

Footprints through space and time: Co-creating places of belonging in the archival multiverse

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Abstract

This research took a critical approach from an insider's position in three communities to investigate how a community with distributed archives uses records in maintaining its collective memory, and the implications for archival theory and practice. The three communities involved were the Auckland University Tramping Club and New Zealand / Australian communities of archival practice and research. Using a records continuum perspective and a participatory ethos together with grounded theory techniques, the research design was emergent. The participating communities were incorporated in the research development, production of outcomes and assessment of requirements and results through communication, collaboration, reflexivity and friendship as method. This new purpose-built, inclusive, critical methodology enables archival interventions tailored to the specific needs of the community.

The research developed a grounded model of collective-memory maintenance in the Tramping Club, a complex, adaptive and self-sustaining system incorporating records, people, places, structures, events and activities, trust, and shared values and aims. The Club's systems, processes and people act as an embodied and trusted recordkeeping system. Records play multiple roles within the club, including for identity, uniting and communicating; teaching and enabling actions and functions; evidence of authority, trustworthiness and rights; maintaining stories; and as a public face. This interdependent, self-maintaining and adaptive system ensures the records maintain their contextual integrity, usability, trustworthiness and authenticity for Club members as long as they are needed, and Club members retain their power to create, manage, use and share the records in ways that meet Club values, needs and understandings.

Places of belonging are significant for the Club's recordkeeping system. These are places where Club members feel at home; that they can recognise and interpret; where they can interact naturally; practice their culture; bump into friends; and create, keep, find and recognise their records. Place is a constitutive coingredient of records and has an impact on every aspect of recordkeeping, including creation, management, organisation, access, use, interpretation and reuse of records. Until now the element "place" has been missing from archival and recordkeeping models. This research has shown we must add "place" to our models to highlight its importance and encourage more analysis of its impact.

When records are transferred to archival institutions and managed using archival methods of description and storage, they are separated from the processes that keep the links alive. The community risks losing the records from their collective memory system, and much of the context that gives the records their meaning is lost. This research has illustrated the inherently colonial nature of gathering archives into institutional repositories from communities, often for the use of outside researchers, without taking into account the community's existing systems and processes. Archival practitioners and other recordkeeping professionals must put more effort into understanding the collective memory processes of communities they work with, work towards sharing their skills with those communities as required and appropriate, better tailor archival and recordkeeping practice to community needs and ensure our practices do not cause damage to the network of processes connecting the records with the community.

Publications during enrolment

Battley, Belinda (2018). Archives in the wilderness: How a tramping club maintains its memory. *Backcountry* [Journal of the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand - In press]

Battley, Belinda (2018). Footprints through space and time: Mapping the process of a research project. [Blog] Accessible at http://bjfootprints.blogspot.co.nz/

Battley, Belinda (2017). Co-producing archival research with communication, reflexivity and friendship: crossing the three-wire bridge. *Archival Science* 17: 371. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-017-9279-y [Now Chapter 5 in thesis]

Battley, Belinda (2017). Archives as Places: Doors to privilege, places of connection, or haunted sarcophagi of crumbling skeletons? [Presentation at AERI 2017, Toronto, Canada, now expanded as Chapter 9 in thesis]

Battley, Belinda (2017). Rights in records for children in out-of-home care. Archifacts (1-2), 21-40. [Although this paper does not directly address the subject of the thesis, my growing understanding throughout my thesis research of issues relating to denial of rights in records, and others' work in this area, led to my organising a collaborative workshop in New Zealand which led to this publication – thus its inclusion in this list]

Battley, Belinda (2016). May Camp is in July: Sustaining collective memory in a community of tradition and change. [Poster presented at AERI 2016, Kent State University, Ohio]

Battley, Belinda (2016). Footprints through space and time [Project information website for Auckland University Tramping Club community]. Accessible at http://footprintsthroughtime.weebly.com/

Battley, Belinda (2015). Telling our own stories: Maintaining collective memory in a world of distributed records. Archifacts, December, 60-72 [I chose to publish in this journal, which is not rated in academic circles, as it speaks directly to archival practitioners in New Zealand]

Battley, Belinda (2014). Footprints through time and space: Re-imagining description in the archival multiverse through a rich community case study. [Poster presented at AERI 2014, University of Pittsburgh]

Battley, B., Daniels, E., & Rolan, G. (2014). Archives as multifaceted narratives: linking the "touchstones" of community memory. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 42(2), 155–157. http://doi.org/10.1080/01576895.2014.911675

Battley, B. (2013). Scanning the approaches [blog]. https://bjbmethodologies.blogspot.co.nz/

Thesis including published works declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

This thesis includes one original paper published in a peer reviewed journal. The core theme of the thesis is the place of records in a community's collective memory maintenance, and the effectiveness of existing archival models and practices in supporting those collective memories. The ideas, development and writing up of all the papers in the thesis were the principal responsibility of myself, the student, working within the Centre for Organisational and Social Informatics, Faculty of Information Technology under the supervision of Joanne Evans, Sue McKemmish and Gillian Oliver.

