space in the current body of knowledge.

As the literature on “pure” convergence between GLAM entities is a developing body of knowledge, in order to frame the concept of convergence (particularly physical convergence) it is necessary to step back and review the literature surrounding the current collective ideology and practice of GLAM entities. Much of this literature is located in the discussion and examination of collaborative practice within the GLAM sector. Current research suggests that collaborative practice is the penultimate stage of convergence.

Also well documented is the role technology plays as a catalyst for collaborative and convergent practice. Current research in this area emphasises the development of format agnostic interfaces and interoperable standards for seamless access to virtual collections across cultural heritage institutions. This thesis questions whether convergent practice in the digital arena is a catalyst in the development of physical models of convergent practice.

While convergence can take many forms, this review is concerned with the concept of physical convergence between GLAM entities. The literature reviewed up to this point as well as the frameworks for physical convergence must take into consideration the multiple manifestations of



space and form these entities take in our civic environments. Theory and practice grounded in urban planning and urban sociology provide the foundation of our discussion of physical convergence. The following sections examine each of these bodies of literature in detail.

### ***2.3.1 Collaboration and Convergence***

While the concept of convergence occupies a small yet significant place in the literature surveyed in this review, the concept of collaboration between GLAM entities is well documented. Much of the literature dealing collectively with these entities does so from the conceptual standpoint of collaborative practice. Literature on collaborative practice is important to our discussion of convergence in two ways: firstly, as a catalyst for the increasing amounts of dialogue and transformative practice between the GLAM sector, and secondly as the documented stage before convergence, as defined by the collaborative continuum.

The collaborative continuum framework has been proposed as a tool for assessing and defining the nature of integrative practice between GLAM entities (Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008; Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008). This continuum is comprised of five stages: contact, cooperation, coordination, collaboration and finally convergence. Convergence rests at the end of the collaboration continuum model and concerns itself with the state obtained after collaboration.

As [G]LAMs move from left to right on this continuum, the collaborative endeavour becomes more complex, the investment of effort becomes more significant, and the risks increase accordingly. However the rewards also become greater, moving from singular “one-off” projects [cooperation] to programs that can transform the services and functions of an organisation [collaboration] (Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008, 10).

The current ideology of collaborative thinking is founded in the prevailing holistic and global ideology of a society where all GLAM entities are seen

to be integrated and influenced by each other (Martin 2007). The literature dealing with collaborative practice between GLAM institutions is predominantly populated by examples of collaborative programming through the lens of emerging partnerships, yet much of this literature exists in isolation. Collaborative and convergent practice fails to be reviewed through a critical framework and then disseminated as examples of best practice on which other institutions can draw (IMLS 2004; Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008). Very little documentation critically analyses these models and there is minimal research which examines the practicalities and experiences of these collaborative partnerships (Gibson, Morris and Cleeve 2007; Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008).

The varying nature and scope of current integrative practice between GLAMs means the development of definitive categories for examination has been difficult at times (IMLS, 2004). The term “collaboration” has been historically used throughout the related literature as an all-encompassing catch-phrase to describe many different forms of contact, partnership and co-operative practice. Current research suggests that collaboration can be viewed as a “transformative” act, a process that creates a change in the nature or ideology of the participating organisations. This notion of “transformability” is central to current discourse. One notable collaborative theorist states,

That when groups and organisations begin to embrace collaborative processes...they are in essence inventing a new type of organisation... [a] type of transformational organization (Fin as quoted in Huxham and Vangen 1996, 32).

A paper presented at the 2005 Research Library Group (RLG) Members’ Forum *Libraries, Archives and Museums (LAM) - Three-ring Circus, One Big Show* discussed the nature of transformative collaboration and emphasised the integral changes that can be brought about in participating LAM organisations. Soehner and Watson (2005) viewed collaboration as a transformative act as opposed to contact and co-ordination, which had an

additive effect on institutions, but which did not alter the fundamental nature or ideology of the organisations themselves. Gibson, Morris and Cleeve (2007) and Soehner and Watson (2005) emphasise that further research needs to be undertaken which concerns itself with this type of deep collaboration resulting in transformative practice.

Zorich, Waibel and Erway (2008) gathered and documented empirical evidence of critical success factors for collaborative practice in a series of one day workshops which formed part of a larger Research Library Group programme on library, archives and museum (LAM) collaboration. Workshop participants were identified as being further along the collaboration continuum than other LAM partnerships, and were considered better positioned to offer experience and insight into the intricacies of the collaborative process. The evidence gathered from these workshops coalesced into nine critical success factors, or “collaboration catalysts”. These included vision, mandate, incentives, change agents, mooring, resources, flexibility, external catalysts and trust. Zorich, Waibel and Erway emphasised that not ALL nine factors need to be present in order for collaboration to succeed, but the more factors present, the greater the chance of collaborative achievement. These collaboration catalysts afforded differing levels of agency to a variety of factors, both in the macro and micro organisational environments.

A number of studies have suggested we halt the examination of GLAM integration by “type”, such as programming or resource sharing, and that we instead start examining models by the level of organisational integration (Bullock and Birtley 2008; Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008; Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008). A report from the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) on *Public Libraries, Archives, and Museums: Trends in Collaboration and Cooperation* developed one such model. This report identified three levels of integration: minimal, in physical space only with individual services maintained; selective, with

specific programmes or resource sharing; and full integration, involving the sharing of missions [essentially a marker for convergence] (Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008).

Examples of the opportunities afforded through integrative practice are multi-faceted. These opportunities are best defined in the encompassing ideology of collaborative thinking - that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Daminent-Cohen and Sherman 2003). The examined literature documented many examples of cross-pollination of operational ideas between GLAM entities (Marty 2007; Yakei 2005). Many of these examples highlight the benefits of promoting library and archives collections as artifacts through exhibition and educational programming. Related research also shows how museums can improve visibility, access and retrieval by adopting interoperable standards for bibliographic control such as those used in the management of library collections (Elings and Waibel 2008; Greenblatt 2006; Liew 2006; Reed 2007; Roel 2005).

However, the documented barriers to collective practice are multifaceted and include differences in organisational culture, terminology, institutional procedure and resource allocation (Bishoff 2004; Gibson, Morris and Cleve 2007; Martin 2007). Other barriers include overarching differences in funding and governance structures, the nature and use of collections (particularly in the context of exhibition and access), the types of personnel, the skill sets required by staff, and of course the role that each GLAM entity feels they occupy in the “cultural heritage sector landscape” (Bishoff 2004).

The literature on collaboration acknowledges both the barriers and opportunities afforded through such practice. There is, however, a dearth of literature that critically evaluates or reports on failed collaborative efforts. Further investigation is needed to examine whether those charged with documenting integrative practice have a perceived success not shared or articulated by other stakeholders in the process. Moreover, the research on

collaborative practice examined in this review only marginally addresses issues such the multitude of organisational forms of our GLAM institutions. Little has been written about the impact of sector context on collaborative partners; for example, we do not know whether public sector institutions only collaborate with others in the same sector. GLAM institutions exist in a multitude of forms and an area that is not fully addressed is the concept of collaboration across the sector, particularly in terms of research library to museum, public institution to public institution, private to public, and academic to public. This raises the question, does sector type dictate partner?

Current literature also concludes that the drivers and enablers for both collaborative and convergent practice are embedded in changes in legislation and in bureaucratic restructuring. These changes have encouraged the formation of partnerships through the development of governing bodies comprised of representatives from cultural heritage sector organisations, as well as through funding opportunities for innovative projects which support a collaborative mandate (Allen and Bishoff 2001; Martin, 2007). Various government bodies exist within the cultural heritage sector to provide these frameworks. The principal role of the now disestablished United Kingdom Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), was to work with the Department of Culture Media and Sport to advise on strategy and policy for the promotion of collaboration and interoperable standards between GLAM institutions (Gibson, Morris and Cleve 2007). In The United States of America, the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) a federal grant making agency, supports non-profit GLAM entities through consolidated programmes and “aims to encourage a climate of best practice” within the cultural heritage sector (Martin 2007,82). The American Alliance of Museums (AAM) encourages a climate of collaboration through their mission and strategy documents by reference to “strategic partnerships with related sectors’ (Martin 2007, 83).

There are other examples of legislative frameworks that support integrative practice. In Canada one body was formed to govern The National Library and Archives Canada (Doucet 2007). New Zealand also developed frameworks to support collective practice between its institutions. Representatives from New Zealand galleries, libraries, archives and museums formed “GLAM”, a working group to provide formal structure to ad hoc affiliations between their organisations, promote a governing framework for new initiatives and create a “unified voice for the sector” (Brabazon 2008). Aims of the GLAM working group included professional development; a collaborative voice to influence policy and legislation; the sharing of services, storage and new media; funding; sustainability; community cohesion (particularly in the area of preservation); sustaining ties with iwi and building relationships with the Australian sector (Brabazon 2008). The GLAM working group was recently superseded by the development of a Heritage Forum. This forum aims to encourage stronger links between public institutions in the cultural heritage sector; cooperate and consult in the development of strategy that influences GLAM institutions; and enhance visibility for the sector at a government level. Current members of this Forum include; Te Papa Tongarewa (The Museum of New Zealand), Archives New Zealand, the National Library of New Zealand, the Department of Conservation, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Te Puni Kokiri and the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (Holden 2012).

### ***2.3.2 Technology and Convergence***

A great deal of research seeks to understand the role technology plays as a catalyst for breaking down traditional distinctions drawn between GLAM entities. The homogeneous digital manifestation of cultural artifacts, from documents to three-dimensional objects, has paved the way for virtual collective outputs between many galleries, libraries, archives and museums. New digital technologies provide catalysts for GLAM entities to consider

collective initiatives, and examples of such collaborative digitisation are now abundant throughout the literature (Bunker and Zick 1999; Callary and Thibadeau 2000). All GLAM entities are grappling with the provision and access of digital representations of materials and increasingly, for libraries and archives, of digitally born materials.

The role technology plays in the generation of convergence between GLAM entities is not new (Marty 2009); it was first raised by Rayward. Exploring the impact of electronic formats of information on GLAM ideology in a formative article in 1998, Rayward stated;

The increasing availability in electronic form of information generally and of new kinds of information more particularly will lead to a redefinition and integration of the different categories of “information” organisations. Traditionally these have been created to manage different formats and media such as print and its surrogates (libraries, objects (museums), and the paper records of organisational activity (archives and records repositories). Differences in organisational philosophy, function and technique have arisen from the exigencies presented by these different formats and media. The exigencies no longer apply in the same way when there is a common electronic format. It is clear that if electronic sources of information are to be effectively managed for future access by historians and others, differences between libraries, archives and museums will largely have to disappear and their different philosophies, functions and techniques integrated in ways that are yet unclear (Rayward 1998, 1).

Digitisation suggests a move toward seamless integration, representation and delivery of cultural heritage resources. Robertson and Meadow in *Microcosms: Objects of Knowledge* (2000) argue that digital representation of multifaceted collections are rendering the physical separation of collections by format obsolete and in effect re-engineering the concept of cabinets of curiosity into a virtual space. Arguably, the assimilation of multi-format objects into digital manifestations strips away the differing treatments and delineations embedded in GLAM sector collections. These delineations such as building conditions, object size, preservation management, format type and geographical boundaries are mitigated or

marginalised. Technology levels the playing field by providing closely aligned digital formats and facilitates the use of one point of access for a multitude of cultural artifacts.

Involvement in collaborative digitisation has opened up dialogue between GLAM institutions and prompted exploration into new avenues of convergent opportunity (Callary and Thibadeau 2000; Elings and Waibel 2008; Roel 2005). As well as fostering opportunity, the popularity of collaborative digital practice has also exposed the many challenges that need addressing in order for these partnerships to achieve optimal outcomes.

A fundamental barrier to convergent practice at a collection level is the lack of interoperable standards for the description and management of collection resources. The seamless delivery of resources via digital platforms is dependent on the development of standards that accurately describe and manage the resources housed in each institution (Ray and Choudhury 2002). In order for museums to reach their full potential, research is needed into the creation of operable standards which allow the forming of networks to assist in the sharing of information (Stam 2005). The variation in descriptive metadata standards across the GLAM sectors does however create a large toolset of descriptive practice from which to examine and extrapolate examples of best practice (Elings and Waibel 2008).

The breaking down of GLAM silos with advancing technologies and the creation of integrative digital platforms for the management of cultural heritage resources is the predominant theme in the literature examined in this review. While it may seem technologically deterministic to afford such agency to the digital environment, the role technology plays as a catalyst for convergence occupies an undeniably important place in current thinking. The two spectrums of technological determinism (hard and soft) differ in the varying degrees of agency they afford to technology (Smith and Marx 2001).



Agency as conceived by “soft technological determinism is deeply embedded in the larger social structure and culture” (Smith and Marx 2001, xiv). A soft deterministic approach would acknowledge human agency in the development of online models of convergence (Smith and Marx 2001). If we apply this approach to the idea of convergence, we may argue that collaborative practices between GLAM entities have fostered the development of an integrative and converged virtual presence. This in turn has acted as a catalyst for physical convergence.

If we consider the hard approach to convergence, we may argue that the integration and close assimilation of physical GLAM entities is an attempt to replicate the operational functionality and identity afforded through the online environment. This may be seen as an attempt to replicate online information structures such as seamless, format agnostic transitions through hyper-linking from artifact to document, or the interconnected approach afforded on a digital platform to the dissemination and management of cultural heritage resources.

Henry Jenkins, in his writings on media convergence, addresses the symbiotic process of convergence and stresses “convergence as process” rather than endpoint. Jenkins also acknowledges human agency in the development of convergence. He writes,

Convergence does not occur through media appliances, however sophisticated they become. Convergence occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interactions with others (Jenkins 2008, 3).

Whether we take a hard or soft view of technological determinism, it is difficult to discount the agency of technology in integrative practice between the GLAM entities. Does the recent phenomenon of physical convergence between GLAM institutions indicate a blurring of the physical boundaries; has the digital paved the way for the physical?

### ***2.3.3 Physical Space and Convergence***

In our examination of physical convergence, we are dealing with elements of space, proximity and geographical awareness as well as the human elements contained within the physical boundaries. Theoretical frameworks for the examination of these elements need to embody both the notion of the physical space as well as the impact that the physical space has on the organisational structures housed within, or, metaphorically speaking, how the container effects the contained. Fundamental to the physical focus in this research is an awareness of the multiple manifestations of space and form memory institutions take in our civic environments. Conceptual and theoretical constructs grounded in urban sociology and planning provide a framework for the examination of the physicality relating to these converged models.

The growing trend towards memory institutions acting as vehicles for economic development and as cultural hubs for urban vitality is a new development in the GLAM sector. The intersection of tourism and culture, however, is a familiar concept throughout the literature of museum and heritage studies. Libraries and archives are also developing an awareness of the economic value of cultural precincts, both in relation to the tourism market, and also in light of a return to the heart and soul of the communities they serve. One example of this is found in an edited collection of American case studies titled *Museums, Libraries and Urban Vitality*, which highlights the role that libraries and museums play in stimulating urban revitalization, both in large cities at a national level and in smaller community neighbourhoods. This notion of place is exemplified through the discussion of individual cases where memory institutions provide a sense of focus and interactive space benefiting cultural tourism as well as the local community (Kemp and Trotta 2008).

The design of the converged memory institution, both aesthetic and operational, forms an important foundation for addressing the physical aspects of convergence. The impact and relevance of architecture and space on the identity and the functioning of the individual GLAM entities generates understanding as to how physical building design both drives and enables convergent practice. An examination of the physicality of our memory institutions requires consideration of the cultural institution as a multi-use space. GLAMs as separate entities have moved beyond the boundaries of a singular purpose, either to extend the use of their spaces as exercises in revenue generation, or to provide focus and relaxation for the communities they serve. In fact we now see purpose built facilities and the provision of amenities for socialising over food and drink, community spaces for discussion, building design and programming, all of which foster social interaction and contribute to the development of cultural heritage institutions as *place*.

Research undertaken by Whyte investigated the relationship of libraries to cultural precincts and their communities in three New Zealand cities. Whyte's research utilises Oldenburg's theory of "a third place" to highlight the multi-dimensional use of library spaces. Oldenburg's notion of third place is of one that is distinct from work and home, which embodies a defined set of characteristics. These characteristics include spaces for people to interact freely, exchange ideas, provide nourishment and contain elements of familiarity in a publically accessible environment (Whyte 2009). Fundamental to a third place is the home away from home environment, a concept used to market many third places such as cafés. The implementation of comfortable furniture, reading material as well as music and programming such as exhibition and concerts, assists in the generation of a third place. The interactive nature of the inhabitants, the ability to socialise and form both new acquaintances as well as the opportunity to re-engage with those who are familiar to us, is also central to the concept of a third place (Oldenburg 1991).

When considering the presence of third places in our individual GLAM entities, particularly galleries, libraries and museums, I argue that models of physical convergence between these entities extend the provision of Oldenburg's third place. In this study of convergence, it is not only the individual GLAM entities that contain such elements, but also the intersecting points of proximity in the operation and design of the converged institution with the inherent potential to generate such place. The physical and contextual liminal spaces in these models provide a thought-provoking landscape for investigation.

Also highlighted by Laundry in *The Art of City Making* is the relationship of the GLAM entities to the heart of their cities and communities. Laundry discusses the impact of the mall on community development and outlines the displacement created by large scale monotonous shopping experiences which can "tear apart older cities" forcing them to lose their cores (2006, 129). Laundry goes on to say that the placement of these malls often break up community patterns and "has the [potential] to make libraries and other services feel out of place" (2006, 129). While the mall is designed to facilitate commercial consumption (Laundry 2006), one of the drivers for convergence and co-location of GLAM entities could be borne of a desire to develop monolithic hubs of cultural heritage consumption. I could argue that the development of the converged memory institution is an attempt to pull consumers away from commercial precincts and back into their cultural heritage precincts. An alternative view, paradoxically, is that these institutions set out to replicate the attraction and success of the mall or mega centre; the parallel development of the department store and the museum is well documented. As Marstine points out, "With their thousands of objects hierarchically arranged, these spaces borrowed from each other to instil capitalist values of innovation, consumption and display" (2006, 13). What elements of commercial consumption are evident in the design and planning of our converged memory institutions? If we consider the concentration of multiple objects classified by theme or scheme, the provision of food, the

areas for socialisation and the inclusion of multi-use space, the notion of the cultural heritage “mega centre” may not be so far from view.

Richard Florida’s theory of the creative class is important to the discussion of physical convergence in light of the possible economic benefits for the communities in which these models exist. Does the development of such mixed-use GLAM spaces drive urban development through their ability to attract and retain the creative classes? The creative classes share a common ethos valuing creativity, individuality, difference and merit, they are generally well paid, well-educated and possess high levels of cultural capital. Florida defines the creative classes as those who are engaged in the creation of meaningful new forms through occupations such as science and engineering, academia, the arts etc. (2002). Central to Florida’s work is the ability of the creative class to drive economic development through their choice to live and work in cities with high creativity indexes. The creativity index of a city is determined by four equally weighted factors. These factors relate to the population of creative workers, the creative rank, the high tech rank (the uptake and embracing of new technologies), the innovation rank and the diversity rank. Florida proposes that the greater a city’s creativity index, the stronger its economic position and potential for future growth (2002).

The creative class enjoy mixed use spaces, strong elements of technological innovation, the interplay of arts and culture with commerce, an appreciation for the mix of innovation and history in civic spaces, as well as transient spaces to meet and interact (Florida 2002). These are all elements which can be generated through the development of strong cultural civic centres, and are reportedly aspired to in the development of physically converged models for the delivery of our cultural heritage resources.

An examination of physical convergence leaves many unanswered questions. Are we in danger of developing cultural monopolies through

convergence? Does condensing GLAM ideology through physical proximity and organisational frameworks lessen the amount of sector specific input in the management of cultural memory? Does proximity generated through convergence create silos within a silo? As the adage goes, familiarity can breed contempt.

Through a review of the literature, we have discussed the possible drivers for convergence between memory institutions. Much of the examined literature takes a structurally orientated approach and frames convergence as a product of external catalysts. There is a prevailing inference that convergence “happens” to these organisations. Current research suggests that the drivers for convergence may be economical, political or cultural, but always at the heart of convergent initiatives rests the development of new transformative organisational forms.

While there is a small body of GLAM literature, which considers the organisational form in the processes of convergence, the majority of the research fails to apply theoretical frameworks to help understand the impact of convergence on the organisational form. Neoinstitutional theory provides one such framework for understanding the complex processes occurring at an environmental level in the development of the converged institution. Neoinstitutionalism provides a framework for an examination of the possible drivers of convergence between our GLAM institutions.

#### ***2.3.4 Neoinstitutionalism***

Neoinstitutionalism is a sociological approach to the study of institutional forms. A neoinstitutional approach to the study of an organisation seeks to understand the development and replication of organisational structures regardless of environment or cultural origin. Neoinstitutional theory provides a framework for understanding how different organisations interact with each other and how they imitate and borrow from each other in order to

develop replicated organisational forms; this replication is termed *Isomorphism*.

There has been increasing interest in, and debate of, the application of neoinstitutional theory to the GLAM sector organisation. Indeed many organisational sociologists view the museum (and arts) sector as “illustrative of how institutional environments affect an organization’s behaviour and internal social structure” (Rowland and Rojas 2006, 84). Hansson utilised neoinstitutionalism as a theoretical framework for a discussion of collaboration between joint use libraries in Sweden (2007) and Hoffman as a framework for multiple case study research. Hoffman investigated three academic cataloguing units and their negotiation of normative institutional pressures and maintenance of legitimacy in a complex work environment (2008).

Neoinstitutional theory was first applied to the museum sector in DiMaggio’s work on US art museums (DiMaggio and Powel 1991). Rowland and Rojas synthesised research on the application of the institutional perspective to the museum sector and concluded that although museologists rarely cite sociological research in their arguments, the foundations of those arguments are those that echo through neoinstitutional theory (2006). Recent applications of neoinstitutional theory include Ogawa, Loomis and Crain’s research on the development of a science Exploratorium (2009), and Bagdadli and Paolino’s examination of the role which museum directors play in institutional change in Italian public museums (2006).

Neoinstitutional theory proposes that the development of homogenous organisational forms through isomorphism establishes legitimacy for the organisation within the wider economic and social operational environment. DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms through which institutional isomorphic change occurs; coercive, mimetic and normative

(1983). Institutional isomorphism provides a framework for examining the drivers of convergence between GLAM entities because it allows for a structured investigation of convergence through these three isomorphic pressures.

Coercive isomorphism results from pressures placed on the organisation from both its own operational environment and through expectations placed on the organisation from the wider political, legal and economic spheres (DiMaggio and Powell 1997). Possible coercive pressures driving convergence between GLAM entities include the political pressure for legitimacy, the implications of strength in unity, or the environmental uncertainty being felt through rapid advances in technology, as well as the competition for resources and audience. Also considered coercive pressures are the development of professional frameworks and funding models driving convergence between GLAM entities. Another well documented factor is the increasing need for accountability and resource rationalisation in the public sector, as is the pressure to provide a focus for identity and civic engagement within the community. All could be considered coercive factors in the development of convergence.

Mimetic forces are those that encourage an organisation to adopt the seemingly successful structures and operational behaviours of other institutions, either in their related field or in other fields where the application of such models is seen to proffer an innovative direction. DiMaggio and Powell note that environmental uncertainty is also a powerful driving force for imitation.

When organisational technologies are poorly understood [...] when goals are ambiguous, or when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organizations may model themselves on other organizations (DiMaggio and Powell 1997, 442).

The application of organisational and architectural models utilised in malls and department stores and through urban planning in the development of the



converged memory institution are possible mimetic pressures driving convergence. Additional mimetic forces include the need to replicate the functionality of digital cultural heritage online communities, as well as models of access previously addressed in the discussion of technology.

Normative forces are those, which stem from familiarity or similar ideologies particularly regarding professionalism, education and standards (DiMaggio and Powell 1997). The cross sector application of qualifications between GLAMs is one such example of a normative force. Is physical convergence the result of similar disciplinary backgrounds and issues and/or the result of organisational familiarity due to collaborative practice?

While neoinstitutional theory provides a possible framework for the examination of the catalysts at an environmental level, it fails to adequately frame our understanding of convergent practice at a micro-organisational level. Neoinstitutional theory seeks to explain **why** organisational entities develop homogenous practice and structures (institutional isomorphism) but does not lend itself to framing a micro level understanding of **how** convergence can be built and maintained in an intra-organizational setting. Neoinstitutionalism affords minimal agency to micro-level processes in the construction and development of organizational change; moreover it provides little consideration of convergence as a multi-layered dynamic process. Zucker states “not only does neo-institutionalism emphasize the homogeneity of organizations; it also tends to stress the stability of institutionalized components” (quoted in DiMaggio and Powell 1991, 14). Indeed one of the three central criticisms of institutionalism is the lack of consideration surrounding organizational diversity, and a failure to understand how change is facilitated within the organizational setting. As DiMaggio and Powell argue:

The new institutionalism in organizational theory and sociology comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, a turn toward cognitive and

cultural explanations, and an interest in properties of supra-individual units of analysis that cannot be reduced to aggregations or direct consequences of individual attributes or motives (1991, 8).

## ***2.4 Organisational Symbolism***

Symbols are created and recreated whenever human beings vest elements of their world with a pattern of meaning and significance which extends beyond its intrinsic content. Any object, action, even, utterance, concept or image offers itself as raw material for symbolic creation, at any place and at any time (Pondy 1983, 4-5).

At the heart of the converged institution lie the people and their organisation. The current body of knowledge proposes that true convergence requires an engendered shift in organisational mind-set, and that convergence will be generated by people, rather than the systems which contain them (Hickerson 2009; Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008). With this in mind, the theoretical framework utilised in this research needs to provide a lens for the multifaceted examination of how organisations and people recursively build and maintain the converged memory institution.

Neoinstitutional theory downplays individual agency in the development of organisational homogeneity. Given that the central question in this research is concerned with understanding organisational change, or how people and organisations develop the converged institution, the chosen theoretical framework needs to provide a lens through which to examine the multifaceted micro-level process involved in building organisational convergence, and to study the role which people as agents play in organisational change. It also needs to account for multiple levels of homogeneity and heterogeneity within the organisation because, as Jenkins acknowledges by quoting Pool, convergence is not a definitive end state, but a fluid process working in constant force with change.

Convergence does not mean ultimate stability or unity. It operates as a constant force for unification but always in dynamic tension with change.... There is no immutable law of growing convergence; the process of change is more complicated than that (Pool quoted in Jenkins 2008, 11).

The framework chosen for understanding the development of convergence organisational culture allows for a multifaceted investigation of how convergence manifests through the culture in the converged organisation. Organisational culture is best defined for the purposes of this research as the study of the “beliefs, values and meanings used by members of an organisation to grasp how the organization’s uniqueness originates, evolves and operates” (Schultz 1994, 6). A study of organisational culture seeks to understand how people, structures and objects within an organisation interact to develop and reproduce organisational culture.

Organisational culture also acknowledges that employees come to an organisation with their own pre-constructed identities, agendas and histories (Hatch 2006). In the content of this research, these pre-constructed elements exist not only at the employee level, but also at an intra-organisational level in the ideology and mandate of the individual GLAM entities. Hatch explains that:

A common sub-cultural influence that executives complain about is silos. Silo metaphor is used to describe the distinctive norms, values, routines and discourses that develop within an organisation’s sub-culture in such a way as to make co-ordination and collaboration between them difficult or impossible (Hatch 2006, 176).

Oliver (2011) examined the interplay between organisational culture and information culture in the wider information domain. Oliver investigated, through an exploration of what Hofstede defines as occupational cultures (those cultures associated with different occupational groups), the interplay and existence of sub-cultures between the archives, library and recordkeeping domains. This study emphasised the importance of

understanding the individual organisational cultures as a framework for understanding knowledge negotiation across domain boundaries.

Whether you are a librarian, records manager or archivist, the objective of your work is to manage information. The primary purpose for which you are attempting to manage information will vary according to your occupation. Records Managers and Archivists manage information as evidence of accountability, Librarians manage information for knowledge awareness and also sometimes for entertainment. These distinct purposes provide a universality for the work undertaken by information managers and enable us to work collaboratively (regionally, nationally and globally) to explore and develop appropriate technologies, systems and processes (Oliver 2011, 8).

Moreover, Oliver argues that an understanding of what occupational culture means, and the mechanisms involved in transcending the boundaries of occupational culture, help to develop an understanding of the ways in which embedded organisational culture that exists through occupational differences can hinder knowledge sharing between domains. Developing and fostering awareness of difference in GLAM domains provides an important platform from which to build similarities (Oliver 2010).

My research seeks to understand how and if these GLAM sub-cultures (or differing occupational cultures) are transcended or reproduced within the culture of the converged institution. In doing so this research aims to uncover just how far the converged institution has moved beyond the “*Silos of the (g) LAMs*” (Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008)

There are two approaches to the study of organisational culture, a functionalist approach and a symbolic approach. Each approach is centred on a differing paradigm. A functionalist approach is considered epistemologically positivist, measurable and observable through cause and effect. The symbolic approach to the study of organisational culture is centred in an interpretivist paradigm which seeks to understand the way agents (people, objects and symbols) interact to create, change and maintain

organisational culture (Schultz 1994). A symbolic study of organisational culture seeks to understand how culture is generated and how it manifests through the objects and actions, or symbols of its organisational members. The study of organisational culture is based on ethnographic method (Hatch 2006; Schultz 1994). True ethnographic study requires prolonged immersion and engagement within the field for in-depth analysis and draws data primarily from observation to build a picture of pattern and culture (Creswell, 2007). The study of organisational symbolism has historically blended aspects of ethnography and other social science methods to shorten field time; Shultz states the richness of this type of approach to the study of organisational symbolism lies in the intensive and thorough qualitative data collection processes such as long interviewing (Shultz 1994).

In the study of organisational culture, symbols are considered to be any object or action (marker) which has meaning attributed to it beyond its concrete or instrumental purpose (Pondy 1983). Those who engage with, or are involved in, the development or communication of such objects and actions attribute these meanings, and these meanings may differ depending on context or interpretation (Shultz 1994). Symbols are a powerful indicator of organisational dynamics (Rafaeli and Pratt 2006).

There are different types of organisational symbols: physical, behavioural and verbal. Examples of physical symbols include organisational architecture and the allocation of building space, uniforms or corporate dress, corporate logos and branding, the use and implementation of technology, as well as signage and product placement. These physical symbols are strong visible expressions of organisational culture. Convergence in a memory institution may be symbolised through the layout and structure of the collections and services, the signage, and graphics as well as the integrative nature of the collection management and information systems used.

Gagliardi believes that an organisation's artifacts and symbols provide an excellent approach to the interpretation of organisational culture due to their sensitivity to subtle shifts in cultural change. Gagliardi views these symbols as agents in their own right and states that physical symbolism, such as represented in organisational artifacts "are the most evident, concrete and tangible manifestations of an organization's culture" (1990, 8). Physical symbolism also plays a significant role in the study of organisational identity, thereby making it relevant for our understanding of how GLAM entities build and maintain their converged identity.

Rafaeli and Pratt (1993) propose that organisational dress such as uniforms convey meaning in two fundamental ways. These are through attributes such as design e.g. colour and style, and through the homogeneity of the uniform. This homogeneity has implications for the idea of "us" and "them" being part of a collective organisation or belonging to different intra-organisational units of that organisation, and "them" as the distinction created between organisational members and non-organisational members (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993). Organisational dress is a strong indicator of internal organisational culture and the attributes of organisational dress are read as meaning-laden symbols. The level of homogeneity in organisational dress implies a level of organisational cohesion, which in turn reflects the core values of the organisation (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993).

Buildings can also serve as what Berg and Kreiner (1990) call "totems". These totems symbolise identity and have the agency to historicise that identity as they are captured in branding and documentation through time and space. In this sense the architecture of the building becomes an extension of the organisational function as it encapsulates "an extension of the organisation's product and services" (Berg and Kreiner 1990, 54). The application of the latter concept can be seen in the innovative and post-modern architecture associated with the development of many integrated memory institutions. This manifests in the idea that the new form of

organisation model for these institutions needs to reflect in an iconic, progressive container.

It is important to consider the interplay of the person and the physical environment when applying organisational symbolism as a theoretical framework. The physical setting of an institution is said to hold symbolic clues to an organisation's culture, both in terms of strategic values but also in light of the corporate or organisational identity physical symbols generate. Gagliardi believes that "space can be used to structure and define relationships in an organisational setting, space can also be utilized as a tool for loose coupling, to express or control contradictions or incompatible elements within the organizational setting" (1990,15). This physicality of an organisation can be expressed not only at a macro environmental level through institutional architecture, but also at a micro level in the interior design of an institution such as the office, desk, chair placement etc. (Berg and Kreiner 1990). Behaviour and culture in an organisational setting can also be symbolically conditioned by the physical setting – recursively it can also mirror organisational behaviour and culture (Berg and Kreiner 1990).

Behavioural symbols are ritual and ceremonial acts carried out in an organizational context that have meaning beyond their actuality. Examples of these symbols include the behaviour around taking tea or lunch breaks, meeting etiquette, greeting fellow workers, office or Christmas parties, induction processes, etc. Shultz (1994) defines behavioural symbols as those standardised patterns of behaviour that prescribe a certain way of doing things in the organisational construct. Examples of behavioural symbols in a converged institution could include the way in which GLAM entities socialise in the work environment and through representation in meeting attendance or at varying management levels for decision-making. Examples of verbal symbols include myths, stories, metaphor, slang and jargon utilised in the organisational setting; verbal symbols are "linguistic forms with symbolic contents" (Shultz 1994, 83).

There are objects that can reinforce boundaries between groups of entities within an organisation, and there are objects that bring groups or entities together. These objects either help or hinder communication and activity between the entities – importantly for this research, they can convey symbolic agency by facilitating collaboration and convergent practice between the GLAM entities. An extension of this idea is the artifact as a facilitator of knowledge negotiation in an organisation setting.

A boundary object establishes a shared language for individuals to represent their knowledge. “A boundary object provides a concrete means for individuals to specify and learn about their differences and dependencies – what is new across a given boundary” (Carlile 2006, 114)

People rely on both local and global contextual features to understand artifacts in the context of an organisational setting. A reading of symbolism in an organisation and the interpretation of that symbolism requires the researcher and reader to establish context prior to analysis. It is also important to maintain awareness of the recursive nature of context and symbol when reading these symbols as markers of organisational culture. The recurrence of the same symbol in the same organisational setting does not necessarily allow for transfer of meaning from one organisation to the next. Establishing the context of each setting is paramount to the development and interpretation of organisational symbols. This research provides a level of context around each case with enough depth to frame adequately the reading of organisational symbolism.

One of the issues involved in studying organisational culture through symbolism is that we infer symbolic meaning through our own eyes – this meaning will differ based on interaction with the symbol and the person who both constructs and or interprets the symbol. It therefore becomes important to seek layers of understanding when interpreting symbols in research.



The symbolic approach to the study of organisations views culture as a multi-faceted and multi-layered web of meaning. It is through the study of these patterns and the webs of meaning which exist between the symbols that the organisational symbolist seeks to construct an understanding of the organisation's culture. A symbolic approach to the study of organisational culture in a converged memory institution allows for the interpretation and understanding of meaning surrounding points of intersection and integration (physical, verbal and behavioural symbols) between the GLAM entities. The use of organisational culture as a theoretical framework in this research allows me to develop an understanding of both the tacit and explicit markers (symbols) of convergence within the organizational settings. Evidence of the symbols within converged institutions which transcend (or appear to transcend) GLAM silos provides an empirical foundation for understanding how the organization generates and maintains a culture of convergence.

## ***2.5 Conclusion***

The bodies of literature and relevant research dealing with GLAM sector convergence differ in both volume and mandate depending on sector types. The predominant volume of literature on integrative GLAM centred practice is generated from within the library sector, followed closely by the archives sector. Very little literature has been generated from within a museum and gallery context.

One possibility which may account for the stronger representation of collaborative and convergent practice in the library science literature places libraries as ideologically better equipped and having more to gain from convergence than other GLAM entities. While discussion of such issues is beyond the scope of this review, it is still worth noting as an area for further research. It is also worthy of note that the inherent differences and

commonalities discussed between the sectors are mirrored through the emerging convergent themes in the examined body of literature.

While the library sector generates strong discussion and interest around the practice and ideology of convergence between memory institutions, literature from the archives sector takes a more cautious approach to convergence. Literature touching on convergent practice from the fields of museum and heritage studies is largely concerned with the types and benefits of partnership forged with tourism operations or other museum and heritage based institutions, which differ in type, but are still from within the same sector. The strongest overlap in convergent practice between the sectors in terms of research is embedded in the virtual environment. The role technology plays as a catalyst for convergence between the sectors is well documented. This review presents a holistic analysis of the literature and provides a representative understanding of the ideology and practice of contributing paradigms.

The literature identifies a number of factors that could be driving physical convergence between memory institutions. Technology through determinism and media convergence, economics through resource dependency, rationalisation, accountability and the development of collective funding frameworks. This can also be seen through the undertaking of collaborative practice, as well as through urban sociology and planning in the creation of community identity and third place. Conceptual frameworks such as the collaborative continuum, and theoretical frameworks grounded in urban sociology, organisational and institutional theory provide guidance for an examination of these drivers and enablers. Is the physical realignment of our GLAM entities creating a draw card for what Richard Florida terms “the creative classes”? Do the intersections of our physically converged institutions embody elements of Oldenburg’s third

place? On the other hand, as suggested by Laundry, is the development of cultural precincts a reaction to urban fragmentation designed to bring the cultural “heart” back into our cities?

What impact have collaborative/convergent models of delivery in the digital environment had on our physical institutions and their organisations? Is the level of possibility inherent through digital collaboration generating dialogue that is nurturing opportunity for realignment of our physical institutions? It may well be that the drivers and enablers for convergence are embedded in any number of landscapes, all of which have been born from a favourable emergence and alignment of catalysts. An attempt to identify these catalysts and form an awareness of their influence in the future management and delivery of our cultural heritage resources will go a long way towards understanding the “urge to physically converge” (Bullock and Birtley 2008).

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### ***3 Methodology***

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While the examined literature advanced knowledge of convergent and collaborative practice within the virtual environment, physical place is a central focus of this research. Digital manifestations strip away many of the delineations embedded among the GLAM entities, for example building conditions, object size, preservation management, format type and geographical boundaries. Technology levels the playing field by providing closely aligned digital formats and facilitates the use of one point of access for a multitude of cultural artifacts. Arguably, the digital environment makes it easier to consider convergence, yet there is a clear gap in the understanding of how GLAM entities construct and generate convergence within a physical cultural heritage setting. Very little research addresses the impact of collaborative and convergent ideology on our physical GLAM institutions.

Current researchers, academics and practitioners writing about convergent practice allude to the role people play as agents of change in the development of the converged organisation. While the current drivers and enablers for convergence afford a great deal of agency to the environment and systems, there is growing awareness that it is not the systems creating convergence, it is the people. Zorich, Waibel and Erway, in their discussion of the collaboration continuum, state “convergence requires an engendered shift in organisational structure and mind-set” (2008). Hickerson also acknowledges that convergence requires a “significant change in people, mandate and programming” (2009).

Reflected in the central research question is this awareness around the agency of people:

**How is a culture of convergence generated between GLAM entities in an integrated memory institution?**

The research methodology addresses this question by gathering empirical data to explore/assess the ideas raised by Hickerson (2009) and Zorich, Waibel and Erway (2008) concerning the role that people and organisations play in the development of convergence. The people, the buildings, the collections, the services as well as the intangible frameworks, woven through these models, coalesce to form the foundations of converged organisation. This research illuminates the agents in and around these organisations, which recursively symbolise and influence the development of convergent practice in a physical context.

Through the undertaking of an intensive and holistic investigation into the points of intersection and integration in the converged organisational structure, this research constructs understanding of how GLAM entities attempted to build and maintain a culture of convergence. By analysing the agents that influence organisational integration, this research contributes to the study of convergence/GLAM institutions by theorising memory institutions in a way that transcends current academic and practice based boundaries.

The objective of this research is to investigate models of self-defined convergence between physical memory institutions within the cultural heritage environment. Models of convergence are defined as those GLAM entities that exist within the same unified space and share elements of organisational integration in part through service, collection, identity and governance. GLAM entities, for the purposes of this research, are institutions engaged in the collection, preservation, dissemination and interpretation of cultural heritage, specifically all or subsets of the following organisational types: galleries, libraries, archives and museums (Dupont 2007; Martin 2007).

This thesis uses both the concepts of integration and convergence. Convergence is defined and used in this thesis as an integrative state that

implies the negotiation and development of a new organisational form. Integration is defined as the collective construct of varying forms of contact, co-ordination, cooperation, collocation, collaboration or convergence between the entities under study. This is a form which, if dissolved, leaves the original contributing entities in a perpetually changed state (Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008).

This thesis approaches the research question through an interpretive paradigm and addresses the central research question through an examination of qualitative, information rich case studies of convergent practice operating within the New Zealand public sector cultural heritage environment. Both primary and secondary data has been gathered for the case. This data consists of documentary evidence, observation, and semi-structured interviews with key staff. This research collected and theorised this context-specific data with enough rich detail to allow individual judgements to be made regarding transferability of the findings.

In order to derive meaning from an investigation into convergence, any empirical evidence must be seen as dependant on context and the interpretation of action or opinion must take into account the setting in which it is produced (Dey 1993). The macro/micro environment in which convergence between GLAM entities is conceived, developed and maintained contains many variables. Variables such as geographic location, governance structure, size, sector inclusion, and collection priorities create unique contexts of constructed reality. These variables are intrinsically tied to the foundations of the model itself. Any attempt to understand one without the other only partially addresses the central research question. The relativist ontological stance afforded by an interpretive paradigm provides a framework for a holistic investigation into the unique context in which the converged models exist and function (Creswell 2003). An interpretive paradigm allows for the gathering of context rich data related to individual models of convergence, it does so by acknowledging that realities

vary in nature, and are time and context bound (Lincoln and Guba 1985). An interpretive investigation across elements of space/time provides a context rich and context bound framework for understanding how a specific organisation converges. Moreover, an understanding of what is perceived through the construct of those who create it is paramount to an interpretive investigation of convergence.

Engagement through interaction in the research process with the population in the converged models forms an important foundation of the enquiry. The transactional/subjectivist epistemology acknowledges that data derived from the research process is bound by the nature of the interaction between the researcher and the research population. Understanding the organisational culture, modes of interaction and internal workings of the converged institution requires a transfer of knowledge and information between the researcher and subjects. An interpretive paradigm acknowledges that an awareness of the nature of the research and the willingness to engage in the research activity by the participant will ultimately influence data transfer and leave the subject in an altered state (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

This research takes a qualitative approach to research methodology in order to provide the type of information needed to answer the research question. In this research I argue that convergence can be both a tacit and explicit phenomenon and therefore not always an observable or measureable phenomenon. Although understanding derived from a positivist paradigm could have been applied to the investigation of these models and their influencing contexts, I did not wish to focus on quantifying or hypothesising convergent practice. The uniqueness of the research population, the holistic nature of the enquiry and the multiple contexts present in each converged model (as have noted above), make it difficult to construct and apply units of measurement that allow for an objective transfer of findings.

### ***3.1 Use of Theoretical Frameworks***

The role of theory in case study research can take many forms. Case studies are most commonly associated with theory building, particularly the use of a grounded theory approach. Theory may also be used as a vehicle for generalizing findings. Yin (1994) defines this type of use as a basis for analysis generalization, a template with which to compare and discuss the empirical results of the case study. The use of theory in case studies is also employed as a scaffold; this application sees the theory act as a lens to guide our development of understanding in complex environments.

In this research I use the theoretical constructs of organisational symbolism as a scaffold for data collection and analysis. I also test the theoretical presuppositions of the conceptual “collaborative continuum” as discussed and defined by Zorich, Waibel and Erway (2008) in the literature review. The application of theory is revisited in each case study write-up as well as in the cross-case analysis and conclusions. In this sense, in a cross-case analysis, the use of theory becomes important because “analytic generalizations depend on using a theoretical framework to establish a logic that might be applicable to other situations” (Yin 2012, 18).

When applying organisational symbolism as a theoretical lens the ability to read and understand organisation symbols and be able link these to organizational values with validity requires the researcher to:

Recognize the symbols in a specific context

- This is achieved through historical research regarding the organisations development and current “place” in the cultural heritage landscape as well as through the identification of specific symbols through ethnographic methodology such as observation and interview



#### Unravel member interpretations

- This is achieved through interview and/or focus group regarding observed symbolic convergence

#### Verify the reliability of interpretations

- This is achieved through cross tabulation of multiple data sources, cross case analysis for themes within contextual framework.

Hatch's model of organisational culture (2006) that acknowledges the recursive nature of symbols is used as a framework in this research. Hatch builds on Schein's layered model and inserts a recursive process whereby organisational members both create and read symbols. This approach allows for an investigation of the storytelling/interpersonal communication symbols, which emerge from the case, yet maintains the interpretive framework of the research.

There are multitudes of symbols that can be studied within an organisational setting. The type and prevalence of symbols will vary between different organisations and it is important not to discount specific symbols, or to approach these institutions with a pre-determined idea of context in which to seek out symbolism. It is impossible to know which, what, or how various symbols are involved in the development of meaning making in the organisational context. Indeed the process of understanding the development of a convergent culture will no doubt bring to light symbolic artifacts previously not considered and vice versa. That being said, it is useful to consider existing research which uses symbolism in the study of organisational culture as a starting point for entering the field.

Symbolism can be located in artifacts that exist in a multitude of different organisational contexts. Some of these artifacts include logos, slogans, stationary, clothing, meeting protocol, social/work gatherings, promotions,

office furniture, personal workspace, building layout and design, department layout and design, organisational structure, working relationships and employee titles, technology distribution and utilisation, information systems, stories, jokes, jargon and metaphor. Note that this list includes both tangible physical artifacts as well as the more interpretive constructs of symbolic communication. Behavioural aspects as symbolic meaning making have deliberately been excluded from this list. Developing an understanding of behaviour, which may be symbolic in the development of organisational culture, requires extended field time. This is not possible given the scope of this research. There is a need to balance the time in the field with the wealth of data that can be obtained through the investigation of multiple case studies.

The observation and interview technique employed in the documentation of physical symbolism and verbal symbolism lends ethnographic validity to this research. The multiple case study approach adds richness to the interpretation of the data. This is a common approach in the study of organisational symbolism. Researchers will often choose to delimitate their research based on symbolic type or research method. The breadth and depth of symbolism and the myriad aspects of culture, which can be examined through such analysis, means limiting the research approach, ensures a structured central focus and prevents the researcher from getting lost in the field

### ***3.2 Case Study Research Design***

Case studies are bound in a relativist ontological stance and have the ability to inform research by placing the investigator in a position to interact with the object of investigation (Creswell 2003). This section provides an

overview of the research design chosen to address the central research question. Case studies, as defined by Yin are,

an empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g. case), set within its real-world context – especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident (2009, 18).

The purpose of this research is to understand how a culture of convergence (the phenomenon under study) is generated (the context in which it is negotiated and manifests) between entities in a converged memory institution (the real-world context). The case study, (as a methodological approach to the topic) adds interpretive depth to the research process by providing micro-analysis of the topic in a constructed reality.

Stake explains as follows:

Case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases... The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself (1995, 8).

A collective case approach is chosen as the vehicle of study because of the opportunity it affords to interact in an holistic and interpretive way within the confines of a bounded system – in this case the converged organisation. While a collective case approach (or multiple case study approach) is used, it is important to emphasise that the cases in this framework should not be considered a sample of the research population. Moreover, they are not included solely based on being representative of a wider research population. In this research, the aim is not to attempt to generalise beyond the bounds of the case but to uncover, examine, discuss and seek understanding of the how convergence is generated within specific information rich contexts.

### **3.2.1 Case Selection**

An initial scoping of the research population identified a number of information rich cases of self-defined physically convergent practice happening between physical GLAM entities in the cultural heritage environment.

Identified cases self-defined as converged. A strong element of interest rests in why these organisations consider themselves converged and how this compared with the examined body of knowledge on convergence. This self-identification added richness to the investigation by allowing for comparisons between proposed markers of convergence (as identified in the collaborative continuum), to markers which surfaced from within the case.

While the initial scoping of the research population did not specifically seek out public sector institutions, it is unsurprising that the selected cases are all institutions defined as operating in the latter cultural heritage domain. The prevalence of physically convergent practice occurring between GLAM entities in New Zealand is largely confined to the public/government sector environment.

There are information rich examples of convergent practice between memory institutions happening in many countries around the world. New Zealand is no exception and has what is purported to be the first example of a purposefully integrated cultural heritage institution – *Puke Ariki*. Current surveys show that New Zealand is home to over 500 museums of all shapes and sizes (Museums Aotearoa 2005). Small countries with young histories display characteristics of innovation and quick dissemination of innovation and ideas. This makes the New Zealand cultural heritage sector fertile ground for research and consideration of innovation in the sector and provides a rationale for the utilisation of the New Zealand cultural heritage sector as the population under study.

The cases used in this research are chosen because they provide “exemplarily instances of the phenomenon being studied” (Yin 2012, 33). Bound by specific timespans, the chosen cases have unique contexts. The cases selected for this research are:

\* *Te Papa*, New Zealand’s national integrated museum and art gallery situated on the Wellington waterfront in the country’s capital city. The development of *Te Papa* as an integrated model has not been without its challenges and controversies. A long history of collocation between the National Art Gallery and the National Museum also preceded the development of the institution.

\* *Puke Ariki*, a self-defined converged library, archive, museum and information centre in New Plymouth New Zealand. *Puke Ariki* is generally considered to be one of the first cases of self-defined convergence in the world, and definitely the first within New Zealand at a regional level.

\* *Te Ahu*, a converged cultural heritage concept in Kaitaia, Northland, which (at this stage of the project) includes the region’s museum, library and information centre, little theatre, archives and conference facilities. *Te Ahu* is moving quickly through the conceptual stages of development and provided an invaluable opportunity to gather as the integrative concept progresses. The introduction to each case study provides detailed overviews of each institution.

In this thesis, I document and analyse the integrated institutional models by illuminating and analysing symbolic elements representing knowledge negotiation across GLAM domain boundaries. These elements manifest in points of intersection and integration in collections and exhibitions, institutional space, institutional identity and operational infrastructure. I then discuss these points of integration and intersection in light of the symbolism they recursively represent and create within the context of organisational convergence.

By its very nature and bound by the variety of contexts in this research, the concept of convergence can be considered an esoteric entity. In order to derive a holistic understanding of the converged model, there is a need to gather information pertaining to convergent practice, which considers and accounts for elements of convergence, over both time and space. This section of the *Methodology* discusses the specific approaches taken to data collection across the individual cases.

A number of questions guided data collection for the three cases in this research. Initial questions included:

- Why does the institution consider itself converged?
- What were the historical foundations for the development of the converged model?
- What were/are the barriers to convergence as perceived by staff, and how were/are these addressed?
- How does convergence manifest through staff operations, service and collections?
- How do organisational management and governance models influence convergence?
- How does technology influence convergence within the organisation?
- How does convergence manifest in the marketing of the organisation and its services?
- How does the design of the building and service delivery influence convergence?

### **3.2.2 *Timeframe***

The timeframes for data collection and analysis in each three cases are unique. There is not the scope within this thesis to examine all facets of integrative practice since the institutions' inception up until the present day.

The timeframes chosen for data collection and analysis provide an opportunity to look at the historical development of an integrative model (Te Papa), the integrative model in operation as it stood in the current data collection period (Puke Ariki) and the proposed development of integration in the conceptual development of Te Ahu. While there is also a sense of continuity in selecting cases that provide a past, present and future lens, the data collection period also captures pivotal events and key developments in each case to lend richness to the data collection and analysis.

The context in the Te Papa case forms an important foundation for framing an analysis of Te Papa's convergent culture. Te Papa, as a case study, provides a vehicle for an analysis of the development of convergence in a national institution through a retrospective historical lens; this is discussed at length in the *Case Context 6.2*. Those interviewed for the case, as well as the collected documentary material, provide insight into the development of an integrative model of operation for Te Papa, up until the year 2002. Interest in this case ceases with the pivotal reconfiguration of the gallery spaces on Level 5. As a result, the reading of this case and the interpretation of the data must be framed through an understanding that this was convergence in Te Papa, as it stood, in the institution's development and early days of operation.

The timeframe for data collection and analysis in the Puke Ariki case was October 2009 – December 2010. The context for this case is included in so much as it provides a foundation for understanding the institutional model that is currently Puke Ariki. However, an analysis of convergence in Puke Ariki should be read as real-time engagement with both the collections and the staff. While the documentary material collected for the case provided a foundation for the site visits, observation and interviews with staff in the institutional setting formed the bulk of the data collected for this case.

Te Ahu, as a case, provides a vehicle for an analysis of the proposed conceptual development of convergence in a regional institution. Those interviewed for these cases, as well as the inclusive documentary material, provide insight into the development of the integrative model up until July 2011; data collection for this case ceases prior to the opening of the institution. Independent reviews of the Te Ahu concept, as well as funding shortfalls and delays in construction, meant that Te Ahu had only just begun initial site development at the conclusion of the designated data collection period.

### ***3.2.3 Data Collection***

Case studies employ a range of methods in their design including historical, documentary and ethnographic approaches (Stake quoted in Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Miles and Huberman 1994; Yin 1994). A defining feature of case study research is the collection of data (both primary and secondary) in multiple formats and from multiple sources. This variety lends academic rigor to the data analysis, supports triangulation of findings as well as “converging lines of evidence” (Yin 2012, 18).

Data is gathered utilising considered objectives through pre-defined visits to the field (Creswell, 2007). Yin (2012, 10) identifies a number of common sources of evidence for data collection in case study research. These include:

- Direct observation e.g. human actions or physical environment
- Interviews
- Archives and records such as newspaper articles, letters & emails, reports, photographs, plans etc.



- Participant observation e.g. being identified as a researcher, but also filling a real life role in the scene being studied
- Physical artifacts

A number of techniques have been used to gather data to address the central research question. These include interviews, observation and the collection of myriad primary and secondary documentary sources. The volume and ratio of data formats differs between cases and is largely dependent on the case timeframe. The following section provides an overview of the types of data collected and the overall strategies taken to obtain data for the cases.

### ***3.2.4 Interviews***

Yin believes that an important element to interviewing in case study research involves identification of and access to “key participants” in the field. These key participants are those individuals best situated to provide rich information relating to the research question.

The participants’ reality provides important insights into the case. The insights gain even further value if the participants are key persons in the organisation, these people can offer more valuable insight than average members of the group (Yin 2012, 12).

Open-ended interviews can reveal how case study participants “construct reality and think about situations” (Yin 2012, 2). The interview strategy used to collect data for these cases involved identifying key participants prior to entering the field, and using guiding questions to draw data from conversations rather than have participants answer specific questions. It is important to let conversations evolve at the participants’ discretion.

Identification of staff for interviewing was undertaken through an analysis of the organisational structures and in some cases through snowball sampling. Interviewees were approached individually and provided with an information sheet that contained an overview of the research, and a consent

form that allowed them to choose whether they wished to be named in the research or maintain anonymity. Although all research participants agreed to be named, a decision was made, post data transcription, to lend an element of anonymity by identifying interviewees by their relevant job titles and/or positions. This allowed their data to be considered in the context of their role and relationship to the entities and institutions under study without having to use their names. It was felt that the level and type of engagement between the interviewee and the case could be established without the use of personal names. The Appendix contains a list of interviewees. Unless otherwise specified in the footnotes, these individuals contributed primary data to the case.

These interviews were conducted in both face to face and distance based situations depending on the case context. In all cases, interviews were recorded with a voice recorder and transcribed for analysis. The transcribed interview data from the cases was analysed (case by case) and organised into themes. These themes were then coded and contributed to the development of the framework in which the points of intersection and integration are discussed in each case; case context, collection integration, organizational infrastructure, institutional space and institutional identity.

A purposive list of interviewees for the Te Papa case was identified on the basis of pivotal involvement in the development of the converged institutional model and/or their involvement in the initial “day one” exhibition design. Additional interviewees were identified through snowball sampling. Although not employed in the organisation at the time of inception, certain current staff members had existing historical organisational knowledge, and these additional interviews added depth to the case data. Current staff interviewed for this case viewed the construction (and destruction) of Te Papa’s converged culture through the lens of current practice, but with an understanding of how the Te Papa of today had been shaped by the organisational stories and sagas of yesterday.

These individuals included members of the Project Development Board, curators, and librarians from Te Aka Matua Library, the Knowledge Manager and the Archivist.

Interviewees for the Puke Ariki case were identified based on their pivotal involvement in the management and operation of the institution in the present day setting, as well as for their historical understanding of the development of the institution over time. Interviewees for the case represented all GLAM entities operating in the institution, as well as staff in management positions. Interviewees for the Puke Ariki case included the General Manager, the Manager of Service Delivery, Manager Heritage Collections, Library Manager, curators and collections managers. The interviews were conducted in the institutional environment, in a face-to-face situation.

Interviews for the Te Ahu case were conducted at a higher strategic and operational level than the other two cases under study and were identified on the basis of their pivotal involvement in the development of the conceptual institutional model. This was due in part to availability and access to interviewees, but also to the lack of granular detail surrounding proposed operational logistics. Te Ahu's governance and functional environment was very much still in the planning stages at the time of data collection, or ear-marked for future development as the project commenced.

Interviewees for the Te Ahu case included the Te Ahu General Manager/Project Manager, Manager Customer Services – Far North District Council and Administrator for the Te Ahu Trust, the Far North District Museum Trust Chairperson and the delegate for the Museum on the Te Ahu Trust Board. The Museum Consultant contracted to work on the initial conceptual development was also briefly interviewed. Interviews were conducted via speakerphone.

In order to gain access to the interviewees for the Te Ahu case, I was asked to write a brief report for the Te Ahu Charitable Trust. This report provided an overview of the research methodology and was subsequently tabled at a project development meeting for the Te Ahu Trust Board's approval. I was granted access to the case with the caveat that I did not approach the ex-Curator of the Far North District's Museum for an interview. The relationship between the Te Ahu Development Board and the ex-Curator (who resigned due to conceptual disagreements over the proposed model) had been strained. Issues between the two parties had caused delays in the project's development (General/Project Manager, pers. comm.). However, there were secondary sources of data in the public domain which documented the debates between the two parties and provided an overview of the issues between the Board and the ex-Curator. It was felt that acknowledging these issues and including them in case write-up provided balance to the data and rigour to the research process. The conceptual differences expressed by the ex-Curator were embedded in areas of relevance which were important to developing an understanding of how knowledge was negotiated across the Te Ahu GLAM domain boundaries.

### **3.2.5 Observation**

Observation as a case study method for data collection employs the use of the researcher's five senses to record data relating to research questions (Yin 2012). The level and type of observation undertaken in this research is best defined by Gans as *researcher-participation*. Gans developed a fluid classification for the amount of interaction between the researcher and the participants which can occur during observation. Gans acknowledges the degree of interaction between participants and researchers can change over the course of the research process and is dependent on the type of data being collected. These categories are *total-participant*, complete immersion in the field, *researcher-participant*, some level of involvement in the field but still observing as a recognised researcher and *total-researcher*, unobtrusive

observation without involvement (Bryman 2008). Observing and recording of field notes were used for data collection where relevant; this relevancy was determined by the scope of the case.

Given the historical context of the Te Papa case it was necessary to look for and interpret organisational symbolism largely through the documentary materials (both primary and secondary). Given that the analysis of this case includes the current reconfigured spaces on Level 5 and the resulting relocation of the Library from the Level 5 space, it was possible to read symbolism through the observation of the layout of these entities in their current occupied spaces, as they remain unchanged since 2002.

Numerous visits were made to Te Papa (the Cable Street site) in the course of data collection. I was also granted access to tour the Tory Street site. The Tory Street site (not open to the general public), houses the Collections Store, the Curators' office spaces (Natural History), some collections staff, the Hector Reading Room and the Te Papa Archives.

Video footage from a behind the scenes New Zealand documentary which looked at the development of Te Papa through the eyes of the project team also provided a platform for a visual interpretation of the points of intersection and integration in the early days of Te Papa's inception. Moreover, it allowed for a visual reading of the organisation's symbolism due to the ethnographic content and format of the production.

The data collection and analysis for the Puke Ariki case study differs from the other two cases in this thesis. The data collected in and around Puke Ariki documents the points of intersection and integration as currently observed and articulated by staff members working in the operational setting. Observation and journaling were heavily utilised as a means of data collection in this case. In this sense, there was a larger ethnographic component to the collection of data in Puke Ariki than in the other two cases. Thirty two hours in total were spent on site observing and engaging

with people in and around the institutional space. This time was spent interviewing people, photographing points of intersection and integration and recording journal notes. Assuming the role of informed visitor allowed me to move through the buildings interpreting and reading symbolism in the institution.

While collection and analysis of institutional documentary resources still play a large part in identifying points of intersection and integration in Puke Ariki, identifying these elements, and analysing the resulting data, drew heavily on observation and engagement between myself (as a researcher) and the physical institution. The first person has been used to refer to my engagement with the organizational setting when and where appropriate to reflect the extensive use of observation and journaling in this case.

As with Te Papa, the context of conceptual development in the Te Ahu case required the analysis of organisational symbolism largely through documentary materials (both primary and secondary). Given the developmental nature of the case, a physical site visit to the institution in the data collection timeframe was not possible (or arguably required).

### ***3.2.6 Documentary Sources***

Documentary sources for this research involved the collection of myriad primary and secondary materials relating to both the institution's historical development as well as the development of the integrative operational model. An awareness of bias must be maintained in the collection and use of documentary evidence, particularly in the use of the institution's archival record (Yin 2012). Archives have been purposefully appraised and selected for preservation, accountability and evidential value, and therefore this volume of material does not represent the totality of memory or documentary record on a specific person, place, organisation or incident.

Both primary and secondary documentary sources were consulted in the development of all three cases. These sources included published research, media communications, project development reports, political comment, architectural plans, video footage, legislation, internal memos and reports. Primary documentary materials were sourced mainly from institutional archives and libraries. Secondary documentary material was sourced through a wide variety of publications; these publications are representative not only of the GLAM domains under study such as art history, library science, archival science and museology, but also extend to architecture, marketing, organisational culture and urban planning.

The documentary material sourced for Te Papa relied heavily on secondary sources to determine the case context. Floor plans and drawings relating to the development of the built environment from which Te Papa emerged were also analysed. These plans highlight points of intersection and integration between the entities in the architecture and the internal layout of the institution as they developed in the institution's inception. An analysis of graphic copy for the development of a Te Papa brand also enables a symbolic reading of the development of a converged identity for the institution.

In the Puke Ariki case, documentary material sourced for the case includes Council reports, promotional material, media communications, conference presentations, journal articles from multiple domains, Puke Ariki project reports and communications, consultants' reports, project submissions, reviews, organisational charts and annual reports. The Puke Ariki Archives contain extensive records relating to the initial and on-going development of the institution. As with the other cases, architectural plans, concept and visualisation documentations and drawings relating to the development of the built environment were also analysed. These documents highlighted points of intersection and integration between the entities in the architecture

and the internal layout of the institution allowing me to consider changes to observed patterns over time.

As the data collection and analysis for the Te Ahu case (as an institution in development) rests largely in the planning, negotiating and conceptual domain, the data collection strategy focuses on the sourcing and analysis of institutional documentary sources. Feasibility studies and business plans, development reports, optimization studies, site specifications, concept plans, visitor experience reports, design proposals, concept reviews, graphic representations of building layout and logo copy as well as personal/community opinion expressed via public media channels, particularly concept reports and plans, were all consulted. Documentary material used in the case analysis was sourced from the Far North District Council Archives, the Te Ahu Trust Board and from Far North District media publications. This process (as with the other cases) included the examination of architectural drawings and concept plans. These plans highlight proposed points of intersection and integration between the entities in the architecture and the internal layout of the institution. An analysis of Te Ahu Charitable Trust and Far North District Council media releases enabled me to track and document the progress of institutional development and contributed valuable data to the case. An analysis of graphic copy for the development of a Te Ahu brand enabled a symbolic reading of identity for the converged institution.

### ***3.3 Data Analysis***

Data in this research was examined through a process of thematic analysis. Developed by the National Centre for Social Science Research in the United Kingdom, a thematic approach to the qualitative analysis of data draws on elements of grounded theory whereby categories and codes are assigned to



reoccurring themes identified in the empirical data. The emphasis on the development and saturation of themes/sub-themes is recursive, reflexive, emergent and context specific. These themes, which are controlled through the construction of a central index of reoccurring motifs, may emerge, morph or may even dissipate over time (Bryman 2008). The reoccurring motifs which emerged from the case data in this research are those that persisted over time and were strengthened through multiple representations in differing categories such as in interviews, conceptual plans, primary resources etc. From these motifs emerged sub-themes, these sub-themes were coded and settled through a process of saturation and comparison.

The first stage of data analysis under a thematic approach involves the ordering and synthesising of reoccurring motifs through a process of ethnographic content analysis. Data coding of transcripts, documentary evidence and field notes for the case studies in this thesis revealed that the empirical evidence for understanding convergence largely emerged from one of five central themes. These themes include *case context*, *collection integration*, *organisational infrastructure*, *institutional space* and *institutional identity*. These themes form the foundation of the case analysis and are used to organise and frame discussion regarding elements of knowledge negotiation identified in the cases.

Theory is employed as a scaffold to discuss individual case findings. Data drawn from the five categories; *case context*, *collection integration*, *organisational infrastructure*, *institutional space* and *institutional identity*, forms the basis for each case level analysis of identified elements of negotiation across GLAM domain boundaries through the lens of organisational symbolism. In order to respect the foundations of case study research, which emphasizes that case studies are treated as bounded entities (Yin 2012), each analysis is situated in the thesis with the relevant case.

Reviewing and analysing the multiple sources of data derived from cases at the conclusion of data collection is called cross case analysis (Yin 2012). The cross case analysis is discussed in the final chapter of this thesis. This analysis employs analytic generalisation. Analytic generalization allows for the theoretical presuppositions of the conceptual collaborative continuum to be compared and discussed in light of the data that emerged from the cases.

This research prefers the terms consistency and credibility over quantitative terminology such as reliability and validity. Guba and Woolcott argue that the language used in quantitative research should not be applied to qualitative research, Guba and Lincoln make a clear distinction between the language used in quantitative and qualitative approaches (Guba and Lincoln 1981). Both consistency and credibility in this research are achieved through the process of collecting data from multiple sources to support data triangulation and through the process of member checking.

### ***3.4 Research Delimitations***

As outlined in section 4.2.2, there is not the scope within this thesis to examine all facets of integrative practice since the inception of each case up until the present point of submission. As a result, the reading of these cases and the interpretation of the data must be framed through an understanding of the specific timeframes outlined in each case and with an awareness of the impact of these timeframes on the types of data collected and the emphasis this data gives to each case. Moreover, case access granted by the institutions was often provisional and subject to discussion and review of the draft cases by key stakeholders and interviewees.

This research concentrates on the organisational GLAM entities in each institution, their collections, services, staffing, identity and built environment. While a qualitative understanding of how the converged

institutions influence visitor behaviour would be of interest to the general discussion on cultural heritage sector convergence, an investigation of the visitors of these institutions is outside the scope of this research but has been identified as an area for further research in the conclusion of this thesis.

### ***3.5 Research Ethics***

This research was conducted in accordance with the Association of Social Science Research code of ethics and within the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Policy and guidelines. In the seeking of informed consent for involvement in this research, as much detail regarding research design as possible was provided to participants to ensure a culture of transparency and trust was fostered between the researcher and the research population. It was important, due to the qualitative emergent nature of the research, to maintain a vigilant and on-going approach to the issue of ethical conduct throughout the research process. Confirmation of approval regarding collection and use of data was communicated to the participants in good faith, as well as the representation of that data in light of progression or change beyond the understanding of initial informed consent. Ethical conduct in all areas relating to the obtaining of informed consent, the avoidance of deception, privacy and confidentiality agreements and in the handling and representation of data have been adhered to.

Written consent from the director of the institution identified for each case was sought prior to commencement of the research. An information sheet outlining the details of the research and the ethics approval was provided along with a list of potential interviewees and an institutional consent form. Individual consent was also sought from key informants as the research progressed.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Addressing the central research question in this thesis is achieved through the investigation of a priori selected cases of convergent practice taking place in the New Zealand cultural heritage environment. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks employed for data collection and analysis allow for an investigation of the organisational culture through examination of the symbols of convergent practice between the GLAM entities. This methodology provides a framework for extending our understanding of convergence by considering **how** the convergent state is negotiated and maintained within the organisation. Developing a more complex and situated analysis of these issues by undertaking detailed empirical case studies contributes to the various fields within which this research is situated, namely the academic and applied fields of museology, library and archival science.

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## ***4 Introduction to Cases***

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This section introduces the case study framework for this research. The cases studies have been used as vehicles to develop an understanding of how a memory institution negotiates institutional silos to build and maintain a culture of convergence. As each case is unique, they have not been intertwined in an overarching thematic approach to discussion and analysis. Each case has been treated as a separate narrative, and each case, as discussed in section 3.2, has its own strategies for data collection, institutional context, points of interest, as well as discussion and analysis of findings relating to the research question. A cross analysis of case themes has been provided in Chapter 8, but only in light of the cohesive elements that have emerged from the cases. This should not be considered an attempt to generalise across cases by sampling the empirical data, or transposing findings beyond the boundaries of the populations under study.

An important methodological strategy in case study research and in the use of organisational symbolism as a theoretical framework is to take into account the unique context that each case occupies within the wider research population. It is important to this research to historicise the development of the institution under study and provide an overview of the individual GLAM entities that coalesced to form the foundations of the converged memory institution. Each case study is unique and bound by its own tensions and webs of significance. It is not possible to adequately frame a discussion of the convergent symbolism observed in these institutions without considering such symbolism in light of each institution's **unique** occupancy in both time and space.

The historical context for each case is presented in so much as it provides the necessary foundations for understanding and interpretation of the findings. In some cases, the inclusion of historical context provided the institution with an archival record of its development; this proved

advantageous in terms of research design. This reciprocity was beneficial in the development of trust and engagement between the researcher and the institution under study.

Dependant on the individual case, such as with Te Papa, the historical context provided for the case can be extensive; A national institution within which the participating GLAM entities have a long and intersecting history that contributes understanding to the thesis. In the other cases, the historical context of the case has less bearing on the research question and is provided in enough detail to set the scene for data analysis.

The richness of Te Papa as a case rests with the historical analysis of the institution's challenges and opportunities in convergence. The research in this case centred on understanding of how Te Papa has, over the course of time, developed and addressed intersection and integration between its GLAM entities. While recent developments regarding integration are also touched on, they are only included to lend weight to and frame the historical analysis.

In the examination of Puke Ariki, interest still rests in the foundations of the integrated model and in the historical context which makes Puke Ariki what it is today, but the central concern for this research is to understand the elements of integration/convergence as they appear in the present. The Puke Ariki case provides a snapshot of integration at the point of data collection.

Te Ahu differed from the two other institutions under study. Te Ahu as a case created a unique opportunity to observe the processes involved in the development of an integrated facility, and to engage with the entities as they re-conceptualised domain boundaries to create a collective way forward. As with the other cases under study, this re-conceptualisation challenged operational, ideological and structural elements embedded within the individual GLAM entities.

Collectively, the analysis of these three cases within a framework of historical, current and future convergence contribute unique perspectives to our understanding of how a cohesive culture is built and maintained between GLAM entities. While it would have been possible in the case of Te Papa and Puke Ariki to consider convergence as it stands in current space-time, as noted in section 3.2.2, a priori knowledge of the Te Papa case (and the other cases) privileged specific events and times that held interest to this research. Developing an understanding of convergence from these unique perspectives also mitigated the temptation to draw comparison across cases, or to consider the case studies as a small sample rather than bounded populations under study.

While each case has been treated as a separate entity within the structure of the thesis, the analysis and discussion of points of intersection and integration have been grouped under a similar framework within the boundaries of each case. These points are discussed under the headings of *case context*, *collection integration*, *organisational infrastructure*, *institutional space*, *institutional identity* and *organisational symbolism*. The structure used to discuss facets of integration and intersection in each case is not an attempt to marginalise the uniqueness of the institutions, or to constrain the findings into a predetermined framework. In no way did these headings steer the data collection, but rather are the result of cohesive themes which emerged from each case. The findings under each of these headings are unique to the individual cases and are used as a vehicle for analysis and discussion around convergence between their relevant GLAM entities. A concluding discussion for each case is also included, this concluding discussion addresses the points of integration and intersection in light of the symbolism they recursively represent and create within the context of organisational convergence.

The discussion of *Collection Integration* is concerned with exploring the intersection of collection objects and the resulting visitor

experiences/services developed from those objects that form the foundation for the transmission of cultural heritage in a physical memory institution. The concept of integration can be symbolised through many facets of the organisational structure. One of these facets, and arguably the most tangible representation of organisational cohesiveness (apart from identity), is that of collection intersection. To what extent does the converged physical memory institution represent synergy through its objects of cultural heritage? How does collection integration impact on the unique formats represented within the individual GLAM entities?

Examining *Organisational Infrastructure* looks at how each organisation's structure and ideology creates points of intersection and integration between the GLAM entities. This section looks at the impact of different operational groupings and hierarchies through an examination of cross-entity teams, changes in job titles as well as professional and social networks.

*Institutional Space* documents how the architecture and design of the institution's built environment creates challenges and opportunities in the negotiation of knowledge across GLAM domain boundaries. This section also considers the agency of space in building GLAMour

*Institutional Identity* considers elements of intersection and integration in the institution that both challenge and create a framework for the development of a cohesive institutional identity. A discussion of institutional identity is important to an understanding of convergent culture in that it can both represent, and recursively influence organisation members' perception of themselves as a cohesive unit.

Structured in the same way, each of the three cases begins by setting the context for data analysis. Chronologically ordered to represent their data collection timeframes, the first case in this research is Te Papa.

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## ***5 The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa***

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“I like my drinks straight, I don’t like cocktails and you’re giving us cocktails!”

Comment by Sir Ron Trotter Chairman of the Museum of New Zealand Development Board on the integrative concept proposed for Te Papa in *Getting to Our Place* (Cottrell 1999).



**Fig. 1** Te Papa Tongarewa the Museum of New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand (Researcher’s own image 2012).

## **5.1 Introduction**

In 1986 the New Zealand government approved 317 million dollars for the creation of a new national cultural institution. This new institution was to house an integrated museum and national art gallery for New Zealand. The museum was required to be free to the public and to generate one third of its operating budget. On February 14<sup>th</sup> 1998 (over a decade later), The Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa<sup>3</sup> opened its doors.

As an institution, Te Papa<sup>4</sup> manages New Zealand's national art and museum collections. The institution itself occupies a strategic location on the waterfront in New Zealand's capital city Wellington. Te Papa is chosen as a case study for this research because it provides an information rich example of integration between two institutions: New Zealand's National Museum and New Zealand's National Art Gallery. Te Papa's relevance for this research also rests with the fact that the integration of these two institutions follows a long history of association and collocation.

Interest in the Te Papa case and the justification for the selection of this case is multifaceted. Not only does Te Papa provide an example of the challenges and opportunities generated through the bringing together of national cultural heritage GLAM entities, but the development of Te Papa also provided a vehicle for the nation to consider (and critically voice) their support or concern regarding the intermingling of the gallery, library, archive and museum domains.

Te Papa has an innovative, commercially-driven, user-centric, interdisciplinary approach to collection management and interpretation which challenges (sometimes controversially) the boundaries of traditional

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<sup>3</sup> The literal meaning of Te Papa Tongarewa is translated as a repository for all things precious.

<sup>4</sup> Te Papa, the shortened form of the official title of the Museum, is used in this research.

museum practice. It strives to maintain a balance of object and narrative through integrative approaches to exhibition and programming. Metaphorically speaking, the story of convergence in Te Papa is peppered with mystery, intrigue, confrontation, experimentation and territorial battles, and it features personalities who had the strength of conviction to push forward the development of an innovative concept for the management of a nation's cultural heritage. Through an examination of these challenges and the institution's response to those challenges, we begin to develop an understanding of how a national cultural heritage institution has built a culture of convergence. In seeking an understanding of the development of convergence at Te Papa, it is important to maintain an awareness of the role of a national museum. This role is to encourage dialogue and advance scholarship, to push boundaries, to be responsive and inclusive, to reflect the national story, and to negotiate the tensions inherent in needing to be all things to all people.

## **5.2 Case Context**

This section provides context for the case by way of an historical overview of the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum. These GLAM organisations provided a foundation for the institution known as Te Papa, or colloquially as - *Our Place*.

An understanding of the context and history of this case stems from an examination of primary and secondary sources relating to the GLAM entities which have come to form Te Papa. There is a long history of association between New Zealand's National Art Gallery and the Dominion Museum. An excellent overview of the interceptions and associations between the gallery, library and museum institutions is provided in the Introduction of *Art at Te Papa* written by William McAloon (2009). This

provides a starting point to frame this case study. A detailed history of the origins of the gallery entity (the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts) can be read in Kay and Eden's 1983 centenary history *Portrait of a Century: The history of the N.Z. Academy of Fine Arts 1882-1982*.

The establishment of a national art collection for New Zealand rests with the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts (the Academy), and its precursor, the Fine Arts Association of New Zealand. Both of these organisations provided the foundation for the early acquisition of art works which would subsequently form the canon of New Zealand's national art collection. The Academy, (established in 1889) provided a forum for exhibition, criticism, instruction and social engagement in and around art, in the British settler colony of New Zealand. Members of the Academy included both professional and amateur artists and it was presided over by Charles Decimus Barrraud, a pharmacist and painter (Kay and Eden 1983). The Academy built up a collection of works funded in part by its own patronage, as well as through government subsidy and in later years via gifts and donations.

Viewings of the collections held by the Academy were initially confined to academy members and shown in private displays in specifically designated gallery spaces. In 1907, the collections were finally opened to the public and exhibitions were held in a public gallery space situated in the New Zealand Academy of Fine Art's premises in Whitmore Street, Wellington (Kay and Eden 1983).

The origins of the National and Dominion Museum collections stretch back to 1865, with the development of their precursor institution – The Colonial Museum. The Colonial Museum and Geological Survey in Thorndon, Wellington was originally established by Sir James Hector (McCarthy 2010). The Museum was modelled on other museums of the Victorian period, “looked like a library of specimens” and operated under a strong

object-centred epistemology (McCarthy 2008, 51). Deemed a success in its day, it provided a cultured space for the education and socialisation of what was then Wellington's early colonial society (McCarthy 2010).

Sir James Hector led the Colonial Museum for more than 40 years. Over those four decades the museum built up a large natural history collection which was established from

representations made by James Hector, its original collections comprising first the small collection made by the New Zealand Society (defunct since 1861), to which was added some of the material bought together for the New Zealand Exhibition held in Dunedin in 1865 and specimens gathered during the geological survey of the province of Wellington (McLintock 1966).

These collections, according to the 1870 catalogue, included minerals, Mollusca, fossils, Australian and New Zealand birds and mammals, reptiles and botanical collections (Hector 1870).

In 1907, in recognition of New Zealand's Dominion status, the Colonial Museum was renamed the Dominion Museum. The collections (by then under the directorship of Augustus Hamilton), had grown exponentially since the museum's inception and the building was fast reaching maximum storage and exhibition capacity. The passing of the Science and Art Act in 1913 sought to address public and political concern over the need for a building that would house the burgeoning museum collections, as well as provide a space for a national art gallery and a library collection bequeathed by Alexander Turnbull (Te Papa 2010).

Accordingly, the Science and Art Act 1913 made provision for the establishment of such a building. The National Art Gallery was to co-exist within, or be housed in an adjoining building to the Dominion Museum in what would now be considered a collocated arrangement.



**Fig. 2 Colonial Museum interior, Museum Street, Thorndon, Wellington. Ca. 1910. Photographs of ships, Maori village, Wellington Government Centre and Colonial Museum. Ref: PAColl-3114-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.**

It was envisaged that this new art gallery would provide a suitable forum for the management and display of the current Dominion art collections (McAloon 2009). The decision to disestablish the Gallery of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts in favour of one national art gallery was made under the assumption that Wellington City, at the time of the institution's inception, was unable to support two galleries concurrently (McLintock1996).

In 1930 the National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Act was passed. This act sought to unite the gallery and museums entities “under one board of trustees with their own committees of management” (McAloon 2009, 5). The collections under care of the National Art Gallery were formed from the (gifted) collections of the Academy of Fine Arts, as well as the current art

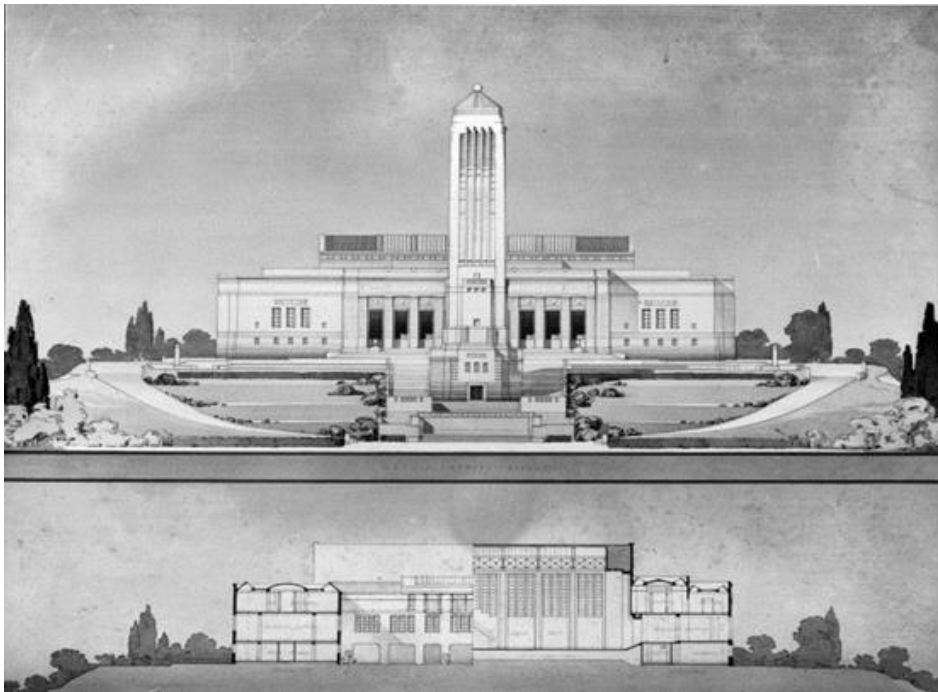
collections held in the Dominion Museum. The Dominion Museum had built up a considerable collection of art over the years, much of which was deemed to have more value as fine art than as ethnographic artifact. These items would subsequently be transferred to the care of the National Art Gallery and included “Japanese prints and images of European exploration of the Pacific to the botanical studies of Sarah Featon and extensive holdings of images relating to the New Zealand wars”(McAloon 2009, 5).

In 1930 progress had been made on the building development and funding for the new museum obtained through Government, public subscriptions and through the sale of the property held by the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts. The Academy had agreed to offer the proceeds of the sale of their property in Whitmore Street, in exchange for space in the new building to house and show their collections (Kay and Eden 1983). The Academy would occupy designated gallery spaces adjacent to the gallery spaces set aside for display of the national art collection. The Academy however favoured the idea of a separate art gallery fearing that “sharing premises would mean the art gallery would be regarded as a subservient branch of the Museum” (Kay and Eden 1983, 80).

Buckle Street in the city fringe suburb of Mount Cook (also the name of one of New Zealand’s highest mountains) was the site chosen for the development of the new National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum building. It was envisaged that this location would create a civic focal point for Wellington city. The name of the suburb caused confusion for those overseas journalists charged with reporting on the development. Gillespie comments on these amusing misunderstandings;

New Zealand has once more broken new revolutionary ground and erected its main temple of the arts among the alpine snows of our largest mountain giant. The fact seems to have escaped them that even the sturdy New Zealanders would find it inconvenient to have to reach their Acropolis on skis and snowshoes (Gillespie 1936, 36).

The Buckle Street development was also to incorporate a National War Memorial. The Memorial Carillon was the first structure, opened in 1932, and in 1933 building work began on the Museum. In 1936 the new purpose-built institution housing the National Gallery, Academy Galleries and Dominion Museum opened in Buckle Street. The design of the Dominion Museum and National Gallery was constructed around a central gallery with additional galleries located on either side. The art galleries were housed on the floor above the main museum galleries with the Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts on the first floor facing the street frontage, and the National Gallery situated behind (McLintock 1966). The Buckle Street building was three stories high and located in a precinct designed to form part of a “civic boulevard”, intended to include a tree lined promenade that linked the Museum to the Wellington waterfront. This boulevard, however was never realised and the institution spent the remainder of its years somewhat disconnected from the heart of the city.



**Fig. 3** Gummer & Ford's winning design for the War Memorial Carillon and Dominion Museum Competition. 1929. Negatives of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: EP-3872-1/2-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.



During the Second World War, the Buckle Street building was commandeered for military use; most of its collections were moved to storage. The former tearooms of a major department store were used as a temporary gallery space for the display of the art collections (Kay and Eden 1983). The National Art Gallery enjoyed this central (if somewhat smaller location) and did not return to its Buckle Street premises until 1949 (McAloon 2009).

The benefit of this central location was noted both by Kay and Eden in their centennial history of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts (1983) and in a 1949 edition of the *Design Review*. Both these sources comment on the benefit of centrality offered by the temporary gallery spaces and the subsequent movement of the art collections back to their Buckle Street site.



**Fig. 4** National Art Gallery, Buckle Street, Wellington. 1939. Evening post (Newspaper. 1865-2002): Photographic negatives and prints of the Evening Post newspaper. Ref: PAColl-6301-46. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Such comments support the urban planning concept of accessibility discussed by Laundry in the literature reviewed for this research, particularly in light of the importance of heritage institutions as place in facilitating engagement between the institutions and their communities with cultural memory.

The central position of the Gallery tempted many to view exhibitions which would not have drawn them to the other end of the city. For the keen follower of Art the journey will now require more than a lunch hour visit. This will be a setback to the increasing appreciation of art in Wellington (Notes - Art moves to Mount Cook 1949, 1:5)

Throughout the 1960s criticism built over the dominance of the Academy of Fine Arts in the management and direction of the National Art Gallery. A lack of acknowledgement of contemporary New Zealand painting was one of these criticisms (Kay and Eden 1983; McAloon, 2009). The National Art Gallery Board responded to these concerns and subsequently acquired a number of contemporary New Zealand art works for the collection including Colin McCahon's *Northland Panels*.

By 1949 the art and museum collections had outgrown their Buckle Street residence and discussions were held to consider new possible sites for the development of a separate national art gallery. In September 1983, a suitable gallery site had been identified. The site was significant due to its proximity to the proposed National Library building and New Zealand Parliament buildings. However, the development of this proposed cultural precinct, due to a legal challenge on the development of the site, was never to be realised. Had this development gone ahead, a very different type of cultural heritage precinct may have been established and the collocation of the museum and gallery entities ceased in perpetuity. Instead, it was determined by Cabinet that the gallery and museum entities would remain collocated and housed in a new purpose built cultural precinct to be established on Wellington's waterfront (McAloon 2009). This site would eventually become Te Papa.

The third Te Papa GLAM entity considered in this case is the Te Aka Matua Library. This library, as it currently exists today in Te Papa, has emerged through the amalgamation of the National Art Gallery Library and the Hector Library collections. Both supported the functions of the Dominion Museum and National Art Gallery. The Te Aka Matua Library, as a GLAM entity, is of interest to this case because it essentially exists as a microcosm of convergence (the integrated museum and art gallery library collections) within a macro-converged environment (the integrated cultural heritage institution that would become Te Papa).

The Hector Library was originally established from material collected by Sir James Hector (1834-1907). Hector also established the forerunner to the Dominion Museum's collections – the Colonial Museum. Two years after the opening of the Colonial Museum, Hector had amassed a collection of material which contained approximately 1,200 volumes in the area of natural history (Woodhouse 1999). At the time, the Hector Library was considered one of the major science research libraries in New Zealand.

Prior to amalgamation, the National Museum and the Hector Library existed in a co-located position with the National Art Gallery in Buckle Street. The Hector Library collections in their Buckle Street location housed the National Museum Library collections and Royal Society of New Zealand collections (Brownsey 1989). The National Art Gallery Research Library was located a few doors down from the Buckle Street institution in a separate building. The passing of the Museum of New Zealand Act in 1992 by the New Zealand Government signalled the proposed amalgamation of the Hector Library and National Art Gallery Research Library. Discussions by the Museum Board and Library staff acknowledged that the Hector Library had the physical space to house the integrated collections, while the National Art Gallery collection space was bursting at the seams (Woodhouse 1999). By 1993, the integration of the National Art Gallery Museum collections and the Hector collections had begun.

The passing of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992 sought to unite New Zealand's National Gallery and Museum entities into a single integrated collection and organisational structure. This Act legislated:

- (a) to establish the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa;  
and
- (b) to constitute the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Board, and to define the Board's functions and powers; and
- (c) to dissolve the Board of Trustees of the National Art Gallery, the National Museum, and the National War Memorial; and
- (d) to repeal the National Art Gallery, Museum, and War Memorial Act 1972 (Ministry for Culture and Heritage 1992)

The resulting new organisational structure created by this Act would provide a platform that would support the interdisciplinary management and interpretation of the country's cultural and natural heritage.

The following section outlines the development of the integrated conceptual model that was to become Te Papa. Prior to the development of this concept, a number of alternative models for the management and interpretation of New Zealand's cultural heritage were considered. These models were influenced by, and benefited, different stakeholders with a vested interest in the project.

There are differing opinions and historical debate over the origins of the integrative concept that would come to define Te Papa. The Director of the National Art Gallery of New Zealand and a member of the Institutional Planning Team in the late 1980s felt that the historical collocation of the National Art Gallery and Museum had been a strong contributing factor to the conceptual development of integration in the new institution. Harper noted of the Buckle Street institutions, "although each operation was distinctive, in legislative terms the collections were a single entity and a shared board made it altogether easier to unify them" (Harper 2002, 36). Harper also noted that the integration of art and museum collections at Te Papa "was not without contest". Although there were benefits to

establishing a unified collection such as shared facilities, early concerns emerged over the way art would be managed and exhibited within the framework of an integrated institution (Harper 2002, 36).

This viewpoint, documented by Harper, contrasted to statements made by the founding CEO and member of the Te Papa Project Development Board. This interviewee did not feel the collocated arrangement of the National Museum and Art Gallery at Buckle Street to be a predicator for the development of the integrated model that was to become Te Papa. As far as the founding CEO was concerned, the integrated model for Te Papa was,

borne out of a strategy and concept, it was not about resource sharing, it wasn't serendipitous, it didn't arrive from circumstances – it was absolutely seen as a strategic opportunity... absolutely driven by strategy and concept, not by convenience (pers. comm.).<sup>5</sup>

The Director of Museum Projects for the Te Papa Development Board also viewed the drivers for integration as embedded in the concept and strategy outlined above, but acknowledged the benefits to be had through resource rationalisation, which came with the integrated concept. There was awareness from the Director of Museum Projects of the economies of scale that could be created, as well as the benefits which would be generated through the sharing of resources (pers. comm).

Prior to the conceptual development of the integrated model, a number of earlier models were considered. These included the development of four different museums with a secretary, “a lot like the Smithsonian” (Director of Museum Projects pers. comm.). Each museum entity would be representative of the various stakeholders— Art, Science, History and

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<sup>5</sup> The use of (pers. comm) is the Chicago B convention for citing unpublished research interview data; I have opted to follow this convention although I acknowledge that there are other stylistic approaches to the treatment of this type of data in academic writing.

Maori. Another model also considered a middle ground; the powerful voices of the art community wanted an integrated institution except for art. There was a strong push from the arts community to maintain their traditional gallery spaces. In this sense, stakeholders from the arts domain sought to retain elements of the historical museum models.

Challenging the institutional culture which permeated the representation and interpretation of art in an institutional setting was seen as a huge opportunity offered in the development of an integrated model. The report *Nga Taonga o Te Motu: Te Marae Taonga o Aotearoa* in 1985 (the first to propose the idea of an integrated model), paradoxically provided a vehicle for the first wave of resistance to the idea of the integrative concept (Project Development Team 1985). While this resistance initially came from both the art and museum domains, the founding CEO felt that the “opposition came particularly from the arts side” (pers. comm.). The backlash to the integrated concept from arts stakeholders prompted a flurry of inflammatory statements and opinion pieces in mainstream media. Quoted as saying she “hated art” the founding CEO said her comments were borne of a frustration with the politics of the art world, not art itself. She qualified her viewpoint by stating;

Art museums are extremely territorial animals...it is the nature of the art museum as an institution; it is by definition an elitist concept. Te Papa, as an integrated model set out to challenge that elitist art paradigm, while the integrated concept challenged the art domain, it was also a challenge to the museum culture (pers. comm.).

However, there was an acknowledgement by the founding CEO that those in the museum domain seemed more willing to engage with the new integrative concept than those in the art domain (pers. comm.).

GLAM intersection and integration aside, the issue of how to represent New Zealand through cultural heritage as a bicultural society was also discussed at length by the Museum of New Zealand Project Development team. The

Director of Projects commented on what seemed to be the essential misunderstandings of the nature of expressing biculturalism in a cultural heritage domain, and asserted that the challenge for the Board and Project Office “lay in how we represented the complexity of New Zealand’s people and culture” (pers. comm.).

The Director of Projects felt that as the Te Papa integrative concept progressed, it became less about “individual doors going into partitions of knowledge” [GLAM, Maori or Pakeha<sup>6</sup>] it strived to be “a constantly changing representation of identity”. The old models started to “creak at the seams”- there was a feeling that the integrated model “allowed the political propensity of the Board to be put to one side and the concept which had emerged from the discussion to rise to the surface” (pers. comm.). That concept was an integrated memory institution, an institution which would enable management and interpretation through a narrative, post-modern framework for New Zealand’s cultural memory. The founding CEO, in her position on the Museum of New Zealand Development Board (with the support of a number of Board members) drove forward the conceptual idea of integration, and the alternative models were eventually side-lined.

The critical voices of the arts stakeholders towards the integrative model that was to become Te Papa were still however very much alive. Attempts were made to address arts stakeholder concerns in the development of the integrated model through Te Papa’s initial conceptual planning. The report by the Project Development Board titled *Concept for the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Wellington: Museum of New Zealand*, adopted in 1989, made provision for “designated art exhibition areas managed by [an Arts] Director with vision and professional expertise” (Harper 2002). It was within this context that the National Art Gallery came on board with the

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<sup>6</sup> Pakeha is a term used to describe a New Zealander of European descent.

conceptual idea of integration, and the Board moved forward with the development of Te Papa. On February the 14, 1998 (after 4 years of construction), Te Papa opened “on time and within budget” (Te Papa 2010).

### ***5.3 Elements of Intersection and Integration in Te Papa***

The following sections of this case study document and analyse the points of intersection and integration of Te Papa from conceptualisation as an integrated institution, through to the reconfiguration of the gallery spaces in the year 2002. As mentioned in the *Introduction to the Cases (Chapter 4.)*, these points are discussed under the headings of *collection integration, organisational infrastructure, institutional space and institutional identity*. The findings under each of these headings have been used as a vehicle for analysis and discussion around the development of a convergent culture between Te Papa’s GLAM entities.