In the case of chapter five, my contribution to the work involved the following:

MEDLY

| Thesis Chapter | Publication Title | Status | % Contribution |
|-------------------|---|-----------|----------------|
| 5 | Co-producing archival research with communication, reflexivity and friendship: crossing the three-wire bridge | Published | 100% |

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Date: 17 August 2018

The undersigned hereby certify that the above declaration correctly reflects the nature and extent of the student's and co-authors' contributions to this work. In instances where I am not the responsible author I have consulted with the responsible author to agree on the respective contributions of the authors.

Jone Dons.

Main Supervisor signature:

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"A critique is not a matter of saying that things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest."

Michael Foucault (1981): Practicing criticism, or, is it really important to think? Interview by Didier Eribon, May 30-31. In: L. Kritzman (1988) (ed.) *Michael Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings*, New York: Routledge, p.155

"[Archivists should] liberate themselves from the constraints of the 'custodial era' with its focus on physical groupings of records, and ... embrace instead the implications of the 'postcustodial' era with its conceptual paradigm of logical or virtual or multiple realities"

Terry Cook (1992): The concept of the archival fonds: Theory, description, and provenance in the post-custodial era. In: Terry Eastwood (ed.) *The Archival Fonds*, Ottawa: Bureau of Canadian Archivists, p.35

"Circumstances and technology do change but reading through old Footprints, I am struck by the sense of how our experiences have run in parallel through the years ... Our story is all the more remarkable given that this is a student club and that basic fact means most members are only active for around three to five years, scant time to pass on club knowledge and lore yet somehow each generation muddles through with the core of club culture more or less intact."

"These are the constants, elements of what gets referred to as club spirit, that nebulous creature that lingers and grows through the years while individual faces change. That spirit has been around 75 years now"

Wayne Erb (2007). Introduction. In: *Auckland University Tramping Club Jubilee History 1932-2007*. Auckland: AUTC, pp.4-5

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Part I

Setting out: background and intentions

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Foreword and overview

In a complex, interconnected world, records of communities are scattered over a wide range of custodians and formats. For communities to maintain their collective memories and protect their rights, their records must be managed so they are accessible and can be interpreted in line with their own values and meanings. Archivists and recordkeeping professionals manage many community records in institutions according to an established body of practice, standards and models. Variations on these archival cultural norms are applied across the records of a multitude of communities, each with their own unique culture and history. Archivists and recordkeeping professionals need to develop a rich, deep understanding of community recordkeeping practice and models to ensure any interventions help rather than hinder community collective-memory maintenance, identity formation and the performance of culture. This in turn can enhance community sustainability. Enabling communities to sustain their own recordkeeping processes and models as well as participating with professional archivists and recordkeepers helps preserve the richness of multiple bodies of knowledge and interpretations, co-existing in and through space and time.

This research had its genesis at the confluence of three communities to which I belong: the archival practice community, the archival and recordkeeping research community, and the Auckland University Tramping Club (AUTC). I found myself standing at that confluence, thinking that these three communities had much to share with one another: the Tramping Club, insights into how it has sustained its rich, enduring community knowledge and spirit, despite apparent constant challenges to the physical and digital records of its collective memory; the archival practice community, skills to maintain those records; and the archival academic community, many years of research producing rich theoretical concepts and models of recordkeeping.

The AUTC is at the heart of this research. Before club members set out on trips, they complete an Intentions Form which identifies the aim of the trip and the intended route; the participants, their skills relevant to the trip; the methods to be used to arrive at the destination and any other relevant context. This chapter is the intentions form for my thesis. First, I set out the research problem and aims, and the reason this research is needed. Next, I introduce myself and the other participants, explaining my own context in relation to the research and the communities involved. After this, I set out the research questions, and key concepts, and then describe related research which has revealed the need for this study. A brief introduction to the research design and methods follows, and then an outline of limitations. Finally, a chapter outline provides the map of the thesis.

1.2 The Research Problem and Aims

Archival academics have described the archival multiverse, made up of multiple communities, with multiple interpretations of the world, and multiple collective memories. These collective memories need to be maintained and constantly re-constructed to preserve the values, skills and knowledge of different communities. Records are an essential part of this collective memory construction and reconstruction, preserving individual and community rights, enhancing community cohesion, and maintaining and passing on valued knowledge, skills, unique cultures and languages.

As Verne Harris (2002), writing from post-apartheid South Africa, has noted, archives present only a "sliver of a sliver" of the truth: only "situated and partial truths". They enshrine particular perspectives (MacNeil, 2012), usually those of people in power. To even the balance, all communities need to be able to participate in managing their own archives and preserving their own perspectives. Power over representation in

archives has been identified as a significant aspect of decolonisation (Tuhiwai Smith 2012; Caswell 2014). This calls for critical research and practice responses

Taking a records continuum perspective, this research investigated the archiving needs of the Auckland University Tramping Club (AUTC), a community which identified a problem with managing its widely-dispersed records. This project combined the knowledge and skills of three communities: archival practitioners and researchers and the AUTC, and aimed to better understand and address the archiving needs of the AUTC. To do this, we needed to develop a better understanding of participatory research methods, archival models and practice, to identify improvements and to recognise the barriers that would stand in the way of better outcomes for the Club. I began this thesis with quotes from three communities – academic / philosophical, archival and AUTC. They highlight the shared concerns of these communities as well as the different perspectives they have on the problem, relating to their specific needs. The quote from Foucault represents the archival academics, calling for the constant questioning of practice, testing the assumptions on which it is based. The quote from Terry Cook represents a call for archival practitioners to enable with their practice the representation of the multiple realities of the postcustodial era of archiving. Finally, Wayne Erb's quote identifies the AUTC's need – and ability - to maintain the Club's spirit despite constant change in membership.

For the AUTC, the problem of dealing with the dispersed Club archives was seen from a pragmatic perspective: the club seemed to have an ongoing issue with managing the records of its collective memory. As for many communities, the AUTC archives are distributed through a range of personal, corporate, online and physical collections with many different custodians and owners. They are created and kept in a range of formats and platforms, physical and virtual, are managed with a range of intellectual controls and are often co-extensive with the records of other organisations. Distributed archives of this type are typical not only of social communities, but now also for commercial organisations, educational institutions and government departments as they become involved in social media, collaborative projects and cross-government initiatives, so there is a strong need for research into the management and description of distributed archives.

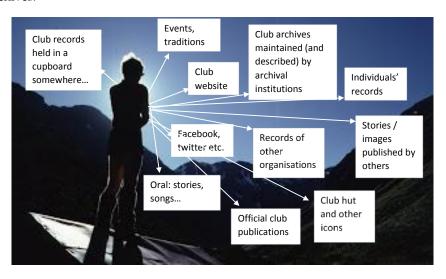


Fig. 1.1 Rob on the roof of a mountain hut, December 1988, now being re-purposed to illustrate distributed records of AUTC.

This research was informed by an information systems-based critical theory perspective (Cecez-Kecmanovic and Kennan 2013), and its aim was for insight, critique and transformation (Myers & Klein 2011). It critiques recordkeeping and archival concepts and models in terms of their fit with community perspectives on records and recordkeeping, and recommends changes to those models. At the same time, the intention was, in the terms of one AUTC community member, to help the club to "retain whatever

enables people to continue to share the experiences and friendships by going out tramping and climbing and socialising." (Michael, AUTC member, via email 2015). In this research the Tramping Club's collective memory creation, maintenance and use has also been critiqued in terms of its ability to meet the needs of the club. Ways to improve have been identified, some of which at the time of writing have already been implemented.

1.3 The research questions

The critical approach requires a reflexive research design. It was essential that I listened and learned from the AUTC rather than imposing preconceived ideas on community needs. This meant the methodology and the research questions were emergent: as described in chapters 3-5, they were constructed as part of the research process itself. However, their core and genesis can be seen in the review of the background literature in Chapter 2. The initial overarching question was "How can the archival and recordkeeping community be enablers of community collective memory maintenance?" However, through the process of the research, more useful, particular and interesting questions emerged.

The research begins with the problem:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

As I listened to the communities and observed their different processes and systems, the following questions were constructed:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

The research identified a key problem with existing models: the absence of "place". Therefore an emergent question, arising from RQ2, was:

RQ4: How do records and place impact on each other, and how is this represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

In order to address these research questions, a rich, deep insider's understanding was required, so central to the success of the entire project is the question:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

Reflecting on these questions led me to a deeper understanding of the impacts of the many elements and processes which together sustain the community, help its members form their community identity, meet their aims, practice their culture and create, maintain, allow access to, and help disseminate their collective memory. It also led to a critique of existing archival models and theories grounded in a deep understanding of the systems and processes of this community, a more nuanced awareness of the impact of archival models and practices on outcomes for the community, and a better understanding of the requirements and implications of participatory research as a methodology.