#### ***5.3.1 Collection Integration***

While the GLAM entities in their organisational entirety are of concern to this research, an analysis of collection integration provides a symbolic point of entry into the issues and challenges inherent in transcending institutional silos at an organisational level. Collections represent the most tangible facets of our memory institutions; within this framework, a discussion of integration at collection level becomes important to our understanding of convergent practice between the GLAM entities at a holistic level.

The Museum of New Zealand: Te Papa Tongarewa Concept statement, written by the Project Development Board to define the ideology of integrated collections stated; “The unified collections and capabilities will be seen as a total resource able to be drawn on to present new and varied views of and insights into the richness of our cultural heritage” (1989). It is



within this framework that an examination of collection integration between the GLAM entities in Te Papa begins, with an analysis of the integration of art and artifact in what were known as “the day one exhibitions” (or opening exhibitions). One of these exhibitions was called *Parade*. *Parade* provides a vehicle for the discussion of curatorial practice in terms of physical and conceptual collection integration between the art and museum entities.

*Parade* was a postmodern approach to exhibition aesthetics designed to reflect the new museological mandate of Te Papa. This approach promised to be accommodating, representative, visitor centric and accessible in the dissemination and management of New Zealand’s cultural heritage. *Parade*, as an integrated exhibition, sought to encapsulate this ethos and “to de-emphasise the hierarchies of taste traditionally associated with art museums” (Williams 2001). *Parade* ran from opening day in 1998 to 2001. It challenged visitors to consider “What is art?” and generated extensive amounts of discord between art critics and Te Papa staff over the appropriate way to display art in the context of an integrated museum. Much of this (heated) debate was played out in public media forums.

If concern had been expressed regarding the treatment of art prior to the opening of Te Papa, the day one integrated exhibition *Parade* added fuel to the fire. *Parade* featured a pivotal work by New Zealand artist Colin McCahon, the *Northland Panels* (1958). As mentioned in the case context, this work was purchased by the National Art Gallery board in 1977 to appease criticism over the dominance of the Academy and the under-representation of contemporary New Zealand art in the management of the National Art Gallery collections. The placement of the collection objects in *Parade* included the situating of the *Northland Panels* in the vicinity of an iconic Kelvinator Foodorama Refrigerator born of the same modernist era. The conceptual thread of the exhibition sought to explore the concept of

modernism in New Zealand art and meant that the fridge and the McCahon were, from a curatorial perspective, absolutely in context.

The Head of Art and Visual Culture who worked on the exhibition team during the development of *Parade* justified the placement of the fridge and the McCahon by the degrees of cultural impact both had on the formation and representation of New Zealand's cultural identity (pers. comm). The interactive design of *Parade*, in asking visitors for value judgements about "what is art?" by way of movable plastic thumbs situated near each installation, prompted visitors to consider whether or not they felt "high art or mass culture had more influence on the formation of their identity" (Williams 2001). Instead of the traditional art museum paradigm, where the artist and art were the centrifugal points in the cultural experience, *Parade* attempted to empower the visitor with the curatorial perspective.

The narrative approach in *Parade* and a lack of familiar curatorial markers for making sense of the exhibition made it difficult for the visitor to interpret meaning. In this sense, the 'fridge and McCahon' would create one of the most prominent symbolic platforms and artifactual targets for the art world to express their discontent with the treatment of art at Te Papa. William McAloon, a former curator of contemporary art, was just one voice from the art world who expressed concern with the way the national art collection was being displayed.

It had the potential to be workable and to get us thinking about material culture. But the Northland Panels just looked so appalling. Badly lit, a great black barrier in front of them and not enough space around them...That kind of treatment of national treasures is disgraceful. The Northland Panels is my culture. I find it profoundly disturbing to see something I love, cherish and value treated so badly (McAloon quoted in McNaught 1999, 19).

Conversations with the founding CEO reinforced the symbolic importance of *Parade*, acknowledging that the one issue that seemed to inflame the art world the most was "the fridge and the McCahon". Prior to opening day she

recalled “we didn’t really have an awareness of just what a flash point” the exhibition would create (pers. comm.).

In the integrated institution that Te Papa represented, traditional curatorial practice was challenged and recombined. *Parade* attempted a postmodern approach to display, which sought to juxtapose artifacts commonly associated with high culture with those of mass culture. The initial Te Papa exhibition spaces challenged the modernist approach to the display of art which sought to leave breathing space around objects to allow the art to “speak for itself”. Aided by the ideology of minimal labelling, this post-modernist approach reflected a participatory approach to the visitor experience and was designed to encourage visitors to draw their own conclusions.

The integration of art and object in *Parade*, as theorised by Williams, sought to socially contextualise art and cross pollinate the disciplines of art and social history. Williams goes on to state that far from providing an inclusive representation of New Zealand creativity through the juxtaposition of art and object, the lack of familial frameworks for the treatment of the gallery and museum entities in Te Papa did “not necessarily guarantee inclusiveness, particularly when it is organised by a postmodern intellectual framework” (Williams 2009, 16). The contextualising of art with object in *Parade* did not necessarily create deeper, more complex layers of meaning for the visitor, particularly when the visitor did not possess the motivation or scholarly insight to decipher the curatorial threads which ran through the narrative. In the case of the *Northland Panels*, the symbolic placement of art against mass culture did not only generate the narrative it was designed to communicate, it also served to de-throne the work “from the disciplined high modernist art- historical context in which it was created and denied its singularity of vision” (Williams 2001, 20).

There was retrospective acknowledgement from both the Head of Art and Visual Culture and the founding CEO that certain elements of *Parade's* exhibition design may have blurred the message. These design issues perpetuated misunderstanding between the ideas the concept team sought to represent and the physicality of the exhibition design and designers. The original design for way-finding in *Parade* consisted of a chronological progression through the exhibition, a mall arrangement with an identifiable point of entry and exit. Disagreement between the Head of Design and Director of Projects at the time resulted in the development of multiple points of entry and exit into the exhibition. The Head of Art and Visual Culture commented later that “The opportunities for being lost were great; the design team and the Director of Projects didn’t want to lock audience up into a narrative architecture” (pers. comm.).

The founding CEO saw a narrative approach to cultural heritage as a vehicle to help unlock the real story behind New Zealand’s cultural memory and felt that the collections were equally valuable for the stories they held as well as their aesthetic (pers. comm.). She also felt that art had historically been viewed as a tradable commodity and welcomed the opportunity to challenge that perception and to reinforce the fact that “art objects are part of a cultural story, they are part of a cultural narrative; aesthetics are a part of that story but they are not the whole story” (pers. comm.). In this sense, the integrative narrative ideology which underpinned Te Papa allowed art to exist as a continuum of practice. This ideology also mitigated the need to “carve up” the collections, or define which items were best situated with each entity. Maori art was one such example and through the integrated concept, could be dealt with as a “continuum of practice rather than forced into separation of traditional and contemporary elements” (Harper 2002, 37; McAloon, 2009). In this case, the integrity of certain collections benefited from the proposed integrating concept that Te Papa strived to develop.

The Head of Art and Visual Culture also felt that while art at Te Papa had its critics, there were other members of the art community who were interested in the larger historical and cross cultural narrative that the integrative Te Papa enabled. He noted that there was a lively discussion in the early days around the availability of material in the history collections and how this would be integrated into scholarship (pers. comm.). Formats such as photography could be realised and privileged equally for both their indexical as well as art value.

The narratives that were able to be accessed using the resources in the collection far exceeded the breadth and also fitness for purpose that had been available in the National Art Gallery (Head of Art and Visual Culture pers. comm.).

Even in securing large touring art exhibitions, the founding CEO sought to maintain the contextual thread that ran through the heart of the Te Papa concept. In *The Impressionists* exhibition, she stated that works were not hung in a “white walled gallery” but “curated through a story, there wasn’t a single temporary art show that came that I did not challenge the art curators, the concept designers and the exhibitioners to put it into a narrative context” (pers. comm.).

The conceptual idea of the democratisation of art was first raised in an influential work by John Cotton Dana titled *The Gloom of the Museum* (1917). Dana predicted a shift in the ideology and priority of what was then considered art worthy of inclusion within the sanctity of the museum. The quote below, while lengthy, aligns beautifully with our discussion of the juxtaposition of art and historical object in the integrated exhibition that was *Parade*.

This fact will in time be recognized and acted upon that the oil painting has no such close relation to the development of good taste and refinement as have countless objects of daily use. The genius and skill which have gone into the adornment and perfecting of familiar household objects will then receive the same recognition as do now the genius and skill of the painter in oils. Paintings will no

longer be given an undue share of space, and on them will be expended no undue share of the museum's annual income. It is doubtful if any single change in the general principles of the art museum management will do as much to enhance museum influence as will this placing of the oil painting in its proper relation with other objects (Dana 1917, 19).

Te Papa's move from a collections-centred paradigm to a narrative and relationship centred paradigm was central to the way the institution strived to define itself as an integrated organisation (Williams 2001). While there was initial support for this vision, which embraced the tenants of the 'new museology', the juxtaposition of art and artifact in *Parade* pushed at the boundaries of innovation, and as a result became the symbolic vehicle for criticism and analysis of their postmodern display paradigm. Despite criticism, the founding CEO expressed no regrets over the *Parade* exhibition; at the time she felt that the institution (as a new conceptual model) was suffering through a lack of advocacy, it was very much the "new kid on the block" and as such "on its own". There was also awareness by the founding CEO and the Project Development Team that many of Te Papa's opposing voices were voices that had a vested interest in the development of a separate national art gallery to house New Zealand's collections (pers. comm).

Additional criticisms of the treatment of art in the early days of Te Papa included the amount of space given to the gallery function within the institution. Confusion was expressed in the organisation of works, as well as disappointment with the level of curatorial practice (Harper 2002). Much of this discord was also played out publically in media forums. The Head of Art and Visual Culture acknowledged that while "in fairness they were proper criticisms which needed to be worked through" he also stressed that those criticisms needed to be considered in light of the internalised ideology which permeated the art world. He stated

The profession of Art History is something you profess. It's a belief system and it has, like all belief systems, adherence and virtues and

sacred texts and a small rather clerical community that is very reflexive and very inward looking (pers. comm.).

By the year 2000, through the subsequent development of the Te Papa concept, catalysed by the opening day exhibitions, and after a succession of changes in the vision, management and leadership of Te Papa, Harper and many others in the art community had drawn the conclusion that art at Te Papa had been sold short. With escalating criticism from prominent voices, particularly in the art community, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark (who was also the Minister for Culture and Heritage) stepped in and challenged Te Papa to address the issues.

In order to provide a systematic framework for an evaluation and discussion of these issues, the Ministry of Culture and Heritage commissioned a review. One of the four terms of reference provided to the selected review panel asked them to determine whether or not, the national art collection was being presented to the public in the most effective way (Griffin, Saines and Wilson 2000). The Panel stated that the Te Papa concept of uniting collections and capabilities was strongly represented through the development of the exhibition. They also noted that *Parade*, in drawing on a wide range of collection material and differing objects, had drawn out “the sometimes confusing elaborations on, and relationships to, the principle disciplines of art” (2000, 22). Criticism from the Review Panel was however directed toward the labelling of art in the exhibition spaces; the Panel recommending that Te Papa consider the needs of both the “populist-generalist audience and the committed art-interested audience” (p.10).

While *Parade* had become a vehicle for scholarly discontent over the treatment of art in Te Papa, the Review document also noted that *Parade* was not representative of the totality of the way art was interpreted and displayed in the galleries. The Panel acknowledged that the other institutional spaces for displaying art offered the visitor a more recognisable curatorial paradigm.

A 1999 strategy document developed by the Te Papa Board called *Strategy for the Display of Visual Arts at Te Papa* had also been developed in response to address the criticisms of the treatment of art which had emerged in the early years of operation. This strategy demonstrated a proactive awareness by the Board and the document outlined initiatives to create more publically accessible approaches to the display of art. This was largely to be achieved through the development of additional gallery space.

The Review Panel made a total of five recommendations relating to the treatment of the national art collection. These included the undertaking of an in-depth visitor evaluation of *Parade*; the review and reallocations of spaces for the display of art; a reconsideration of the labelling policy for art works; an increase in the resources available to support scholarly activity associated with the art collection; and consideration given to the intrusiveness of the audio/visual devices in exhibitions (Griffin, Saines and Wilson 2000. 36). In conclusion the review board commended Te Papa on its founding concept and acknowledged “that the concept of integrated collections forming an interpretive core throughout the Te Papa experience, is as sound as it is challenging” (2000, 8).

The 2000 *Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent* acknowledged these and other recommendations and documented strategic objectives to address them. The strategies developed to address these issues included “increasing the proportion of art and art-related exhibitions in Te Papa’s programme” and “seeking to improve the cohesiveness and effectiveness of the existing spaces for visual arts display” (p.5); The *2000 Statement of Intent* goes on to say that this will result in a larger, better delineated zone for visual arts (Museum of New Zealand 2000). From an organisational perspective, this delineation suggested a symbolic move away from integration and convergence. It was an attempt by Te Papa to re-balance the loss of institutional scholarship and display that occurred through their integrated approach to exhibition and the treatment of their art collections.



With increased government funding available, Te Papa designed a series of new retrospective gallery spaces on Level 5 in the space initially occupied by the Library. October 2001 also saw the launch of the exhibition in the new Level 5 gallery spaces collectively known as *New Sights New Sites: A celebration of visual arts at Te Papa*. The exhibitions which made up *New Sites* employed a more traditional approach to curatorial practice and art exhibition. In place of the integrated, chronologically designed, material culture exhibition that was *Parade*, *New Sights* utilised recognisable approaches to the categorisation and display of art (Miles 2002). Te Papa presented an exhibition of the visual arts which symbolically implied an historical realignment between art and artifact.

Tensions and boundary slippages between art and artifact and art and record can also be seen in the management of Te Papa's photography collections. These collections were formed from the amalgamation, both conceptually and physically, of the National Museum and National Art Gallery's photographic collections. Athol McCredie, Curator of Photography in Te Papa, commented on this art/artifact tension by stating:

A particularly blurred line exists today with contemporary work whose primary value for a museum is its documentary content, but which is created within the traditional of a photographic documentary aesthetic, and which may be circulated in semi-art contexts and sold at art prices (2009, 42).

In the early operational years of Te Papa, a blurring of the boundaries existed around determining what images were deemed to have priority as historical documentary record, those which were works of art, and those which were primarily institutional record. The photography collection in its entirety spans both collected material as well as museum generated material (institutional photographs). Prior to 2005, museum generated photography (as institutional record) was considered and treated as part of the photographic collection. The implementation of the Public Records Act 2005 prompted the institutional repository to be separated (conceptually)

from the collected photographs and treated accordingly under a recordkeeping paradigm.

Points of intersection and integration in Te Papa's collections existed between not only art and artifact at an interpretative or exhibition level, but also through the library and archives collections. As in the development of intersection and integration between art and artifact, there were challenges and opportunities in the building of synergies between the two entities. These points of intersection and integration existed not only between the library and archives entities themselves, but also between the collective entities and the wider organisational environment.

Prior to amalgamation, the Hector Library and the National Art Gallery Library existed in a collocated arrangement in and around the Buckle Street site which housed the National Museum and National Gallery. Both entities also maintained archives and manuscript collections. These collections consisted of institutional records of the organisation (public records), as well as private records, those deemed to have intrinsic value in supporting the research (and collecting) needs of the institution. The *Museum of New Zealand Act 1992* mandated for the amalgamation of the Hector Library and the National Art Gallery Library. Integration of the two collections would begin in 1993, prior to the subsequent move to the Cable Street site which would house Te Papa.

The subject matter of the collections housed in the Hector Library and the National Art Gallery Library were quite distinct. Nicola Woodhouse, (the then Hector Librarian) noted that while there were distinctions, there were also apparent and immediate benefits to the amalgamation of the collections.

From the art view point, the enrichment of the collections through the amalgamation of the libraries was both tangible and accountable and indeed a number of the early imprints were immediately useful given the cross disciplinary approach, for many of the Te Papa opening exhibitions (Woodhouse 1994, 37).

The integration of the art material in the Hector Library “rounded out” the historical Hector collections and provided a contemporary continuum. The amalgamation at collection level of the Hector material created an historical context for the art collections.

Prior to amalgamation in Te Papa, a greater degree of interaction existed between the Hector Library and the National Museum staff than occurred post amalgamation. A library staff member interviewed for the case commented that a stronger sense of identity and placement within the wider museum environment permeated the library operations and organisational culture prior to Te Papa. Joint committees existed for acquisitions, with representation from the curatorial, research and library teams who together made decisions about the future direction of the collections. Funding for acquisitions also seemed “easier to come by” (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.).

The amalgamation of the two libraries and the subsequent shift into the new Cable Street site saw a repositioning of the Hector Library in the wider Te Papa organisation. The tangible representation of this shift in organisational placement resulted in the Library not being considered a collection in the broader framework of both the museum paradigm and the organisational structure. The lack of integration between the museum and the library collections created issues around visibility, access and identity. This lack of collection integration is perhaps best exemplified by the re-telling of an organisational story which saw an exhibition development team negotiate the loan of a copy of an early Te Reo (Maori language) Bible from another library in the Wellington area when the Te Aka Matua Library already held such material. The library staff member considered this an example of how the silo mentality permeated the organisation at an operational level, and how the lack of visibility of library special collections material hindered access (pers. comm.). This lack of visibility was apparent through the

absence of library metadata in Te Papa's main collection management systems.

While Te Papa, through the treatment of its collections, attempted to contextualise art in order to unlock and privilege the narrative, the same ideology was not extended to the library entity. The richness of both information and artifact inherent in the library's special collections material remained invisible in the construct of collections management and care. The intrinsic value of the library collections remained unrealised; the materials were not privileged for their unique cultural capital, but were treated as a supporting resource for the wider integrated institutions' collections and research mandate.

Any discussion and analysis of collection integration between the library, archives and museum entities needs to be understood through the framework of the platforms developed and used for the management of Te Papa's collections. These platforms are KE Emu, the museum's collection management database, and Te Papa Collections Online, the public discovery layer for Te Papa's digitised collections. Museum collections, archives and manuscript materials are catalogued and made accessible to the internal organisation via KE Emu. Collections Online provides the public interface for a subset of that material. Library material was not documented in either of these two interfaces; the majority of the library's collection was/is made accessible to the public/institution via card catalogues or through the Te Papa Intranet (Kupenga).

Library items were not (and still are not) integrated into KE Emu. While there are issues relating to software limitations and functionality in terms of the cataloguing of documentary materials, interviewed library staff felt that even high level metadata for library materials in the collections management system would have improved access and integration of the Library into the wider organisation. Similarly, library material was not (and is still not)

integrated into Collections Online. As a result, very little of the library material is digitally discoverable outside of the institution. The Library holds many items of documentary heritage significance such as those in the Carter Collections. These collections are of particular interest to researchers and support the overriding collection priorities of the wider institution<sup>7</sup>. The idea of de-centralising library collections to improve visibility and access between the Library and the wider organisation were discussed during interviews with staff. One tangible representation of this move toward dispersal can be seen in the small, self-managed curatorial libraries which exist in the research offices of the Natural Science curators in the Tory Street site. The materials in these libraries relate to the various curators' research areas. They are Library owned and externally monitored materials, but micro-managed by curatorial staff in the areas around their offices. Organisation of collections material in these office libraries is generally sympathetic to the specific curatorial discipline. In this sense, the integration of the Library's collection into the wider organisation had been facilitated by dispersing the physical library collections, to spaces which best enabled curatorial function.

Prior to the development of Collections Online in 2005, the only digital access to collection items was through an interface called Tai Awatea. Tai Awatea and its predecessor Te Papa On-screen provided an information layer based around current exhibitions. This interface was accessed through terminals in the Discovery Centre, the Aotearoa Reading Room and, from 2002, the Te Aka Matua Library.

The Te Papa Archives also provide a tangible manifestation of collection integration. Te Papa's Archives (as a crown entity) is subject to New

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<sup>7</sup>A project plan recently put forward by Library staff to digitise a number of these works to enhance visibility via Collections Online was unable to be secured due to funding issues (Te Papa Knowledge Manager pers. comm).

Zealand's Public Recordkeeping legislation<sup>8</sup> and contain both public records from the National Art Gallery and Museum, as well as private records/manuscripts collected to support the research interests of the wider institution. The National Art Gallery had a structured approach to the management of their archival material prior to institutional integration and were active in appraisal, arrangement and description and in the generation of finding aids. The National Museum however, had a less rigorous approach to the management of their Archives. The Te Papa Archivist acknowledged that this added to the complexity of working with the records when the entities were integrated. She felt that the National Art Gallery records in general seemed to be more organised and easier to manage than those of the National Museum (pers. comm.).

The Te Papa Archives (at series level) are currently accessible through Te Papa's Collections Online interface. This greatly improves the visibility of the material, both to the wider public as well as to the internal organisation (Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.). Moreover, the archives collections have been integrated into the collections management database KE Emu and are regularly used both for their evidential and their aesthetic content in exhibitions development (Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.). Collecting priorities for the Archives have also been integrated into the wider museum strategic planning and are collaboratively determined in conjunction with the museum curatorial teams. Any archival collecting priorities have historically supported the curatorial functions of the wider organisation (Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.)

Collection formats which exist at the intersection of art and information have created a very unclear and complex division in Te Papa. Both the

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<sup>8</sup>Public sector institutions and government crown entities are subject to the Public Records Act of 2005. This act can be accessed from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2005/0040/latest/DLM345529.html>

library staff and Archivist, referred to the management and dispersal of this material between the GLAM entities as “grey, complex, foggy” or “in the too hard basket” during interviews (pers. comm.). This transpired most often in liminal formats such as photography and works on paper. The Te Papa Archivist noted that historically there had been a fluid transfer of material from the Library to the Archives and vice versa, and that traditionally a “best fit” approach had been taken to the location of material between the entities. Often published and unpublished material, or works deemed to have more value as Art, were transferred between the Library and Archives repositories; this extraction of materials is no longer practiced (pers. comm.).

The art curators in Te Papa generally privilege individual works, or, on occasion, a series of works, but the series was never seen as being as important as the artifactual value of the individual works (Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.).

In Te Papa, the key delineation between artifact for management as an art object, or as record has always rested in the wider archival paradigm which privileges the record series and the principles of provenance and original order over the individual works. In this sense the integrity of the archival paradigm is very much maintained.

### ***5.3.2 Organisational Infrastructure***

This section documents how the organisational structure and ideology within Te Papa manifests to create points of intersection and integration between the GLAM entities. These points of intersection and integration in the inception and early days of Te Papa can be traced through myriad organisational reconfigurations and operational changes to reference and inform the structure which exists today. The drivers and enablers for convergence prior to opening day, many of the strategies employed, and the decisions made during the conceptual stages of Te Papa’s development have laid the foundations for the institution’s organisational infrastructure.

The organisational structure of Te Papa has undergone both seismic and subtle shifts since opening day. Many of these shifts have been in response to changes implemented by reviews and reconfigurations of services and mandate. Prior to amalgamation, The National Museum and National Art Gallery existed under their own separate boards of governance but operated with a number of joint committees that worked in collaboration, largely on operational issues. The implementation of the National Museum project and the increasing amount of integrative ideology that guided the new Te Papa concept saw both institutions increasingly move towards working in partnership (Founding CEO pers. comm.).

Engaging the right sort of people and creating the right sort of environment to grow the integrative strategy that would become Te Papa became an important factor in determining the success and in driving forward of the museum's development. There was an early awareness by the Te Papa Development Board of the difficulty in realising the integrated Te Papa vision utilizing the existing staffing structure present in the National Museum and Art Gallery; the founding CEO knew that in order to develop the vision, the support of existing and new staff was vital. Moreover, clearly articulating the Te Papa vision and stressing the new institutional mandate by inviting staff to either engage with the concept, or move on, became paramount. The founding CEO, in her previous role on the Development Board communicated this ideology to staff by saying, "Here is the Waka,<sup>9</sup> get on it if you want to. I'd love to have your expertise, your vision, your experience and your knowledge". In her experience, the majority of the organisation was behind the vision and while initially there were a few objectors they quickly became the minority (pers. comm.).

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<sup>9</sup> A Waka is a Maori canoe or watercraft.



In the early years of development, the Te Papa concept was largely in the hands of the Museum Project Development Board which operated independently of the National Museum and National Gallery organisations. The development of the integrated concept that was to become Te Papa was enabled in part by the delineated physical placement and separatist ideology of that Board. Both the Director of Projects and the founding CEO believed that the independence of the Project Office in ideology, in organisational placement and in physical location were factors in the success of Te Papa's development (pers. comm.). The Project Office (which housed the majority of the Board) sat outside the museum domain. Moreover, they appointed people on the basis that they wanted to "get on board the Waka". Those who chose to get on board were generally people who already had the mind-set to transcend existing GLAM silos. They were the visionaries, those with the capacity to push through domain boundaries (Director of Projects pers. comm.). This extension to the physical alignment of staff between the new and old institutional paradigm was as clear cut as the location of their working spaces, some board members clearly preferring to maintain office space in the "old museum rather than the project office" (Director of Projects pers. comm.).

Transcending embedded institutional cultures was not achieved without difficulty. While clear differences existed between the entities, these differences also manifested in individual roles. The Concept Leader for Arts and Humanities stated that the amalgamation was divisive in that it highlighted the differing types of curatorial practice between the art curator and the natural history curator. There was also an evident distinction between the role of the art curator, who develops intimate relationships with artists and the art world, and the history curator who works in relative institutional isolation (Concept Leader Arts and Humanities pers. comm.).

The inherent challenges faced in driving the project forward, particularly in the development of the opening exhibitions and early operational years,

produced what one curator of art referred to, as a “climate of fear” in the institution (Lloyd quoted in Laugesen 2001, 1). The resulting stresses, she stated, prompted her to resign and file a personal grievance against the institution. The founding CEO responded during the hearing by emphasising that Te Papa’s curators were still highly valued in the new Te Papa culture, but that they were just as valuable as other museum staff such as marketers and designers. Curators no longer had intellectual priority over other staff in the new organisational form (Sotheran quoted in Laugesen 2001, 1).

The founding CEO also expressed awareness of the milieu in which the Te Papa Development Board operated. Even when the integrated concept was accepted by the Board at a governance level, many of the board members still had to deal with challenges and pressures from external stakeholders in their own GLAM sectors (pers. comm.). In this sense, building organisational convergence for Te Papa was not only about creating cohesion and synergy at a micro organisational level, but also in the sense that the integrative concept challenged silos in the macro GLAM environment.

This wider stakeholder challenge to the development of Te Papa played out in both the institutional GLAM domains and also through public media. The media involvement in the development of the organisational concept featured strong personalities, and those personalities had a huge part to play in the challenge to integration. More often than not it was the stakeholders whose voices were the most articulate who received the most media coverage, and unfortunately more often than not, they were the voices “who represented the old paradigm, not the new one” (Founding CEO pers. comm.). While the founding CEO felt that the portrayal of the Board through the media fed the discord, it was not actually that way in operational reality. Internally there was a genuine acknowledgement that the concept would not have survived unless a certain level of respect and

admiration existed between the individuals on the board who were involved in the development process (pers. comm.).

The Museum of New Zealand organisational structure adopted by the Board in 1992 showed a departure from the traditional museum structure which was subject/domain centric, and which had existed in the National Museum and Art Gallery governance. The drafting of the *Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992* did not legislate for discipline specific representation. Discipline specific representation was seen as counterproductive in transcending silos and not representative of the museum's integrative ethos. The organisation was very much structured according to a functional/role based approach, with subject or discipline based groupings embedded, but not privileged, within the overarching structure. By 2001 the library and archives entities resided under the *Building Operations* arm of the organisational structure. The reconfiguration of the gallery spaces in 2002 and the subsequent repositioning of the library entity within the institution saw them re-sited under the Experience Group Directorate and the Archivist moved to Collections and Research. Curatorial responsibilities fell under the Collections and Research Group Director.

One of the key successes for Te Papa in terms of organisational infrastructure was the development of the Te Papa Host Team (Founding CEO pers. comm.). From the day one opening, the Te Papa Host Team existed as a layer of cohesive organisational infrastructure at an operational level in the museum public spaces. All staff based on the public floors wore the same uniform regardless of the areas, exhibitions or floors that they occupied. Their host responsibilities were rotated throughout the museum and they were expected to be able to provide information to visitors regarding all areas of the museum and its collections (Founding CEO pers. comm.).

The Host Team were conceptualised as a cross-generational team with a strong customer focus and distinctive presence which translated in part through their host uniforms. The Host Team contributed to the democratisation of the museum through this cross domain visibility as well as through their transcendence of the visitor-institution divide. So important was the Host Team to the organisational cohesion that the founding CEO implemented a policy that every single member of the Te Papa organisation had to “put on the t-shirt, do the training and be out there on the floor for one week a year”( pers. comm.). She viewed this as a tangible expression and vehicle for transcending both GLAM and institutional hierarchy, and as a strategy for amalgamating the disparate GLAM organisational cultures.

A visible business model underpinned the early days of Te Papa’s development and operational infrastructure. The commercial team influenced the productivity of the rest of the organisation (Founding CEO pers. comm.) The Head of Art and Visual Culture felt that while this commercial ideology was important to the success of Te Papa, it was often privileged above the curatorial paradigm. This culture, driven from the top down, manifested in an anti-curatorial ethos which frequently permeated the concept and experience teams. This became embedded as a piece of ideology in the organisational culture that was often difficult to manage (pers. comm.). As a result, within the organization tension existed in maintaining the scholarly integrity of a curatorial role in an institutional culture that privileged experience and commercial viability over curatorial research. This type of tension manifested in an “under the radar” approach to obtaining funding and resources to support research (Head of Art and Visual Culture pers. comm.).

Between 2002 and 2009 the Hector Library (subsequently renamed the Te Aka Matua Library) resided under the Visitor Experience arm of Te Papa’s organisational structure. The “day one” vision for the Library by the founding CEO was for the information functions in the Museum to (as much

as possible) form part of the organisation's visitor experience and narrative ideology. The "day one" information service model consisted of multiple access points to collections and services. These access points included a virtual/distance query interface called the Enquiry Centre. All visitor queries were directed through this interface which acted as a funnel. Queries requiring further resources were distributed to the relevant information entities (including the Hector Library and Curatorial staff) within the institution. The Aotearoa Reading Room was a Library-associated space which was open to visitors for general enquiries and browsing. The Hector Library existed as a research library and primarily served the needs of the institution's staff along with other accredited users.

Discussions prior to the integration of the National Art Gallery and Hector Library centred on staffing levels, but more importantly around the varying structures and reporting lines the library should operate under within the new parent organisation. An internal memo, regarding the design and development of the new library structure, documents existing library staff feedback on the appropriate levels of staffing required for the Library to meet National Library Standards. The memo also discusses the placement of the archives and library entities within the wider organisational structure (Simes 1992). An internal concept plan for the new library space (included in this memo), shows the housing of the archives storage located with the Library collections. This however, was not realized as the Art Archivist at the time emphasised that Art Archives were part of the institution's collections and not purely for the provision of an information service. To this end, Simes states in the memo, that the archives should be aligned with collection management reporting lines and organisational structures (Simes 1992).

The position of Art Librarian was absorbed into the new day one library structure, although the Librarian in question still largely maintained

responsibility for the art side of operations (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.).

The recognition of the library collections as “collections” within the wider museological definition and practice of Te Papa was not equally understood. Library staff felt their placement within the organisational structure (under Visitor Experience) had impacted negatively on their identity as information professionals (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). The Te Aka Matua Librarian in commenting on this placement stated,

Whether or not for the purposes of operational or strategic reasons, the museum did not classify the library material as a collection in a museum sense. If the Library had been classified as a collection this may have required a different level of investment/treatment of the management of materials (pers. comm.).

However, library staff interviewed for this case study noted that an awareness of the library as a collection, as well as the interaction between the Library and members of the wider institution, was and still is, very much in existence at a macro organisational level;

The interaction and use of the Library collection within the wider museum organisation did come down to individuals quite a lot. For example, there is a history curator who probably knows the Carter collection better than any of the library staff (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.).

The Knowledge Manager at Te Papa stated that while the location of the library entity under the Visitor and Experience arm of the organisational structure was a great concept, the reality was it often hindered the level of service that could be offered to the internal research staff within the institution (Te Papa Knowledge Manager Pers. comm.). The Director of Projects (in his function as a member of the Project Development Office) also commented negatively on the initial placement of the Library within the wider organisational structure.

Perhaps the re-tooling of information services in Te Papa was not done well enough, perhaps the Library needed to be broken into two services; one was the traditional Library model and the other, the experience model (Director of Projects pers. comm.).

The Archives in the Te Papa organisational environment were considered a 'collection' and indexed in the KE Emu collections database (Te Papa Archivist & Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). The Archivist role within the wider Te Papa organisational structure has grown since inception and now exists as part art collections management, part archivist, part curator (Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.). The integration of the Archives into the wider organisation extended to an expectation that the Archivist would take on a small curatorial role in the concept development of exhibitions when required. A clear distinction was however drawn between the archives and records functions within the institution. The records management staffing functions were placed under a separate organisational directorate, distinct from both the library and archives functions. The recently created (2009) Knowledge Manager role was designed to look at the feasibility of bringing the records, archives, library and associated information entities together under one organisational umbrella (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.).

### ***5.3.3 Institutional Space***

Te Papa as an institution operates across two separate sites in the central Wellington area. The public spaces of Te Papa are housed in an architecturally designed building in Cable Street on the Wellington waterfront. The Cable Street site provides 36,000 square metres of public exhibition space, houses the Library, two eating establishments, the Te Papa Store, numerous meeting rooms, conference facilities, Te Papa Press and a number of staff offices including those of National Services Te Paerangi. The Cable Street building is 12 times the size of the former National Museum building in Buckle Street. The Cable Street building took 4 years

to complete and is supported by innovative base isolation technology designed to mitigate earthquake risk to the collections (and people) from Wellington's frequent seismic activity (Te Papa 2010a).

There is also a second Te Papa site located in Tory Street. This site houses the History collections and curators, the Hector Room (Natural Sciences material from the library collection) the Te Papa Archives, as well as a number of administrative functions and the bulk of the collections storage.

Frameworks, which influenced the design and internal layout of Te Papa, can be traced back to the early days of the institution's development. The Development Team looked to the built environment to establish an institutional culture which would reflect the new operation and ideological mandate that Te Papa would represent. An embedded culture existed in the museum spaces up at Buckle Street; the new building provided the opportunity to "build" integration into the ethos of the institution, to embed it into the architecture of the building. The founding CEO felt the design of the institutional space that was to become Te Papa, "was absolutely critical to the development of integration" (pers. comm.).

The tender process for the original design of the institution that was to become Te Papa was shrouded in controversy and is still discussed in the current architectural milieu. Controversy not only surrounded the choice of final design, but also the requirements of the tender process. In order to be eligible to submit, international architects had to be New Zealand based or affiliated with a New Zealand architectural firm or partnership.

This resulted in a closing-down of the tender process. The Director of Projects felt that the architectural vision for Te Papa had the opportunity to be more adventurous than what eventually transpired, but was constrained by the breadth and depth of design submission (pers. comm.). One of the lamented lost opportunities included a joint submission by Ian Athfield and Frank Gehry. Gehry, at the time was in the process of developing the



Guggenheim in Bilbao, a design which went on to elevate Gehry to architectural superstar.

The tender process for the design of Te Papa was won by an architectural firm called Jasmax, with Ivan Mercep as principal architect. Te Papa's architecture was designed to provide a symbolic representation of many facets of New Zealand's bicultural identity. This identity translated in the built environment through the development of "faces" organised around a central void. The north face was designed to encapsulate Tanga Te Whenua (people of the land). The Marae (Maori meeting house) could be accessed from this face which overlooked the harbour and linked the external facade with the internal Maori exhibition spaces. The south face of the building overlooked the streetscape and was designed to encapsulate the Pakeha (European) element of the city and its people. The central void was designed to act as a unifying space between the bicultural faces and the entities it housed (Bossley 1998).

While many of these design elements were deemed successful, frustration was also expressed around the constraining elements of the institutional space. The Director of Projects felt that the core of the building eventually became a floating un-functioning element, even though paradoxically it was designed to be a unifying space. The foyer space on Level 1 also ended up being too big and in that sense, the interior architecture did not accurately represent the singularity of the story and concept that was Te Papa (pers. comm.). Instead, the unifying spaces designed to create convergence between the entities, morphed into a divisive void. The founding CEO also felt the constraining elements of the built environment exclaiming "I absolutely despaired at some of the design in that building" (pers. comm.).

The art world also expressed disenchantment with the design and allocation of space for art in Te Papa. The extent of their concern was such that one well known art patron and architect fronted up to the Te Papa Development

Board with plans to engineer a lift that sat outside the building. The purpose of this lift was to enable direct access to the gallery spaces proposed to be housed on the upper levels of the building, in effect, negating the need to negotiate the “riff-raff” on the lower museum floors (Head of Art and Visual Culture and the founding CEO pers. comm.). Additional criticism of the spaces allocated for art in Te Papa included the small and confined areas for display, gallery design which did not allow the works ‘breathing’ room, as well as visually confusing gallery placement (Harper 2002).

Privileging of space for narrative exhibition was also considered key to the development of integration in Te Papa as an institution. As a result, the Tory Street site and collections store were purchased in order to free up as much exhibition space as possible in the Cable Street site (Founding CEO pers. comm.). Historically only a tiny percentage of the total visitor audience went upstairs to the art gallery in the Buckle Street location. The Development Board felt that integrating the gallery spaces throughout Te Papa’s interior architecture would dethrone art and make it more accessible to the audience. The founding CEO stated “for me it was not a dumbing down, but a question of where the privilege sat” (pers. comm.).

The institutional spaces within Te Papa also provided an opportunity to reconfigure and recombine elements of the Buckle Street institution’s organisational culture. Curatorial staff in the Buckle Street institution operated in compartmentalised offices. Initially the plan was to replicate the same office layout within the new institution. The founding CEO centralised the curatorial office spaces and created an open plan office environment. She also moved the staffing areas from what she considered to be “prime real estate” on the waterfront side of the new development, to the road side of the building, freeing up privileged institutional space for interpretation and exhibition. The founding CEO felt that the mere act of shifting these office spaces helped to dislodge the Buckle Street culture and facilitate an environment of open communication and collaborative vision. The same

open plan office environment was also applied to the Tory Street site. The persistence of this idea over time was not however realised and is evidenced through the current architectural layout. The original open plan spaces have morphed into self-defined spaces delineated by curatorial staff at the Tory Street site. This has been accomplished through the use of symbolic barriers and boundary definition by way of book shelving and object/furniture placement. This concept of boundary defining as discussed further in the next section - *An Analysis of Convergence at Te Papa (6.4)*.

The Library, on opening day, was situated on the fifth floor of Te Papa. It was a custom built space, designed with input from library staff to accommodate the integrated National Art Gallery and Hector Library collections. While the Library initially sought to centralise all collections and remove any need for individual departmental museum collections, the space allocations were such that certain collections and functions had to be split between the Cable and Tory Street sites. A small library collection was maintained and is intermittently staffed at the Tory Street site in what is now called The Hector Room. The Hector Room housed the institution's Natural History collections. An attempt was also made to preserve the integrity of the specialist collections. This was to be achieved through separate spaces or zones within the allocated library space on level 5 of the new building (Simes 1992).

The founding CEO, through a retrospective lens, discussed her vision for the Library and mentioned the Puke Ariki concept. She stated that this was the direction she wished to pursue for the integration of the Library in the new Te Papa organisational model prior to the reconfiguration of the gallery spaces. There was a feeling that the initial placement of the Library on Level 5 of the new building had locked it away, and was at odds with the rest of the integrated ideology that Te Papa wished to manifest (pers. comm).

The Te Papa Review, undertaken by the Ministry of Culture and Heritage (Griffin, Saines and Wilson 2000), made recommendations regarding the institutional spaces given over for the treatment of art. There were a total of four institutional spaces, the Ilot Gallery (works on paper), the Aorangi Room (mezzanine gallery), the Boulevard Gallery and the Tower Gallery. The Panel, while acknowledging the variety of spaces, addressed concerns over the suitability and quality of the spaces. In particular they commented on the weight of the architecture, the light, accessibility and scale of the spaces in comparison with the other interpretive galleries.



**Fig. 5** Signage directing visitors to the reconfigured gallery spaces on level 5. Visitors must transcend the stairs and over bridge to reach the gallery (Researcher's own image 2012).

In 2000, Te Papa made moves to address the criticism leveraged towards the display and treatment of art through a reconfiguration of the internal spaces on level 4, 5 and 6. The movement of the History Store to offsite locations,

as well as the relocation of the Hector Library, Textiles, Works on Paper and Photography to Level 4 of the building, freed up 1500 square metres of space which would be reconfigured and fitted out for the display of art. The idea of the formation of a bridge from the top of the stairs in Level 5 over the Level 4 space sought to improve ‘way finding’ and to create cohesion between the core of the museum and the gallery spaces.

The founding CEO stated that

The reconfiguration of the upper level spaces in 2000 was in essence a shift sideways from the integrated narrative concept and you're right, I wasn't very happy about it, but it was sink or swim ... The push-back from the Board to provide privileged space for art was huge, the challenge for me was to say I accept that, I work for you and I understand the really tough stakeholder environment that you work in but I want to retain as much as possible, the integrity of that vision. I justified it by viewing it as an agnostic space that didn't privilege high art, it does now, but I guess I rationalised that space by seeing it as interpretive space that still made art accessible, I had to do something, we were facing intervention (Founding CEO pers. comm.).

The building of the new galleries also linked the internal spaces to the external gallery spaces such as the sculpture garden on Level 6. While the reconfiguration of these spaces went a long way towards addressing the concerns of stakeholders, the founding CEO felt that the redevelopment of the gallery space on Level 5 represented a decoupling of the integrated philosophy and narrative vision that was Te Papa.

The Level 4 gallery which housed *Parade* was just one of five gallery spaces given over the display of art in the early years up until the reconfiguration of the Level 5 spaces in 2002. The new galleries on Level 5 extended the space available for the display of art but these spaces still represented a reconfiguration within the framework of the existing museum architectural structures. They were deemed by art critics to be “mean” in terms of ‘breathing’ room, and also limiting in certain operational tenets such as the ability to handle large installations, multi-media or exhibitions

best hung with viewing space. One critic stated of the new exhibition spaces: “Rather ironically we find art bounded and pressed against the roof, while space and height remains devoted to the museum proper, as an unbounded space of flows” (Taylor 2002, 31).

The following quote perhaps best summed up the attitudes surrounding the gallery entity and its new placement within Te Papa’s institutional space:

This is one of the nagging anomalies of Te Papa: it tries to provide a point of public access to the complexities of art while espousing the virtues and cultural significance of these items. Trying to marry these concerns is no easy task and maybe it is strangely or at least symbolically appropriate that art should find itself shunted into the attic, simultaneously the family treasure and the freak (Kreisler 2006, 23).

Harper viewed the development of the new galleries as a “vast improvement – and a welcome relief from the previous presentation of objects in a tight series of over designed and visually confusing spaces” (Harper 2002, 29). Harper stated that “indeed the experience is now of not being in Te Papa at all” and likened the new galleries to more conventional art galleries. While the convention of art spaces was employed in the building of the new gallery spaces, there was still criticism of the integration of art into the Te Papa visitor experience and aesthetic. It was considered “hard to find” and particularly on Level 4, retaining the “model of small exhibition zones where text, signage and objects intersect” (Harper 2002, 29). The founding CEO felt that while the gallery space was less integrated into the institutional spaces, it still formed part of the narrative. The space acknowledged the institutional integrity of the discipline but still operated within the bounds of an integrated philosophy.

While Te Papa had put art on notice, in so doing “we had possibly lost some of the display values, some of the aesthetic that was a positive value of the old art museum” (Founding CEO, pers. comm.).



**Fig. 6** Looking towards the retro-fitted galleries on level 5 of Te Papa ( Researcher’s own image 2012).

The redevelopment of the space on Level 5 was also driven by a critical need to “unlock the Library” and bring it in alignment with the institution’s philosophy (Founding CEO pers. comm.). A move was made to reposition the Library as a place of encounter and experience: opening the Library up to the public and putting the staff in host uniforms were seen as key to the success of this strategy. Information Services Manager at the time – Paul McAleer said of the relocation and reconfiguration of the Library entity,

While we have respected the needs of specialist users, the library continues Te Papa’s tradition of challenging the conventional idea of what museums do, and by doing has brought the knowledge contained within it to a much wider audience (McAteer quoted in Rabbitt 2001, 3).

Tension was also felt in that the Library was viewed as occupying privileged space on level 5 (Founding CEO, Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm); this consciousness demonstrated a strong awareness of the

institutional spaces within Te Papa and the symbolic alignment of occupancy between dominant or shifting paradigms.

To facilitate the library move, architects designed “treasure boxes”. These treasure boxes provided security and collection space for what was essentially a vastly reduced new library floor plan on Level 4 of the building. Concept plans stated that these “treasure boxes express the special nature of the stored items, while providing access for research” (Moller 2002, 29). Ironically, the Library staff interviewed for this research referred to these treasure boxes as “the cages”. The move from the purpose built space on Level 5 to Level 4, resulted in and continues to result in on-going issues relating to access, visibility, collections security and storage for the Library (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.).

While the development of the new Level 5 gallery spaces symbolically addressed the issues associated with the management and exhibition of art through the creation of a more traditional space for display, whether or not this was representative of a cultural shift within the institution in the integration of art and museum remains to be seen. As Harper stated, “the big questions at Te Papa have at least as much to do with Philosophy and purpose, as the disposition of space” (Harper 2002, 30).

#### ***5.3.4 Institutional Identity***

The following section discusses elements of intersection and integration in Te Papa which provide a framework for the development of a cohesive institutional identity. A discussion of institutional identity is important to an understanding of convergent culture in the way that it can both represent and recursively influence organisational members’ perception of themselves as a cohesive unit.

These cohesive elements of identity manifest through both the external representation of the institution such as branding, as well as through the



internal organisation in the form of entity perception of self within the wider institutional environment. Institutional identity can be evident through both explicit and implicit forms. The physical representation of identity can be seen in logo design and uniforms, or in the naming of organisational teams. Implicit elements can exist in the mind-set of individual staff members, as well as through their associated GLAM entities.

Arguably, the branding of an organisation provides the most tangible expression of external institutional identity. Whether or not this branding is reflected through all facets of the organisational structure is contestable. An external representation of identity has the propensity to become decoupled from the internal organisation's perceptions of self. The agency of that external institutional identity, however, still provides a tangible framework for analysis.

The enabling concept for an integrated identity at Te Papa was Tangata Whenua (people of the land), Tangata Tiriti (people here by right of the Treaty) and Papatūānuku (the land). These three elements provided a foundation and framework for the development of not only bicultural representation but also a homogeneous framework for the representation of New Zealand's cultural heritage. The creation of a framework for identity, which did not draw on ideology embedded in any one GLAM entity, enabled Te Papa to attempt a transcendence of institutional silos. Considered one of the most important facets in the generation of integration in Te Papa was the development of a singular cohesive brand. The success of the brand lay in embedding it firmly in the integrated concept and taking it beyond the reaches of a logo (Founding CEO pers. comm).

The development of a cohesive brand for the institution started prior to the move to the new Cable Street site. In 1993, a company called Design Works developed the first Museum of New Zealand brand, which would represent and encapsulate the new integrated organisational form. This brand featured

the name of the new Museum – Te Papa Tongarewa - and delineated the museum facets through the use of coloured sub-branding.

The 1993 Museum of New Zealand (MONZ) Executive of Public Affairs, Merrill Coke, acknowledged that the new museum concept was quite a difficult and complex organisation to present. The senior designer who managed the branding exercise for Design Works, Karen Murray, emphasised that the design needed to symbolise more than just a name change, it needed to credibly represent the new organisational form. That design influence, she stated, was embodied in the new museum concept, rather than being a reflection of the architecture of the new building (Daniell 1993).

It was a unifying force, a lever for cultural change, not just within the museum but in the broader community. From within that voices spoke, and they were not the voices of the old museum world which were science, art and ethnology, but they were new voices and new narratives that were culture in a much broader and expanded way. It was not only art that was being put on notice, but also a Pakeha science and social history (Founding CEO pers. comm.)

Also seen as critical in driving the development of the institution forward as a cohesive unit was the branding of Te Papa. The brand development, like many other facets of Te Papa's inception, was not without controversy. The cost involved was immense and misunderstandings existed over the financial investment made in the development of what the public perceived (to be) "as just a logo" (Director of Projects pers. comm.).

A strong awareness existed in the early development of Te Papa that any brand should rise out of the culture of the institution. The founding CEO felt that the brand could not be articulated or generated by anyone who was not fully immersed and driven by the concept (pers. comm.). To this end, the final branding for Te Papa was undertaken in the last year of the institution's development. Both the Director of Projects and the founding

CEO felt that this was a critical point in the institution's development, and that it acted as a unifying anchor for the Te Papa campaign (pers. comm.).

The subsequent development of Te Papa's brand for the institution's opening centred on a multifaceted concept which needed to be strongly represented through the institutional graphics, something the brand designer felt, that you "could see more than one thing in" (Cotterall and Preston 2008). The logo design went through many incarnations; a stylised cross was an early preferred option but was discounted by the Board due to concerns about the representation of the cross to the Maori community. The cross was imbued with negative connotations, both as a symbol of failure and the insulting nature of implication that it was the only literate and legible mark Maori could make in signing the Treaty. Moreover it was considered a Pakeha symbol (Founding CEO and Director of Projects pers. comm.).

After a number of incarnations and proposals to the Development Board the thumb print emerged as a clear concept for a logo to represent the brand. The uniqueness of the thumb print implied that Te Papa belonged to everyone; it was our place, so much so that it was branded with one of the most personal and unique symbols a human being can make. The thumb print was representative of many facets of the museum, representative in the fact that all New Zealanders, regardless of ethnicity had thumb prints and that no two were the same. There were also references to topographical elements in the design which symbolised New Zealand mountainous geography. The fluidity of the thumbprint also enabled the seeing of more than one thing, according to the brand designer; it was very much bound by the context of the viewer (Cotterall and Preston 2008)

The signage on the external façade of the physical building which contains Te Papa states that this is *Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand*. *Te Papa Tongarewa (The Museum of New Zealand)* as an institutional name

represented the Maori translation in its top level branding as well as the museum domain in its English translation. The museum is generally referred to as Te Papa by most New Zealanders and enjoys an exceptionally high rate of brand recognition in market surveys.

There were initial challenges to the omission of the word “art” in Te Papa’s identity. The National Art Gallery had been subsumed by the Te Papa brand, and this created a situation where New Zealand had become “the only developed country without a national gallery listed in the phone book” (Editor, *The Evening Post*, 30 March 2000). Calls were also made for the Auckland Art Gallery to rename itself “The National Gallery” in the wake of public dissatisfaction with the treatment of the national collections in Te Papa (Catherall 1999).

While there was acknowledgement of the complexity involved in developing an identity for an institution such as Te Papa, the Head of Art and Visual Culture also expressed disappointment that the word “art” did not appear in any of Te Papa’s top level branding. He felt that the rationale for the omission may have been embedded in the nature of the word “art”, which by its very nature is loaded with symbolic meaning and had been demonstrated to “turn people off” (Head of Art and Visual Culture pers. comm.). In this sense Te Papa embodied convergence between the entities at an identity level in that the National Art Gallery had been subsumed (in brand) by Te Papa Tongarewa (the Museum of New Zealand).

There are strong visible elements of branding expressed throughout the internal organisational structure of Te Papa. The uniforms worn by the hosts are an example of this cohesive identity. The cohesive elements of the brand also manifest through published materials and communications, as well as through the naming of sub organisational units. The rebranding of the Hector Library, Enquiry Centre and Aotearoa Reading Room sought to

strengthen and unite the information collections with the whakapapa<sup>10</sup> of Te Papa in its entirety. The re-branding of these information facets also brought the Library into alignment with the organisation's Te Reo naming convention (Te Papa, 2001).

Controversy existed over the rebranding of the Library. Much was made of the shift from the Hector Library (as a research library), to Te Aka Matua (as an information centre). Influential stakeholders in the library community voiced their concerns over what they considered to be the dumbing down of the Hector Library through repositioning and rebranding within the wider organisational structure (Traue 2001). Library staff felt that the name change for the entity was a controversial decision made at management level, with minimal library consultation (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). The Hector family also cited displeasure at the re-branding of the Library stating that they felt the change did nothing to honour the spirit in which Hector had established his collections and bequeathed them to the museum (The Evening Post 20<sup>th</sup> June, 2001).

During the preceding amalgamation of the two libraries from the Buckle Street site, the National Art Gallery Library had been subsumed in identity by the Hector Library. There was little left which represented the National Art Gallery in the branding of the Hector Library's collections or services (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). The founding CEO, Te Papa's chief executive at the time, responded to the criticisms by reinforcing the fact that the changes being made to the Library were undertaken to bring it in line with the opening hours and public visibility embodied in the rest of the institution. She reiterated the many changes that had occurred in regards to the Hector Library since 1990, including the incorporation of the National

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<sup>10</sup> Whakapapa can be likened to the concept of European genealogy but it extends beyond the construct of family history and genealogy to encompass a knowledge continuum passed on through generations.

Art Gallery Collections (Founding CEO 2001). A compromise was reached and the Hector name was eventually maintained through the decision to name the room housing the collections held at the Tory Street site as The Hector Room. Throughout amalgamation and in the wider institutional identity, the Library felt inherent tension in managing a dual role, a role that sought to provide both internal research support and contribute to the wider Te Papa public experience (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm).

#### ***5.4 An Analysis of Convergence in Te Papa***

This section of the case study discusses key insights drawn from the data through a theoretical framework of organisational symbolism. As outlined in the methodology, a symbolic understanding of an organisation's culture and the interpretation of symbols and artifacts, which emerge from a case study, must be read on the understanding that they are context bound. The analysis of this symbolism is emic in so much as it is undertaken through the lens of the researcher and delimited by the means of data collection. The organisational symbolism highlighted in the development of convergence at Te Papa can only be discussed in light of the verbal, artifactual and documentary material collected for the purpose of this case. Identified for analysis and theorised in relation to the current body of knowledge on organisational symbolism are key elements of GLAM intersection and integration. An analysis of the organisational symbolism of these points of intersection and integration provide a further framework for understanding the development of a convergent culture in Te Papa Tongarewa.

Shultz defines organisational sagas as “shared narratives which contribute to the creation and evolution of a shared identity for the organisation” (1994,

88). Sagas are a reflection on actual events which occurred in an organizations history “they usually feature players, are dramatic and emotive and tend to embody the organisational identity” (Shultz 1994, 88). The controversy created by the day one exhibition that was *Parade* is an example of an organisational saga in so much as its conception set out to epitomize the ethos of integration and “dethroning of art” (Founding CEO pers. comm.) which Te Papa strived to represent. Moreover, the ensuing debate over the placing of the McCahon painting in an exhibition context with the fridge has been perpetuated as a saga to be re-examined and re-told, both internally and externally outside of the organisational environment. Not only was this saga well documented through secondary data sources, it was also offered up for re-telling in a number of interview situations in this research. One interviewee asking “I suppose you know all about the McCahon and the fridge?” (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). The prefixing of the saga with the verbal inference that I would know about it, along with the re-telling and re-examination by the interviewee, highlighted two things; that it was truly an organisational saga as defined by Shultz in the framework of organisational symbolism, and that it had contributed to the identity formation of Te Papa as an integrated institution. It had become part of institutional history, a pivotal event within the development of the organisation, an event which had the agency to shape and forge a narrative identity between art and artifact.

The fronting up to the Development Board by a “well known Wellington Architect” with plans for the external lift shaft that would travel up the outside of the new building exemplified the separatist ideology and mandate of the “art world” (Founding CEO pers. comm.). The idea of the lift was to enable art patrons to access the art collections on the upper floors without having to enter the building and transcend the museum collections (Founding CEO; Head of Art and Visual Culture; Director of Projects pers. comm.). This organisational saga has perpetuated over time as a symbolic

manifestation of the separatist ideology faced by the Board which overshadowed the early development of Te Papa.

The Te Papa host uniform featured heavily in interviews with Te Papa's past and present staff. All staff based on public floors wore the same uniform regardless of the areas, exhibitions or floors in which they work. "The t-shirt", as staff called it, was conspicuous by design. The host uniform existed as a stratified layer which sat towards the bottom of the organisational structure and was the most obvious metaphoric symbol for the democratised, integrated model that Te Papa strove to attain. Having to wear the "t-shirt" was imbued with a sense of meaning beyond the garment and its uniform appearance.

The amount of organisational permeation of the uniform has remained fluid since opening day. Early attempts to get curatorial staff to wear the uniform met with resistance and also created issues with identity for the library staff. Rafaeli and Pratt believe that the more stratified homogeneity represented through the organisational uniform, the more mechanistic the organisation; recursively the more functional heterogeneity that exists, the more organic and adaptive the organisation (1993). The permeation of "the t-shirt" through the organisational structure, (particularly seen through attempts to have the library staff members and curatorial teams wear it), was symbolic of an attempt to create a greater level of homogeneity between the GLAM organisational entities.

Organisational dress can also have its own agency. It can enable compliance, legitimise employees, and enforce organisational image (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993). "Donning the t-shirt", as stated by the founding CEO, and spending a week on "the floor" (pers. comm.), was imbued with a sense of legitimising hierarchy. The mere act of directing all organisational members to "don the t-shirt" (rather than just undertake the training and work on the floor) symbolised the agency of the t-shirt in the identity of the



institution. By requiring all Te Papa organisational members (including the CEO) to “put on the t-shirt”, the founding CEO symbolically sought to de-stratify the organisation and instil cross-organisational understanding of role and responsibility across the intra-organisational entities.

The high visibility of the Te Papa host t-shirt also reinforced the homogeneous identity of the organisation through the conspicuousness of its design.

Dress promotes controls of the utilization of human resources by helping members and non-members identify each other and by helping these groups to discern patterns of authority and responsibility in organisations (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993, 48).

The staff members who worked in the public spaces were easily distinguishable from the visiting public. The legitimising agency of the t-shirt was further strengthened by its visibility through the host role in their engagement with the public. The t-shirt also existed as an organisational identity generating and maintaining symbol. Organisational symbolists believe that clues to organisational and professional identity can be found in the use of symbols as proxies, such as uniforms and other forms of organisational dress (Harquail 2006; Rafaeli and Pratt 1997). This idea of the uniform as a proxy for organisational and professional identity is believed to be represented in the emotive response of organisational members to an organisational artifact such as a uniform, and is said to be representative of the members’ feeling towards the wider organisation (Rafaeli and Pratt 2004). This issue of identification and authority conveyed through the wearing of the host uniform created identity issues for library staff. These manifested as feelings of de-professionalization, as well as role confusion for visitors and between other entities within the wider organisation. Library staff said they felt “less professional” and were often approached to provide information about exhibits on the museum floor (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. comm.). Even though the placement of the staff in the host uniforms was in a clearly defined library space, the identity

created by the homogeneity and conspicuousness of the host uniform crossed entity boundaries in a way that library staff felt impeded their integrity, as well as their professional standing. The application of this idea to the feeling of de-professionalization and role confusion expressed by library staff can then be extended to a reflection of the wider organisation. The t-shirt as an organisational artifact, carried symbolism that extended beyond its physicality to a representation of identity, cohesiveness, role definition and as a tool for the de-stratification or organisational hierarchy that existed in Te Papa.

An analysis of institutional identity at Te Papa, particularly the development of a converged identity in the early days of development, highlighted disconnect between the organisational identity at a collective institutional level, and that of the individual entities operating within Te Papa. This was particularly apparent through interviews with library staff. A subversive collection paradigm permeated the organisation, particularly in the library entity. While Te Papa strived to brand and maintain an organisation that privileged narrative and demoted the emphasis on delineated collections, the Library still referred to feeling “short-changed” because they weren't considered “a collection” and all that implied in terms of placement and resourcing within the institutional setting (Te Aka Matua Librarian pers. com).

The gallery, museum and archives entities have all at one point or another, resided under the Collections and Research Directorate, whereas the Library was, and has remained outside of this organisation stratum. The feelings expressed and the language used by library staff over their services and resources not being identified as “a collection” was strong. There was mention of not being represented in the collection management system KE-Emu and all this implied for visibility and access to their resources. The financial implications in terms of allocated funding and perceived status within the wider organisation were also raised; there was very much an

awareness of other entities within the institution “not really knowing what it is we do or what we hold” (Te Papa Knowledge Manager pers. comm.). This implied a sub-culture, which was bound in the level of status still associated with being defined as an entity engaged in managing a “collection” and undertaking “research”, two words which have historically been central to the identity and culture of the library, as an institution.

The importance of having a new institutional structure in enabling organisational integration was seen as central to the development of a Te Papa as a new organisational form (Founding CEO pers. comm.). The founding CEO felt that Te Papa just would not have worked in the old Buckle Street site, or if the new building did not provide the opportunity to reflect on the design of the new internal spaces (pers. comm.).

The external design of Te Papa, contained within a large space, has many open areas surrounding it; this can be read as a symbol of status and power of the built space (Yanow, 2006). Another architectural element recognised as a symbol of power and status is the placement of the entrance and the height of that entrance in relation to the visitor at street level. The scale of Te Papa’s entrance to the openness of the building facade at street level added to the feeling of impenetrableness.

Traditional museum and other public building designs entail the visual-physical experience of standing at street level and looking upwards towards the entrance. The height is imposing, especially when added to the typical (or stereotypical) museum or courts or agencies massive and visually impenetrable facade, visitors often experience this feeling of monumentality as distancing, rather than welcoming (Yanow 2006, 56).

While the entrance to Te Papa is positioned at street level, the small scale of the entrance in relation to an almost windowless facade enhances the feeling of impenetrableness. In this observational sense, Te Papa appears to turn its back to the visitor and say “come in the back door”. Preservation management of environmental conditions such as light and relative humidity

are obvious considerations in the design of any cultural heritage institution and Te Papa was no exception. Exhibition spaces needed to meet preservation standards for collections care and as a result, light (and engagement with the harbour) from the northern building faces was kept to a minimum (Bossley 1998). In the initial architectural vision, a large opening window, similar in scale to the lobby window, was originally designed to provide a view out over the ocean from the Marae gathering space (Bossley 1998). This was not realised, as the stained glass design of the window resulted in an almost total obstruction of the view. Footage of the founding CEO in the documentary *Getting to Our Place* shows her expressing disappointment with the window design, not so much as an entity in itself (the design was beautiful), but with the “blocking of the view” and lack of engagement with the harbour beyond (Cotterall 1999). In this sense, Te Papa’s harbour side location and environmental preservation management standards, created tension in the design of the spaces.



Fig. 7 Te Papa’s main visitor entrance from Cable Street (Researcher’s own image 2012).

The design of the new office space layout in Te Papa can symbolically be read as a status-equalizing symbol (Pratt and Rafaeli 2001), a mechanism whereby the hierarchical elements of the organisation can be softened or flattened. In delineating the working spaces to an open plan office environment, the Te Papa Development Team sought to de-emphasise the hierarchies inherent in the old organisational model which existed at the Buckle Street site. Opening up the organisational working spaces was seen as a status equalizing symbol, not only between the GLAM entities, but also in a hierarchical sense through the organisational structure.

The idea of territories in organisational symbolism is also important to an analysis of Te Papa's built environment, particularly in light of this reconfiguration of the working spaces.

Territories are fairly quickly formed by the use of signs of occupation, dominance and hierarchy. With time these same places may become domains with their depth of thematic symbolic association (Doxtater 1990, 17).

Elsbach (2006) noted that often in a flattening situation in an organisation, where all spaces are designed to be uniform and homogeneous, employees will build and accumulate status by way of differential artifacts which they add into their built environments. In an analysis of the internal placement of offices in Te Papa this can be seen in territories of space in the Tory Street site. The change from a traditional closed office design which operated at the Buckle Street site, to a new organisational form with an open office system, exacerbated uncertainty in an environment of change. This level of uncertainty and challenge to individual operational identity was reflected through the imposition of the open plan design of the back of house functions at Te Papa. This reconfiguration resulted in a re-defining of personal occupancy of organisational space by curatorial staff. Despite the initial intention of a proliferation of open plan working spaces within the Te Papa buildings and the inclusion of meeting rooms for social and professional interaction, staff began to form barriers with furniture and

quickly set about defining territory. The use of high bookcases to delineate working spaces was symbolic of territorial definition and the need to control and manipulate the immediate occupancy of their working environment. It became a mechanism for establishing personal boundaries and maintaining professional identity, which in turn controlled access to space and therefore status.

The choice of barrier – in this case the bookshelves - is also symbolic. Hatch (1990) extends the idea of the symbolism of office space to the choices of artifact present within those individual working spaces. The use of library materials related to their own curatorial domains to define territories, demonstrated a need to encapsulate themselves with symbols of knowledge which extended and reinforced their individual professional identities. The act of maintaining their own collection areas of institutionally owned library materials, and their independent and individualised collection organisation according to the benefits of their curatorial discipline symbolised an extension of control beyond that of their immediate territorial space. This control attempted to extend into the wider organisational form through the manipulation of centrally managed resources.

The relationship between the architectural design of Te Papa and the identity formation of the organisation also has a basis in the design of the building and the aesthetic landscaping, or built environment. An analysis of the symbolism of the aesthetic landscape that forms Te Papa can be viewed through the tenets of enchantment, emplacement and enactment. Dale and Burrell (2008) consider this tripartite framework to offer a model for examining the representation of wider organisational/institutional identity.

Enchantment refers to the ability to encapsulate and represent the function in the design of the building or the spectacle factor. It can also be seen through the level of embodiment in the framework of building purpose, innovation, design and interaction with the wider environment. In this sense,

Te Papa occupied an iconic site on the Wellington waterfront. The design of the building and the conceptualisation of both its Maori and Pakeha faces into the built architecture symbolised the cohesiveness of the bicultural elements, yet still acknowledged the individual integrity of the two cultures.

The emplacement of the aesthetic landscape refers to the individual occupancy and space within and around the building. In this sense, the division of space within Te Papa can be read as a manifestation of emplacement, particularly through the idea of prime real-estate and privileged positioning of the entities contained within. This was strongly represented through the contested appropriation and re-allocation of physical space by the differing GLAM entities.

Enactment is the use patterns and movement within the aesthetic landscape. Enactment encapsulates the fluidity and movement of the organisational members through space and time and has the ability to challenge the conceptual ideas of enchantment but in particular, emplacement (Hancock and Spicer 2011). A space that is too large for its purpose or activity can make those contained within or moving through the space feel uncomfortable (Yanow 2006). This manifested through the design of the Level 1 atrium space within Te Papa.

The Director of Projects felt that the scale of the space was too large to provide any sort of cohesive element to the interior layout. Instead, it resulted in visitors reaching the top of the stairs and looking lost. This was in contrast to the entrance lobby which felt purposeful and functional (pers. comm.). The emplacement and enchantment of Te Papa's building design privileged the idea of the narrative. The appropriation of space given over to exhibition was symbolic of the ideology of the new museology which underpinned Te Papa.



**Fig. 8** The lobby in Te Papa's main visitor entrance, Cable Street. At the top of the stairs is the large atrium space that the Director of Projects felt presented difficulties for way-finding. (Researcher's own image 2012).

By relocating many back of house functions away from the Cable Street site, the development team sought to privilege the experience paradigm over the collections and research paradigm.

The dominant integrative paradigm was also re-enforced through the emplacement of the entities within the building space, as well as the visual “enchantment” in the atrium spaces and impact of the exhibition floors. There were no visible boundaries between art and artifact in the public spaces, and to this end Te Papa represented an almost seamless interface between the National Gallery collections and the Museum collections.

Yarrow believes that interior placement of the entities within a built space can be correlated to notions of cultural conceptualisation of the placement of status and power within the human form (2006). In a western paradigm, the



head and brain represent rationality, control and high-level function, and this is often replicated in the placement of organizational members with higher status on the upper floors of a building. This correlation of placement to status is reflected in other cultures that associate a different bodily region with concepts of importance. For example, in Indian offices, organisational members with higher organisational status are located on the lower floors or at the heart of the building. This central placement reflects the value of the central soul as a life-force and this manifests as placement in the centre or heart of the building, occupying the privileged place. With this in mind, built spaces must be read within the context of their cultural domains. In this sense the movement of the Library from Level 5 of the building to Level 4 can be read as a demotion in status, and the allocation of gallery space to Level 5 of the building can be read as promoting the gallery domain. This interpretation is however in direct contrast with criticisms from the art community who felt that Te Papa had “shunted art to the attic”. It is possible that the privileged space in Te Papa did not manifest in the higher floors of the building, but instead were deemed to exist in the heart or centre of the building.

The allocation of furniture and built resources within an organisation can also be read as symbols of status and identity. This was reflected in the feelings of the Library through their relocation from a purpose built climate controlled space on Level 5, to the retro-fit space on Level 4. The most obvious expression of this was the criticism levelled at Te Papa by the art community over the amount of space and the quality of space given over to the display of Art within the environment.

In Te Papa, boundary objects, which facilitate knowledge negotiation across collection boundaries, manifested in what Te Aka Matua Librarian, Te Papa Archivist and Head of Art and Visual Culture referred to as “grey” or “complex” collection material. This material transcended the GLAM domains and included formats such as photography, published archival

material, works on paper etc. Paradoxically, they also acted as a point of cohesion as well as markers which highlighted the differences in the treatment of artifacts between the GLAM domains.

The choice of language by interviewees to describe issues around collections management and care which existed at the intersection of the GLAM entities is also of interest to a symbolic analysis of the convergent organisational culture within Te Papa. Collection formats such as photography, published material collected by the Archives, and other works on paper crossed multiple GLAM boundaries and occupied a number of information/artifact domains in the institution. The ideology around the treatment of these materials within the institution was verbalised through the use of linguistic artifacts such as “grey and foggy”, “complicated and complex” (Te Aka Matua Librarian; Te Papa Archivist pers. comm.). In fact, given the significance of this point of intersection in terms of the tangibility of integration they represented, there was very little expression of definitive processes or even theoretical understanding of the treatment of such material from the individual staff interviewed from the GLAM entities.

The Head of Art and Visual Culture (2010 pers. comm.) acknowledged the opportunities afforded by the ability of collection objects to transcend the GLAM silos, particularly within an interpretive framework (such as art as record and record as art). However, as the Te Aka Matua Librarian stated, often thrown into “the too hard basket” were issues of ownership and treatment of such items (pers. comm.). There were even reported elements of subterfuge to retain collection items by certain entities, and the commodification of curatorial practice to enhance status within the wider organisation. The Te Papa Archivist made extensive use of these linguistic artifacts to explain the rationale behind the management of this “grey and foggy” material.

Art in Te Papa also existed as an example of a boundary object. The art collections' information value and aesthetic value were equally highlighted due to the differing treatment and privileges assigned by the different entities within the confined or collocated space. The integrative concept which underpinned Te Papa also allowed for a continuum of practice to exist in the representation of Maori taonga, much of which was deemed to have equal status as art and ethnographic object. The McCahon canvases as a curatorial comment of New Zealand art and the Kelvinator Frigidaire were also examples of boundary objects at a collection level. At an exhibition level, *Parade* acted as a boundary object by bringing together different formats from differing entities. Te Papa, in its physicality and through its integrated ideology acted as a holistic boundary object which facilitated awareness, engaged the stakeholders and generated language that enabled the entities to transfer knowledge and reconceptualise across GLAM domain boundaries.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

This chapter opened with a quote from Sir Ron Trotter, Chairman of the Te Papa Development Board in 1999. Trotter's quote epitomised the ideology and tough stakeholder environment which faced Te Papa in the development of an integrated model; a model which privileged a narrative approach to the management and interpretation of New Zealand's cultural memory.

Building GLAMour for Te Papa required not only the negotiation of institutional differences at an organisation level, but also consideration of the wider political and ethnographic context in which Te Papa existed and evolved. Te Papa's challenges resided in multifaceted layers of integration, from Pakeha to Maori, art to artifact, and tourist to New Zealand citizen. Te Papa strived to develop a convergent culture not only at a level of

internal GLAM entity integration, but one which also reflected the level of integration and integrity of the wider society in which it operated.

Not only did Te Papa's commitment to privileging a cohesive narrative challenge institutional boundaries, it also challenged visitor paradigms. The Te Papa model tried to achieve inclusion and challenge the notion of museum and gallery as an institution frequented only by the cultural elite. Te Papa sought to provide a forum by which all New Zealanders could engage and make sense of their cultural memory. In this sense, Te Papa achieved their mandate. They reached their yearly visitor targets within the first few months of opening and these visitor statistics have remained consistently high (Te Papa 2010). The visitor demographics were also highly representative of the demographic diversity of New Zealand's population. Te Papa as a visitor-centred model with a dominant narrative approach to management and interpretation of collections and services enabled the development of a deep level of institutional and cultural democratisation, a level of democratisation which encapsulated the tenets of the new museology.

The most successful aspects of integration in Te Papa according to the founding CEO were centred on these aspects of visitor experience and sense making. What the integrated model offered was very much an audience-focused philosophy.

I profoundly believe that if we had gone with a half-arsed integration model that was for convenience or resource allocation and we had compartmentalised the museum accordingly, the high visitor numbers would not have been sustained (Founding CEO pers. comm.)

While the breaking down of GLAM silos and cultural compartmentalisation to tell community stories was seen by the Project Office as an exciting opportunity, convincing the wider stakeholder environment was not without its challenges. Te Papa, as a new integrative conceptual model did not have

the advocacy of the individual historical GLAM institutions, it was in this sense very much seen as “the new kid on the block” (Founding CEO pers. comm.).

The integrative model that was to become Te Papa took the democratisation of the museum and ran with it; art was taken along for the ride. In this sense, Te Papa put art “on notice” (Head of Art and Visual Culture pers. comm.). The adoption and apparent success of Te Papa’s commercially driven narrative approach to the management and dissemination of cultural memory alienated many scholars and art critics. Te Papa had an opportunity to bring a new audience face to face with contemporary art, art that was traditionally considered inaccessible, and to an extent it achieved this objective, but there were also a lot of lost opportunities. The reconfiguration of the Level 5 spaces “instead pushed [art] to the roof” (Head of Art and Visual Culture pers. comm.). Paradoxically there was also a retrospective feeling that “while Te Papa had put art on notice, in doing so they “had possibly lost some of the display values, some of the aesthetic that was a positive value of the old art museum” (Founding CEO pers. comm.). There was a responsive awareness of the benefits of integration, but not at the expense of the integrity of the individual GLAM entities.

The building of the new gallery spaces on Level 5 represented an organisational shift in collection and discipline integrity. Te Papa, by delineating the institutional space for art, transcended tension between the art and museum entities by expressing a responsive acknowledgment of the criticisms levelled at the treatment of art by stakeholders. By acknowledging value in the differences between the entities and their disciplinary and scholarly paradigms, Te Papa reconceptualised and renegotiated the GLAM domain boundaries to reflect their role as a national institution in a challenging cultural heritage environment.

While there was an acknowledgement in the benefits of a continuum of practice in the treatment of a number of collection formats afforded through the integrative model, the operational frameworks and intra-organisational ideology did not wholly support the continuum approach. The gallery, library, archives and museum entities acknowledged the benefits, but the linguistic artifacts used to describe these boundary formats were at best still liminal e.g. “grey and foggy, hard and complex”. This was also underpinned by a sub-culture which still sought to privilege the collections and research paradigm, this was reflected through discussions with library staff and re-enforced through the subterfuge, curatorial staff often resorted to in order to gain access to resources for curatorial research. While Te Papa may successfully represent a convergent culture via identity through its top level branding, an awareness of individual GLAM integrity still manifests through the intra-organisational units.

In a reading of the organisational symbolism expressed through the elements of intersection and integration in Te Papa, the concept of marriage has been used as a root metaphor to describe the process of integration and the resulting relationships between the entities. The integrative concept that was Te Papa was “not a forced marriage” or a “marriage of convenience” The founding CEO believed it came out of a vision and a strategy. A marriage, while generally based on joint occupancy, understanding and support is not without its power struggles, negotiations, jealousies and changes through space and over time. The marital relationship is not a fixed immutable contract which sees all parties attempting to exist in perpetuity with the same ideology in which they entered into the contract. There is an awareness of change over time, an understanding of fluidity, of responsiveness to the internal and external environment, of building synergies together which will provide a foundation for a converged identity. In this sense, integration at Te Papa was conceptualised not as a marriage of convenience, but has grown to represent a family of entities.

Te Papa as a national institution operates under a magnifying glass held firmly by the hand of the nation. Such scrutiny promotes innovative practice designed to address criticism of its treatment regarding New Zealand's cultural memory. Paradoxically, it also positions Te Papa as an entity to vilify and malign in matters regarding wider museological debate. There exists not only a level of institutional history between the GLAM entities in Te Papa but also a convergence history that may be perhaps difficult to move beyond. Building a convergent culture in Te Papa may be forever underpinned by the historically critical context in which it was born. Did the early debate generated around the integration between the gallery and museum entities create a permanent microscope under which the treatment of art at Te Papa will be constantly considered?

It should be the work of a national institution to facilitate debate about mediations, not close discussion down. The experience offered by a national museum with a responsibility for a wide national audience should not be the equivalent of a complicit stroll by a connoisseur audience member in the company of a curator whose choices have been over determined by specialist career capital. Nor in this country should it shirk its clear bicultural responsibilities, however much debate these may provoke about definitions of 'art' (Wedde 2002, 38).

This quote reminds me of the context in which this research and its findings must be considered. Building an understanding of convergent culture within Te Papa must be undertaken through a lens which acknowledges the role of a national museum. This role includes generating debate and advancing scholarship in museum practice, pushing boundaries and maintaining awareness of public perception and criticism, as well as successfully negotiating the tensions inherent in needing to be all things to all people.

Te Papa's vision was to achieve full convergence in its initial inception through the integration of the GLAM entities. Te Papa took the innovative approach of mixing GLAM entities together in a purpose built container to facilitate a narrative focus for the representation of New Zealand's cultural

record. Over the last decade and through a magnifying glass held firmly by the hand of a nation, Te Papa has undergone a series of responsive restructurings and reconfiguring which have seen some elements of the GLAM entities de-converge to a more traditional representation and operational mandate. It has also seen some facets of the organisational infrastructure realign to provide closer integration. The gallery and library entities which, while initially envisaged as being fully integrated into the institutional Te Papa experience, have responded to both external and internal criticism and reviewed their representation and function within the converged memory institution. Te Papa as an integrated institution supports the concept of convergence as a fluid state (a continuum), not a definitive end state (a lifecycle). Te Papa, as a nationally responsive institution, renewed and recombined in order to provide effective management and representation of New Zealand's cultural heritage both over time, as well as through space.

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## 6 *Puke Ariki*

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“The words Library and Museum were considered dirty words, it was almost Orwellian”.

The General Manager comments on the integrated culture he met at Puke Ariki on arrival (pers. comm.).



**Fig. 9** Puke Ariki's North Wing and main entrance to the Museum. Image retrieved from <http://www.pukeariki.com>

## **6.1 Introduction**

The second case study in this research is the Puke Ariki Knowledge and Heritage Centre. Puke Ariki is a self-defined converged museum, library and visitor information centre located in the New Zealand city of New Plymouth in the Taranaki region. Comprised of several smaller towns as well as the largest city of New Plymouth, the Taranaki region is situated on the west coast of the North Island. The New Plymouth district is home to approximately 69,000 residents and is the 15th largest district in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand 2006). Taranaki is geographically located at the heart of New Zealand's troubled history, marked by conflicts over land in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, the region is famous for the interaction between Maori and colonial settlers in the area known as Parihaka, which to this day remains an event of historic significance from a yet to be resolved period of New Zealand history. As an institution, Puke Ariki operates within this complex bicultural context by engaging with the region's history and heritage through the development of its community identity and exhibition programming.

Puke Ariki's annual operating budget is approximately ten million dollars. The institution employs approximately 80 full-time equivalent staff and has the same number again of volunteers supporting operations. As an institution, Puke Ariki houses the region's museum collections, collected archives, the city's information centre as well as the central New Plymouth library collections. The institutional space also provides administration and centralised services for the District's five community libraries as well as the New Plymouth Mobile Library Service. Around 7000 items of taonga Maori, 650 linear metres of archives, 355,000 pictorial items and 37,000 items of social history make up Puke Ariki's heritage collections (NPDC Annual Report, 2010). Data from the Annual Report showed that in 2008/09 approximately 680,000 people visited the institution.

Puke Ariki has been chosen for this research because it provides an information rich example of integration between a regional museum, archives, library and information centre. As with Te Papa, there is a long history of association and collocation between the GLAM entities prior to integration in Puke Ariki. Puke Ariki also has a long history of innovation in the management of integrated services and has overcome a number of challenges arising through operating in a convergent domain. The early vision for Puke Ariki sought to cross-pollinate library and museum operations; library resources and information would support museum exhibitions; the I.T initiatives and systems in the Library would be applied to the museum environment, illuminating the artifacts not easily accessible to the public. The Library Manager at the time, Barbara McKerrow stated that object displays in the central library and in the community library stacks would tangibly represent the integrated ethos of the new institution (Paltridge 2000). Since its inception in 2003, Puke Ariki has been recognised as an exemplar of best practice in many operational areas and has received numerous awards relating to interior building design, service delivery, technology implementation, innovation and architecture.<sup>11</sup>

While Te Papa and Puke Ariki are both examples of integrated cultural heritage institutions, Puke Ariki differs in a number of ways from Te Papa. The framework for these differences rests in the fact that the museum entity in Puke Ariki is mandated to serve the Taranaki regional population and the library entity serves the population of New Plymouth District, both entities are governed by the local council authority – New Plymouth District Council. Puke Ariki considers itself the first converged regional cultural heritage facility of its kind developed in New Zealand (Puke Ariki 2010). The demographic and governance model under which Puke Ariki operates creates unique challenges and opportunities, which the institution negotiates

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<sup>11</sup> For example see the following media releases in the reference list: Weir 2003; The Daily News 2003; The Daily News 2003b

to maintain the integrity and more importantly, the responsiveness of the integrated model.

In my examination of Te Papa, I was largely concerned with an historical perspective on how integration developed in the institution in the early days. In this examination of Puke Ariki, I am still interested in the foundations of the integrated model and in the historical context, but the central mandate in this case is to uncover and analyse elements of integration/convergence as they currently stand in the operational institution. As with the other cases, this case will identify, document and analyse elements of integration in Puke Ariki between the GLAM entities. These elements include, but are not limited to, the collections, services, organisational structure, branding/identity and operational infrastructure. This case will use a similar framework to discuss points of integration and intersection as Te Papa, not in an attempt to marginalise the uniqueness of the case, but to reflect an emergent framework.

## ***6.2 Case Context***

The following section provides context for the case by way of an overview of the history of the GLAM entities that came to form Puke Ariki in New Plymouth. This section also outlines the historical significance of the geography that Puke Ariki occupies in the Taranaki region.

Like many New Zealand towns in the mid to late 19th Century, the region's Library and Museum occupied shared space in a public building. The Taranaki Museum and Library have existed in an almost uninterrupted co-located arrangement since 1919; firstly, in the Town Hall, then in the Carnegie Library (Fig 10.) and subsequently the War Memorial Building. Arguably, this physical collocation still exists today. A history of the New Plymouth Public Library (1840-1960) by Carey and Allen notes that in

1876, both the Museum and Library occupied the Taranaki Provincial Council Chambers. They go on to state that,

When the building became the Town Hall the public reading room and museum continued to be located there. Within the museum was formed the nucleus of a new public library and for many years the reading room, library and museum were regarded as one organisation. (1960, 23)



**Fig. 10** The Carnegie Public Library on King Street, New Plymouth seen under construction in 1908. Scaffolding surrounds the lower level of the building. Puke Ariki photograph collection PHO2012-0424.

By 1908, like many other public libraries in New Zealand, Carnegie funding had been secured for the building of a new public library. The mayor of New Plymouth, Mr A.C. Fookes and the American industrialist, Andrew Carnegie, proposed a grant of two thousand five hundred pounds which was made on 13 February 1906 to the New Plymouth Borough Council for a new library building. Architect Frank Messenger won an architectural

competition to design the new building. The building was formally opened on 1 July 1908 by the Mayor, Mr Tisch. For the time being, the Museum remained in the old Town Hall (Puke Ariki 2010). On completion of the building seen above, the library and museum collections were moved into the new premises. To satisfy the conditions of a significant bequest made by W.H. Skinner and his son H.P. Skinner in 1918, which included taonga Maori, the New Zealand company papers and other historical documents, the Carnegie building was extended and the Museum wing opened in 1919. This extension provided fireproof, light appropriate storage and exhibition conditions for the museum collections.

The Museum was still at this time very much governed under the same body as library administration. And according to the Manager of Heritage Collections, the Museum made a number of attempts to “divorce itself from the Library”. Largely because it was always considered the poor cousin to the Library, along with the inherent difficulties the Museum faced with establishing an independent institutional identity, arguably it also never seemed to be resourced properly (pers. comm). Also considered an issue, were the professional staffing (or lack of it) and the attitude to resourcing over collections care. The de-accessioning and transfer of artifacts to other institutions in New Zealand created concern for museum stakeholders, but the fundamental issue, according to the Manager of Heritage Collections, rested in the fact that “it was a librarian who ran it [the Taranaki Museum], and there are different philosophies for a library and a museum” (pers. comm). It wasn’t until 1960 that an independent Taranaki Museum Board would eventually be established (Puke Ariki Project Sub-Committee 1998, 2).

In July 1960, the city of New Plymouth opened its new library in the War Memorial Building and in the following year (1961), the Museum opened to the public. This building would house the city’s library and museum collections and for many years, the War Memorial Building provided the

burgeoning city with a space for museum exhibition and collections storage as well as community library services. The museum collections were kept in the basement, with the exhibition space occupying the top floor of the War Memorial Building. Public library services and library collections occupied the floors in between. Within just a few decades of service, the War Memorial Building had reached capacity with both the Library and Museum outgrowing their location.

While the need to look for expanded premises to exhibit and manage the Taranaki Museum collections had been under discussion since 1975, it was not until changes to the region's local government structure freed up the funding that the project gathered impetus. The amalgamation of the District's local territories (fourteen local authorities merged to form three new local council bodies) in 1989 saw the dissolution of the Taranaki Museum Trust Board. These three council bodies agreed that the New Plymouth District Council would take over the governance of the Taranaki Museum. This amalgamation and new governance model secured on-going operational and project funding for the Museum and allowed the need for extended and expanded space to rise to the forefront of both the New Plymouth District Council and Museum agendas.

The Museum Trust Board had, over the years, explored a number of alternative site options including an old dairy factory. While some of these sites were considered suitable, funding was always an issue and the Museum redevelopment never really got off the ground (Manager Heritage Collections pers. comm).

In 1984 The Taranaki Museum Board and the New Plymouth District Council (the Council) contracted Ken Gorbey (a museum consultant) to investigate alternative accommodation options for the Taranaki Museum collections and exhibitions. The *Gorbey Report* (1985), along with a *Report on Accommodation Needs* (1984) generated by museum staff at the same

time, formed the basis of the development of site selection criteria for the new institution (Taranaki Museum Board 1984).



**Fig. 11 Opening of War Memorial Library. Large crowd of people on Brougham and King Streets July 1960. Swainson/Woods Collection, Puke Ariki and District Libraries. WD.007351**

Both these reports documented the challenges in finding a site with appropriate space that met exhibition and collection storage requirements. It was widely supported as relocating the Museum would allow for the expansion of the Library into the remaining floors of the War Memorial building. In March 1986, the New Plymouth City Council officially adopted a resolution that recognised the need to create new facilities for both the library and museum entities (Puke Ariki Progress Review Report 2000).

By the late 1980s, the issue of space had reached critical levels. Re-development finally became crucial when only 5% of the Museum's total collections could be on display at any one time (Puke Ariki 2008). After a report from the City Librarian outlining the issues facing the institution, the



New Plymouth City Council wrote to the Taranaki Museum Board effectively providing notice of their proposed relocation, this notice of relocation was re-documented as historical background in the 1998 Puke Ariki Submission to the Project Sub-committee:

That having considered the report of the City Librarian on the future needs of the Library and future of the War Memorial Building and, as recommended by her, in view of the limited library space and overcrowded condition for stock, public and staff, and bearing in mind the eminent suitability of the existing central site for the Library, the Council, as soon as appropriate, give consideration to extending Library accommodation, including the possibility of achieving this by financial support for the re-location of the Taranaki Museum to allow Library use of the area currently occupied by the Museum (Puke Ariki Project Sub-committee 1998, 11).

The road to the development of Puke Ariki as an institution was not necessarily straightforward. Initial planning for addressing the space issues faced by both the Library and the Museum centred on building/re-developments to house each institution separately. The idea of an integrated facility didn't emerge until much later on in the planning process, and was largely embraced in light of the potential resource rationalisation afforded in bringing the two entities together (Manager Heritage Collections pers. comm). Early criticism from the Taranaki community and other stakeholders over the building and operational costs for both facilities ensued. Bringing the two entities together was seen as a cost effective solution to mitigate public criticism.

In 1993 the Council formed a working party to address these issues. Comprised of professionals from the wider New Plymouth museum and library sectors, the working party mandate was "to establish the needs of both institutions [the Library and Museum] and to plan for future expansion" (Puke Ariki 2008). An initial report tabled by the working party determined that re-development within the confines of the current block site, which housed the War Memorial Building, whilst feasible to accommodate both the Museum and Library, "did not achieve a desirable solution". They

recommended that land adjoining Richmond Cottage, an historic house over the road from the War Memorial Building, also be reserved for development. This became the location of the current Puke Ariki North Wing site. The Report recommended that the closing of Ariki Street between the two sites be investigated. There was also recognition by the Council that the current proposed site for re-development would enhance what was already an identifiable cultural precinct within the city; the Council saw the extension of the current War Memorial site as an opportunity to reinforce the cultural heart of New Plymouth. Solutions were sought to push ahead with the site proposal whilst negotiating current traffic requirements for Ariki Street which ran between the two blocks of land.

By 1995, the proposed site for the development had been secured. The extended institution would take up residence on an elevated pa site (fortified Maori settlement) adjacent to the coastline across the road from the current War Memorial Building. This pa had been levelled by early European Settlers in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to make way for new land development. The name Puke Ariki in the Maori language means “hill of the chief”. The positioning of the new institution on this historical pa site was to have a strong impact on the development of the identity of the institution, as well as in the subsequent programming Puke Ariki would deliver to the Taranaki region. The project to create Puke Ariki was seen by local Maori as a very important statement of the “resurgence of mana for Maori in the area” (Macnaught 2008).

While the concept of an integrated facility was yet to be explored, the early vision for the library and museum functions in New Plymouth centred on the development of “one heritage and knowledge centre delivering a suite of services” (Macnaught, 2005). The Puke Ariki sub-committee, in their submission on the *Puke Ariki Review*, noted the benefits that could be gained for both the museum and library through working together. A collaborative approach was also seen to have benefits in the “...sharing of

space and resources, such as administration, staff training facilities, information technology, climate control plant and educational resources”. It was felt that this type of model made “good economic sense and enhanced service delivery” (New Plymouth District Council 1998, 12).

The same *Puke Ariki Review* report first raised the idea of the Taranaki Research Centre.

In particular, the care, conservation and services based on the archives and research collections of both institutions can be brought together to provide a total Taranaki research centre, with museum and library professionals benefiting from one another’s expertise (New Plymouth District Council 1998, 12).

The Taranaki Research Centre, as a model for the delivery of cultural heritage information, was to re-conceptualize the GLAM service boundaries and provide one of the most visibly cohesive elements in the new integrated Puke Ariki institution.

The initial concept for an integrated facility that would become Puke Ariki originally came out of a workshop conducted in 1999 by museum consultant Ken Gorbey (then the General Manager of Research and Development at Te Papa). Attending this workshop, stakeholders discussed and debated the inherent possibilities that presented themselves through the building of a new institutional model. The resulting report signalled that “what was special about Puke Ariki, was the unique opportunity to integrate both library and museum services, each enhancing the services of the other” (Puke Ariki Progress Review Report 2000). The Committee subsequently adopted the building of a converged model as the foundation for the development of the new institutional model.

An initial 12.3 million dollars had been secured in funding (provided by the New Plymouth District Council) and work on the new institution forged ahead. Construction however, started on the building with a funding shortfall, the money required for the interior fit out still to be sourced.

While a proposal for a new museum for the Taranaki region had been in the pipeline for over 30 years, the development of Puke Ariki was not without its early detractors. The lack of full funding prior to the commencement of construction created debate amongst councillors and Taranaki residents. Many expressed concern that the project risked running out of steam (Brown 2001); that the project had been started before it had full funding in place (Gault 2000); that it was too ambitious for a population the size of New Plymouth (Wischnowsky 2001); and that there had been a distinct lack of community consultation over decisions made around investment in the new building.

One community member stated:

This project ought to be of huge concern to the ratepayers of New Plymouth. I, personally, have never been comfortable with the Council allocating (what was then) 12 million for a new museum when there were empty buildings available in the area that could have been used for a fraction for that cost (Wischnowsky 2001, 8).

Much of the concern around the development of Puke Ariki was due to the ever-increasing project costs. The Puke Ariki Sub-committee had to continually evaluate anticipated building and operational expenditure, much of which was earmarked to come from the city's ratepayers. Eventually an additional 11 million dollars was subsequently secured in addition to the original 12.3 million provided by Council. Much of this was generated through fundraising efforts and through partnerships forged with corporate sponsors.

Controversy also ensued over the decision to move the New Plymouth i-Site (information centre) into the new development; support for the move divided Councillors. The re-location, they said, could hinder visitation and make the centre hard to find (The Daily News 2001). Proffered as a move by Council to increase foot traffic into the new institution to justify investment, the same article implied that the move to include the

information centre on the ground floor of the new building, did not show faith that museum programming would have enough pulling power to lure visitors of their own volition.

While Puke Ariki had its early detractors, it also had its supporters. Many saw the development of Puke Ariki as an opportunity to revitalise the city centre and to strengthen the cultural heart of the community (Macnaught, 2005). For every critical voice in the public media, there were equally as many cheerleaders touting the benefits to tourism, local economy and service delivery.<sup>12</sup> The total budget to build the institution ended up being in the region of \$13 million dollars and on June 15<sup>th</sup> 2003, Puke Ariki finally opened its doors to the public.

Puke Ariki's configuration is comprised of two unique and distinct buildings. The South Wing is the renovated 1960's War Memorial building which houses the co-located library, archives and museum collections. Undertaken as part of the new Puke Ariki development, the retrofit of this building provided library, archives and administrative space for the new integrated institution. The South Wing of Puke Ariki now houses the Taranaki Research Centre, the Archives (formed by the amalgamated Taranaki Museum and Public Library Archives), library collection storage and central administrative library services. A café and a children's floor also occupy the War Memorial Building which includes the purpose built youth targeted experience space—Discover It!

The new building development—the North Wing, (generally referred to simply as the Museum by the local community and staff) contains three main exhibition galleries; *Taranaki Naturally*, *Taranaki Life* and the Maori Gallery (*Te Takapou Whariki o Taranaki*). The North Wing is also home to a theatre space (The Taranaki theatrical experience), designated educational

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<sup>12</sup> For instance, see Maetzig 2000 and Warrander 2001.

areas, temporary exhibition space, the New Plymouth region's visitor information centre (i-Site), a restaurant/café and a souvenir shop.

Turvey and Doyle from 3D creative, formerly exhibition designers at Te Papa, undertook the interior fit out of Puke Ariki and there are many visual similarities in the internal design, these are addressed in the discussion of institutional space. While Puke Ariki is just over a third the size of Te Papa in terms of physical footprint, "the scale and budget of the exhibition work undertaken at Puke Ariki is over half that of the original exhibit fit out of Te Papa" (Devitt 2003, 13). Therefore, while smaller in size, Puke Ariki definitely punches above its weight in terms of comparative investment in exhibition experience.

Governance and funding for Puke Ariki is undertaken through the New Plymouth District Council. Puke Ariki also maintains funding partnerships with a number of corporate sponsors. In order for the Council to continue to support and fund the majority of the institutional operations, Puke Ariki must secure at least 10% of its own operational funding each year. This is achieved through corporate partnerships and internal revenue generation. The on-going support for Puke Ariki through corporate partnerships forms an important foundation for the resourcing of the institution. Puke Ariki has also established a development Trust that functions as an additional channel for contributions. The Managing Director of Puke Ariki saw the establishment of this Trust this as a way for people to contribute financially, without feeling "like they were giving money to the Council" (2005). This was something, he added, "which people don't like to do" (pers. comm).

Puke Ariki's governance rests within the customer services organisational reporting line of the New Plymouth District Council. The institution's functions aim directly to support the Council's strategic vision, in particular the *Skilled, Sustainable, Together* and *Vibrant Community* outcomes that form the foundation of the vision. This relationship between local District

Council strategy and Puke Ariki is expressed through both the library and museum operations and services. The New Plymouth District Libraries contribute to the vibrant and skilled community outcomes by building a love of reading and contributes to the connectivity outcomes through the provision of internet access in all community libraries. The Museum contributes to similar outcomes through permanent and temporary exhibitions and through educational programming (NPDC 2009).

Those involved in the governance of Puke Ariki believe that the integration of the New Plymouth museum, library and information centre has had many benefits. These benefits extend beyond those of resource rationalisation and economies of scale, to engagement and service with the city's cultural heritage. Many believe that the integrated facility enables a customer centric approach, by providing a one stop shop for Taranaki Heritage.

Measuring the value of the integrated institution to the local community has not been without its trials. While in New Zealand the Local Government Act 2002 legislates to provide for the cultural well-being of the community, Macnaught acknowledged that there has always been a challenge to demonstrate the value of culture and the nature of public forums to engage with cultural memory. This is particularly true in terms of Council and community investment in funding and resource allocation (2005).<sup>13</sup>

Puke Ariki's recent programming has centred on the interpretation of a pivotal event in New Zealand's history, the 150 year celebration of the Taranaki Wars. Geographically sited at the centre of this historic event, Puke Ariki as a cultural institution has charged itself with the task of building bridges and airing what is sometimes an uncomfortable history for

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<sup>13</sup> See section 3 of The New Zealand Local Government Act. Department of Internal Affairs (2002) <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2002/0084/latest/DLM170873.html>

the Taranaki community (General Manager pers. comm). *Remembering Together* is the conceptual cornerstone of a series of strategic exhibitions and resource developments cohesively designed to engage the community to promote a greater understanding of the New Zealand's bicultural paradigm.

### **6.3 Elements of Intersection and Integration in Puke Ariki**

This section documents the identified areas of intersection and integration that have emerged from the case data. These areas are discussed (as with the other two cases), under the headings: *collection integration, organisational infrastructure, institutional space and institutional identity*. As noted in the methodology, data collection in the Puke Ariki case drew heavily on observation and interviews to illuminate these areas. These research methods, along with analysis of both primary and documentary sources, build a picture of intersection and integration in and around the organisational setting. The discussion of elements which cross GLAM entity boundaries are contextualised within the frameworks in which they emerged (time and space); they may, or may not still be apparent in today's current institutional operating environment.

#### **6.3.1 Collection Integration**

In a discussion of collection integration, this research is concerned with the intersection and convergence of institutional objects, as well as the resulting experiences and services developed in and around those objects. In Puke Ariki, the examination of collection integration is concerned with the extent to which the converged institution represents integration through its collections, access services and programming. By extension, this thesis questions the extent to which that representation of collection integration affects the unique formats within the individual GLAM entities.



Puke Ariki provided a number of tangible facets of collection integration. One of the often-cited expressions of Puke Ariki's integrated ethos can be observed in the placement of museum objects in glass display cases between the library stacks in the South Wing of the institution.

The combination of books, displays and museums objects is the most effective expression of the overall intent of Puke Ariki as New Zealand's first integrated museum, library and information centre (The Daily News 2003, 6).

These display cases intersect the book shelving on the library floors in the retrofitted War Memorial Building. Temporary exhibition cases also feature in the South Wing of the institution. These temporary exhibition cases, driven by wider thematic institutional programming are managed by the exhibitions team.



**Fig. 12** Display cases in situ, between the book shelving on the Library floors in the War Memorial Building (Researcher's own image 2010).

There is an obvious stark contrast with the placement of these heritage collection objects in the library domain. Displayed in a museum paradigm, these objects (complete with requisite exhibition labelling) form an obvious foundation from which to begin a discussion of collection integration in Puke Ariki. Designed as permanent displays, the curatorial staff and the exhibitions team developed these glass display cases to represent Puke Ariki's conceptually integrated collection ethos. The content chosen for these cabinets are objects of social and historical interest, but are also objects able to handle the higher lux levels required for comfortable reading in a library environment.

As I walked around the Library, I observed an element of disconnect in the objects exhibited in these display cases, none more so in the fact that they failed to relate to the documentary material surrounding them. I looked for relative proximity and contextual markers for the choice of objects in relation to the Dewey (subject) sequencing, but there did not seem to be any pattern or association. This seemed at odds with an information organisation paradigm. In refreshing these displays, library staff indicated that they would like to consider relating the museum objects to the surrounding subject areas but that this was difficult to maintain given the more fluid nature of the library formats and moveable Dewey sequences. In this sense, the static permanency of the artifact in terms of use and physicality challenged the more active use of library collection material in space and time.

There is no doubt that these display cases are a symbolic manifestation of the integrative concept that Puke Ariki cultivates and that on a visual level, they add another dimension to the uniformity of the book stock. I understand however, through my interviews with both museum and library staff, that the objects in most display cases have not been refreshed since opening day. Unfortunately, the focus on Puke Ariki's recent schedule of temporary exhibition programming had diverted resources away from other

areas of operation. This has resulted in a rationalisation of permanent exhibition priorities (Manager Service Delivery; Library Manager pers. comm).

These display cases serve as visual reminder of Puke Ariki's unified purpose and to this end they support their function. Paradoxically, however, this tangible expression of integration only serves to heighten the delineation between library and museum paradigms through lack of entrenchment in a subject or contextual framework with the surrounding book stock. Along with the obvious glass cabinets which are situated between the library stacks, pull-out display drawers containing smaller items have also been engineered into the library shelving. It is easy to miss the placement of these if you are not looking for them, or know to open them. While the display cases are distinctive and eye catching, the same cannot be said for the pull-out drawers. I did not notice their placement amongst the stacks until a repeat visit to the institution; it also took a good few minutes to work out how to open them to view the contents.



**Fig. 13** Display cases in Puke Ariki's South Wing (Researcher's own image 2010).

One exception to the static displays in the South Wing of the institution is the *Object of the Month* and the *Community Language* display cases. The *Object of the Month* display case is located close to the issue desk of the South Wing building near the building entrance. Changed once a month by the Exhibitions Team, this display draws on an object or series of objects from the curated collections.

There are other tangible expressions of collection integration in the South Wing of the institution. The Puke Ariki exhibitions teams have installed thematic displays pertaining to current awareness subjects such as the *Community Language* exhibitions. These *Community Language* displays are conceptually library driven and staff work with the Exhibitions Team to realise the exhibition programming for the library spaces.



**Fig. 14** Object of the month display case located next to library front desk in Puke Ariki's South Wing (Researcher's own image 2010).

Advertising and promotional material for current exhibitions in the North Wing of the institution also features prominently on pillars and notice boards.

While heralded as a tangible representation of collection integration, in the opinion of the Manager of Heritage Collections, the glass display cases and drawers in the South Wing are not the foundation of collection integration in the institution.

For a number of staff the idea of integration and convergence is about filling the exhibition spaces with books and putting exhibitions in the library. It just doesn't work that way for me; it is a much more complex idea (Manager Heritage Collections, pers. comm.).

While there were elements of physical integration in the collections, there were also strong conceptual differences expressed between the nature and use of the different information systems that managed and provided access points to the library and museum collections. One curator articulated this as a different value proposition being placed on the catalogues. To the curatorial staff, the resourcing and information management framework provided by Vernon (the museum CMS) was an invaluable commodity for management and care of the curated collections “almost as valuable to the museum as the bible” (pers. comm). On the other hand, curatorial staff viewed the library catalogue as an access point or “a finding aid” to material for patrons. In this sense, each of the two systems managed not just distinct collection formats or provided different functions in different GLAM domains, but also existed in a conceptually distinctive cultural heritage space. One curator stated, “heaven forbid the Library messes with Vernon; it could create all sorts of issues” (Curator B pers. comm). Statements such as these are not borne of a desire to deride the differing entities, but emerge from unique viewpoints representative of the differing GLAM paradigms.

While the CMS managing the library and heritage collections are distinct (Horizon and Vernon respectively), one of the opportunities seen through

the development of an integrated model was to place a federated search interface over the two content management systems. Initial work in this area was undertaken, but resourcing and priorities shifted over time (Manager Heritage Collections pers. comm). The reality, according to library staff, was that such functionality, while highly desirable, had to take second place to worn furniture, such as the replacement of chairs in the Library (pers. comm). Curatorial staff also acknowledged the value in providing an interface that sat on top of the distinct systems but there was a definite awareness that the inherent differences, not just in the system design, but also their conceptual use, prevented any easy form of integration. Vernon provided a platform for artifactual recordkeeping and according to curatorial staff, the library catalogue provided a platform for bibliographic recordkeeping (Curator A pers. comm).

While a federated interface that sat on top of the library and museum systems was seen as desirable and to be a beneficial idea (especially for the user), curatorial staff interviewed for the case did not feel there was anything in the current market that was of a suitable scale and with adequate functionality to perform the task (pers. comm). Perhaps indicative of the communication channels in the institution, the Manager of Service Delivery reported that Puke Ariki was currently part of a consortia tendering for a new Library Management System (LMS). The current LMS in use by the New Plymouth Library had reached the end of its useful life. Part of this tendering process involved the separate identification and acquisition of a discovery/federated search layer (Manager Service Delivery pers. comm). The instigation of a discovery layer in Puke Ariki would provide the security of a distinct system and reflect the unique worldviews of the individual GLAM entities, yet provide tangible discovery benefits to the patrons and users of the integrated collections.

According to institutional staff interviewed for the case, the differing formats and the treatment of those formats were large drivers for the

bounded nature of the collections in Puke Ariki. Where there was a close physical association between the collections such as archives storage being located in the basement next to the children's library space *Discover It!*, differences in preservation management were acutely felt. For instance, the *Discover It!* library team were not allowed to have food in or around the basement area, which was also their working area (Manager Service Delivery, pers. comm). The constraints of differing operational requirements were also exemplified by additional preservation management considerations that needed to be taken into consideration when the Library held a traditional *German Christmas Fair* in 2009. Tied into the Community Languages Programming displays they had running in the Library, staff brought in a Douglas Fir Tree and provided patrons with traditionally German food etc. The close proximity of the tree and the food to the heritage items in the *Community Language* displays meant that "everything had to be fumigated and we had to be so careful cleaning up afterwards so that there wasn't even the vaguest possibility of some little beastie getting into basement" (Manager Service Delivery pers. comm).

Lighting was also an issue for heritage materials housed in the South Wing of the building. The recommended lighting levels suitable for reading are outside of the ideal levels recommended for the preservation management of most heritage artifacts. The objects featured in the display cases in the library stacks had been chosen for their inherent ability to withstand higher lux levels. In terms of preservation management for the differing collection formats, the intersection and integration of the physical collections created another layer of management and tension when present in liminal spaces. There was a need to be mindful, when different collection formats came together, of maintaining the integrity of those differing formats.

According to staff interviewed, one of the challenges in building collection convergence in an integrative operating environment for Puke Ariki coalesced as the differing "world views" between the Library and Museum.

This came through strongly in relation to back of house functions. The Manager of Service Delivery stated that library staff see a natural level of attrition in their collections that is deemed quite satisfactory and acceptable, which according to some of the museum staff in the institution find completely horrific and hard to get their head around (pers. comm). She also stated;

Libraries have this attitude of we have got it here so you can take it with you fly be free etc. whereas the curators and museum people are (of necessity), a keep it safe, keep it closed, keep it secure type mentality so there is potential there for those to rub up against each other and if you don't understand where each other is coming from then that can be quite frustrating (Manager Service Delivery, pers. comm).

The layering of information in the interpretative spaces was seen as another integrative facet of collection integration. The documentary material examined to provide case context for Puke Ariki noted the utilisation of *Info Pods* in the North Wing of the institution. These *Info pods*, designed to provide a dynamic interface with an aim to flesh out gallery stories, directed visitors to the location and availability of other types of material in the institution relating to subject matter in the galleries. Using resources drawn from the Library and Archives, these *Info pods* included a variety of information formats such as text and images (Wallbutton & Winder 2003). Staff in the Taranaki Research Centre (TRC) developed the information content. I could find no observational evidence of these *Info Pods* in my visits to Puke Ariki. I was informed during interviews that due to on-going resourcing costs and issues around infrastructure and maintenance, their use had been discontinued. The Manager Service Delivery stated that it was one of those cases, as is the nature with innovative technology, that they had the funding to install them and get them up and running, but the on-going costs and investment were too prohibitive (pers. comm). While the resourcing for the content provided through this interface was supposed to come out of



the TRC, time constraints and changes in prioritisation caused the concept to eventually fall by the way-side.

Points of intersection and integration can be seen not only in the collection objects but also in the services and programming around those objects. In the early days of operation, reportedly a greater level of cohesive planning around programming and exhibitions existed. The re-prioritising of frameworks, which allow input and representation from all of Puke Ariki's GLAM entities, is a developing priority for the institution (General Manager pers. comm). There has been a recent move by the institution to strengthen the cohesion of the events programming across the entities. There is now a relatively coordinated approach to exhibition planning in the institution. Puke Ariki runs an integrated exhibition programme and the exhibitions team draw supporting information and resources from across the various entities. The Library now generates book lists and is involved in on-going events and outreach for the life of the exhibition. The Library and TRC undertake on-going promotion of the exhibition and development of supporting information resources. The Library produces reading lists of material to support and provide another information layer to temporary exhibitions shown in the North Wing. The Library intended to be more "actively connected with the exhibition schedule over the next 12-18 months" (Manager Service Delivery, pers. comm).

Library staff interviewed acknowledged a feeling of disconnect between the branch libraries and the main Puke Ariki institution in New Plymouth. Recent strategies to address this divide included taking a theme-based approach to programming that spanned not only the library and museum entities in the central institution, but extended to encompass the branch libraries as well. This strategy also had tangible benefits for the development of synergies across the wider organisational structure. One of these strategies included programming initiatives such as the use of large flat-screens in branch libraries that displayed changing heritage photos from

the pictorial collections, in particular the Swainson Woods Collection.<sup>14</sup> Puke Ariki used this programming, not only to get the images out into the wider community, but also as a mechanism for crowd sourcing metadata to strengthen the provenance of the pictorial series. The branch libraries were, according to the Manager of Service Delivery, a perfect venue for linking the wider communities with their centrally managed cultural heritage.

Staff, in particular the Manager of Heritage Collections, spoke of an institutional culture that tended to privilege exhibitions planning; this, he felt, was particularly apparent in the case of the temporary exhibitions schedule they had just “emerged from” [*Common Ground*] (pers. comm.). In his opinion, investment into temporary exhibitions had historically directed curatorial energy away from collections-focused research. This, he stated, “had probably been a necessity in recent years but had impacted on the foundations of curatorial practice in the institution” (pers. comm). A number of staff interviewed for the case noted this push to maintain the tight temporary exhibitions programming and delivery timeframe. The Library too, in the direction and allocation of resources, had felt the effects of the exhibition imperative.

The tangible benefits in terms of collection integration were also felt by the Archives in Puke Ariki. The coming together of the Library and the Museum had allowed synergies to develop between the documentary heritage materials held by both entities. Historically, the Archives existed under the umbrella organisation of the Taranaki Museum and New

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<sup>14</sup>These initiatives are the starting point for a major project to digitise the entire Swainson/Woods Collection. The Swainson/Woods Collection, donated to Puke Ariki in 2005, is a nationally significant collection that traces both the lives of Taranaki people and the development of photography through time. The work of two studios, Swainson’s Studios and Bernard Woods Studios, the collection dates from 1923 to 1997. The Swainson/Woods Collection is comprised of approximately 115,000 negatives and includes glass negatives, sheet film of various sizes, 120 and 35 mm roll film formats, silver gelatin chloride printing-out paper proof prints, silver gelatin bromide developing-out paper proof prints and chromogenic dye proof prints.  
<http://www.pukeariki.com/Heritage/SwainsonWoodsProject.aspx>

Plymouth Public Library. The Library came to the institution with a rich collection of heritage materials, the Museum Archive arguably richer in depth and stronger in both size and content (Manager Heritage Collections pers. comm). The integration and elevation of the Archives from under the auspices of the Taranaki Museum had realised the potential of these materials, both in terms of access within a library paradigm, as well as collections care and exhibition, in a museological paradigm (Curator A pers. comm). The Library by nature, according to the curatorial staff who I interviewed, had an inherent audience, a reliable visitor base. The integrated model offered the opportunity for the Museum and Archives to leverage off the Library's foot traffic. The Museum had benefited from that foot traffic in that it presented the opportunity to expose library patrons to elements of the museum collections and exhibitions. The integrated model had the propensity to be visible and physically reach those who may not have frequented, or been exposed to that type of cultural heritage in the past. Curatorial staff felt that in this sense, the integrated model "afforded real opportunities for tapping into audience development" (Curator B pers. comm).

Also seen as a benefit of the integrated model, were the close proximity of the collections to each other. Curators said that often visitors would come to the institution with a particular resource in mind and then serendipitously develop interest in a collection object that may address the same information need. The ability for staff to provide access to both that collection object, as well as documentary material from the TRC or Library meant that the patrons did not have to move between institutions. Curatorial staff felt that the integrated model enhanced this idea of serendipitous discoverability and promoted multi-format use of the collections.

### **6.3.2 *The Taranaki Research Centre (TRC)***

The Taranaki Research Centre in Puke Ariki's South Wing provides an integrated front-end service point for research across all the institution's heritage collections, regardless of format. The TRC staff respond to public/staff information requests, mentor researchers and teach research skills to educational groups by drawing on records, museum objects and published information. The TRC also provide contract research services charged at a flat fee for each 15-minute block of staff time. Puke Ariki marketing material describes the TRC as "the shop front for our curated collections" and taking "pride of place" in the institution (Puke Ariki 2008; Puke Ariki 2008a). A small booklet published to celebrate five years of opening says of the TRC:

Any public library encourages access to literature and information, but we take this further, the Taranaki Research centre combines the resources, knowledge and skills of library, museum and archives professionals, it provides a unique service to anyone seeking information about the history of Taranaki. It also acts as a gateway to information about the rest of the world (Puke Ariki 2008)

The TRC perform an important role as the first line of information gathering for all the institutions heritage collections as well as staff and patrons. Curators also make use of the resources in the TRC to conduct research, both for exhibitions planning and for registration purposes into collection objects indexed in Vernon. Also directed to the TRC as a first point of contact, are patrons wishing to donate heritage material to the institution.

The TRC has been included under a separate subheading in this case because it spans both the collection integration and organisational infrastructure frameworks that emerged from the data. The TRC is important to our discussion of integration from both a collection and organisational framework because it is in a sense a physical (as opposed to virtual) federated re/search platform. The TRC represents a tangible discovery layer that aims to facilitate one point of seamless access across

the multiplicity of formats and GLAM entities that exist in the institution. The TRC exists as a cohesively symbolic visitor service, providing access to all curated collections held in Puke Ariki. Viewed as “the service point glue” in the institution’s development, the TRC would “bring the two collections together” (Manager Heritage Collections, pers. comm.). Curatorial staff interviewed for the case also acknowledged that the point of intersection in Puke Ariki, which seemed to best encapsulate the inherent benefits of the joined up model for the collections, was the TRC. This Centre had, they felt, enhanced research capability by unlocking access and increasing visibility of the institution’s collections to visitors and patrons. This view was clearly and simply stated by one Puke Ariki staff member as follows “for researchers, I think having access to the museum objects, books and archives all in one building is pretty awesome” (pers. comm).

Preservation management issues in terms of object handling had created challenges in educating front line TRC staff. Both professional and para-professional library staff from the TRC directly access library and archives material for patrons, but will liaise with curatorial staff for access to, and in answering research queries about taonga or pictorial collections. When I asked the curators about the disconnect between allowing TRC staff direct access to documentary material and having facilitated access for curated collections, one staff member stated “ well that’s a good point really, it’s one thing handling paper based material but another handling something like a glass plate negative” (Curator B pers. comm). To a certain extent, each new staff member on the TRC team needed to be “taken in hand by a curator and shown the fundamentals in object handling and care” (Curator B pers. comm). The delineation in collections access was driven in part by the preservation management requirements and skill set required for handling museum objects.

A series of seismic organisational shifts are reflected in the handling of the TRC under the Puke Ariki organisational infrastructure. The positioning of

the TRC in the South Wing of the building, above the open access library collections, means that the Centre exists very much within a library context. In the early operational days, the TRC sat uncomfortably under the exhibitions arm of the organisation. In subsequent years, the TRC has moved between Service Delivery, Collections and now operates as a business unit under Customer Services Delivery. The General Manager felt that the core function of the service was essentially access and enquiry, and as such, subsequently repositioned the service under the library arm.

In the early operational days of the TRC, a roster system managed the desk staffing. Curators also contributed to the roster. This, as one interviewee stated, “was an absolute disaster, the curators felt like they were being diverted from their own curatorial operations” (pers comm.) they felt, they were not in the business of access. Library personnel now provide front line access to the curatorial staff by appointment only. “In this sense the curatorial staff sit metaphorically (and literally) behind the wall of the TRC” (General Manager pers. comm). A researcher role is also included in the TRC team. This role aims to bridge the divide between institutional content and curatorial discovery.

The current positioning of the TRC desk and shelving layout is the result of a recent reconfiguration. Prior to the instigation of the doughnut shaped desk in the TRC, two separate desks operated. Difficulty maintaining visual sight lines to the secure reading area promoted the change. This enabled easier monitoring of users of collections material. The openness of the space occupied by the TRC has also caused a certain degree of tension for staff. Largely embedded in operational and collections security, this tension emerged in the use of the space by differing patron groups. The recent installation of public terminals to access a free internet service hosted by the Aotearoa Peoples Network Kaharoa (APNK) had changed the dynamics of the patrons’ use of both the service and space. Historically the clientele who were heavy users of the terminals, were not (generally) the same patrons

utilising the TRC to conduct research. TRC staff had recently dealt with instances of threatening and disruptive behaviour. The installation of the terminals highlighted disconnects between the culture in the TRC and the regular public library patrons. Managing these relationships caused a great deal of tension for TRC staff in the early days of the APNK service. Bringing APNK into the TRC had crystallised many of the issues regarding the role and core function of the service. The General Manager saw the installation of APNK as a democratising agent, a strategy to get a greater number of library users into the TRC, up to the third floor (pers. comm). The TRC had a select clientele and there was a general feeling in the rest of the institution that they occupied privileged space in the South Wing; it was also the only floor with direct access to the North Wing. The General Manager perceived the space occupied by the TRC as intimidating to patrons, because it sat, he said, literally and metaphorically behind an iron curtain. Also viewed as alienating was the name of the TRC. The ordinary citizen, he argued, did not see themselves as a “researcher” and so did not always feel comfortable occupying that space or using the service. The Manager of Service Delivery felt there to be a learned element of social/research literacy that needed further development in the demographic that made the most use of APNK in the TRC location.

Curatorial staff described the service offered by the TRC as fluid and emphasised the value of the integrated model to patrons. In this sense Puke Ariki, of all the cases studied, expressed the most visitor-focused awareness of the benefits of the integrated institution. The Manager of Service Delivery stated, “The TRC is the jewel in the crown, it has enormous potential” (pers comm.).

### ***6.3.3 Organizational Infrastructure***

Puke Ariki has been through three major incarnations of management structure since the institution’s opening in 2003. This section looks at the

impact of these different structures in light of cross-entity teams, changes in job titles, operational constraints and professional skill sets. Puke Ariki, as an institution, encompasses six different worldviews; that of curators, librarians, designers and teachers, as well as Maori and Pakeha/European (Cousens, 2010). Seen as fundamentally important to the success of the institution was the organisational infrastructure that supported the integrity of the GLAM entities and enriched these world views. In consideration of these differing world views the General Manager stated that while “a number of different professions exist within Puke Ariki, each one has to be excellent so that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. If the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts then why bother?” (pers. comm). Moreover, in Puke Ariki as an integrative environment, curators contribute to the knowledge economy and librarians contribute to the visitor experience (pers. comm). All staff interviewed for the case felt that tangible opportunities as well as challenges had been created through working in an integrative organisational infrastructure.

The initial (day one) operating infrastructure for Puke Ariki saw all collections-based responsibilities fall under one collections manager, exhibitions under another and the service components of the organisation grouped together under a third arm. All three teams listed above contained, or had stakeholder input, from the Library, Museum and Archives. Just as with Te Papa, this integrated structure underwent both subtle and seismic shifts over the institution’s lifespan. The Puke Ariki organisational structure (at the time of data collection) is comprised of four distinct organisational arms. These arms loosely represent heritage staff, library staff, exhibitions staff, marketing, and communication functions. The heritage arm included a team of four curators lead by a Manager of Heritage Collections. Curatorial responsibilities include Toanga Maori, Social History, Archives and Pictorial. An image technician also existed in this arm of the organisational structure. Technician responsibilities included working on special projects, cataloguing and research requests for images held by the institution. The



institution had also contracted a number of other temporary technicians to work on large externally funded projects such as the Swainson/Woods Photographic collection. A Manager of Service Delivery leads the library arm of the organisational structure. Responsible for a number of entities in the Puke Ariki organisation, these include the Library (in Puke Ariki) the five community libraries in the wider New Plymouth area, a mobile library service, Events Team and the Education Team.

The Exhibitions Team work with the heritage materials to “unlock” the stories and interpret the institution’s collections. An Events Co-ordinator (physically located with the Exhibitions Team) works largely on programming in and around the temporary exhibitions. The Events Co-ordinator is responsible for any event programming the institution, or if the Library requires programming for designated events. This role was an area felt to have a good amount of synergy between the museum and library entities in the institution.

Puke Ariki are also heavily involved in educational programmes targeted to all parts of the community. The Lifelong Learning Team develops curriculum-based learning activities for schools, as well as targeted education programs for an ever-changing demographic (Macnaught 2006). The Exhibition Team and Education Team draw on many of the resources across all entities within the institution.

One reported success in terms of organisational structure, according to the curators interviewed for this case, was the emergence of cross entity teams in Puke Ariki’s early days. In particular, a Collection Management Team and the ad hoc teams brought together for the purpose of exhibitions planning. The Collection Management Team, consisting of curators, collection managers, technical services staff or “anyone that dealt with any aspect of collections care” were, according the curators, an

Excellent example of knowing what everyone was doing helped communication and understanding between the museum and library business units. Having a larger almost disparate group of people under one manager worked, I think incredibly well (Curator A & B pers. comm).

This team was eventually dismantled and reconfigured; a move which, one curator stated, was saddening and in her words, “destroyed a lot of the optimism that was apparent in the institution’s early years and the opportunity for people to work together” (pers. comm). Now she felt, the institution operated increasingly as a group of disparate entities; they had lost much of the early cohesion.

The early organisational model for Puke Ariki had a Collections Manager, who was in charge of both the Heritage collections and the library lending functions in the institution. This position was re-evaluated and disestablished after two years of operation. In a reverse situation to the very early days of the library and museum services which saw museum governance fall under library administration, there was a perception amongst staff that a miss match existed between the knowledge paradigm subscribed to by the Collections Manager (which was museum based) and the Library’s core function. While collections form the foundation for public library function, generally service and engagement are privileged. As a result, collection-centred functions were privileged and thus received organisational investment over service-centred functions. This is an example of a museum paradigm applied to a library context. The salary disparities between curatorial staff and senior library members also fuelled discord in the organisation, eventually prompting a much wider institutional change management process (General Manager pers. comm.).

Level 2a houses the Technical Services Team in Puke Ariki and is not a publically accessible floor. Staff call it the “the Harry Potter Floor” referencing “platform 9 and three quarters” in the book series. In Puke Ariki’s early operation, professional investment and resourcing for the

Library (as already noted) arguably resided largely in technical services functions, such as acquisitions, processing, cataloguing etc. Front line library staff were seen as customer service staff. The remnants of this structure remain in the job title of the library manager— Customer Services Delivery Manager.

The development of Puke Ariki saw the original New Plymouth Library structure undergo a series of organisational shifts that was to have far-reaching implications. The push to lengthen opening hours to seven days a week in the new institution meant that many professional library staff retreated away from front line service and moved into back of house functions such as technical services (Team Leader Library Service, pers. comm). Other professional library staff working in the pre-Puke Ariki model decamped to the Taranaki Research Centre. This left a layer of the library organisational structure (the front line service), without adequate staffing. There was also reportedly a general exodus of professional staff from the library brought about in part by the first General Manager who was keen to revolutionise the library model and who had a strong focus on customer service (Manager Service Delivery pers. comm). In addition to this loss of professional staff, the initial restructure, as a result, saw a high degree of library staff (para-professional) turnover in the early days of operation. Many of these para-professional staff have gradually been replaced by qualified staff, or encouraged to gain library qualifications. In this sense, the professionalism of the library entity, particularly in the front line service area, has re-surfaced in juxtaposition to the conceptual ideology of the type of front line service model Puke Ariki initially strived to attain.

One element of library service not observable in the lower public library floors of the War Memorial Building is a reference desk. Reference services were solely contained through the provision of the TRC on the second floor of the South Wing. I asked library staff about this absence and all staff lamented the loss. Reference services, they stated, were supposed to be

handled in totality by the staff in the TRC. The reality, they felt, was that the institution's reference model lacked substance. Utilising time and resources to deal with simple reference queries such as readers' advisory services seemed both not a good investment in time for the TRC staff and extremely disconnected from the physical resources used to handle such queries. Moreover, TRC staff did not see their role as dealing with general reference enquiries; there was, as one staff member stated, "a feeling that the TRC had elevated their status beyond that of a public library reference desk (Anon, pers. comm.).

The General Manager felt that the restructuring, which took place in the early days of the institution, was an attempt to remove any possibility of professional silos forming; strategies such as the re-naming of roles underpinned this idea. While curators still existed, the word librarian had been deleted out of the organisational vocabulary (pers. comm). The General Manager stated that he had "inherited an organisational culture that prohibited the words library or museum" a culture which he felt was "perverse and Orwellian and contrary to the language used by Puke Ariki customers" (pers. comm). This re-naming exercise was considered by the General Manager as a rather "blunt" change management tool designed to exorcise old institutional roles and divisions—and was not, by all accounts, very successful.

The organisational restructuring and resultant re-branding of the library and museum entities in the early days of operation resulted in what was considered to be a total de-professionalization of the library staff. Public criticism in the media and depositions to the Mayor over the matter ensued. The General Manager felt that Puke Ariki has worked to address these issues, and while sub-cultures still existed, they had moved on from the shallow layer of integration that existed when he arrived. He did consider there to be an on-going cultural division between the Curatorial Team and the rest of the institution, and noted that while this was an individual

strength (a strong curatorial culture), it had posed problems in the development of an integrated model. The curatorial team are, he said, “fiercely protective of the way they work and manage collections” (pers. comm).

In the early days of Puke Ariki’s operation, the exhibition planning process brought together members from across the organisation. Puke Ariki would hold very large exhibition planning meetings that would bring together what felt like the entire institution, to discuss concepts and provide input into programming (Curator A pers. comm). However, the sheer size of the exhibition grouping and the inherent difficulties in design by committee hindered the dissemination of information. Eventually this type of planning process was replaced with a dedicated Exhibitions Team. Exhibitions planning is now undertaken by the Team and wider entity input is provided in the populating of exhibitions concepts (Curator A pers. comm). There was acknowledgement by the curatorial staff that while this had expedited exhibitions planning, there were opportunities lost in terms of not having a wider forum for input and ideas from other staff in the institution. At the time of data collection, there was discussion about the appointment of a dedicated Curator of Exhibitions, who would, as the curatorial staff stated, “act almost as a human version of the TRC” (pers. comm). It was envisaged that this role would develop an overarching understanding of the nature of the objects across the Library and Museum and facilitate communications and input between the Exhibitions Team and the Collections teams.

Another example of an organisational point of intersection in the current structure is the Events Team who came together for weekly meetings to discuss programming relating to marketing and promotion of the institution and wider public relations matters. This team included members from Marketing and Communications, the Library, a museum curator and management staff. The curator on this team stated, “the level of creativity and possibility that has emerged from working in this cross entity team is so

much more dramatic than what could be realised if we just work within our silos” (Curator B pers. comm). This Event Team also recently sent out an “open casting call” across the entire institution inviting people with ideas for exhibition events to come forward. There was an increasing awareness amongst the Events Team that expertise and talent was multi-faceted and represented in all facets of the organisation, not just the organisational grouping mandated to address a particular aspect of operation. Recognised as an inherent benefit in the integrated model was the ability to draw on wider pools of expertise and the opportunity to take an outsider’s perspective on traditional museum programming.

Library staff interviewed for this case study felt they had a good working relationship with the Exhibitions Team who managed many of the temporary community displays featured in the War Memorial Building. The relationship between the library and exhibitions team was considered by the library staff to be more tangible and “real” than other facets of collection integration between the entities, such as the display cases in the library stacks.

Paradoxically the curators, Manager of Heritage Collections and the General Manager viewed exhibitions and programme development as the area, which displayed the most evidence of increased silo-ing. According to staff this was largely the result of difficulties inherent in communication and information exchange across the entire organisational structure. In interviews, management noted that this is an area of concern for the organisation and strategies were in place to mitigate the challenges in communication and information sharing across the domain boundaries, in and around these teams.

The language used in relation to role description and titles in the institution, both for the museum and library staff, was seen as a barrier to integration. Curatorial staff qualified this by stating that some viewed having the word

‘curator’ in a job title as inherently elitist, not just to other staff in the institution, but also by its nature to the wider cultural heritage sector. This, they felt, had the propensity to generate a hierarchical division, as well as a domain division between the library and museum entities. Moreover, the exclusion of the words ‘library’ and ‘museum’ from role titles and the institutional identity in the early operational days of Puke Ariki had left both museum and library staff feeling “de-professionalized”. One curator stated, “It was like calling a plumber a sanitation officer, the public didn’t understand it and neither did we as staff members” (pers. comm). Reflected by editorial commentary in local media at the time of the institution’s development, this choice of language left Puke Ariki wide open to criticism. Media reported that professionalism was non-existent in the public service face of the institution. Front line library staff, they felt, had been relegated to the role of checkout chick.

There were other operational challenges in running Puke Ariki as an integrated institution. These centred not only on the provision of front line services but also public accessibility of the building spaces. The obligation for Puke Ariki to be open to the public “almost 24/7” placed incredible strain on operations and required a huge investment in human resources (Manager Service Delivery pers. comm). Also needed were layers of security not apparent or required in a delineated library and museum environment. Access from the Museum to the Library required the installation of security gates on the library side of the air bridge. The case section analysing *Institutional Space* (6.3.4) discusses this further.

There were also challenges in succession planning for staff in terms of museological training, not only in the institution itself but also in the wider Taranaki region. According to curators interviewed, the current operational structure on the museum side of the organisation did not allow entry-level curatorial assistants to come and get on the job training, or create much space for cross-entity skill acquisition. Curator A stated that this had

resulted in the Heritage Team working closely with Canadian institutions who, as part of their programming, allow Museum and Heritage Studies students to undertake internships with other institutions around the world. Puke Ariki had in the past hosted four students from Canada for periods of six months. Assigned project work to do in the institution, these students received on the job training. In contrast, library staff felt the Museum had comprehensive levels of human resourcing and “they did not seem to struggle as much for funding in related areas” (Manager Service Delivery, pers. comm).

Strategies undertaken by staff and management to build a convergent culture across the library and museum entities in Puke Ariki included the hosting of back of house tours. These tours, designed to create awareness and understanding of differing operational areas and tasks, provided insight for members of the organisation not normally exposed to museum/library operations. These tours were reportedly well received by those who came along, but one curator acknowledged that getting buy-in from the staff and finding time to attend or host these in the first place, had been difficult. While the ability to experience other areas of operation in Puke Ariki was viewed as important in facilitating understanding and building convergence across the entities, there was also awareness around the operational constraints and the reality of prioritising the day-to-day functions of their roles. Pragmatically speaking, all their time and energy went into being a curator/registrar/collection manager and they just did not have the headspace left to consider other facets of the organisation. Moreover, there was awareness amongst staff that cross fertilisation between teams in Puke Ariki needed support and underpinning through resourcing at a higher management level.

Puke Ariki attempted to break down silos not only through cross entity teams but also in areas to socialise. The original idea in terms of staff socialisation was that if you wanted to eat lunch, you all went to the



designated staff room. The reality was that staff tended to stay cloistered in their own areas and did not mix as much as was initially envisioned. The issue of food and work areas also highlighted differences in operational paradigms.

Librarians would have no problem about having food at their desk and leave stuff lying around but Museum staff are very aware that if you do that you're going to start attracting things that you don't want. There was a real difference in the way we intrinsically thought about things like that (Manager Heritage Collections pers. comm).

The General Manager felt that issues relating to professional reputation were also a cause of much reluctance to work outside and across traditional roles and functions. The development of the *Taranaki Wars* exhibition, which was part of the *Common Ground* programme, challenged the institutional silos that existed between, and within the GLAM entities. The entire organisational structure needed to work cohesively in order to realise the exhibition concept on time and on budget, and to represent the totality of the Puke Ariki collections in their best light. Paradoxically he said,

the resulting success of the *Taranaki Wars* exhibition programming *Common Ground* enhanced professional status. The tight timeframes and the importance of delivering on the programme forced the institutions to reach beyond individual mandates and to develop synergistic and cohesive ways of working (General Manager pers. comm).

*Common Ground* and related wider exhibition programming had intrinsic integrative agency that acted as a boundary object for the participating entities to engage with and negotiate knowledge across domain boundaries. According to the General Manager, the project would, "build on previous experience and the refinement of joint working practices" (pers. comm).

Differences in organisational culture in Puke Ariki seem embedded not so much in domain centricity but through differing personalities in the organisational structure. There were those who were willing to engage, and those who for their own reasons chose to remain in silos. There was

acknowledgement from the staff interviewed that while some silos existed in the institution, these silos were largely the result of personalities embedded in each entity and constraining operational differences. The differing professional domains created a framework for silos, but the personalities still held the agency to determine how much that difference manifested in the organisational culture. While distinctions between the GLAM entities remain in many facets of the organisational infrastructure, from a perspective of service provision, Puke Ariki has negated many of the silos through the offering of a cohesive information service to visitors.

#### **6.3.4 Institutional Space**

Data collection for this section of the case involved the observation of the spaces from the perspective of a visitor. In order to journal my observations with as minimal context as possible, I purposefully chose not to visit the institution prior to data collection. I have intersected these observations with data collected from staff interviews and documentary sources relating to the design and review of the institution's development. The following section documents how the architecture and design of the institutional spaces influences the negotiation of knowledge, across GLAM domain boundaries.

Puke Ariki's architectural footprint is comprised of a six level, 5500 square metre retrofit of the War Memorial building and a new 5000 square metre dedicated museum space. An "umbilical cord" air bridge traverses a street between the two buildings and links the institution together (Honey 2003, 4). The retrofitted War Memorial Building (the South Wing), houses the library collections, TRC, heritage collections storage, administration offices, curators offices and technical services staff. The North Wing of the institution (the new building) is largely given over to exhibition space for museum collections, administration for the exhibitions/educations team, the i-Site information centre, restaurant and education centre.

Honey, in an architectural review of the design of the new development, stated;

Puke Ariki is both a new building and a renovation of an existing building. In attempting to have a bob each way, the project develops an ambiguity that is not entirely resolved (Honey 2003, 4).

The institutional spaces that make up the distinct identities of the two buildings reflect this ambiguity. As noted in the section 6.2, the mana of the site played a major part in bounding the design of the architectural footprint.<sup>15</sup> Roading and existing structures of historical significance, such as Richmond Cottage, also metaphorically and physically slice through the heart of the development. Puke Ariki exists as two distinct North and South wings, respectively containing the Museum and Library. The early design process for Puke Ariki saw the engagement of two separate architectural firms to develop concept plans for the new museum and library spaces. The first architectural firm proposed the Library occupy the new space (the North Wing) and the Museum the retrofitted War Memorial Building. The second firm who tendered for the contract reversed the occupation in their proposal, resulting in the model that currently exists today.

As noted in the case context, the conceptual idea of a shared space for the Library and Museum was not always at the forefront of institutional planning. Lack of space for the exhibiting of museum collections in the War Memorial Building had created impetus for the identification of new possible development sites for the Taranaki Museum. A number of different options were considered, but due to funding and governance structures, these were never realised. First raised by the Puke Ariki sub-committee, the idea of co-locating the Museum and Library through the planning and utilisation of shared space could “enhance the synergies between the

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<sup>15</sup>Mana is a Maori concept and encompasses notions of power, authority, reputation and respect.

institutions and reduce the building footprint and resource allocation by 350 square metres” (1998, 23). Under the auspicious of resource rationalisation and enhanced visitor experience, the idea of co-locating the entities rose to the fore.

As with the other cases under study, the design and location of the new development was not without its challenges. The Lawrence Report (1998) was the result of a process instigated by the Puke Ariki sub-committee to address stakeholder concerns over the design of the new institution. To alleviate community fears and address issues around the perceived lack of stakeholder input into what was essentially a publically funded project; the community were invited to make submissions around the design process. The project development team commissioned Ian Lawrence, a Wellington Architect, to review submissions. The resulting report supported in principle the proposed design of a North and South wing, which spanned Ariki Street, but recommended the lowering of the North Wing in height by one floor and removal of one of the two proposed air-bridges. Originally, it had been planned that a second air bridge designed to link the level 3 administration area of the retro-fitted War Memorial building with the proposed level 3 galleries would exist.

Two major factors constrained the design of the new Puke Ariki institution; the historic Richmond Cottage and Ariki Street, which runs between the two building wings. Richmond Cottage is a relocated early settler home (moved to the site in the early 1960s) which housed some of New Plymouth’s earliest European settler families. The house, built of stone in 1853-54, has a long association with the district and now operates as a house museum under the auspices of Puke Ariki. The building of the new North Wing of the institution saw the closing of Richmond Cottage for over three years. The proximity of the institution to the historic home prompted Honey to aptly describe the resulting impression of the relationship between the two

buildings as “a bit like the house that refused to sell when the motorway came through” (2003, 5).



**Fig. 15**

**Richmond Cottage in situ nestled up against the Puke Ariki North Wing on the corner of Ariki and Brougham Streets. The air bridge over Ariki Street that links the two wings is seen in the left of the image. Image retrieved from <http://ketenewplymouth.peoplesnetworknz>**

Ariki Street was another constraining factor in the development of the institution. Ariki Street intersects the two wings of the institution and creates a physical divide between the new North Wing and the retrofitted South Wing. Early attempts in the institution’s development to close Ariki Street and build a conjoined extension of the War Memorial Building were not successful.

The Manager of Heritage Collections, in considering the design of Puke Ariki, stated that “this strip of road out here [Ariki Street] is a major issue for us [in terms of integration], if the buildings had been joined together, we might have had something quite different” (pers. comm). The resulting

separation, due to the road placement, had forced the building into two separate “wings” and resulted in a dichotomy of space that is clearly observable in the Library and Museum interiors, a dichotomy that is never completely resolved.

There are two main entrances to Puke Ariki. The first is through the War Memorial Building into the South Wing, and is clearly signposted as being the Library entrance. Many New Plymouth residents (and Puke Ariki patrons) refer only to the new North Wing as Puke Ariki. The War Memorial Building is still very much considered “just the Library”. The General Manager said this distinction comes through in a lot of the customer feedback they receive. Extended further in section 6.3.5 is a discussion of this duality.

The second entrance to the institution can be found in the North Wing. A large foyer space provides access to the galleries, i-Site information centre, multi-media theatre and restaurant. It is interesting to note the dominance of the i-Site in the foyer of the new building. I was unable to detect any signage in the foyer that indicated the function of the building beyond that of an information centre and restaurant. The only visual representations of GLAM occupation included a solitary display cabinet positioned uncomfortably in the foyer space and (if I looked up) a life sized model of a shark. The display case featured the High Grove Florilegium, along with an exploratory multi-media installation outlining the origin of the work.<sup>16</sup> As noted, these tangible manifestations of the function of the institution and the collections housed within the building, seemed disproportionate to the size of the foyer space. Minimal visual representation of the Puke Ariki brand also existed. The liminality of the foyer felt symbolically like a GLAM no-

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<sup>16</sup>The Highgrove Florilegium is a two-volume work published in 2008/9 containing botanical representations of the plants in the garden of Charles, Prince of Wales at Highgrove House in Gloucestershire and was a recent notable acquisition for the Puke Ariki library collections.

man's-land. Directional signage was also notably absent, there was little indication of how to access the various galleries in the building, or more notably the link through to access the South Wing of the institution.



**Fig. 16** Puke Ariki Foyer entrance in the North Wing. To the left of the image is the i-Site Information Centre. To the centre-right of the image, the display case housing the Highgrove Florilegium can be seen (Researcher's own image 2010).

I raised this in an interview with the General Manager who acknowledged the challenges they had experienced with the foyer space, this he said was an issue on the table that they knew they needed to address (pers. comm.).

The foyer space in the Puke Ariki North Wing, while visually representative of a GLAM no-man's land, is however utilised by the Puke Ariki Education Team and as an events space for both institutional and public gatherings. Therefore, while GLAM representation is minimal, the foyer as such is not a static space; it is active and energised by the visitor information centre and restaurant.

Better signage and GLAM representation exist in the entrance to the South Wing. This entrance is directly off Brougham Street and clearly represents both the Library housed within as well as the wider Puke Ariki Brand. To the left of the South Wing entrance lays the Issues/Enquiries Desk and to the right are stairs leading up to Level 1 and 2 of the building. Also to the right are stairs leading down to the children's space. The Exhibitions Team had invested some time re-furbishing and re-modelling this space and apart from the lack of natural light afforded by the basement placement, library staff felt the space worked well. The South Wing entrance is lively and contains strong visual representation of both the museum and library domains. Glass display cabinets featuring objects from the heritage collections (already discussed under *Collection Integration*) as well as the Community Language displays are clearly visible, along with a multitude of standard library information formats such as books, serials, computers, newspapers etc.

Puke Ariki has eight gallery spaces for both permanent and temporary exhibitions, the largest being approximately 400 square metres in size. The current temporary exhibitions occupying these spaces are traditional in both gallery aesthetic and hang. The temporary exhibition gallery to the left and down the stairs from the main foyer is a large open space with a Puke Ariki staff member and information desk placed to one side. Up the stairs off to the right is another exhibition space. This permanent exhibition space, which makes up the Taranaki Gallery, is very much reminiscent of the interior fit out of Te Papa (this is not surprising given that the same company - 3D Creative, designed them). The Taonga Maori Gallery on Level 2 is placed in the North Wing of the building to represent the height of the original pa site that had been flattened by early European settlers.

The dichotomy between the two wings is also noticeable in the interior fit out of the buildings. The base colour and concept for the South Wing is white and bright, while the museum spaces are dark and grey. Library collections typically need bright airy spaces to support the functions of



reading and study. The gallery spaces maintain dim lighting for the preservation of artifact. These differences in colour and concept, while no doubt embedded in preservation management standards for cultural heritage spaces, strongly reinforced the differing library/museum paradigms in Puke Ariki.

The Manager of Service Delivery described the distinction between the North and South wings in the Puke Ariki institution as a difference in the “livening of the spaces”. The Library, she stated, is a naturally alive space; there is energy, action and people. The Museum space fosters more of a contemplative slower consideration and operates with a different kind of energy (pers. comm). One of the reportedly more radical suggestions put forward to management recently to address this perceived imbalance in the “liveliness of the spaces” was to move the children’s library (Discover it!) into one of the Museum gallery spaces, and bring one of the gallery spaces into the basement of the Library. The Manager of Service Delivery saw this, as although facing a number of challenges, to be a doable proposition that would provide advantages beyond the nature and use of the spaces enhancing the overall integrated ethos of the institution (pers. comm).

The design and allocation of space in Puke Ariki created both challenges and opportunities for the library and museum entities. While the Museum staff did not perceive any disputes over space allocation in terms of architectural design, they did express disappointment with some facets of the internal layout; in particular the Lane Wall Gallery. This gallery exists outside the lift on Level 2 of the South Wing and is directly adjacent to the air bridge entrance and TRC. The Manager of Heritage Collections felt this to be a difficult space to deal with, largely due to the transient nature of the structures (the lifts and airbridge) which surround it. Unfortunately, he said it had become “just a thoroughfare and a dead end space” (pers. comm.). While the amount of exhibition space was not an issue for the Museum entity, room for staff and back of house museum functions did

present problems. Staff expressed this simply as a matter of not enough room to house everyone comfortably.

Issues for library staff also existed in the retro fit of the South Wing. These issues included the lowering of the ceiling, which they stated had negated any feeling of spaciousness the Library had prior to integration. The Team Leader for Library Services also felt that in the early days of development, there was a general perception amongst library staff that everything shiny and new had been awarded to the North Wing (pers. comm). While a few unresolved issues existed, staff interviewed for the case generally felt the allocation of space in the design had been well considered. An architectural review of the institution felt that that the sense of scale in the interior spaces was appropriate for Puke Ariki's functions (Honey 2003). Honey also states that this sense of scale was something he felt to be completely abandoned in the design of the Te Papa spaces.

The link to the air bridge, which connects the two wings of the institution, is found on the second floor of both buildings. There is minimal indication in signage of the location of the connecting bridge from either institutional entrance. From the South Wing, the Airbridge can be directly accessed from second floor gallery space by an escalator. Only a small directional floor plan on the wall on the North Wing side indicates the air bridge location and access through to the library collections. The differing colour and conceptual interiors of the two wings mean that looking down the air bridge from the museum side feels metaphorically like walking from the dark into the light. The juxtaposing fit-out of the South Wing and North Wing interiors are evident when standing on the air bridge between the two spaces.

Immediately after crossing the air bridge and moving through the security gates to the South Wing of the building, there is the small temporary gallery space to the right (the Lane Gallery). The Lane Gallery exists symbolically

sandwiched between interior elements designed to control access and way finding related to the management of the documentary heritage materials of the institution. This gallery is unique in that it occupies a considerable amount of floor space in what is essentially understood by patrons, to be “the library building”.

The glass air bridge, which is 3 metres wide and 3 metres high, forms a symbolically tenuous link between the two buildings. The glass material used in the construction of the bridge creates an architectural artifice that illuminates the fragility of the connection between the two buildings and through extension - the fragility of the integration between the individual GLAM entities. The glass air bridge as a liminal space stands empty like an opportunity lost. I felt that this space (and the foyer space) provided a perfect vehicle to integrate facets of the Puke Ariki entities.



**Fig. 17** Image taken standing on the glass air bridge between the North and South Wings looking towards the Lane Gallery in the South Wing (Researcher’s own image 2010).

Given that the architecture in this institution created a strong element of delineation between the entities, this link (although currently constrained by its glass construction) would have provided an opportunity during the design phase to create a point of intersection and/or integration between the entities both in collection and in identity. The air bridge represented a tenuous link both symbolically and physically for the library and museum. It is hard to say whether the choice of architectural materials for the construction of the air bridge reinforced or reflected the conceptual ideology of integration in Puke Ariki.



**Fig. 18** The air bridge entrance from the North Wing of the institution looking south, moving from dark to light (Researcher's own image 2010).

Architecturally, the design of the air bridge could have provided a liminal, transitional space for collection representation, but now like the road it transgresses, it has become merely a walkway, a passage from which to pass from one GLAM domain into another.

Data collected shows how the container that is Puke Ariki has had a tangible impact on the contents, the entities contained within. The Manager of Heritage Collections felt that as an institution, Puke Ariki was “still pretty much a library and a museum and a lot of that has to do with the architecture of the building” (pers. comm.). This constraining of integration by the physical space was, according to Puke Ariki’s General Manager, not only influenced by the architecture, but also the result of conceptual integration between the entities being brought to the table late in the development of the institution. The original collocated concept saw the retrofit of the War Memorial building as the library space and the architecturally designed new building as the museum space.

The physicality of the institution had been granted and attributed a high level of agency in both the formation and reflection of the institution’s integrated identity. Integration as a philosophical framework was a post-architectural decision and in this sense did not facilitate much boundary crossing between the entities in the built environment. This delineation of institutional space between the library and museum entities, has however, largely circumvented disagreements over the appropriation of space.

Paradoxically a number of staff interviewed for the case study felt that felt that the physical size of the buildings to some extent supported the integrated concept that is Puke Ariki. The ability to move around the institution relatively quickly to retrieve resources, both on the open shelves and in storage, was seen as an important success factor, both in the architecture, but also in facilitating collection integration and visitor access (Curators A, B, C pers. comm).

The building's design and placement has very much been dictated by circumstances and constrained the development of integration in Puke Ariki. However, unlike Te Papa, the architectural spaces made a strong visual connection with the sea. There is a real sense of the institution as embedded in the defining and distinctive landscape that surrounds it. Puke Ariki as a physical space emerges from the ground and sits above the city in a gesture symbolic to the original pa site that it occupies (Honey 2003).

### **6.3.5 Institutional Identity**

Interviews with staff, observation and documentary sources were used to gather data relating to how Puke Ariki, as a self-defined integrated institution, builds and maintains a converged institutional identity. Locals colloquially refer to Puke Ariki as “the son of Te Papa” and there are similarities, which can be drawn, through the interior spaces and in the conceptually integrated institutional model. However, unlike Te Papa, whose brand has remained static and solid since its inception, data shows that the development of an institutional identity for Puke Ariki has undergone a series of changes over the course of its life span. These changes represent a democratic acknowledgement of both entity integrity, as well as a developing awareness of the perception of the institution through the eyes of their visitors, patrons, stakeholders and the wider cultural heritage sector. The early development for Puke Ariki's institutional identity, much like Te Papa, centred on the use of generic, cohesive, homogenous language to describe the services and entities contained within. An attempt to maintain and communicate this cohesion throughout the wider organisational structure has met with varying levels of acceptance and success. Regardless of the level of institutional identity permeating the organisation, the geography and built environment have had a marked impact, both symbolically and conceptually on the institution's attempt to represent and articulate sameness.

An awareness of the “newness” of the integrated model and the advantage this afforded as a marketing tool to attract funding existed in the early days of the institution’s development. The General Manager acknowledged that for these reasons, and no doubt many others, it was strategically important to try and establish the Puke Ariki brand and communicate this brand to stakeholders. The General Manager also saw the opportunities to leverage off the newness of the model. Supported by re-branding, the institution had the potential to attract advocacy and funding, there was a greater appeal in supporting what was new, rather than just a library and museum housed in a building next to each other (pers. comm).

The conceptualisation of the Puke Ariki logo was based on a 1843 cartographic map developed by FA Carrington of the Pa and Huatoki estuary that existed on the site currently occupied by the central Puke Ariki institution (Puke Ariki Project Sub-committee, 1998, 18). DNA Design developed the original branding strategy. Puke Ariki attempted to create and represent the coming together of multiple elements into a cohesive model through the imagery in its branding. DNA Design adopted a horizon line to represent a place where “past, present and future merge” (2003). Strongly dominated by the sea, the use of the horizon line also symbolised the geographical surroundings of the building and coastline. There are also strong environmental and human elements in the imagery used in the branding. According to Devitt, the brand is “empowering and inclusive – barefoot wisdom”. Its positioning aimed to recognise Puke Ariki as “a world class facility, which functioned on multiple levels, for everyone in Taranaki and beyond” (Devitt 2003).

In terms of identity, Puke Ariki communicates its *raison d’être* in a number of differing levels through its external communication channels. The Puke Ariki website refers to the two buildings that comprise Puke Ariki as the Library and Museum and labels itself as “an innovative Museum, Library and Information Centre”. The Friends of Puke Ariki website sub-page refers

to the institution as “the library, museum and learning centre complex” and as an award winning “world class knowledge centre where library, museum and visitor information are combined to tell the stories of Taranaki – past present, future” (Puke Ariki, 2008).

The complexity in describing and defining the Puke Ariki brand is also reflected in the history of the institution, a point that emerged clearly in interviews with staff. Despite early attempts to brand the institution as a cohesive entity, media headlines still utilised domain specific library and museum language to report on the progress. The initial intention in the development phase of Puke Ariki was to create a fully integrated library museum experience and to call it Puke Ariki. Not mandated for use to describe the institution, the words library and museum were discouraged in the institution’s branding (McKerrow 2001).

Recent discussions in connection to the ten-year strategic planning process for Puke Ariki have circled around the brand and mission statements. There has been talk about how to encapsulate the essence of what Puke Ariki is and what it does as an integrated institution. Another viewpoint raised through this process wonders if “we should just accept that we are different and not try to reduce ourselves to one facet because we all do equally different things but they are all very valuable” (Curator B). Whether or not Puke Ariki chooses to engage with their dichotomy or come up with some sort of cohesive approach remains to be seen.

It is interesting to see how long it is taking in terms of people struggling to articulate what it is we do and what we stand for, this is probably a reflection on the difficulties and complexities we have in working with a convergence model. It is essentially three distinct businesses in one and to not acknowledge that I think is problematic (Curator B pers. comm).

I wonder how beneficial it all is to the user in the end really, when I introduce myself and people say where do you work I say Puke Ariki and they say, oh the Library or the Museum? They aren’t



really concerned with the whole theoretical concept of convergence or describe it as the knowledge centre (Curator C, pers. comm).

Curatorial staff in particular felt the need for more visitor research to find out how the public actually perceive and make use of their institution.

The issue of institutional identity beyond the micro organisational environment creates challenges for Puke Ariki. Both in the sense of describing the institution to others and in the association of community libraries with the Puke Ariki brand. Curatorial staff commented on the need to describe the institution using the words library and museum with one curator stating, “Well certainly you have to explain it because the word Puke Ariki means almost nothing to anyone...well outside the institution almost but certainly outside of Taranaki” (Curator A, pers. comm). Language such as “combined library and museum” was also used, the information centre or i-Site was often, as the curatorial staff admitted, “Left off or forgotten”. According to staff interviewed for the case, much of the language and description used to refer to Puke Ariki as an institution depended on the audience they were addressing. One curator noted that when dealing with the wider international museum sector to save on long-winded explanations related to integrated operation, she would just refer to Puke Ariki as the “Puke Ariki Museum”. There was an intimation anyway, she stated that the Library was not always relevant to the discussion or context, it was very much dependant on just that - “the audience and the context” (Curator B, pers. comm).

As far as they [those we were addressing] were concerned, they were dealing with someone who worked in that kind of cultural heritage institution [a museum], throwing in the word library was just going to confuse things; it really does take some space to say well this is our very complex organisation and this is why it is how it is (Curator B pers. comm).

That being said, there was also an acknowledgement from all curatorial staff who were interviewed that there existed a convergence curiosity from the

wider cultural heritage sector, when the subject of Puke Ariki came up, there was they said, always a great deal of interest in wanting to know how it worked and what it actually was.

The Team Leader for Library Services felt the “ripples of change” in the development of the integrated identity that was to become Puke Ariki. There was a strong feeling of disassociation between the community libraries and the central development. The permeation of the Puke Ariki brand had extended right through the organisational structure to include the community libraries operating under the wider New Plymouth Library system. Community library staff saw Puke Ariki as “the new institution being developed in the central city” (Library Manager pers. comm). The loss of a sense-of-self for the community libraries became clear not only through the rebranding, but also in the requirement to wear the new Puke Ariki uniforms and pragmatically in the stamping of books. “Suddenly instead of stamping Waitara Library, we were stamping New Plymouth Library and you know, it really impacted on our identity” (Team Leader Library Services pers. comm).

She went on to state that the rebranding “had a huge impact on library staff”. They found themselves wearing the Puke Ariki uniform. “I think that is what stunned me the most [the community] libraries were so [geographically] isolated from Puke Ariki, yet here we were, wearing the Puke Ariki brand” (Team Leader Library Services pers. comm). The problem with the dissemination of the institutional identity in the organisational structure was, according to the Manager of Service Delivery, embedded in the fact that Puke Ariki was not just a brand, it was a geography (pers. comm).

It is as much about the mana of the place and the historical references as to why we are called Puke Ariki. Trying to translate that to somewhere else is culturally a little awkward. It’s not a brand like Te Papa. In a sense it is, but it is also very closely tied to the

geography and mana whenua. We have to be mindful of where that comes from (Manager Service Delivery pers. comm).

The General Manager felt that having a single purpose reflected in your vision statement was an important strategy for organisational identity. Staff also needed clearly defined roles. The roles, he stated, needed to be communicated to staff to maintain understanding of how they fitted into the wider organisational picture, and institutional vision as well as their own professional domains. The restructure, as noted in section 6.3.3, saw a mass exodus of qualified staff from front line positions. Issues with staff retention were addressed by the current General Manager through the de-converging role identity in the organisational structure. In the institutional development, all role descriptions with the word library and museum had been removed to promote a cohesive concept. A strategic decision was made to reinstate the language; customers still referred to “Library and Museum”. The General Manager said it felt slightly “perverse not using the language that seemed important to our customers” (pers. comm). In doing so Puke Ariki feels they have transcended the idea of trying to instil an integrated, non-delineated understanding into patrons and instead aims to acknowledge the importance and use of those labels by patrons. “Our library still looks like a library space and we do library things and our museum looks like a museum space with museum things” (Macnaught 2008).

Staff uniforms also perpetuate the organisational identity to differing levels throughout the organisation. I observed staff in the museum side of the building wearing black t-shirts with the embroidered Puke Ariki brand; staff in all areas of the organisation also wear identity tags. In the South Wing, some staff working with the library services and collections wore the Puke Ariki uniform, but many only wore identity tags. When I enquired about the inconsistency of dress, I was told that in the early days of opening, all staff were provided with and required to wear a uniform. As was the case in Te Papa, this was eventually relaxed to only staff in the public service areas. As noted, the early approach through uniform to transcend the delineation of

the GLAM entities within the organisation also met with resistance beyond the boundaries of the central institution. The community libraries just did not feel associated with the Puke Ariki brand (Library Manager pers. comm).

There is a variety of cohesive language used in the marketing material to describe Puke Ariki and the institution itself stills struggles to self-define. This self-definition is being addressed through a strategic planning process undertaken as part of the wider Council long-term planning. As part of this process, Puke Ariki will decide on the terminology they will use to define themselves. Suggestions from staff have included “Knowledge centre” and Knowledge and cultural centre”. The General Manager feels that defining Puke Ariki will never be a simple task and that Puke Ariki “will always have a double helix of knowledge and culture” (pers. comm). Moreover, there was a feeling that as soon as you try to describe it as a single facet you impoverish the concept of Puke Ariki (General Manager pers. comm).

Puke Ariki embraces the concepts of community memory and identity when qualifying its role and purpose within the wider government/political sphere. It was important for the institution to self-define in a way that communicated purpose across varying groups of stakeholders; the challenge always lay in the variety of stakeholders engaging with the Puke Ariki model. There was no escaping the complexity of developing an identity in the wider cultural heritage environment. As the General Manager put it, “we are not looking for a duality in our role, it just is” (pers comm.). This duality is, according to the General Manager, a useful construct in identity development, particularly when considering not only the library/ museum domains, but also the Pakeha/Maori worldviews.

Self-consciousness emerged through interviews with staff over their choice of language they used to describe the institution. There was awareness that the language they used to talk about themselves was not embedded in a

converged or integrated milieu. All staff I talked to referred to Puke Ariki as either the Library and/or the Museum. One staff member thought it was ironic that people referred to the South Wing as just the Library and the North Wing as the exhibition space when the South Wing was so much more than just the Library. While the Library dominated the space, the building really was more than that, in that each floor was representative of a number of different facets of the institution, such as exhibition, storage, administration, and gallery space and customer service (Curator A pers. comm).

One entity that remains metaphorically and observationally invisible in the institution's integrated identity is the i-Site visitor centre. The Council views Puke Ariki as an amalgamation of three entities; museum, library and visitor centre however the architectural and conceptual development of the building was originally designed to house only the Library and Museum. The visitor centre was a late addition to operations and retrospectively positioned in the foyer of the new building on the seaward side of the road. Conceptually the General Manager had no issues with the idea of the i-Site being part of Puke Ariki, but acknowledged that in the building of convergence between the cultural heritage entities it is "the bit that sticks out like a sore thumb". Many of the ideological issues with integration in the institution, he felt, related to the strength of the brand identity. Unfortunately, there is a feeling amongst the i-Site team that their brand is being "submerged by the Puke Ariki brand" (General Manager pers. comm).

The ideology of separate GLAM entities permeates the external marketing and communication of the institution. Puke Ariki however, through its self-definition, still firmly considers itself a model of integration. Puke Ariki may, in a sense, have a greater level of internal organisational integration than external integrated presence for the wider community. This user-staff decoupling, is a result of calculated responsiveness to the community's public perception of the cultural heritage service. Rather than imposing an

identity on its customer base, Puke Ariki has chosen to democratise and acknowledge the symbolism attributed to the individual GLAM entities, by adopting the language used by the community. While Te Papa sought to break down its silos through identity, Puke Ariki has chosen to embrace the delineations through its marketing and communications strategy.

To a certain extent, the identity of Puke Ariki as an integrated institution became detached from operating reality and public perception, as the ethos of the institution disengaged from the way visitors and patrons viewed the model. “If you look at it on paper it does look quite integrated,” one staff member commented, “on the floor it is a little bit different” (Service Delivery Manager, pers. comm). As far as the Manager of Heritage Collections was concerned,

as long as the public could come in and borrow their books, look at the exhibits and conduct research in the TRC then there was a feeling that they were unconcerned about whether or not they were gracing the doorstep of an integrated institution and all that implied or two separate cultural heritage services (per. comm).

All interviewees regardless of the level of cohesive language used to describe the amount of integration between the entities contained within referred to the Library and Museum as existing in one space or a unified space, or in the same location. The physicality of the model was given a great deal of agency in the identity formation of the institution. In its branding Puke Ariki refers to itself as “the living room of the city” and this is representative of Oldenburg’s notion of third space, one which encapsulates the home away from home environment, a space for the community to play and engage. Puke Ariki’s built environment, both institutionally and geographically, recursively influences, and is influenced by, the macro and micro level institutional identity. Puke Ariki is not just an integrated brand, but also defined by geography.

#### ***6.4 An Analysis of Convergence in Puke Ariki***

A symbolic approach to the study of organisations considers the use of metaphor, metonyms and linguistic artifacts by organisational members as markers for interpreting and formulating representations of the organisation's culture (Schultz 1994). These constructs, along with a symbolic reading of physical artifacts such as building design and internal layout, are the framework through which symbolic interpretations of an organisation's culture can be read. Metaphoric artifacts, which emerged from the Puke Ariki case, included referrals to the institution as the "son of Te Papa", the labelling of the floor housing the technical services staff on Level 2a as "platform 9 and three quarters" and the reference to the TRC as the "jewel" in the institution's crown.

Metonyms differ from metaphor in the study of organisational symbolism. Schultz defines metonyms as "an aspect or thing which stands for the whole" (1994, 90). Staff interviewed, along with consulted documentary sources, referred to integration linguistically as "the airbridge". The airbridge, as a linguistic artifact inferred meaning beyond the physical representation of the built structure. The airbridge became a metonym, which implied the wider concept of integration that existed in the institution. Staff referred to undertaking or involvement in the integrated processes or cross entity teams as "walking the airbridge" or "going over the airbridge" thus giving agency to the structure in terms of the organisation's wider integrated ethos (Manager Heritage Collections and Manager Service Delivery pers. comm).

Honey (2003), in an architectural review of Puke Ariki, noted that "locals" referred to the new institution as "the son of Te Papa". Staff interviewed for the case also made referrals and comparisons between Puke Ariki and the Te Papa model. Moreover, the design of Te Papa's interpretative spaces was reflected in the interior fit-out of the North Wing in Puke Ariki. This

linguistic association acknowledged the essence of the two models existing in the same philosophical space, but with Puke Ariki, embedded through the choice of the word “son”. Also embedded through the choice of word are the association and importance attributed to whakapapa or genealogy between the two institutions, both in lineage and in scale.

Staff in the institution used the phrase “platform 9 and three quarters” to refer to the publically inaccessible space that housed the bulk of the technical services staff in the institution. Just as in the Harry Potter Series, access to the magical “other” space is controlled and invisible to the public. Shared organisational knowledge (and a specially coded swipe card) procures access to this floor. Platform 9 and three quarters existed as a fantasy space, where the impossible was possible – the mixing of the library and museum entities. Technical staff in this floor existed in a cross entity team; working together and sharing space in a controlled access environment. According to Hatch, a symbolic relationship exists between controlled access and the organisational status this affords. The relationship of controlled access to privacy and privacy to status states that the higher the access controls around office space and work environment, the higher the status afforded to the occupants of those spaces (1990). The technical services team, housed in the restricted public/staff access floor (Level 2a), as well as the gated security in heritage collections areas, empirically corroborate this construct. The importance placed on back of house functions, particularly through the notion of over-occupancy in spaces that support these activities, highlights the prominence given to back of house operations and to maintaining the integrity of those operations by institutional staff.

Also empirically tied to the symbolic notion of power and status is the level of controlled access to the heritage collections and in particular the curatorial staff through the TRC interface. The placement of the TRC on the upper level of the institution can also be read through the relationship of



hierarchy to height in the built environment. Dale and Burrell consider this concept to reflect the association between higher occupation of space and closer proximity to deities (2008).

Also read in the symbolic placement of the Taonga Maori gallery at the level of the pa site that existed in the land currently occupied by the North Wing, is the status of space occupancy and its relationship to height. This placement is symbolic both in terms of the mana it affords the relationship of the institution to the land, but also the relationship of the institution to the local tangata whenua. Also seen in the design of the institution spaces are elements of Dale and Burrell's notion of emplacement in space (2008). The distinction between the North and South wings of the institution reflect the deliberate construction of certain places for specific activities.

Operationally and physically, Puke Ariki represents boundaries and compartments for specific GLAM designations. This partitioning approach to the organisation of space in the institution traces its origins to factory design and efficiency.

As with Te Papa, the permeation of the uniform throughout the wider organisational structure was seen as a device to de-stratify the silos and strengthen the identity of the new organisational form. The resistance and feelings of dissociation felt by staff in the community libraries show that Puke Ariki, in its institutional identity, is very clearly tied to the region's geography and constrained by the architecture of the institution. In this sense, Puke Ariki's identity is symbolised strongly within the confines of the institution itself. The symbolic agency of the uniform "imposed" an identity, to which they felt little affinity, on the branch library staff.

The removal of the words 'library' and 'museum' from role descriptions symbolised another homogenising agent used to flatten the organisational structure and break down GLAM silos in the institution's early days of operation. The General Manager considered this approach to change

management as “Orwellian”. The removal and subsequent re-instatement of the words ‘library’ and ‘museum’ from the lexicon of the institution and role descriptions also perpetuated as an organisational saga.

The design of the interior library spaces and in particular the placement of the glass display cabinets containing heritage objects paradoxically symbolised not only the integrated ethos of the institution, but also the bounded existence of the library and museum domains. As discussed in the section on collection integration, these display cabinets represent both a physically static condition and are also static in that they have not been refreshed since opening day. Dale and Burrell consider the use of glass or transparent building materials in the design and construction of public spaces as an artifice that gives

The impression that no boundaries exist and the impression of bringing down spatial barriers whilst hiding the real barriers that obviously exists to the attainment of full democracy. Glass opens up, yet closes down; it is an inherent part of the property the crystal panel to stand as a source of transparency but also occlusion (2008, 46).

In this sense, the glass cabinets formed a symbolic juxtaposition in residence next to constantly moving and living book stock. The glass display cabinets reflected the museological paradigm in that the objects were locked away and untouchable, protected and sacred, designed to privilege preservation above all else. The book stock surrounding the glass display cabinets existed in contrast to the constant dynamic transfer of ideas and materials with a natural lifecycle and processes of entropy.

The TRC acted very much as a boundary object in Puke Ariki. Linguistic artifacts used to describe the TRC included, “the shop front to our collections” and “the jewel in the crown”. The jostling of the TRC in the organisational structure represented the difficulty of locating the newness of the model in a traditional cultural heritage organisational form. Issues over ownership of the service symbolised how far apart the TRC sat from the

other organisational units. Like the child that gets all the attention because they are seen as privileged over the others, there was an element of jealousy and a feeling that the TRC held status that the other entities in the organisation did not have. The installation of APNK in the TRC space acted as a democratising agent, an attempt to bring it into line with the rest of the organisational culture.

The concept of worldviews emerged in a number of different interviews and in the data sourced for the case. This notion of worldviews extended the idea of integration to linguistically encapsulate the differences between the entities on a global scale. The challenges and opportunities in building a convergent culture in Puke Ariki existed far beyond the bounds of the geographical architectural constraints imposed by the physical institution or geography. The staff, in considering their integrated ethos, disassociated themselves from the confines of the physical institution and saw the inherent differences and opportunities as residing in the core of the individual GLAM entities.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

Honey (2003) stated that the links between the two buildings which make up Puke Ariki are tenuous. In an analysis of convergence in Puke Ariki, comparisons can be drawn between the symbolic nature of the airbridge building materials (transparent safety glass) and the integrative ethos that permeates Puke Ariki's organisational culture. Puke Ariki, in development, strove for as much integration as possible. Much like Te Papa, and prompted in part through a responsive democratising of their cultural heritage model, Puke Ariki has undergone a series of de-converging strategies. By looking outwards to their stakeholders' perceptions and use of the institution, Puke Ariki has embraced the tenets of the new museology

and invested in integration which best facilitates the management and narrative of the Taranaki region, its people, its history and its information need.

The idea of transparency, particularly as it is represented in the airbridge, reflects Puke Ariki's approach to placing a layer of convergence on top of traditional GLAM operations. The integrated layer is there, but just like the building material it is made from, it is barely perceptible to the users of the institution. In this sense, the idea of integration in Puke Ariki allows you to see through to traditional GLAM function and representation. It does not attempt to mask or homogenise the fact that the institution houses a library, a museum, an archives, information centre etc. Rather than a barrier that obscures the functional tenets of the participating entities, integration provides a glass front door to the institutional collections and services.

The most tangible manifestation of this glass front door is the TRC. The evidence suggests the most evolved facet of integration in Puke Ariki as the TRC. While there are other more concrete markers for the integrative model, such as the glass display cases in the library stacks, the cohesive elements came strongly in the outputs and interaction between the visitor/patron/user of the integrated institution and their cultural heritage.

While the TRC was an excellent model for a federated format agnostic search, it was the only point of service for reference enquiry in the library facet of Puke Ariki. In this sense, the elitist domain/culture that some staff felt permeated the TRC, did not serve the needs of the public library user terribly well. Another service/reference point in the Library would have created another access layer, allowing the patron choice and leaving TRC staff to the business of research and facilitating access to the heritage collections.

There was acute awareness by the majority of staff interviewed that the built environment and geographic placement of the institution held a great deal of

integrative agency. Had the design been different—the architecture of the building, the road which runs through it, or the construction of the link which joins the two buildings together—integration in Puke Ariki may have manifested differently than it does today. Conceptually there are opportunities lost in Puke Ariki’s liminal spaces such as the foyer and the air bridge. Both of these spaces could have become symbolically cohesive spaces, a gallery that blended through collection representation all participating the entities. The air bridge is instead just that, an air bridge, something that sits adjunct and physically elevated on the ‘museum’ and ‘library’ buildings.

The Puke Ariki model is democratised in the sense that it approaches integration from the ideal of a seamless visitor experience. In a sense, Puke Ariki de-couples integration and presents an integrated democratised public face to the visitor yet still acknowledges the institutional history, profession, and discipline based differences that staff and collections must embrace to deliver such a seamless service. This decoupling is evident through the acknowledgment of the importance of job titles and in fostering close ties and promoting professional links and through the provision of professional development that is particular to each museum, library and archives entity.

Puke Ariki has had a hard time integrating the various collection formats it has inherited and retains a distinction between the GLAM collection entities at a public level. The General Manager believes that the visitor is not concerned with professional disciplines and alignments, only with an experience or information need. Whether or not the presence of collection integration such as glass display cabinets in the library stacks act as symbolic agents designed to remind the visitor of the institution’s integrated ethos are open for debate. Either way, collection integration in Puke Ariki (and in the other institutions under study) remains awkwardly unresolved; hindered physically by format-aligned operational requirements and conceptually by funding and IT infrastructure

Staff interviewed for the case showed an extreme amount of self-awareness about working in an integrated environment. Regardless of the tangible points of intersection and integration that manifested in the institution, staff still attempted to negotiate and reconcile knowledge negotiation across GLAM boundaries. The TRC acted as one such boundary object. The mingling of staff and resources across the entities provided a democratised point of cohesion that metaphorically sat on top of the disparate collections. This manifested in an intrinsic awareness amongst staff of the differing *raison d'être* of the library and museum entities and how this affected operations and organisational culture. This differing philosophy was exemplified by the Manager of Heritage Collections, who stated,

I had an interesting time getting my head around the librarians turfing out all these books, but you know that's their collection management, I took me a while to reconcile it, it just wasn't part of my philosophy coming from a museum background (pers. comm).

The Manager of Service Delivery also stated,

There are many synergies between the entities if you are talking about sharing stories, which is what we all do in different ways. The Museum is very much about sharing stories and gathering stories from the past. In all our branding you see the tag line past present and future, the Library is very much naturally more about the present and future when you think of it as a continuum of stuff it fits together (pers. comm).

This self-reflexivity came through strongly in one discussion that arose from the interviews with curatorial staff. The discussion was participant directed and centred on the idea of specialisation (in relation to descriptive job titles) in Puke Ariki. The discussion considered whether the wider push for convergence in the cultural heritage domain had taken priority over the specialisation in job tasks. One of the curators felt that the idea of being a specialist in any area was being discouraged in some cultural heritage organisations and that the ability to work across many facets of the organisation was seen as more beneficial than possessing an in-depth

knowledge in a bounded area. This idea is discussed further in the Chapter 8.

In terms of philosophical engagement with the integrated ethos that reportedly underpins Puke Ariki, there is a feeling that the institution has not really sat down and discussed how integration does and should manifest in identity. While there is a current strategy in place to address this as part of the ten-year planning process, there is awareness that the integrative concept has not historically been privileged in the strategic planning process. Resourcing and mandate had tended to push operational and stakeholder visioning to the forefront. The Manager of Heritage Collections, when discussing the desire to embed integration into the strategic planning process, rhetorically asked, “are we trying to push a square peg into a round hole? No matter what way you dress it up,” he said, “are we still just a library and a museum with different philosophies?” (pers. comm). My answer to this would be no, the element of critical reflection I encountered around the integrative concept in my engagement with the institution highlights an understanding of the integrative framework at a philosophical organisational level. However there is still a tension in resolving the priority of that framework in relationship to other strategic and operational directions.

The General Manager felt that the drivers for the development of Puke Ariki as an integrated model were customer focused and motivated by the need to look for innovative ways to service this stakeholder group. Of all the cases studied in this research, Puke Ariki had the most visitor centric focus in its integrative framework. Puke Ariki aims, in future, to qualify the impact of an integrated delivery of cultural heritage on its visitors through targeted visitor research (General Manager pers. comm). To date, this is an area of research in the GLAM convergent domain which has not been fully explored.

A bridge has emerged as the root metaphor for integration in Puke Ariki. Like territories, the different domains exist on each side of the bridge. Staff members move back and forth along this bridge acknowledging the inherent stability represented by the museum and library domains that exist on either side of the structure. Priority is given to maintaining this domain-based stability, but inherent value is seen in building and journeying across the connecting bridges. Just as passers-by will stop and talk on their way from one side the other, so too will organisational members engage with each other through meetings designed to bring the entities together. The bridge also exists as a democratic access point, designed to assist visitors to move seamlessly from one domain to the other.

The foyer exists like a no-man's land, decimated by war and left to its own devices. Re-habitation and regeneration of the space would go a long way towards strengthening the institutional identity. The Lane Gallery exists like an uncomfortable invasion of the library space by the Museum. Exhibitions exist as a bridge, a temporary event which reminds the neighbouring countries of their synergistic roots. They are a chance to stand united in purpose through the forging of temporary alliances designed to showcase their talents, a parade of cultural heritage strengths.

The glass display cabinets exist in the Library as gifts brought over from a well-meaning aunt or treasures from another land (over the water). Eye catching and unique but at odds with their surroundings, they exist like a piece of decor with very little practical function; left over relics from an old invasion, much like war trophies.

Like neighbouring countries, the Library and Museum exist in relative harmony, regularly inviting each other over to socialise. The delimiting domain boundaries formed by the architecture and landscape contain and provide elements of protection for the integrity of each domain. Through strategic planning and recent initiatives, the domains aim to build more



bridges, allowing visitors and staff more options to pass easily between countries.

In this chapter I have argued that Puke Ariki, as an integrated model, has reconceptualised and recombined to provide a framework that while supporting and building a convergent culture, acknowledges and works within the boundaries of the core *raison d'être* of the individual participating GLAM entities. There is awareness of difference, but equally of sameness, of looking for and embracing openness on the edges, without detracting from the core functions. The last word in the case study is left to the General Manager who reflected this ideology by stating “the only way we are going to be an excellent integrated facility in my opinion, is if we have excellent individual component parts” (pers. comm).

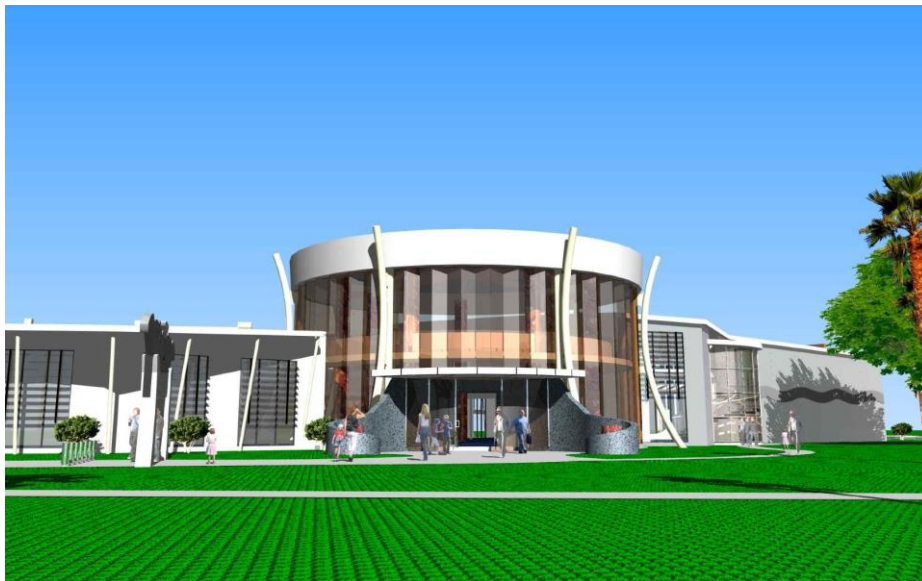
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## 7 Te Ahu

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“We have concluded it is going to be an evolution over time...”

General /Project Manager for the Te Ahu Trust on the development of an integrated operational model for Te Ahu (2011)



**Fig. 19** The proposed Te Ahu institution in Kaitaia, Northland New Zealand. Image retrieved from <http://www.teahu.org.nz>.

## **7.1 Introduction**

The third case selected for this research is located in Kaitaia in the far north of New Zealand. New Zealand's Far North District encompasses the northernmost part of the North Island. This District is known for its sub-tropical climate, pristine beaches and friendly community atmosphere. The Far North is a popular holiday destination for both national and international visitors; these visitor influxes double the region's population over the summer months. It is also a region with a reputation for fostering and developing tourism ventures designed to highlight the area's unique geographic and cultural resources. The District's culturally diverse population numbers approximately 148,000. A comparatively high percentage (43.9 %) of people in the district identify as tangata whenua<sup>17</sup> (Statistics New Zealand, 2010).

While not the largest residential town in the Far North, Kaitaia is the chosen location for the development of an integrated multi-functional cultural heritage institution which will be known as Te Ahu. Te Ahu has been chosen as a case study for this research because of the opportunity it affords to examine the development of a conceptual model of integration. This creates a unique opportunity to engage with the entities as they re-conceptualise domain boundaries to create a collective new pathway into the future. Te Ahu is an information rich case because it also contains the widest variety of individual entities of the three cases under study. Although some of these entities do not fall within the scope of a cultural heritage paradigm, it is none the less thought provoking to consider the impact of the "other" entities on the GLAM conceptual, spatial and operational development of an integrated cultural heritage institution.

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<sup>17</sup>'People of the land' or indigenous Māori people of Aotearoa, comprising several iwi (tribes).

In 2004/5 several bodies including the Far North District Council (the Council), in conjunction with the local community board, and under the impetus of the Far North Regional Museum (the Museum), identified a need through long term planning to expand and/or upgrade the facilities currently occupied by the Museum and the Kaitaia Library. After consultation with external stakeholders, a number of different contingencies were presented to the Council. One of these scenarios included leaving the institutions in their present locations and undertaking on-going building maintenance. Stakeholders from the Museum and Library, along with the Council deliberated on the fiscal environment and the cost of building maintenance for the disparate entities and considered this option financially unviable. Discounting the feasibility of on-going management of the current spaces occupied by the Library and Museum provided an opportunity to look at alternative options for the management of the District's cultural heritage (FNDC Customer Services Manager pers. comm.). One of the various options presented to the Council included bringing the entities together in a collocated arrangement. The need to upgrade the Museum and Library facilities resulted in the development of an extended "rationalisation strategy" for these Council owned buildings (Te Ahu Charitable Trust 2010; Te Ahu General/Project Manager, pers. comm). Stakeholders approved the rationalisation strategy and acknowledged the value for the community in bringing together the Library and Museum, as well as in the development of a purpose-built facility to manage these resources.

While collocation of the GLAM entities in the early inception of the Te Ahu model was seen as a viable and sensible option, the concept of an integrated model was yet to be considered. Over time, and through consultation and negotiation with stakeholders as well as input from consultants, the Council opted for a multifunctional facility, which would house the District's Library, Museum and Archives. The concept for this facility has, over the years, developed in size and increased in scope to encompass not only the District's Museum, Library and Council Service Centre, but also a

community hall, theatre space, an archival repository, i-Site tourist information centre, cinema facilities and a multitude of indoor/outdoor active and passive community spaces. The re-housing and upgrading of these entities has, through a process of research, consultation and reconfiguration, re-conceptualised into an integrated model for the management of the Far North's cultural heritage. Initial development of the Te Ahu concept would begin in 2006.<sup>18</sup>

This research documents and analyses the development of an integrated institutional model for the management of the Far North's Kaitaia Library, Far North Regional Museum, Archives, i-Site tourist information centre, Council Service Centre and theatre/cinema space. This case study identifies elements of planned intersection and integration between the contributing entities in areas such as collections and exhibitions, institutional space, institutional identity and operational infrastructure. These points of integration and intersection are then discussed in light of the symbolism they recursively represent and create within the context of organisational convergence.

## ***7.2 Case Context***

An examination of the development of Te Ahu, as with our other cases, begins by contextualising the milieu from which Te Ahu developed. An understanding of the GLAM entities' historical and current institutional environments creates an important foundation for understanding the challenges and opportunities integration provides in each context. The three cultural heritage entities considered in this case include the Far North

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<sup>18</sup> The official opening for Te Ahu would occur six years after the initial project inception, in April 2012.

Region Museum, the Kaitaia Central Library and the Far North Regional Archives.

The Kaitaia Central Library is part of the wider Far North District Library service. This Library service includes six public libraries, five community and five area school/community libraries (FNDC, 2010). Centralised services such as acquisitions and cataloguing are undertaken from the Proctor Library, located in the township of Keri Keri; a mix of professional and volunteer staff (Far North District Council 2012) currently staffs the Kaitaia Library. The Far North, at the time of data collection, did not have a designated District Librarian; instead, the FNDC Customer Services Manager oversaw library functions.

Prior to 1960, the Far North's library service and the Far North Regional Museum existed in a collocated arrangement, in the building still currently occupied by the Museum. By the late 1950s, the local District Council had identified a need to expand the library service and designed a purpose-built space in the centre of the Kaitaia township to house the collections. The Library still occupies this space today and will do so until they move into the Te Ahu development at the completion of construction (FNDC Customer Services Manager pers. comm.).

The archives entity in this case exists in a collocated space within the Far North District Museum. The Museum Archives is both a collecting and an institutional repository. It contains approximately 157 collections, which include records relating to settler history, local schools, businesses and churches, copies of district newspapers and some public records relating to historic local governance (Archives New Zealand, 2011). The Archive is currently staffed on a part-time basis by an Archivist.



**Fig. 20** The Far North Regional Museum is currently located in the Memorial Centennial Building in Kaitiaki. Image retrieved from <http://www.fnrc.govt.nz>

The Far North Regional Museum occupies 360 square metres of space in a Council-owned building at the southern end of the Kaitiaki Township. The origins of the Museum were born of community interest in the collection and preservation of the Far North District's cultural heritage (FNDC Museum Trust Chair pers. comm.). The Museum seeks to illuminate the histories and stories of the Far North region and classifies the Museum's collection areas as history, maritime, military, natural history, taonga Maori and technology (New Zealand Museums, 2011). The Museum cares for and exhibits taonga such as greenstone (Ponamu), early Māori carving and the 500-year-old skeletal remains of the extinct kurī (Polynesian Dog). Other collection strengths for the Museum include kauri gum digging, the Dalmatian settlers, shipwrecks in the region and early European missionary pioneers (FNDC Museum Trust Chair pers. comm). The Museum operates under a strong object-centred epistemology and utilises traditional exhibition techniques for the interpretation of the cultural heritage of the District. The Museum also cares for what is considered to be the first European item left in New Zealand, the de Surville anchor (New Zealand Museums, 2011). The Museum is currently staffed by a Curator/Heritage Manager and an Archivist (on a part-time basis), and is supported by a number of dedicated museum volunteers. The Museum actively engages

with the wider community through Friends of the Museum networks, as well as a Museum Juniors and Museum Youth programme.

From the Museum's inception in 1972/73 through to 2004, it operated as a Council-controlled organisation. In 2004, the Council opted for community input into the management and operations of the Museum; in 2005, a Deed of Trust was established between the Museum and the Far North District Council. As part of this Deed, the Council maintained input into the governance of local cultural heritage by way of a representative on the Museum Trust Board. In this sense, the Museum now operated independently from the Council, but within a framework set out under the terms of a memorandum of understanding which had been established with the Council. A Trust governs the Museum, on which elected community members and local iwi representatives sit. Beyond this, the museum also works closely with, and is supported by, the local iwi of Te Tai Tokerau: Te Rarawa, Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Kahu etc.

Following the decision in 2006 to rationalise building facilities for the library and museum entities, the Council began steps to realise the concept that would become Te Ahu. Community nominations were sought for representatives to sit on the founding Te Ahu Board of Trustees. By early 2007 these trustees had been appointed and included five representatives from the Far North District Council, a Te Rarawa trustee, a Museum trustee and a Trust Chairperson. By the end of 2008, this Trust would become a Council Controlled Organisation (CCO), thus enabling access to additional funding streams and revenue not otherwise available under the designation of a Charitable Trust.

The mandate of the Te Ahu Trust, in driving forward the development of the new institution was to:

Deliver a sustainable community facility that will achieve the vision.  
Produce a landmark building that extends a 'welcome' and reflects



our 'sense of place and belonging'. Place emphasis on reflecting our culture and the seven peoples of the Far North and provide facilities that will deliver appropriate and coordinated accommodation for stakeholders. Minimise / prevent duplication of services and facilities and ensure the project avoids unnecessary expenditure and achieves best value (Te Ahu Charitable Trust 2010).

Over the next five years, the Te Ahu Trustees worked in conjunction with the Far North District Council, project managers, consultants, advisors, museum professionals, museum consultants and the community to develop and progress the concept of Te Ahu.

Early in the development of the project, a wide variety of stakeholders were identified. These stakeholders expanded as the concept progressed. These stakeholders were listed in the Trust documentation and include but are not limited to;

Te Rarawa, Ngati Kahu, other Iwi as well as Dalmatians and the other cultures that have chosen the "real" Far North as their home. The users of the Far North community centre, the arts community, Kaitaia Dramatic Society, Kaitaia A& P, Far North Community Forest Trust, North Tec, Kaitaia Business Association and Department of Conservation. There are others and more will emerge as the project grows (Te Ahu Charitable Trust 2010a).

The Trustees recognised early in the conceptual development of Te Ahu that the success of the institution would rely heavily on obtaining community support and input. As noted in the introduction to this case, the demographic and cultural make-up of the Far North includes a high percentage of residents who identify as Māori; the involvement of local iwi in the development of Te Ahu has been extensive. Strong emphasis was placed on the preservation and dissemination of Te Reo Māori me ona tikanga (Maori language and custom) and the representation of local iwi is symbolised in many facets of the Te Ahu developmental concept, design, vision and governance. Local iwi also supported the leasing of the land for what would become the chosen site for the development from the Rūnanga, and were

extensively involved in the visioning and creation of the Te Ahu brand.<sup>19</sup>

Museum Consultant Ken Gorbey first proposed the idea of an integrated concept, which would form the foundation of the Te Ahu vision. Gorbey, recommended by the then Curator at the Far North District Museum, was engaged by the Te Ahu Trust to provide input into the conceptual project. The first documented idea of integration between the entities can be seen in the *Te Ahu Feasibility Report* written by Gorbey (2007). The Report stated;

Although the different elements that make up Te Ahu will be operated by different governance groups who will tenant the facility, as much integration as possible of experience, activity and program should be achieved so as to maximise the impact that Te Ahu will have on its audiences. This concept, whereby cultural organisations reach for commonalities in their missions rather than those functional variations that define difference is sometimes termed convergence and is an increasingly important part of the cultural environment (Gorbey 2007, Executive Summary).

A push towards expansive thinking featured strongly in the report. Gorbey emphasised the “less is more” approach to concept development and proposed that a well-designed integrated facility could potentially deliver greater impact and worth for the community, and stressed that integrated models of operation were an increasingly “important part of the cultural environment” (Gorbey 2007, Executive Summary).

The economic advantage afforded by the integrative approach to the development of Te Ahu was also a factor in an initial review undertaken by Gorbey in 2007. The *Design Review* (Gorbey 2009) emphasised that an integrated conceptual model for Te Ahu would attract a greater number of tourists and had the potential to extend stay time and encourage repeat visitation. The Te Ahu model was proffered as being “prototypical – a

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<sup>19</sup> The Rūnanga is the governing council or administrative group of the Te Rarawa Iwi

benchmark for communities seeking to grow their cultural institutions for the betterments of society” (2007). Gorbey’s report considered Te Ahu to be a model, which “while drawing on the strengths of tradition was not stultified by ways of doing things that rested in the past”. The new integrative concept was seen to “fundamentally shift the idea of a cultural institution forward into the 21<sup>st</sup> century and ...draw together information with collections and archives in an environment of optimised information technologies, and supporting national strategies” (Gorbey 2007, 7).

The current Te Ahu Trust General/Project Manager also saw the potential and opportunities afforded through a convergent model of delivery (pers. comm.). He stated that once the Trust engaged with the integrated scope of the project, these opportunities became apparent and “exciting”. It became more than just the development and construction of a building to house cultural heritage. There was recognition that the opportunities in developing an integrated model were multifaceted and included, but were not limited to, the ability to leverage of the synergies of the GLAM entities. Other potential opportunities included cost savings through resource rationalisation, opportunities for “genuinely engaging with the community across multiple levels and multiple functions” as well as the multi-skilling of staff etc. These (and many more), were evident and realisable through the proposed integrated concept (General/Project Manager pers. comm.).

The conceptual idea of integration brought to the project by Gorbey provided direction, but, as with the other cases examined in this thesis, also generated controversy. There was awareness early on in the project that the bringing together of disparate entities into a completely integrated model would have its challenges. This awareness also manifested in statements made by the Far North District Council Services Manager who felt that while there had been a variety of challenges to the project throughout its development, these challenges had been largely borne from conceptual distance created between individual ideologies centred on the integrated concept (pers. comm.).

The Te Ahu General/Project Manager stated that while the Museum Consultant “was advocating for a model that proposed total convergence ...the reality of this in a practical world is that it is bloody hard” (pers. comm.). There was clearly a need in the early days of the development to maintain a balance between the exciting vision that was Te Ahu, and the challenges afforded through developing Te Ahu as an integrated concept.

By 2007, the initial costing of the Te Ahu development was projected to be 9-10 million dollars, and construction was proposed to start in early 2008 (FNDC 2007). The Council, bolstered by donations from a pre-established community Trust, provided seed funding for the project. The projected costs for Te Ahu would continue to rise over the course of the development. These rises would be due in part to changes in the Te Ahu concept resulting from the inclusion of the Far North Community Hall/Theatre (discussed below), and the Council Service Centre, along with changes in the wider economic environment and challenges to Local Government fiscal accountability.

In 2007 the Te Ahu Trust held a workshop to seek community feedback on options for site development. One of three possible sites identified included the current location of the Far North District Museum and i-Site (information centre). Minutes of this meeting, held to consult with community groups show some the issues discussed included flood risk, potential for future expansion, land ownership and titles, access and pedestrian flows (Te Ahu Charitable Trust 2007).

One of the three tabled site options included land situated towards the southern end of the Kaitaia Township. This site also housed the current Far North District Community Hall. The Council had already identified the Community Hall as requiring on-going expensive maintenance and/or upgrade. It was envisaged that by using this site, this refurbishment could also be realised as part of the new Te Ahu development. The “visual

impact” of the selected Te Ahu site was also a strong consideration in selection. The rationale of site selection was based on the real estate allowing the facilities to expand and be responsive to changing cultural and demographic realities. There was awareness by the Te Ahu Trustees that visitors entering from the southern end of town would be greeted by a building (Te Ahu), which symbolised the cultural heart of the Far North.

During this stage of the project, a symbolic identity for the Te Ahu development was also under consideration, and the Trust commissioned artist Waikarere Gregory to design the Te Ahu logo. The design encompassed elements of both historical and cultural significance pertaining to the Far North region, as well as the local Kaitaia community. The design utilised traditional Māori art forms in its visual representation and was created to stand alone, both as brand symbol, but also as a sculptural piece (Te Ahu Charitable Trust 2007).

The integration of the community centre facilities into the Te Ahu development generated debate amongst stakeholders. Public criticism surrounded the delay in releasing the proposed concept designs to the community. Phrases such as “economies of scale” were used by stakeholders in the media to refer to the inclusion of the Community Centre (Far North District Council, 24 October 2008). The Far North District Council Mayor Wayne Brown attempted to reassure community groups that they would have an opportunity for input into the proposed integration. The conceptual integrative model was proffered to stakeholders as enabling cost reduction in the build, enlarging the total footprint of the space and enhancing marketing potential. Media releases reporting on the development of Te Ahu by the Council emphasised the benefits of resource rationalisation in terms of funding and administration and in management structure (operational rationalisation). They also emphasised what benefits the new integrative model would offer in terms of visitor experience. The

majority of communications however, attempted to stress the financial and tourism benefits for the community.<sup>20</sup>

In 2008 the Te Ahu Trust engaged Visitor Solutions Ltd, Chow Hill and Studio Pasifika to undertake an optimisation and feasibility study of the Te Ahu concept. This Study documented each entity's current and proposed operational, spatial, visitor, and financial requirements. The study also considered a number of possible governance/business models for the entities under the Te Ahu Charitable Trust. These business models are discussed in detail under the case section *Operational Infrastructure*.

The first iteration of the *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* was completed in August 2008. In December 2008, it was updated to take into account community feedback and intended changes to the conceptual model as a result of the integration of the Community Centre. The Study included an overview of projected visitor trends and demographics, along with the anticipated spatial requirements for each entity occupying the new building. Financial costing and projections, along with proposed staffing, administration and management structures for the Te Ahu operation, were also included.

In order to develop a profile of the current and potential tourism market, the study drew on Ministry of Tourism and Statistics New Zealand's International Visitors Survey and Domestic Visitors Survey data (as it stood in March 2008). Remarkably, there was a trend of notable decline in the number of domestic visitors to the Northland region and Visitor Solutions urged caution in the interpretation of the data due to variances in survey methodologies. Moreover, the Study cautioned against inflated visitor projections due to what was, then, the forecasted impending economic crisis

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<sup>20</sup> For example see the following media releases in reference list FNDC 2008; FNDC2008b; FNDC 2008c

(Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008). Overall, the projected foot traffic for the majority of GLAM entities that were to be situated within the Te Ahu development were anticipated to either remain relatively static, or take an initial fall.

The relocation of the Library away from the main street in central Kaitaia was, however, projected to negatively impact on the entity's foot traffic. The Museum Consultant contracted in the initial stages of development also felt that the displacement of the institution away from the central township might impact on visitor numbers (pers. comm.). The *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* discussed the clustering of services/entities within Te Ahu and whether or not this clustering would mitigate this decline. Visitation was also projected to increase over time and be sustained through responsive programming and user centric services (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008).

By December 2008 the *Concept Design* report, driven by the information documented in the *Te Ahu Optimisation and Feasibility Study* and with associated information provided by the Te Ahu Charitable Trust, was complete (Visitor Solutions et. al 2008b, 1). The consultant team engaged to prepare the proposal report included:

- Chow:Hill – Urban Design, Landscape Architecture, Architecture, Consultation
- Studio Pasifika – Architecture, Consultation
- Visitor Solutions – Space Planning, Consultation
- Medland Metropolis – Building Services

The GLAM entities and associated spaces which would form Te Ahu now included a library, museum, archives, council service centre, i-Site information centre, technology centre, retail space, public meeting spaces, the Community Hall (home to the Little Theatre) as well as a number of

passive and active outdoor spaces. The *Concept Design* report proposed three possible options to house these entities. Each option was delineated by variances in both the building and landscape spaces and in the architectural design. The internal spatial dimensions, along with proposed use of those spaces and placement of each entity in relation to the institutional whole, were also considered (Visitor Solutions et al.2008b).

Towards the end of 2008, the Trust began engaging in fundraising and started negotiations with a preferred architect, designer and project manager. In order for the Council to recognise its vision, funding in the vicinity of \$15 million was now required. This funding was to be provided in part through Far North District Council planning, as well as independent commercial sponsors. Further projected (5 year) funding was secured from the Northern (Te Hiku) Community Board. This funding was gifted on the understanding that it be used for the development of a specific community component within the larger Te Ahu development (FNDC 2008b).

The following year (2009) saw Te Ahu undergo a period of mediation, evaluation, and consolidation, and be subjected to a number of external reviews. These unanticipated reviews and their resulting actions would push out the projected construction start date even further. The first review (in February 2009) was initiated by the Te Ahu Trust in light of public feedback, economic concerns “as well as the concerns of some intransigent individuals” over the integrated conceptual direction of Te Ahu’s development (FNDC 2009).

In late 2009, the Far North Regional Museum and the Council entered into a process of mediation to address concerns, particularly concerning the space and level of operational independence planned for the Museum within the new development. Concept plans for Te Ahu were also re-modelled to take into consideration community input, especially those regarding the reduction in size of the Community Hall. Concern was expressed by



ratepayers over the escalating costs and uncertainty of funding for the current project and the proposed future operating costs for the Te Ahu concept (Craig 2010; de Graff 2010).

In response to community concerns over increased budget cost and in light of the sharp economic downturn as part of the now very real, global recession, an independent financial review by Audit New Zealand was commissioned. As a result of this review, project costs were trimmed where possible, and additional funding streams sought to solidify development. The Te Ahu Trust also issued a series of press releases in an attempt to allay community fears over increasing operational costs. These media releases stressed that Te Ahu's operational funding would be drawn from the reconfigured operational budgets of the Library, Museum, i-Site and council administration budgets, as well as through revenue generation from retail sales. This financial audit and allaying of community concerns was described by the Te Ahu General/Project Manager as necessary, but nevertheless a frustrating "period of treading water" in the developmental timeline (pers. comm).

The Te Ahu Board of Trustees also commissioned a peer review of the proposed integrated conceptual model for Te Ahu. The terms of reference for this review included an examination of the concept and vision, location and design of the institution, the integrated conceptual model, branding, resources and project revenue streams. Cheryll Sotheran (who had been commissioned to undertake the review) tabled her report to the Te Ahu Board in November 2009. She commented positively on the holistic concept of Te Ahu, but stressed the need for clarity and determination in its vision, which if achieved, she felt, would leverage the maximum amount of positive benefit in the management and visitor experience for the cultural heritage of the district. Sotheran also commented on the integrated concept stating,

This is the aspect of this project that offers the most innovation and excitement. It is what sets it apart from other projects which simply

seek to locate disparate functions and activities into a single space, but do not explore and exploit the huge opportunity to offer visitors a seamless approach that reflects their daily lives, needs, aspirations and celebrations. Should the Te Ahu project be able to fully realise this project as a true convergence opportunity, in its architectural design, its governance and organisational design, its human face to the visitor in the form of well-trained and truly customer focussed staff, and its single powerful brand presented to the local and national community, it will be a benchmark for New Zealand (Sotheran, 2009, 5).

At this point in the institution's development, the General Manager stated that the reviews and audit processes had pushed the projected construction start date out to the middle of 2010 (Edmondson 2009). Late in 2009, the Te Ahu Trust signalled its intention to meet over the next 12 months with the participating GLAM entities to finalise how the internal building space would be allocated. So far, Te Ahu had concentrated on developing a theoretical and conceptual model to underpin its ideology, but consideration of the actual operational functionality of the entities within Te Ahu was still very much yet to be finalised. What had not been determined was "how it all fits together inside" (Edmondson 2009). In this sense, the physicality of the Te Ahu concept by way of building design had the potential to greatly impact on internal operations between the entities and, moreover, predicated the level of integration possible in the institution. Essentially, in this stage of Te Ahu's development, the container was being built with minimal functional awareness for the operational requirements of the contents, in other words the entities contained within it.

The building of Te Ahu also required the negotiation of lease agreements with adjoining site landowners. These adjoining landowners were Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, one of the five Iwi of the New Zealand northern district. The agreement negotiated over this land, through partnership of the Far North District Council and the Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, signalled the beginning of an innovative model of co-operation and collaboration between

rūnanga and local government in New Zealand (de Graaf 2010; Te Ahu 2010).

Construction of Te Ahu would finally begin in earnest in July 2010. A Kaitaia-based company who tendered (and won from a competitive field) were awarded the construction contract (FNDC 2010). Local sub-contractors were to be used as much as possible in the building development, signalling a strong community ethos, not only in the design but also in the actual construction of the institution.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of August 2010, the Te Ahu Charitable Trust received unexpected additional funding. This funding would enable fulfilment of the Trust's desire to house the Far North District Archives in a purpose built, state of the art facility. The Museum Trustee on the Te Ahu board stated

The preservation and security of the written word and oral, film and photographic material that tells our unique stories is imperative to preserve for future generations. Having a good, user-friendly archival section of Te Ahu will add an extra education opportunity for our young people in one of the nine nearby educational facilities, and for others who are looking for a reliable research base (pers. comm).

The development of the new archives facilities also afforded an opportunity to bring together a number of disparate collections stored in several different local repositories in the Far North District. Haami Piripi, the Te Rarawa representative on the Te Ahu Trust Board, stated “the five Iwi of the far north have extensive archival material stored in various locations and we have an opportunity, along with the museum, to develop an outstanding community archive” (Far North District Council 2010). In recognition of a Māori knowledge paradigm, which considers taonga as living memory rather than purely artifact, the Trust also extended the provision of guardianship to local iwi over any records transferred to the Archives.

In the final stages of conceptual development the Te Ahu institution would contain; the Kaitaia Community Centre, (home of the Little Theatre Company), cinema facilities, the Kaitaia Library, the Far North Regional Museum and Archives, The information centre (i-Site) and the Far North District Council Service Centre. With funding streams secured, land leases negotiated, concept designs completed and stakeholder buy-in to the idea of a joined up model of operation, the construction of Te Ahu finally commenced.

### ***7.3 Elements of Intersection and Integration in Te Ahu***

The following section of the case examines the elements of intersection and integration between the GLAM entities in Te Ahu. These elements are then discussed through a framework of organisational symbolism. Any discussion of convergent culture within Te Ahu must be prefaced by the understanding that, as an institution under development, many facets of the operational planning and infrastructure have not yet been determined. The strategies to be employed in determining many elements of Te Ahu's infrastructure are being left until the internal planning is finalised and the entities are in situ. It is envisioned by Te Ahu's General/Project Manager that this strategic approach will build more organic synergies between the entities over time.

#### ***7.3.1 Collection Integration***

In the previous two case studies I have examined collection integration through the representation of points of intersection and integration in the physical/digital collections of the institutions under study. Te Ahu, as an institution under development, and which, at the time of this research, had yet to finalise internal operational functions, offered very little empirical evidence of this type of proposed integration. Interviewees were asked

guiding questions relating to the level of anticipated collection integration or the opportunities and challenges they could foresee through the latter in the Te Ahu model. Much of the resulting discussion centred on the opportunities for multi-format exhibitions which could draw on materials across the GLAM domains. The ability of the GLAM entities to colonise open spaces with multi-format exhibitions was also considered a potential point of collection intersection. The benefits of a secure archival repository were raised by the FNDC Services Manager. It was felt that there were inherent benefits in housing and managing the Council's public records alongside those of the Far North Regional Museum's collected records.

Much of the discussion with interviewees about collection integration was restrained by references to the unknown operational space requirements and anticipated layout of the entities within the building. For instance, reference was made to the lack of collection integration afforded between the Museum and the Library due to the spatial placement of the Archives in the centre of the building.<sup>21</sup> The security required around the archives material and the resulting physical delineation from the other entities' physical collections in the Archives were largely driven by a need to gain the confidence of depositors, and in particular ensure the effective management of local iwi taonga. The FNDC Museum Trustee stated "we have a lot of valuable material that we have the knowledge, expertise and obligation to protect" (pers. comm). In this sense, the operational requirements of the Archives emerged as a barrier (both physically and conceptually) to the integration of the museum and library collections in the institution.

The idea of collection integration engendered concern over the potential depth and breadth of collection material displayed in the new institution's exhibition spaces.

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<sup>21</sup>The placement of the Archive is discussed at length in the case section on Institutional Space.



**Fig. 21 Proposed Children's Library. The library collections are distinctly grouped and contained in the new institution (Story Inc. 2011).**

There was strong evidence of public concern that the Te Ahu ideology of integration may result in a rationalisation of the physical collections and operational services of the museums. The Far North Museum Curator at the time, (Des Cotman), felt that the seven iwi conceptual model adopted by the Trust may result in little space being made available for the interpretation of Pakeha (European) history and culture. Cotman also had reservations about the lack of space available for storage and on exhibition floors for objects that did not fit within the new museum ideology. Cotman believed that the cultural heritage entrusted to the care of the Far North Regional Museum belonged to the community; he felt this was not a view shared by the Te Ahu Trust. He said this was evidenced by some of the overarching decision making relating to the repositioning and reconfiguring of the Museum within Te Ahu and its governance structures (Northland Age 2010).

While empirically difficult to ascertain the level of physically proposed collection integration anticipated for Te Ahu, the intentions to leverage off and develop the opportunities in this area were apparent through

conversations with interviewees and in the conceptual design and development of the institutional identity.

### **7.3.2 Organisational Infrastructure**

The organisation infrastructure for Te Ahu at the time of data collection was still largely under consideration. To a certain extent, the framework had been encapsulated through the *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008) which proposed a number of operational and governance options, but which was also firmly entrenched in the philosophy of the integrated model. It was envisaged that the organisational infrastructure would recursively inform and be informed by this integrative ethos.

The proposed models documented in the *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* was underpinned by a series of key learnings. The documentation sourced for this case did not specify where these key learnings emerged from, but they can be seen to have a heavy influence on the direction and level of centralisation proposed for Te Ahu's management and organisational infrastructure. Given their centrality, they have been set out in full. These included:

- The most successful community precincts are treated holistically and are managed by a central entity (not as a series of independent components/spaces with different management structures which work against one another).
- Central management assists with minimising operational costs and maximising revenue streams.
- Building management synergies take far longer when a diverse range of existing organisations are being brought together.

- Community precincts need to have a realistic management structure which both reflects and supports the built form and the way it is intended to function.
- Certain management structures cannot work unless facilitated by the precinct's design.
- Defining both the purpose of each space and the operational constraints in which it will be required to operate, are vital. Each space needs to be designed to reflect these factors. For example, there is little point in designing spaces that cannot be fitted out to the required standard or are unable to be run operationally. Designing smaller spaces that deliver excellent visitor experiences is better than designing larger spaces that deliver average experiences. This is particularly true of 'visitor orientated museums', visitor information centres and libraries.
- The majority of community precincts require some form of on-going operational assistance particularly during their first years of operation. The majority of 'community good' functions are not able to make a profit. Bringing many components (particularly if they are diverse) under one management structure may not always deliver significant economic savings. However, the social benefits are often significantly greater (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008).

Also seen in the values articulated in the *Concept Design Review* is the consideration of Te Ahu's organisational infrastructure:

Te Ahu is not a re-housing of existing institutions but seeks a dramatic shift toward convergence, working under a single mission and operating culture to find new ways of engaging a greatly expanded audience (Gorbey 2009, 11).



The hypothetical visitor walk through of Te Ahu outlined in the same *Concept Design Review* envisaged how space could be utilised and considered how operational services might function and engage with each other. This walkthrough draws heavily on the metaphor of seamless operational integration, yet makes many assumptions about the interaction and use of the GLAM components contained within. Given the proposed variety of entities that were to be housed in Te Ahu, the organisational infrastructure needed to take into account the myriad disparate activities which would take place in and around the institution. The *Concept Design Review* listed the potential activity scope for Te Ahu as:

- Ceremonial gathering and events
- Informal social gathering
- Library and informational services
- Theatre and indoor events
- Formal meeting space
- Museological display and collection
- Genealogy and other research
- Video conferencing and distance learning
- Functions associate with the Far North District Council

(Gorbey 2009, 12)

The 2008 *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* proposed three models as starting points for the organisation management structure at Te Ahu. These three models differed in degrees of centralisation. A singular centralised entity management structure was one of these. Under this model, it was envisaged that all entities would be run as individual business units reporting to a single management team. While there was an

acknowledgement of the resource rationalisation and cost benefits in terms of staffing and resource sharing that could be achieved through this structure, there was also an acknowledgement that such a centralised model might potentially impinge on the functions of specialist staff within the entities.



**Fig. 22 Proposed Cafe and Soft Seating Area. One of the many soft / recreational spaces designed for the new institution (Story Inc. 2011).**

This awareness of the impact of staff crossing entity boundaries was paramount to the philosophical underpinning of professionalisation and identity for the GLAM domains. Irrespective of service level implications, this early awareness in the development of organisational infrastructure showed a desire to maintain the institutional integrity of the GLAM professions in the design of the organisational structure. While the Study noted the possibility of cross entity staffing, there was also awareness that in reality, it would be difficult to achieve due to the professional skill sets required in certain areas of individual GLAM (and other entity) operations.

Certain functions within Te Ahu will require trained and specialist staff such as librarians or museum curators. These staff cannot simply be shifted between functions or replaced with less qualified staff without undermining service standards (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008, 51).

The idea of a completely centralised operational environment was also raised in the peer review of the Te Ahu concept undertaken by Sotheran. Sotheran believed that such a model had the potential to mitigate GLAM silos that may emerge or be transferred into the new organisational structure. Sotheran felt that the integrated ethos of Te Ahu needed to be carried through to the deepest layers of the organisation. She stated,

The concept and vision clearly must be carried right through to an integrated approach to governance, management and operations. If this does not occur, there is a real risk that the new opportunities offered by such an exciting integrated model will rapidly dissipate into old-style territories that do not complement each other and do not tell a compelling and unified story to the community (Sotheran 2009, 2).

According to Sotheran, it was critical that the former Museum, Library and Visitor Information elements of the project come together and operate seamlessly within the physical facility, under the singular vision of Te Ahu.

The second proposed operational model for Te Ahu drew on elements of centralisation, yet still attempted to account for the sector specific paradigms and specialities which were inherent in the GLAM entities. Under this partially centralised management model, the Te Ahu Trust would oversee a series of discrete business units that would be representative of the participating entities. This model was also considered to have inherent benefits in enabling the Te Ahu Trust to draw on the expertise of the GLAM entities to form advisory bodies for the running of the institution.

One controversial element of the proposed partially centralised management model included the running of the Library by Te Ahu (as Charitable Trust). Historically, public library functions in New Zealand were directly management by Local Government bodies and their administrative, legislative and cultural functioning were tied closely to this structure. The 2008 *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* acknowledged that if chosen as an option, this proposed management structure for the Library would set a New

Zealand precedent. The implications for funding and professional sector standards /frameworks were not explored or documented at any great length, but the idea was considered to have potential and be worthy of further consideration. “Te Ahu and [the] Council believe the possibility is worth exploring given the possible customer service benefits derived from a holistic management approach” (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008, 51).

The adoption of a partially centralised management structure was also an opportunity for Te Ahu to maximise visitation and subsequently improve revenue streams through the ability to better coordinate and control the central business units. This coordination was seen as pivotal to Te Ahu becoming “more than just the sum of its parts” (p 53).

Te Ahu could be at key times a large museum borrowing or colonising surrounding spaces for special exhibitions or events. At other times Te Ahu would be a large cultural centre with flexibility to utilise associated spaces for events with a cultural theme. The key to this management approach is the ability to easily facilitate the expansion and reinvention of spaces so that one function is not constrained by its traditional spatial allocations (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008, 53).

Revenue generation, and the ability of the management model to support that activity, was considered an important driver in the development of the organisational structures. There was, however, concern from individual members within the Far North Regional Museum that funding streams (including local Council operating grants) which had been independently administered by the Far North Regional Museum since the 1960s, would be absorbed and administered by the Te Ahu Trust. A redirection of funding through Trust channels would signify the administration of the Museum proper, as a Council controlled organisation, thereby losing their autonomous governance. Criticism was also expressed through public media that the Museum’s independence was in danger of being surreptitiously undermined (Northland Age 2010a). The mediation process undertaken by

the Council and the Museum in late 2009 addressed these (and other) concerns.

The Museum was also concerned that bequests already in place would be at risk of withdrawal under the proposed partially centralised management model (Northland Age 2010c). The Council however felt that in administering the museum entity, the Trust would be in a better position to develop a cohesive identity that could enhance visibility and attract great levels of external funding. The museum consultant engaged to work on the project development also supported this viewpoint.

In July 2010, under an umbrella of irreconcilable differences and personal concerns over the management of the museum entity in Te Ahu, the Curator of the Far North Regional Museum resigned. The Curator's resignation was the third from within the Museum (the first to go was the Museum Archivist). This was reportedly a direct result of discord between the Museum and the Te Ahu development planning process. The ex-Curator felt that the Council had sought to surreptitiously undermine the Museum Trust's authority stating that while "the Te Ahu Trust and the Council... had been smart enough not to try dismantling the Museum Trust, they were well down the path to emasculating it" (Northland Age 2010b).

The concept of operational independence in terms of management structure was the third option considered in the proposal. This decentralised operational model was not considered beneficial to Te Ahu as a holistic entity, even though it was acknowledged as a favoured approach by the GLAM entities because of the autonomy it offered. The Far North Regional Museum made the case for retaining an element of independent operation with one Museum Trustee declaring, "ours is a real museum right now, with artifacts and archival material that is New Zealand history. Put simply the Museum knows its business. The operational talent is within the Museum" (Shulter 2010).

The negative implications for an independent model were considered to be embedded in lack of coordination and the impact this would have on visitation and revenue streams. This issue of lack of a perceived unified identity for the Te Ahu institution was also noted as a lost opportunity for developing “operational synergies between partners” (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008, 55).

As outlined in the introduction to this section, the operational models proposed for Te Ahu provided a starting point for discussion between the contributing partners. Interviews with those involved in the planning process acknowledged and reiterated that the organisational infrastructure, along with many other elements which would make up Te Ahu, would continue to be “an evolution over time” (General Project/Manager pers. comm.)

### **7.3.3 Institutional Space**

Three initial concept designs were proposed by the architectural company hired to design the physical space that is to become Te Ahu. All three designs strongly emphasise the idea of expansion and flexibility, and demonstrate awareness of embedding educational technology into the visitor experience. They also recognised and enforced the opportunities inherent in allowing breathing room in the built environment to realise any emergent future possibilities. Similar to the visioning of the Puke Ariki model, there was a realisation that Te Ahu could become a centralised hub for cultural and associated educational activities for the wider regions of the Far North. There was also a desire in the development of Te Ahu’s design to transcend institutional stereotypes. The *Te Ahu Feasibility Study* stated “Te Ahu [has] a unique opportunity to create something expressive of our pluralism that does not accord to old stereotypes and that becomes a benchmark for future cultural facility developments throughout New Zealand” (Gorbey 2007, executive summary).

The architectural concept underpinning the design of Te Ahu centred on transparency and open spaces, with as few divisional elements as possible. The ephemeral use of space and multiplicity of occupancy were considered important in the integration between the GLAM entities. The *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* undertaken by Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill and Studio Pasifika (2008) articulated the concept of fluidity as the ability to borrow or colonise spaces from other entities, or occupy liminal spaces for the purpose of a specific finite time and/ or function. The domain boundaries and their use of space within the institution needed to be fluid; the key to this approach was seen as the ability to easily facilitate the expansion and reinvention of spaces so that one function was not constrained by the spatial allocations of the other.

It was apparent that the architecture for Te Ahu needed to remain open and flexible in its use of space to allow for easy re-configuration and negotiation of real estate between the entities. In the initial architectural vision proposed, a Te Ahu visitor may, in one glance, overlook all the functioning elements of the GLAM operations occupying the collective institutional space. The Te Ahu General/Project Manager noted that right from the inception, there was an acute awareness of the danger in building any redundancy into the architecture (pers. comm).

The philosophy underpinning the Te Ahu design also extended to the desire to create multi-use 'soft' spaces in the built environment. The *Te Ahu Feasibility Report* (Gorbey, 2007) noted that soft security and ticketing areas would need to be designed with the ability to accommodate different circumstances. These multi-use spaces would exist in conjunction with invisible controlled access and divisive service areas to accommodate the differing operational elements of the entities. The need for soft ticketing in the Te Ahu design supported these initial ideas for revenue generation. It was envisioned that some of Te Ahu's facilities/services and exhibitions

would be free to local ratepayers, but should incur costs to tourists/visitors to the area.

The Te Ahu General/Project Manager noted that one of the challenges in the development of institutional space for Te Ahu lay in very practical elements such as shared amenities. The designs of these communal spaces, such as shared lunchrooms were an attempt to build organisational culture between the operating entities. This was expressed simply by the fact that “when we started everyone wanted their own toilets, their own staffroom etc.” (pers. comm). Getting agreement on the sharing of facilities between the entities required a great deal of careful negotiation. Whether or not such conceptual design has the capacity to enrich synergies and the agency to influence organisational culture between the entities remains to be seen.

Sotheran stated in her review of the Te Ahu concept that

Many communities take a purely bricks and mortar approach to the provision of new facilities. That this community has established the vision first, and sees the bricks and mortar as merely the vehicle of a unifying vision for the whole community is a great tribute to its wisdom and resourcefulness. (Sotheran 2009, 3)

It is evident that the architectural spaces and initial concept design for Te Ahu supported the idea of liminal operation and open communication. The ability to reconfigure internal communal spaces such as dividing walls between the entities symbolised Te Ahu’s approach to building convergence. There was certainly early evidence of an attempt to create a seamless integration from the visitor experience, but still little documentation or consideration of how manipulation of space within the institution would operationally function.

One of Te Ahu’s Concept values (value number 4) emphasised the role of Te Ahu in providing community spaces for socialising. This value stated Te Ahu “is a social space where all peoples and cultures come together and become involved” (Gorbey 2009, 10). In terms of the generating of third



space (as defined by Oldenburg), Te Ahu recognised the need to develop the institution as not just a space for active use, but also for passive engagement and social interaction between the entities and between the Far North community. Earlier consultation with community groups (including local youth and iwi) identified the lack of a local meeting place, and this could be seen to be addressed in the development and design of Te Ahu (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill and Studio Pasifika 2008).

Just as in the other two institutions studied for this research, the foyer and circulation gallery were viewed as an integral component in the realisation of the fluidity of space in Te Ahu's built environment. Te Ahu's foyer/gallery was seen as an opportunity for boundary crossing between the GLAM entities. It was envisioned that this space would be used/borrowed by entities for temporary exhibitions and also visually represent the mandates of the participating GLAM domains through signage etc. In this sense, the centralised atrium would act as a unifying space through which a large portion of visitors enter the building (Te Ahu General/Project Manager pers. comm).

The Museum Consultant's review of the architectural concept in light of the Te Ahu vision also stressed the importance of the central placement of this core gathering and foyer entry space. The design for this space was envisioned as a focal point for the institution. As noted in the other institutional cases, the success of these spaces has been problematic. Puke Ariki, with the same conceptual vision, saw their foyer space become a piece of real estate with no sense of ownership or identity. The liminality of the foyer entrance, rather than building a convergent identity, had turned into a GLAM no man's land. It will be interesting to compare the functioning of Te Ahu's foyer post opening, to that of Puke Ariki.

The rubrics of space allocation in Te Ahu were determined by four key factors. These factors included the spatial requirements, constraints of the

actual development site such as geography, funding thresholds and operational cost limitations (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008). Projected visitation for each entity was also documented and taken into consideration in the allocation of space and the placement of each entity within the physical model (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008).

The determining of space between the entities in the new institution was to be one of the greatest challenges in the development of Te Ahu (FNDC Museum Trust Chair pers. comm.). As with the other institutions under study, privileged space for interpretation maintained priority over back of house museum functions. The 2008 *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* proposed that the space for the new Museum would be less than what had been projected or desired in the initial planning stages. Emphasis for the Museum and their resulting space allocation was to be firmly placed on the visitor experience. Three hundred and fifty square metres of the Museum's approximate allocation of 550 square meters was given over to the interpretative experience in the interior layout. "Heated debate" and "drama" ensued over the allocation of space. Concerns for the Museum were largely grounded on a lack of space for operational back room functions and storage (General Manager pers. comm.).

The storage is a big issue and as you would know in museums you have one third on display and usually two thirds in storage. Storage is a huge component of a museum and it has got to be equally conservation orientated and security orientated. In this circumstance, because of financial constraints, the new complex only allows us archival and display [space] and a small work area (FNDC Museums Trust Chair pers. comm.).

While the Museum felt they needed more square footage, the FNDC Museum Trust Chair acknowledged that despite the restrictions around space allocation, they were determined to make the best operational use of what space allocated (pers. comm.).

The FNDC Museum Trust Chair stated that the existing museum could act as a storage facility and provide a small workroom for collections care. This collections storage however, would be located approximately 150 meters away from the new development. Given that there is no planned designated staff member at the storage site, this separation may create issues with staff resourcing. Professional staffing is currently only planned for the Te Ahu development. The FNDC Museum Trust Chair felt that decisions such as this had come out of a lack of awareness of back of house museum functions (pers. comm).

In the early stages of Te Ahu's development the Museum also expressed a desire to maintain control of the interior fit out of their new space. The Te Ahu Development Board felt that such a move could potentially compromise the cohesiveness of the interior spaces if the Museum did not visually represent the rest of the building.



**Fig. 23** Proposed Museum Space – Social History Wall (Story Inc. 2011).

This issue (amongst others) was addressed in 2010 through a process of mediation between the Council and the Far North Regional Museum Trust; the Museum eventually opting to embrace Story Inc.'s interior concept in totality. Space allocation for the Library was less problematic. The Library

in the new development had been designated 842 square meters and although smaller than the recommended size for their catchment area, this was deemed adequate by the FNDC Customer Services Manager (pers. comm.). One tangible benefit for the Library in the development of the new institutional space has been the investigation of new operational technologies such as RFID. The FNDC Customer Services Manager considered the investigation of this technology to be a direct result of the open plan interior spaces within Te Ahu and the challenges this provided in terms of object security. Consideration of this technology would also likely extend to other branch libraries within the Far North district, which may also benefit from the implementation (pers. comm); thus extending the integrative benefits beyond the confines of Te Ahu's built environment.

Initial interior fit-out concepts for Te Ahu leveraged off the potential synergies that could be realised between the Museum and Library. The operational space between the Library and Museum was originally designed to provide liminality and an opportunity to transcend entity boundaries. The Archives which currently occupies space in the Far North Regional Museum was to be housed in a state of the art, purpose built, and climate controlled, secure facility within the new Te Ahu development (FNDC Museum Trust Chair).

The development of this space was able to be realised through the acquisition of additional funding. The first concept drawings provided by a company called Locales attempted to embrace this concept of spatial convergence. The funding earmarked for the development of a state of the art archives repository in the institution and the resulting review process saw the re-tendering of the interior fit out to a company called Story Inc. (who won the contract) and took a less integrated approach to physical layout.



**Fig. 24 Proposed Library from Mezzanine (Story Inc. 2011).**

Story Inc. placed the Archives between the Library and Museum, essentially shutting down any immediate visual connection between the two entities. Story Inc's approach to the interior design was very much functionally orientated (Te Ahu General/Project Manager pers. comm.). The resulting design of the Archives within the institution, along with an increasing awareness of the operational differences between the entities, called for the design of a secure walled area and a purpose built reading room. Once again, the distinct operational requirements of the different GLAM entities drove the delineation of the institutional space in a conceptually integrated environment. There was however a notable opportunity for the other entities in the development of a controlled reading room. Ratepayers currently wishing to view sensitive Council documents need to be monitored by Council employees in an open plan reading space, and the FNDC Service Centre and the Library hope to utilise the new secure reading space within the Archives for this purpose (FNDC Customer Services Manager pers. comm.).

While the open plan layout of the institutional spaces within Te Ahu provided some potential to explore the synergies between the entities, and in

some cases facilitate integration, the design of the institutional space also created challenges for operations which sat outside the GLAM domains.



**Fig. 25 Proposed Atrium Entrance in Te Aahu. This space will form the main visitor entrance to the institution and be used as an event space (Story Inc. 2011).**

The integration of entities outside of the cultural heritage framework such as Council facilities and a local cinema would extend the use of the Te Aahu institution beyond traditional core functioning hours of the GLAM entities. The multi-faceted use of space in Te Aahu and the open nature of the interior meant that security issues around after-hours access to the open stacks and exhibition spaces needed to be addressed, particularly in the case of functions or events, which were envisaged to be held largely in the evenings (FNDC Customer Services Manager pers. comm.).

Privacy issues in spatial allocation also became apparent, and the FNDC had to push for the inclusion of designated meeting rooms to talk through sensitive issues with community members. This has been at odds with the ideology of Te Aahu's open and fluid institutional spaces (FNDC Customer Services Manager pers. comm.). In this sense, there were a number of challenging situations in which distinctive operational requirements could not be ignored. The Te Aahu General/Project Manager acknowledged that

allocation and spatial layout had been, and would continue to be challenging, but stressed that with careful consideration and openness, Te Ahu's built environment had the potential to become more than just the sum of its individual parts (pers. comm.).

#### **7.3.4 Institutional Identity**

The operational permeation of the Te Ahu identity is in many respects also still to be finalised, as are pragmatic elements of visual representation such as uniforms, signage, marketing strategies and descriptive job titles. The discussion of institutional identity for Te Ahu in this research is centred on the theoretical underpinnings of the logo design. The theoretical and conceptual basis for this branding is analysed, and its symbolic identity discussed, in light of how it impacts on the convergent ideology of the institution.

Te Ahu's branding has been developed to reinforce the geographical and cultural identity of the region and draws on elements which are inherent in the conceptual and theoretical ideology underpinning the Te Ahu model. Te Ahu sees itself as part of the wider construct of Northland and is described in the *Concept Design* report as an icon for the Te Hiku o Te Ika; the tail of the fish.<sup>22</sup> In the development of the Te Ahu logo, there was a desire to symbolize much more than just an institution to house collective cultural functions of the district; the branding for Te Ahu is purposively embedded in a larger socio-cultural construct made up of valued belief systems and shared understandings which form part of the Northland and Kaitaia community identity. Te Ahu's branding has been developed to extend the idea of Te Ahu as more than just a physical space to that of a tangible icon, one which provides a central focus for the pluralist cohesive community that

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<sup>22</sup> The tail of the fish refers to the traditions of Maori creation in which Maui fishes up the Islands of New Zealand.

makes up the society of the Far North District (Visitor Solutions et al 2008b).

The initial branding concept discussed in the 2007 *Te Ahu Feasibility Report* states:

Te Ahu does not stand on its own, but is on the pathways that reach into the most Northerly part of New Zealand toward Te Rerenga Wairua, the final leaping place. Much more than a building, it is a hub of spiritual, social, learning and cultural activity that stands central within the wider region and that talks of not just the present but also an envisaged future in which we form new ways of connecting to each other. It is a fundamental and overarching reality that this cultural place, as a focus of identity, pluralism, cohesiveness and storytelling operates under a single brand – Te Ahu (Gorbey 2007, Executive Summary).

The identity of Te Ahu is strongly represented through the design of the logo. The design encompasses both historical and cultural information derivative of the geographical location it symbolises – the heart or life-line (Manawa line) of the district and its community. The Te Ahu logo also draws on traditional Maori art forms - the kōwhaiwhai pattern in the centre of the logo symbolises the heart line. The design of the Te Ahu logo connects the past, present and future with the large koru, symbolic of fingers reaching out to welcome locals and tourists alike (Gorbey 2009).



**Fig. 26** The Te Ahu Logo designed by Designed by Tuitui Art. Image retrieved from <http://www.teahu.org.nz/project.htm#logo>

While the holistic and integrated ideology of the Te Ahu model has very much driven the formation of its institutional identity, the Te Ahu



General/Project Manager saw value in GLAM entity delineation through sub-branding e.g. Te Ahu- Heritage, Te Ahu-Library etc. Possible sub-delineation of the GLAM entities was also raised by Sotheran in her peer review of Te Ahu. While Te Ahu General/Project Manager saw the value in delineation at sub brand level, Sotheran felt this ran the risk of symbolically decoupling the organisational identity from the organisational culture. She wrote in her peer review,

It is essential that the brand truly reflect the integrated nature of the project, which means in practice that all sub brands that have emerged from the convergence of the various stake holder groups must subsume to the Te Ahu brand. This in turn will only be achieved if the integration necessary to the project is played out through governance and management. A single brand needs a single team delivery, or there is a real risk of a dysfunctional relationship between the brand, the underpinning values and the delivery of the project (Sotheran, 2009, 6).

The Te Ahu General/Project Manager felt that the Te Ahu identity should be representative of Te Ahu functionality and space rather than representative of the historical viewpoints of each entity (pers. comm). The external identity created for Te Ahu was designed to be based on a “what we do, rather than what we are” construct. This, he said, would be facilitated by centralising the marketing budgets and marketing practices currently operating in each GLAM entity. It was envisioned that marketing across the institution’s entities would be undertaken jointly between Far North District Council and the Te Ahu Trust (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008).

#### ***7.4 An Analysis of Convergence in Te Ahu***

This section analyses points of intersection and integration between the participating entities in the development of Te Ahu through a theoretical lens of organisational symbolism. This symbolism is interpreted through the

institutional artifacts, language, sagas and built environment. As with the other cases, the interpretation of symbols and artifacts which emerge from this case must be read on the understanding that they are emic (interpreted through the eyes of the researcher) and context bound – both in field as well as in time.

Organisational sagas “with their heroes, scapegoats, battles, victories and the like gives members symbolically loaded points of reference, organised in time” (Berg 1985, 286). Te Ahu, as an institution in development at the time of data collection, did not have the same depth of institutional history apparent in the other cases under study. While not inextricably linked, the time span of development and entity association nevertheless offers richer ground for the emergence of organisational stories and sagas.

The negotiation and mediation between the ex-Curator of the Far North Regional Museum and the Council, along with the intended removal of material by museum depositors in protest and in support of the ex-Curator, embodied an organisational saga. The weight of the differences expressed was such that I was advised not to approach the ex-Curator for an interview. There was concern that any further engagement between myself as a researcher, the ex-Curator and the Te Ahu project may create (or engender) further discord. The early conceptual differences and public discord between the Museum and the Council in the development of Te Ahu as an integrated model was representative of an organisational battle that signified the challenges inherent in the development of the new integrated organisational form.

The linguistic artifacts symbolic to the development of a convergent culture in Te Ahu appear largely in the documentary material sourced for case. Linguistic artifacts also featured heavily in the interviews conducted with those involved in the development of the institution. Platitudes, labels, jokes, pet-names and slang are also significant expressions of organisational

culture and can be read as artifacts which both shape and represent organisational ethos (Shultz 1995). Metaphors of the field can become a tool for comparative analysis of different organisations (Manning 1979).

The referral by the Manager/Project Director of the need to avoid the Te Papparisation of the project implied an awareness of the historical integrated cultural heritage milieu. This linguistic artifact used by the Manager/Project Director elevated Te Papa beyond the bounds of the institution itself and into the realms of caricature or metaphor used to describe a privileging of entertainment and over-integrated ideology of the delivery and management of cultural heritage services.

The negative connotations had been associated with the linguistic artifact in the mind of the members of the Development Team. Te Papparisation symbolised the privileging of the entertainment spectacle and a visitor centric focus at the expense of core cultural heritage functioning. Te Ahu strove to develop a balance which represented the inherent benefits of both the former and the latter, an institution which had the entertainment value but still maintained integrity in core function.

In a symbolic approach to the study of organisational symbolism, Shultz believes organisations stay together because of shared values and culture, rather than over-arching objectives and policies (1994). An institutional logo can act as both a tool for identity formation and image building (Olins 1989).

The encapsulation of multiple elements in the Te Ahu logo design that pertained to community, the institutional entities, regional location and history generated an organisational artifact that represented such a shared set of values.



**Fig. 27 Proposed Museum Space (Story Inc. 2011).**

Organisational symbols can also act as agents in their own right, having the power to influence, rather than only being representative of, the organisation's culture. In the case of Te Ahu, the institutional identity encompassed in the logo had the potential to recursively reflect and act upon the integrated ethos of the organisation.

The Te Ahu logo symbolises a heart line, a gathering place for the Far North community and encapsulates in its design the ebb and flows of energy that move through the institution and taonga contained within. The unfurling fronds in the logo design are representative of new growth and of reaching out to the community and to tourists, welcoming them into the heart of the Far North District (Te Ahu 2010). The manawa (or heart-line) embodied in the kōwhaiwhai pattern, can be read as an organisational artifact designed to both represent a new cohesive organisational form, as well as acknowledging the whakapapa and the participating entities and wider stakeholders.

Te Ahu's logo, as an organisational artifact, encapsulated and symbolised the need for the institution to be reflective of, and welcoming to, all community visitors. Once again, the individual GLAM entities contained

within are not represented in the logo design or in the overarching identity for the institution. Whether or not this will permeate through to other signage envisioned for the built environment was unable to be determined from the sources consulted for the case. The intention to sub-brand the participating entities, as indicated in the case write up, is symbolic of a desire to delineate the identities in the micro-level organisational structure. Embedded in the already established individual GLAM identities is the rationale for this delineation that is symbolic of the organisation's approach to maintaining integrity of the entities. While a decision to sub-brand was considered in the peer review report as counter-intuitive to the development of a cohesive convergent culture, it also paradoxically symbolised an awareness of the inherent differences in the GLAM entities, both in operation and in their core mandates. The institutional identity developed for Te Ahu implied an overarching cohesive framework, but the integrity of the individual entities was seen as important to maintaining an identity that would "enhance the strength of the heritage and library brands" (FNDC Services Manager pers. comm).

In a study of organisational symbolism, the building serves as a totem, a representation of the corporate collective identity (Olf, Berg and Kreiner 1990). The replication and use of the imagery in a built environment is symbolic of the organisational value placed in the agency of that built environment to project and influence organisational identity. In this sense, the built environment that is to become Te Ahu represents a totem of expressive progress for wider community development. The enchantment (Dale and Burrell 2008) of the new build extended the notion of the institution as a totem for progression and a refocusing of identity, for not only the entities contained within, but also the macro environment in which the institution was placed. Moreover one of the key drivers for the development of the new institutional form lay in the need to upgrade and/or extend the current facilities occupied by the Far North Library, Museum and

Community Centre. In this sense the identity of Te Ahu and the development of the built environment were strongly intertwined.

Olf, Berg and Kreiner (1990) believe that the flatter the structure in terms of architectural design, the less implication of hierarchy inherent in the organisational structure. They also believe that the greater the number of transient and social gathering spaces in the built environment such as foyers, lobbies, atriums (3<sup>rd</sup> spaces as defined by Oldenburg), the more generation and fostering of the idea of 'community' that is possible between the organisation's members. While Olf, Berg and Kreiner consider these spaces to be community generating, in both a micro and macro organisational sense, Dale and Burrell caution against the deterministic nature of space as perceived by the architect or designer and emphasise,

Just because designers, architects and managers have particular ideas about the relations of employees, consumers or householders with the spaces they have conceived, does not mean that either identity or social relations are influenced in such a direct or straightforward fashion (2008, 100).

Therefore, the desire to build fluidity and the potential for integration into the design of Te Ahu does not necessarily predicate a determined function for those spaces. As with the other cases under study, the liminal spaces in the institutions such as the foyers, lobbies, shared galleries etc. often, exist in tension with the territorial spaces claimed by the individual entities. In the development of Te Ahu, interview data suggested that the design of the built environment was conceived within a philosophical framework of openness and liminality and without an operationally granular awareness of how the entities contained within might interact and function.

Defining both the purpose of each space and the operational constraints in which it will be required to operate, are vital. Each space needs to be designed to reflect these factors. For example, there is little point in designing spaces that cannot be fitted out to the

required standard or are unable to be run operationally. Designing smaller spaces that deliver excellent visitor experiences is better than designing larger spaces that deliver average experiences. This is particularly true of ‘visitor orientated museums’, visitor information centres and libraries (Visitor Solutions, Chow Hill, and Studio Pasifika 2008, 50).



Fig. 28 Proposed Atrium from Mezzanine ( Story Inc. 2011)

While the conceptual ideology of integration featured heavily in the design of the built spaces, addressing the actual functioning elements was considered to be an “evolution over time” (Managing/Project Director pers. comm). In this sense the desire to build liminality into the architecture of Te Ahu could result in myriad passive spaces which remain transient and as a result void of organisational ownership.

Paradoxically the more open the institutional spaces, the greater the need for the members of the organisation to affiliate with a bounded identity. This is achieved through (when present), associating with and replicating the macro integrated organisational identity, or, if affiliation with the macro identity has become de-coupled from the organisation members’ own perception of self, then identity will manifest through the defining of territories. These

territories are often defined through manipulation and occupancy of the built environment (Dale and Burrell 2008). In the case of Te Ahu, this was demonstrated through the negotiation of space in the new institution by the Museum entity. The distance created by the open integrated concept (particularly in the early days of the institution's conceptual development) saw the Far North Regional Museum strive for recognition and real-estate to carry out the full operation requirements of museum function (including back of house and interpretive activity). The Museum's desire to initially maintain control of the interior fit out of their territories in the new institution also showed a desire to retain or develop organisational identity that sat in operational distinction to the proposed cohesive design of the other institutional spaces.

The dominant entity from an organisation symbolism perspective in the Te Ahu case has emerged as the Archives. This is unique to the three cases under study. The placement of the Archives in the centre or heart of the building is symbolic of entity privilege and in determining where the cultural capital rests. While the placement of the Archives between the Museum and the Library closed down many opportunities for visual/collection integration, embedded in operational and funding frameworks were the drivers for the placement of the Archives. Story Inc's placement of the Archives signalled an operational division, a more functionally-orientated approach to entity placement in the new institution. Gone were Locale's soft open spaces designed to create as much interaction and engagement between the entities as possible, as Story Inc's approach implied a divergence in physicality in what was originally considered a conceptually convergent environment. The reality of achieving full integration, as Te Ahu's General/Project manager stated, was "bloody hard" (pers. comm.).



## **7.5 Conclusion**

The purpose of this case study examined how Te Ahu proposes to build a new operating culture and how conceptual, operational and architectural design will influence the development of a convergent culture. The interviewees for Te Ahu collectively agreed and supported the ideology of Te Ahu creating a central focus for the local community, a place where different types of people will come together to engage with each other and with their cultural heritage (Far North District Council Museum Trustee; Manager Service Delivery; Te Ahu General/Project Manager pers. comm).

The Te Ahu model was,

Prototypical – a benchmark for communities seeking to grow their cultural institutions for the betterments of society. A model which draws on the strengths of tradition but is not stultified by ways of doing things that rests in the past. The new concept fundamentally shifts the idea of a cultural institution forward into the 21st Century to draw together information with collections and archives in an environment of optimised information technologies and supporting national strategies (Gorbey 2007, 7).

In considering the development of an integrated model that is Te Ahu, it is important to note that many of the concepts proposed for the institution are frameworks designed to provide a structure on which to re-consider, recombine and build a joined up model of operation. As with Te Papa, the initial conceptual ideology for Te Ahu strove for full integration, integration that would permeate deeply the contributing entities and be representative of a holistic converged identity and operational infrastructure. As with the other cases under study, the initial integrative concept has undergone a process of softening. The difference between the Te Ahu model and the other cases however rests in the extent to which the integrative model has been left open to evolution. Contextual constraints such as reviews, the ideology and personalities of entity partners as well as funding constraints and sources for the project were definite catalysts in the softening of the

convergent concept. Te Ahu's General/Project Manager stated that "full convergence from day one was going to see so many heels dug into the sand, too many barriers...there needed to be a migratory path" (pers. comm.). In this sense, the development of an integrative model for Te Ahu has been left to evolve as time and space dictate.

The Te Ahu General/Project Manager felt that there were many synergies and opportunities in convergence between the GLAM entities. However, there was also a tendency for contributing entities to focus on the negative rather than the positive and, by extension, a tendency to focus on what had the potential to be lost, as opposed to potential gain (pers. comm). In the design process there was also a temptation for some partners to focus on the minutiae and this needed to be balanced against the bigger vision that would become Te Ahu. There was also a need to find a balance between the object-centred museum paradigm and the integrated, democratised model of the new museology that was proposed for Te Ahu.

The Museum Trust was very wary of implementing too much visitor experience into the new development and as noted in the analysis, the linguistic artifacts used to articulate this ethos were identified as a concern over the Te Pāparisation of the institution and the museum experience. The *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* also raised the issue of balance between the current museum philosophy (what the report deemed to be traditional or core museums functions) and how the adoption of a visitor centric model (democratised new museological model) would be a factor in visitor projections for the new institution.

One of the key conceptual values documented in the *Concept Design Review Report* is embedded in value nine. This value is probably the most compelling in terms of research focus. This value specifically encapsulates the integrative ethos of Te Ahu's development. "Te Ahu is an integrated cultural, educational, recreational and leisure community facility (2009,

p.11). This value firmly states that Te Ahu does not wish to be simply a “re-housing of institutions, but seeks a dramatic shift toward convergence”. The use of the word dramatic implied a paradigm shift that was removed from traditional models of management. Value 9 then goes on to state that Te Ahu aims to work “under a single mission and operational culture to find new ways of engaging a greatly expanded audience... All we do is strengthened by a singular idea of self.” This idea of singular-self was to be supported through the development of cohesive branding and a collective visual visitor experience echoed in the built environment. It is hoped that this would be achieved through engaging with the possibilities inherent in the development of synergies between Te Ahu’s GLAM entities.

The drivers for Te Ahu were largely embedded in resource rationalisation (a common theme) and tourism (point of difference). However, communications from the Te Ahu Trust to stakeholders also proposed the drivers for integration to be embedded in enhanced visitor experience. The Te Ahu Trust Website FAQ page designed for public communication contained the following question: “Why build a multifunctional, integrated facility and not just upgrade existing facilities’?” The answer stated:

Multifunctional, integrated facilities are a great way of delivering exceptional visitor experiences. Offering outstanding customer service and making best use of resources. They also provide a focus for a community and can be the point of difference between one town and another (Te Ahu, 2010).

Even though the visitation projections in the *Feasibility and Optimisation Study* noted the inherent difficulty in projecting numbers due to the uncertainty surrounding “space and level of interactive fit out” (2008, 48), there was a strong underlying supposition that the development of the integrated model, along with the newness of the institutional space, would encourage people to visit and enhance visitor stay.

Te Ahu's built environment was designed to be open and fluid, as the initial design phase went ahead with nominal awareness of the interoperability or internal functioning between the GLAM entities or other entities contained within. Given that co-location is an element on the collaborative continuum discussed in the literature review, it is likely that the mere act of close physical approximation of the Te Ahu entities will nevertheless act as a catalyst for deeper levels of integration and self (entity) identified synergies. The underlying framework for the development of this type of democratic self-driven integration as a result of close physical proximity rests in the following question: do GLAM entities (if given the space and time in which to engage) develop their own self discovered synergies? These self-discovered synergies would demonstrate a type of democratic integration, rather than one imposed by constraining systems such as institutional space, collection integration and operation integration.

Te Ahu as an institution encompassed the greatest number of entities of all three cases studied. As noted in the introduction, a number of these were outside the scope of the cultural heritage research framework. Nevertheless, there has been an identified sub-influence by these (other) entities on the participating library, archives, and museum operational functions and on the perception of funding streams for the institution as a whole. Operationally, the addition of these (other) entities provided initial challenges around the security of the GLAM collections and services. The addition of the cinema complex and the associated event spaces meant that overall access to the institution extended beyond the core operational hours of the library/museum/archives entities. The liminality of the interior spaces, while arguably fostering integration, elevated concerns over open access to areas of the institution (and collections/exhibits) after hours by members of the public without the presence of designated staff to monitor access. At the time of data collection these issues were still being worked through.

There was also an implication by one interviewee that the greater the number of integrated elements in the institution, the greater the potential funding base for Te Ahu. For example, if the inclusion of the Kaitaia Community Hall which houses the Little Theatre becomes part of the new Te Ahu development, can the integrated institution apply for funding streams relating to Theatre? Whether or not the funding stays with the Theatre or is disseminated for the benefit of the entire Te Ahu institution will be dependent on the final organisational/governance structure and remains to be seen. While ideologically access to a greater number of funding streams may benefit the overall institution, does it “water-down” the benefits to the individual GLAM entities? Are funders more likely to back an integrated institution or feel that they run the above risks in awarding to integrative administrative models? These questions, while outside the scope of this case and this research, would benefit from further investigation.

A punga is the anchor stone of a waka. Integration in the development of the Te Ahu concept can be metaphorically described as Te Punga a Te Ahu, or the anchor of Te Ahu. While the early conceptualising for the institution presented a series of options for creating differing levels of integration between the entities, the solidifying fundamental ethos which underpinned the development was integration. In this sense, the ideological concept of integration provided an anchor from which to reconsider and recombine throughout the development process. Integration provided a solid foundation for the GLAM entities, the Far North Regional Council, the Far North Regional community and the Te Ahu Trust to negotiate knowledge across domain boundaries. The anchor stone provided by integration created a central point which allowed synergies to be explored in and around a central philosophy. The weight of the anchor stone provided solidity for the stakeholders in a developmental process which faced both challenges and presented opportunities.

If the root metaphor for the development of a convergent culture in Te Ahu was an anchor stone, then the institutional spaces and identity form the ship or vessel. Te Ahu (as an institution) provides a waka for the Far North Community to engage and celebrate their cultural memory. Just as a waka affords a means to journey and sustain life, so Te Ahu provides a life-line or heart for the people of the Far North.

Within the waka, the individual entities all played a part in driving forwards and in steering the direction of the institution. Any attempt to stop paddling by one or more of the entities resulted in a loss of momentum and direction. The strength of Te Ahu lies in its unison and in the variety and sheer number of entities with a stake in the institution's future success.



**Fig. 29** Anchor stone (Punga) from the waka Matahorua. Ca. 1940. Crompton-Smith, A M :Photographs of New Zealand scenes. Ref: 1/2-027080-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Image retrieved from <http://beta.natlib.govt.nz/records/23241877>

The strength of Te Ahu's operational framework will emerge from an understanding and acknowledgment of the importance of the participating individual entities in driving forward the development. In the expansion of

Te Ahu, Te Punga was hauled up, the Waka moved and the anchor stone lowered again, the concept of integration in Te Ahu has and will continue to drift and resettle.

Te Ahu as an integrated institution in development supports the concept of convergence as a fluid construct, not a definitive end state. The development of a convergent culture for Te Ahu has been designed to leverage off the strength of a collective identity, yet maintain the integrity of the participating entities. In this sense, the development of integration in Te Ahu will very much be an evolution over time.

## ***Afterword***

Te Ahu was officially opened by the Governor General of New Zealand on April 28th 2012. In order to maintain the integrity of the case study in terms of data collection timeframes, additional data outside of the defined scope has not been sought. Re-visiting the GLAM entities in situ in the functioning Te Ahu environment is acknowledged as an area for further study, but one which is beyond the bounds of this thesis.

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## 8 Conclusions

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The three cases examined in this research provided empirical evidence of the way in which GLAM entities exchange and generate new knowledge across GLAM domain boundaries. Understanding this process provides a foundation for addressing how a culture of convergence is generated between GLAM entities in an integrated memory institution.

It is worth repeating at the beginning of this chapter that this research used a multiple case study approach as a framework for data collection and analysis because of the opportunity it afforded to interact in a holistic and interpretive way within the confines of a bounded system – in this instance, the converged organisations. Stake explains this further:

Case study research is not sampling research. We do not study a case primarily to understand other cases... The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself (Stake 1995, 8).

While the findings from these cases cannot be divorced from their context or applied beyond the bounds of their frameworks, case study methodology supports the use of discussion across the multiple cases. According to Yin, this cross-case synthesis strengthens the validity of the research and supports discussion of emerging theory (Yin 1994). Conclusions have been drawn and included within the bounds of the individual case studies. The purpose of this chapter then, is not a reductionist discussion of the data, but an opportunity to highlight and theorise points of interest, sameness and difference that have emerged from the cases. The discussion in this chapter also revisits the literature in light of case findings, draws conclusions from the case synthesis, considers areas for further research and theorises the building of GLAMour in an integrated cultural heritage environment.

Points of intersection and integration between the GLAM collections manifest in the services and programming in the institutions studied. Given that collections form the most tangible facet of our cultural heritage milieu, the cases studied for this research showed surprisingly few successful attempts at collection integration and even more surprisingly, an absence of collection integration in a digital domain.

The challenge of collection integration is multifaceted and lies in the variety of material each entity works with. Collection integration in the cases studied illuminated the differences in worldviews between the GLAM entities; these differences were largely embedded in the tenets of operational reality. The traditional scholarly treatment of objects between the GLAM domains created difficulties in transcending the boundaries between the physical collections. Differing collection specific priorities such as physical storage space, preservation management requirements and different back of house functions meant that points of intersection and integration, in these areas, showed varying degrees of success. While it seems possible to reconceptualise boundaries between the entities if the formats (and treatments of those formats) are similar, such as in the case of digital objects, it proved much harder to replicate such functionality between disparately different physical collection objects, particularly when differing scholarly treatment underpinned those differences. Case data shows that differing operational requirements such as preservation management does not afford the same natural development of convergence in this layer.

Collection integration manifests most strongly through the services and extended programming provided in the integrated institutions. All three cases had blended, or intended to blend, objects from across their participating GLAM collections in their interpretive spaces; the exhibition imperative dominated in all cases studied. The data shows that one of the key opportunities (in terms of collection integration) was the ability to draw on objects from across the GLAM domains to strengthen narrative and layer

information in, and around programming. While one key collaborative advantage considered by staff in the integrated institutions was this ability to extrapolate and leverage off both the information as well as the aesthetic value in the collection objects, the juxtaposing of artifacts in exhibitions paradoxically highlighted the differing value propositions and generated tension between the collections in both Te Papa and Puke Ariki. Art and artifact in the opening day exhibition *Parade* magnified the differing worldviews held by the gallery and museum domains and forced the negotiation of knowledge in and around the indexical and aesthetic values placed on the treatment of the art in a narrative context. The blending of museum artifact and information through the placement of glass exhibition cases between the stacks in the library space in Puke Ariki also highlighted dichotomy in the collections. While these cases formed a symbolic reminder of the integrative concept, paradoxically, through lack of sympathetic entrenchment in the subject areas surrounding them, they formed a static juxtaposition in residence next to constantly moving book stock.

The treatment of liminal collection genres in the integrated institution also varied. At best, formats such as images and Maori taonga could exist as a continuum of practice unbounded by GLAM division. At worst, their place in the collections milieu could be “grey, foggy and complex” (Te Papa staff pers comm.). The integrated institution, through the exhibition imperative, attempts to move away from a collection centred to a narrative centred paradigm reflecting the tenets of the new museology. Paradoxically, close proximity through attempts at physical collection integration only served to highlight collection centric differences between the GLAM domains.

One area of collection integration worthy of further discussion is the notion of physical vs. conceptually integrated collections. The best example of this is the treatment of photography in Te Papa. Two disparate collections have been conceptually integrated through metadata, and access is provided through a collective interface, yet the physical collections remain distinct in

terms of back of house treatment and physical storage. On the basis of this data I argue that the actual management and back of house function does not necessarily need to have the same level of cohesive and integrated operation as the conceptual layer of representation. A physical separation and a conceptual integration of collection material can cohabit in the GLAM collection framework. This approach maintains back of house integrity and accounts for the differences in operational treatment, while still allowing the integrative advantage to manifest in conceptual layers of the integrative space such as in digital platforms, access points such as the TRC, and in multi format exhibition. In this sense, the value for collections in integrative institutions rests in front of house operation. In the case of the TRC, actual integration of the physical collections was minimal. The integrative value lay in the discovery layer provided by the TRC. Situating the TRC metaphorically (and conceptually) on top of the heritage collections, Puke Ariki created a value added service that did not impinge on the core functioning of the individual GLAM domains.

One of the striking similarities to come out of all three cases included the lack of integration present in the I.T. platforms used to manage and access the GLAM materials in the physically integrated environment. Given that digitised (and born-digital) material negates many of the inherent differences in the treatments of physical collections, I would have thought this to be an area that would show a much deeper level of integration. As noted above, the actual physical location of the material can be materially irrelevant if the access points and collection management systems provide a unified digital front end. While the impetus for the implementation of such a system existed in the ethos of the institutions, discussions with staff in all three cases showed that the resources and technology (particularly in the case of Puke Ariki) to facilitate integration in this layer, were not deemed adequate or prioritised in the operational frameworks.

Data from the cases also shows there are intrinsic differences in the use of collection management platforms by the entities. The literature reviewed for this research highlights the lack of interoperable standards for the description and management of collection objects as a fundamental barrier to convergent practice in a digital milieu (Ray and Choudry 2002); ten years on this research corroborates these ideas. Data from the cases extends this argument to include not only the I.T. infrastructure as a constraining element, but also the competing institutional priorities and differing value propositions placed on the systems between the entities. To the curatorial staff in Puke Ariki, Vernon (the heritage collection's CMS) "was almost as valuable as the bible", while the library catalogue was seen as "just an access point, a finding aid" for published material (pers. comm).

An element of soft technological determinism comes through in this discussion. While work on the interoperable metadata and descriptive standards to facilitate collection integration and discoverability continues, the frameworks that underpin the differences in scholarly treatment of the collection formats in the cases studied remain firmly entrenched in GLAM institutional practice. The development of interoperable standards such as the CIDOC Conceptual Reference Model may create collective discovery for cultural heritage materials, but the differing value propositions for the management of those systems by the people who use them remains largely unchanged. Interoperability in a digital space layers collection convergence on top of intrinsically embedded collections, but has little agency in realignment of the collection paradigms between the GLAM entities. While the willingness to engage with the idea of integration in a digital space came through in the interviews conducted with staff, the pragmatic reality empirically showed that collection integration in a digital layer, takes a back seat to operational functions such as upgrading of furniture, and is not always viewed as a core institutional priority.

Collections in an integrated institution do hold some symbolic agency in the generation of a convergent culture between staff. Visibility and centrality of material generated communication and fostered appreciation of institutional professionalism between the entities. Federated systems and service points (such as the TRC) created a unifying layer, not only through identity, but also acted as agents at a socio-cultural level by enabling engagement between staff with objects which exist, or that are managed, in other GLAM domains. The integrated institution also enabled cross-fertilisation for members of the public to engage with the differing GLAM collections. Library patrons reportedly have high return visitation whereas museums experience less repeat visitation and function on an experience-based ideology. Integration or extension of the library collections and their access points and vice versa into the museum environment made users more aware of museum collections, their role in research and the use of those objects as information tools. This was particularly the case when those collections were treated in a way that cohesively supported public visibility, search functionality, access and management, such as in the case of the TRC, and also in multi-format exhibitions.

The organisational infrastructure in the integrated institution carried varying amounts of agency in the development of a convergent culture between the participating GLAM entities. An unresolved tension existed in how much the development of a generalist convergent framework such as generic job titles, task specialisation and the development of cross entity teams, worked towards building a convergent culture. Interview data and documentary sources highlighted the impact of organisational change and the varying successes of particular strategies used by organisational members to develop and maintain cohesive operational elements. The use of cross-entity teams, an obvious framework for the influencing of organisational culture and breaking down GLAM silos, were successful in the front of house (interpretation, discoverability, and programming) layers of the organisation, but attempts at cross entity staffing in the heart of the

institutions created challenges. These challenges were largely embedded in the differing GLAM purposes. Curatorial staff in Puke Ariki noted the inherent issues in having one manager who worked across both library and museum operations. These issues centred on professional experience, interests, background, and alignment with one entity over another. This was not viewed as a deliberate mechanism to undermine or privilege one domain over another at management level, more as an inherent vice borne of the GLAM environments individuals naturally align with. It was difficult, they stated, to find a manager who had the education and professional background that provided a truly “balanced and equal understanding of the inherent differences and worldviews of all GLAM domains” (Curator B pers. comm).

More than any of the other entities studied, the Archives in all three institutions struggled to carve out real estate in the liminal organisational structures. The Archives in the integrated environment were often in danger of their having their records pillaged and purged by co-habiting entities; this was particularly the case for collected archives. Record series faced the danger of dismemberment by curators looking to move format-specific objects such as works on paper, photographs, ephemera etc. into museum collection frameworks. Published material acquisitioned into the Archives had to ward off the challenge of Library transfer. Not only were their challenges for the Archives in terms of communicating and respecting the principles of provenance (and original order), but their institutional records and related recordkeeping functions were generally divorced from the archival function. This situation was apparent in all three cases studied, recordkeeping functions being spread across two differing organisational directorates. In Te Papa, the Archivist resided under the Knowledge Management organisational arm and the Records Manager under Corporate Services. This type of placement highlighted the lack of understanding, at organisational level, around the recordkeeping continuum and reinforced a life-cycle approach to the management of the organisation’s records.

The agency of cross-entity teams in generating engagement between GLAM domains came through strongly in the data analysed for the cases. All three institutions made use of these teams in a number of aspects of their development and/or operations over the course of their life cycle. Changes to cross-entity teams over time highlighted the fluidity of engagement in these institutions. Many of these teams (particularly in the case of Puke Ariki) had been disbanded, due in part to issues with knowledge dissemination or through competing shifts in organisational priorities. These developments of these teams were seen as beneficial in generating knowledge across domain boundaries through the creation of a forum for communication. Communication (or the forum to facilitate communication) between the GLAMs emerged as a strong enabler in generating an integrated culture at an organisational level. A Puke Ariki Curator acknowledged this by stating,

One of the challenges in not having or working across entity teams is that it is easy to sit there and think, they have no idea what you're doing and they have more money than you while we are struggling and we aren't getting the same resourcing as you. In some ways this can foster an, us against them mind-set because we actually feel in competition with the different aspects of the business for resources (Curator B pers. comm.).

The development of cross-entity teams in all three cases was most strongly represented in the front of house operations, or in teams that had been bought together for project-orientated tasks. This type of team (such as the Events Team in Puke Ariki) facilitated the exchange and generation of ideas and cross fertilisation of skill sets, but did not impinge on the core operations of the individual GLAM functions. Paradoxically the generation of a cohesive organisational infrastructure also created issues around loss of professional identity in the institutions studied. Rather than breaking down silos, these mechanisms tended to alienate the individuals from their recognised professional frameworks. This homogeneity exemplified in the



removal of GLAM delineating language in job titles and through the wearing of organisational uniforms.

In the case of physical convergence, the idea of the container affecting the contained came through strongly in the data derived from the cases. In all cases studied, the institutional architecture and design of the interior spaces contained a great deal of agency in the development of a convergent culture. Issues with space appropriation were present in two of the three cases, Puke Ariki, due perhaps in part to the purpose built wings dominated by the library and museum domains, did not express the same level of discontent with the amount of space. Issues regarding space appropriation in Te Ahu and Te Papa rested in the exhibition imperative and in the perceived amount of space given over to interpretation at the expense of back of house function and adequate office space.

Closely associated with status and territorialisation is the amount of space and the placement of the entities within that space. As noted in the analysis of convergence in Te Ahu, open institutional spaces have a huge impact on the development of organisational culture. Dale and Burrell argue that the more open the institutional spaces, the greater the need for members of the organisation to affiliate, or re-generate a bounded identity. Organisations achieve this either by associating with and replicating the macro integrated organisational identity, or if disconnect exists between that identity and their own value propositions, through the defining of territories. Often these territories are defined through manipulation of the built environment (Dale and Burrell 2008). This was seen in the case of Te Papa, when curatorial staff created bounded territories through the placement of furniture to circumvent the openness built into the architecture of the institution.

The institutions studied in this research contained multiple passive and active 'third spaces'. The literature reviewed considered these third spaces to be those that were distinct from home and work, included areas for

people to socially engage, had provision for food and drink, comfortable furniture, reading material and contained elements of familiarity in a publically accessible environment (Oldenburg 1991; Whyte 2009). All three cases offered multi-use spaces, none more so than Te Ahu. With the addition of a cinema complex, community hall and conference/event facilities, Te Ahu leveraged off the opportunity to embed the developing institution into the heart of the community, knowledge and leisure milieu. The extension of these third spaces into the built environment created issues for Te Ahu around operations in terms of security. Once again, the cohesive extension of the services created issues in the core operational mandates of the participating entities.

The built environment that represented Te Papa and Puke Ariki (and what is to become Te Ahu) existed as totems, which symbolised the investment and importance placed on the management and interpretation of their communities' cultural memories. As noted in the *Analysis of Convergence in Te Ahu*, the replication and use of the imagery in a built environment is symbolic of the organisational value placed in the agency of that built environment to influence organisational identity. The enchantment (Dale and Burrell 2008) of the new build of these institutions extends the notion of the institution as a totem for progression and a refocusing of identity, for not only the entities contained within, but also the macro environment in which the institution exists.

Duff (2011), in a conference presentation, highlighted the issue of dominating paradigms in the integrative environment. In this research, the museum entity in both the Te Papa and Puke Ariki cases emerged as the dominant institutional culture. The amount of space given over to interpretation and exhibition in the integrated institution empirically supports this concept. While the ideology behind space allocation in an institution should be bound by the concept of multi-entity representation, the reality is that in all three institutions, space for interpretation and exhibition

(which is still very much the core *raison d'être* of the museum milieu) was privileged above other allocations. The data from this research does not suggest that in order for integration to succeed, an equitable division of space for representation and operational function is required. Nevertheless, the fact remains that based on the symbolism of space allocation and the association between territory and power, the museum entity in both Te Papa and Puke Ariki occupied privileged spatial territories in both size and placement, ipso facto they emerged as the dominant organisational culture. In Te Ahu, funding opportunity, strength of collection and physical placement of the entity elevated the Archives to centre stage.

There are immutable forces present in the fabric of the built environments in all three cases studied. The desire to build liminal spaces and openness to support convergence between the entities into the architecture and design of the interior spaces cultivated a tension between the GLAM entities. There was willingness to come together in these 'other' spaces that provided opportunities to reconsider and recombine. However, differences in core operational mandates, domain identity and the treatment of collection formats exerted a strong force on the entities that maintained polarity. Seen empirically in the foyer spaces of both Te Papa and Puke Ariki, instead of representing the GLAM entities contained within, these spaces had become awkward GLAM no-man's-lands. Like a front line decimated by war, the GLAM entities had all but retreated deeper into the institution seeking the safety of familiar home territories, leaving space for re-germination by consumer services, such as retail, cafes and information centres.

Does a rose by any other name still smell as sweet? It would seem not in the case of building GLAMour. In the cases studied, the development of new institutional branding extended beyond the desire to generate and represent a cohesive identity. The development of new institutional branding attempted to embed the integrated identity in the wider socio-cultural construct in which it operated. In the study of organisational symbolism,

Shultz believes organisations stay together because of shared values and culture, rather than over-arching objectives and policies (1994). An institutional brand can act as both a tool for identity formation and in image building (Olins 1989). Graphical representations of this integrated institutional identity were symbolised in the signage, the logos, in the building design, the uniforms and in the language used in external marketing and communications.

In the institutions studied, the re-branding that occurred created a symbolic cohesive identity for the macro environment in which the organisation operated BUT a de-coupling of that cohesive identity existed in the internal organisational structures and in the individual mind-set of the organisational members. In describing their working environment, many staff resorted to the use of delineated language embedded in traditional GLAM paradigms. The individual GLAM entities still referred to themselves as “the Library” or “the Museum”, and this extended through to language used to describe their collections, buildings and services.

The imposition of a collective identity created tension for some entities; particularly when that collective identity extended beyond the institutional boundaries and into the wider organisational structure. This was the case of branch community libraries in Puke Ariki, and in the case of Te Papa, when one identity subsumed the other. Issues with cohesive identity also occurred in the rejection of staff uniforms. Uniform persistence over time, however, has only existed in front line staffing. This highlights and supports the idea of decoupling between back of house function (still operationally embedded in the individual GLAM domains) and the democratised integrated identity at the front end, which is presented to stakeholders and patrons in the institutions studied.

Paradoxically Te Ahu’s intention to sub-brand, and Puke Ariki’s reinstatement of the language used by patrons to describe their institution,

showed a democratic desire to acknowledge specialisation. As the General Manager of Puke Ariki stated, “the only way we are going to be an excellent integrated facility in my opinion, is if we have excellent individual component parts” (General Manager pers. comm).

The idea of institutional identities existing not just as a brand but also a geography supports the close association between the boundaries of the institutional identity being contained not only in the built environment, but also in the relationship of the institutions entrenchment in the their urban frameworks. The identities of the institutions studied extend beyond their collections, programming or services (the contained) to their containers and to the placement of those containers in their urban framework. The following quote best exemplified this association between identity and geography:

It is as much about the Mana of the place and the historical references as to why we are called Puke Ariki. Trying to translate that to somewhere else is culturally a little awkward, it's not a brand like Te Papa, in a sense it is, but it is also very closely tied to the geography and Mana Whenua, we have to mindful of where that comes from (Manager Service Delivery, pers. comm).

As a boundary object, institutional identity had agency both in terms of developing cohesion but also in the pluralisation of the integrated organisational ethos. Used as a tool for change management, the development of a new collective representation existed as an artifact symbolising the organisation's integrated ethos.

Te Papa, as a linguistic artifact, emerged in all three of the cases studied. Te Papa, as an institution has extended beyond the bounds of its brand and primary function to encapsulate a wider metaphorical identity used to represent a cultural heritage institution with a narrative based model, one that privileges the new museology and innovative ways to manage and care for collections. It was also applied in a derogatory sense, with negative

associations bounded in the privileging of the entertainment spectacle over the core business of collections care and knowledge transfer.

The literature reviewed also briefly considered the drivers for the development of these integrated institution models. While the drivers for the development of integrative models was not the sole focus of this research, data that emerged from the case studies did provide a foundation for the application of a neoinstitutional framework. One proposed theory for the increasing development of these forms was neoinstitutionalism. While rejected as a scaffold for data gathering and analysis of the central research question, it is nevertheless useful to revisit this theory in light of information that came through regarding the impetus for development of the cases studied. The three mimetic forces (discussed in Chapter 2) are revisited in light of the data that emerged from the case.

Mimetic forces are those that encourage an organisation to adopt a seemingly successful structure and operational behaviours of other institutions. Elements of mimetic isomorphism are seen in both a rejection of the sameness but also through the linguistic artifacts and reference to “son of Te Papa” and in “the Te Papisation” and acknowledgement of reproduction. The similarity in institutional design that exists in the built spaces, the exhibition imperative which permeates the institutions, and the generation of third spaces and enchantment of the new developments, as well as through the cohesive re-branding of the institutions, all show a clear replication of organisational form. This replication is mirrored through points of development in time and reflects the order of the case studies in this thesis – Te Papa, Puke Ariki and Te Ahu.

Coercive isomorphism emerged through frameworks imposed by government restructuring and in the apparent benefits seen through resource rationalisation and public sector accountability. Also considered a coercive factor is community engagement.

Normative forces are those that stem from familiarity or similar ideologies, particularly regarding professionalism, education and standards (DiMaggio and Powell in Pugh 1997). The empirical evidence from these cases rejects the notion of normative forces driving the development of these institutions. The differences in worldviews, in professional frameworks and the lack of cross-pollination of skill sets between the entities did not emerge as an isomorphic framework.

There was a notable absence of work dealing with the impact of physical convergence on the visitor/user/patron in the large body of literature reviewed. Surprisingly the impact of an integrated operational environment on the visitor and patron was an area not overly considered in the cases studied. The institutions had undertaken minimal internal research into the impact of physical convergence on the visitor. If the drivers for convergence are the result of economic, legislative, normative or technological forces operating in the institution's wider environment, in essence we could be seeing the development of a new model of dissemination of cultural memory for the people, but not by the people. Paradoxically Rayward argues that the differentiation between GLAM entities,

does not reflect the needs of the individual scholar or even the member of the educated public interested in some aspect of learning for life. For the individual the ideal is still the personal cabinet of curiosities that contains whatever is needed for a particular purpose or to respond to a particular interest, irrespective of the nature of the artifacts involved—books, objects, data, personal papers, government files (Rayward 1998, 207-206).

Areas for further research include the impact of the integrated GLAM institution on the visitor. Do these integrated institutions significantly alter the visitor profile or the behaviour of the visitor? Are the democratic foundations, to which these institutions aspire, in danger of being undermined through lack of user-centric consideration and empirical foundation in their design? One converged Library/Museum institution in Albury NSW, Australia reports a “95% increase in visitation and a 51%

increase in loans” (Bullock and Birtley 2008); a detailed analysis of visitor demographics as well as qualitative visitor studies examining their use of converged memory institutions would go a long way toward solidifying the GLAM mandate to physically converge.

The dissemination of funding in these institutions is another area identified for further research. Do these new integrated institutions, through their sheer size and the inclusion of multiple entity partners attract greater levels of funding and how, once funding is received, is it disseminated between the entities? Given the multiplicity of GLAM representation in these institutions, they can arguably draw on a much wider variety of funding streams. An integrated institution can attract funding relating to the provision of public library services, tourism, private benefactor museum funding etc. As noted in the case of Te Ahu, while ideologically, access to a greater number of funding streams may benefit the overall institution; does it “water-down” the benefits to the individual GLAM entities? Are funders more likely to back an integrated institution or feel that they run the above risks in awarding to integrative administrative models? These questions, while outside the scope of this case and this research, would benefit from further investigation.

In this thesis I argue that convergence works well as a layered concept with the levels/types of integration being dependant on, and responsive to each unique operating environment (context is everything). Complete integration may work well for some gallery, library, archives and museum entities, but it is not the only approach to integration. I could imagine a number of different models where separate levels of entity management would be appropriate and in other cases, full integration in administration and/or service points only, but with total physical collection segregation. Data from this research supports the idea that various levels of integration have their inherent benefits. This relates back to the idea of minimal, full or partial convergence as discussed in the report on *Public Libraries, Archives, and*



*Museums: Trends in Collaboration and Cooperation* (Yarrow, Club and Draper 2008). This Report identified three levels of integration, minimal - in physical space only with individual services maintained; selective - specific programme or resource sharing; and finally full integration- involving the sharing of missions [essentially a marker for convergence]. This thesis extends this idea to account for the fluidity of these levels. In the case data, these levels transformed over space and time.

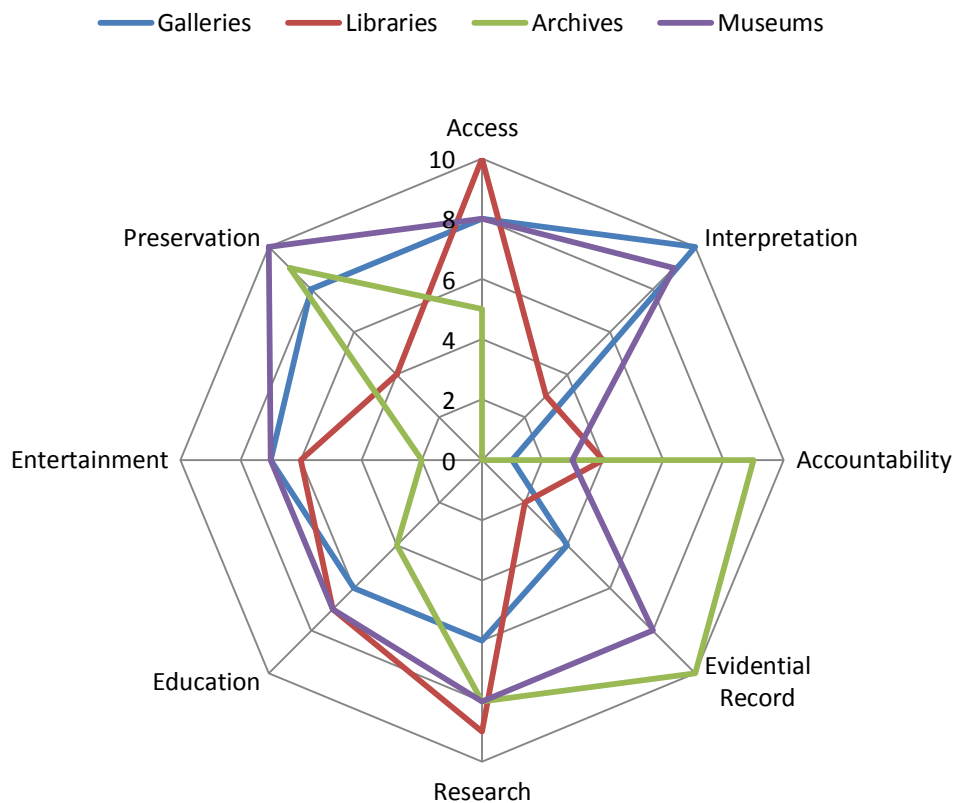
Puke Ariki embedded the TRC as another layer of federated functionality on top of their delineated collections. Building new possibilities for convergence that do not impinge on the integrity of the individual collection entities provides a way to create homogeneous models of delivery in a truly democratised sense in that they are reactionary to the patron /visitor wants and needs. This type of layered approach could work well in a highly institutionalised setting where well established institutional histories/cultures are trying to negotiate common ground for integration, or when offering an integrated experience which has two distinct patron groups. This approach to integration builds redundancy into GLAM convergence by allowing organisations to build and slowly shift integrated layers, as time and need requires.

In this thesis I argue that re-contextualising the GLAM boundaries in a physical institution in a way that is value added to both the visitor experience and the individual entities is the best way forward for future joined-up models of operation. Delineations between entities are entrenched in ideological mandate and object management; out of these delineations have grown separate disciplines and professions. Until the core functions of the GLAM entities change or differences in operational requirements break down, there will always be a need to delineate, particularly in the case of back-of-house function.

Out of this research has emerged (for want of a better word), a foggy-ness around the articulation and understanding of the core *raison d'être* of the individual GLAM domains that operate in convergent framework. The variation that exists in the collections, sectors, services and formats of material blur the boundaries, not only in terms of emerging integrative practice, but also within the individual Gallery, Library, Archive and Museum domains. I strongly believe that in order to project the future state of GLAM convergence, any attempt to theorise potential integrative pathways between the GLAM entities first requires those researching in the field to develop a solid understanding of the inherent differences and sameness between the GLAM paradigms. Uncovering the essence of GLAM entities in this type of framework provides a platform to consider where the potential for integration, as well as the elements of disconnect, reside.

Eight core principles emerged from the case data. These included:

- Access
- Interpretation
- Accountability
- Evidential Record
- Research
- Education
- Entertainment
- Preservation



**Fig. 30 The GLAM Matrix**

The following diagram draws on data from the case studies to represent these core principles. These principles were present in all GLAM entities in this research and depending on the nature and context in which they operated; these principles carried varying levels of importance for each entity. The core principles displayed in this GLAM matrix are drawn from the integrative ethos of the participating entities. Moreover they are context specific to the cases and use the language of the participants as well as their perception of their own GLAM core functions alongside those of the other entities. The articulation of these core principles emerged not only in the

language used by participants in interviews, but also through institutional branding and policy documentation.

Assigned to each entity are weightings out of ten based on the importance of each principle as interpreted from the case data. These weightings may differ in other institutions depending on the context in which the GLAM domains operate. Archives represent the largest disparity between the entities in this particular GLAM matrix. This perhaps accounts for the perceived invisibility of the Archives studied in two of the three cases in this research. The Archives in Puke Ariki and Te Papa existed very much as a subsidiary entity in terms of dominance within an integrative research framework. The elevation of the Te Ahu Archives resided in the earmarking of funds specifically delegated to underpin development.

While it is possible (and indeed useful) to argue for a much greater nuanced definition within and across the GLAM domains of these core principles, this matrix is offered up as a framework on which to build. Further critical analysis of these core principles and the extension of this framework to other GLAM contexts will both strengthen this conceptual model and contribute to our theoretical understanding of the sameness and difference between the GLAM entities.

My research into the collectiveness of the GLAM entities has directed the focus back to understanding individuality of the gallery, library, archives and museum domains. I believe that extrapolating, understanding and communicating the essence of oneself is, for the individual GLAM entities, paramount in making the most of opportunities that the integrative framework. This reflects the work of both Oliver and Duff who argue that developing awareness of difference between the GLAM domains provides a platform on which to build similarities (Duff 2011; Oliver 2010). Duff (2011) quoted Gil Thelen from the Tampa Tribune to emphasise the dangers of the generic information professional that can do the job of archivist,

librarian and museum professional: “You will crush ordinary mortals and get mediocrity if you ask a single person to wear all media hats”. Having this type of awareness ensures the domains maintain integrity or, colloquially speaking, hold on to the important bits, the bits that matter and create room for change on the edges. Building on and application of this GLAM Matrix to other integrative environments provides a rich area for further research.

In the literature reviewed Zorich, Waibel and Erway argued that as [G] LAMs move from left to right on the collaborative continuum

The collaborative endeavour becomes more complex, the investment of effort becomes more significant, and the risks increase accordingly. However the rewards also become greater, moving from singular “one-off” projects [cooperation] to programs that can transform the services and functions of an organisation [collaboration] (Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008, 10).



**Fig. 31 The Collaboration Continuum (Zorich, Waibel and Erway 2008)**

In theorising the empirical data drawn from the cases, this thesis proposes that as GLAMs move from left to right along this continuum the investment and effort becomes significant, the risks increase accordingly but the rewards do not necessarily become greater. This thesis also argues that

GLAM integration does not move in a linear fashion from left to right, but may move back and forth between contact, collaboration, co-ordination etc. and then back to contact depending on time and space. This movement back and forth can operate on many different levels and in many different layers of the organisational structure. Elements of contact and cooperation may exist between the library and museum entities (as in the case of Te Papa) and deeper levels of integration may exist in the organisational structure such as collaboration or convergence in the Puke Ariki Programming Team and in the TRC.

Drawn directly from the cases under study is the idea of conceptual development of full integration from the outset. None of the institutions examined took a cautious approach to the integration of the GLAM entities. There was a desire to drive integration deep into the organisational framework from the beginning. Both Puke Ariki and Te Papa drove for integration through all levels of the organisation in their conceptual development. Both institutions then underwent a settling in period where facets of integration were loosened or tightened in response to both internal and external environmental pressures. This settling should not be viewed as having a definitive end point of final resting place, but as a fluid dynamic process, which responds to both micro and macro pressures under which the institution operates. Many of the points of intersection and integration uncovered in the cases existed around a specific project and/or function. Disbanded when that purpose had succeeded, the integrative endeavour existed ephemerally, generated largely around a specific purpose.

I argue that the benefit of integration lies in the value-added layer of convergence working in harmony with existing functions e.g. integrated exhibition, integrated digital repository, integrated service points. The deeper organisational and operational layers should maintain collection format and institutional integrity. This respects professional differences

between the entities, creates mutual respect, a gradual and organic cross-pollination, and democratic synergy between the entities.

When GLAM entities find themselves operating cheek-to-cheek in an integrative framework they reach their own conclusions about what elements will, and will not intersect. Some facets of the organisation will build bridges in areas that were not apparent in the initially proposed integrative framework; others will pull apart to maintain the integrity of GLAM operational/professional mandate. The catalysts involved in these actions are many and they are always dependant on variables that are unique to the organisations, entities and individual institutional environments.

This thesis argues that integration has a tipping point which, when reached, falls beyond the advantages of cohesiveness and collective representation to a point where integrity and scholarship are impeded. Empirically shown through the de-converging and softening of deep levels of integration proposed in the initial conceptual development of the integrated institutions, this tipping point exists between the layers of organisational operation. Integration that sits above the operational layers concerned with core GLAM function adds convergent value; integration, which permeates deep into the core GLAM functions, is constrained by the unique *raison d'être* of the participating entities.

This thesis concludes that the catalysts for knowledge negotiation across domain boundaries, which facilitate the emergence of a convergent culture in an integrated cultural heritage institution, are as follows (in order of importance):

- The awareness and maintenance of domain specialisation and professionalism between the entities
- The layering of integration on top of core GLAM function to create integrative advantage

- The availability of accessible cross-entity communication forums
- Physical proximity and adequate operational space for each participating entity
- Institutional prioritisation and investment in the integrated philosophy

GLAM entities build a culture of convergence not only by negotiating, but also by threading knowledge across domain boundaries. The empirical data in the cases shows how threading links between the entities in a physically integrated memory institution is represented through attempts at collection integration, in the creation of cross-entity teams, in the negotiation and use of space in the built environment, and through the reconciliation of individual GLAM identities with that of their collective institutions.

There is undeniable agency in the domain boundaries that have emerged in this research to both support and constrain a convergent culture. While the negotiation of knowledge across these boundaries forms an important foundation in understanding how the GLAM entities build a culture of convergence in an integrated operating environment, the sheer willingness of the individuals in the organisations to engage with each other as vehicle for the building of GLAMour should never be marginalised. The differing professional domains create a framework for silos, but the personalities still hold the agency to determine how much that difference manifests in the integrated institutions converged organisational culture.

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## 9 References

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## ***Appendix***

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### ***Te Papa Interviewees***

- Founding CEO of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa from 1993-2002. Member of the Museum of New Zealand Project Development Board
- Head of Art and Visual Culture Te Papa: 1994 – 2004
- Te Aka Matua Librarian, Liaison Library Team Leader + User Services, Te Papa 2005-
- Knowledge Manager Te Papa 2010-
- Director of Projects: 1988- 1992 Senior Institutional Planner Te Maori Taonga o Aotearoa concept team for the Museum of New Zealand + Director of Projects for Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
- Archivist at Museum New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

### ***Puke Ariki Interviewees***

Interviews conducted with staff employed in the following positions during the data collection period October 2009 – December 2010.

- Manager Puke Ariki
- Manager Service Delivery
- Manager Heritage Collections
- Curator Archives
- Team Leader Library Services
- Curator Pictorial
- Collections Technician Pictorial

### ***Te Ahu Interviewees***

Interviews conducted with staff engaged in the following positions during the data collection period July 2011.

- Te Ahu Trust General Manager and Project Manager
- Customer Services Manager for the Far North District Council and Te Ahu Trust Administrator<sup>23</sup>.
- Far North Museum Trust Chair and museum delegate for the Far North Museum on the Te Ahu Trust Board.
- Far North Museum Curator<sup>24</sup>
- Far North Museum Archivist
- Museum Consultant working on the initial concept plan for Te Ahu
- Acting Library Manager – Far North District Library<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> The Customer Services Manager was the operational manager for two of the entities considered for integration in the development of Te Ahu. These included the Far North District Library System and the i-Site tourist information centre.

<sup>24</sup> Contributed interview data via Far North Museum Trust Chair and museum delegate for the Far North Museum on the Te Ahu Trust Board in a focus group situation which was held through speaker phone.

<sup>25</sup> The acting Library Manager for Kaitaia District was approached for an interview but chose not to contribute due to the acting nature of her role. At the time of data collection, the Kaitaia District Library had no permanent Library Manager. She also felt that she would be unable to provide any information that would not be covered by Customer Services Manager as her direct line manager.