1.4 Introducing myself and my communities

My own context has had a strong influence on this research. As a Pākehā¹ New Zealander, my ancestors came from cultures that were colonisers, colonised, and refugees, sometimes all the same person. Most of my cultures have a homeland they can look back to, at least as far back as I am aware of my ancestry, and I have heard stories all my life of those people and those cultures. Living in a colonised country gives me a sense of ancestral guilt but also access to the riches of another culture, to which I am only related by adoption, and yet in some ways I was born into as well. Māori culture has been enriching my context all of my life, and is increasingly having impacts on my world view.

I have been working as an archivist for nearly 28 years now, in the archives of the New Zealand government, and therefore constantly have opportunities to see the power of the written record over people's lives. The Treaty of Waitangi provided a means by which the British Crown could impose British government over New Zealand. The written decisions of the Māori Land Court, the maps created by surveyors and the confiscation lines drawn up by legislators imposed controls over ownership of land that was seen by the other Treaty partner as an ancestor, linked through stories, songs, whakapapa² and the use of pou³ and cooking fires to denote occupation.

As communities and cultures, we all bring baskets of knowledge – or, more aggressively, push barrows – introducing one another to our world views by musket or pen, by school or by church, or by manaakitanga⁴ and whanaungatanga⁵.

All my life, I am continuing to learn "the trick of standing upright here" (Curnow 1943, p.28 & Colquhoun, 2003, pp.32-33, Metge 2010)

The art of walking upright here is the art of using both feet.

One is for holding on. One is for letting go.

(Colquhoun 2003, p.33)

The Auckland University Tramping Club (AUTC)

Critical research in the IS field aims not only for insight and critique but also transformation. As one of the participants in this research, I experienced that transformation first-hand as I developed new understandings and skills throughout the process. I knew from the outset that the transformation needed to come from a well-grounded base, and for me, that base was my AUTC community. I was born into the community as my parents met in the club, and grew up with my own cohort in my undergraduate years at university. As a Pākehā New Zealander, my relationship with the natural environment has a strong part in my understanding of myself, and my time and relationships in the AUTC are strongly bound into that relationship. Kirstie Ross (2008) discusses this "pervasive idea" that "by going bush we have irrevocably become New Zealanders", noting (p.165) that in *Te Ara*, the online Encyclopedia of New Zealand, three of the nine main themes which structure the work relate to New Zealanders' relationships with nature. This idea resonates with me. Most of my closest friends are my fellow tramping clubbers with whom I have shared trips into the wilderness, and this is also true for my parents and others I talked with through this research.

⁴ Manaakitanga: welcoming, sharing, hospitality

¹ Pākehā: Non-Māori New Zealander, most often used for those of European descent

² Whakapapa: often translated as genealogy, but more than this: memorising and reciting one's whakapapa is part of affirmation of Māori identity, for belonging to a particular iwi (tribe), hapu (family) and place

³ Pou: a post used as a place-marker

⁵ Whanaungatanga: sense of family connection, sense of belonging, a relationship through shared experiences

The AUTC (formerly the Auckland University College Tramping Club), a tramping / social club formed within a university environment in the 1930s, might on first glance seem a privileged community with perspectives in line with traditional western institutions. However, a closer look shows the club to have a unique culture highly valued by its members and in need of conscious preservation, not only for the sake of the club but also for its value to the wider community. This includes the knowledge and skills it can provide in areas such as navigation, safety and rescue in the mountains and bush, detailed environmental knowledge and skills for carrying out environmental restoration and preservation projects, data for climate change research, the social history of New Zealand since the 1930s, as well as an extensive range of photographs, stories and songs that themselves provide information and enrich New Zealand's archival stores.

The AUTC community is aware of its collective memory, and the potential fragility of that memory, as shown by the comments by Wayne Erb from its 75th Jubilee publication quoted in the frontispiece:

These are the constants, elements of what gets referred to as club spirit, that nebulous creature that lingers and grows through the years while individual faces change. That spirit has been around 75 years now.

Over its now more than 80-year existence, the club has created many physical and digital records, which are scattered between the private archives of individuals, several online and physical club collections, the Auckland University Library, and several national institutions. The records in other institutions are usually not described in AUTC terms. A former club President from my parents' generation has been acting as de facto Club archivist for the past few years, and at the same time, members are beginning to share their records online, through media such as a website, Facebook and Flickr. Some of these records are recent, others date back many decades. There is currently no formal structure around the management of any of the Club records, and some members have therefore begun to see a need for better management, as with the loss of some of the first Tramping Clubbers, there are fears that much of the collective club knowledge could be lost. Over time, the Club has developed its own culture, overlapping with other communities but in its totality, unique to members of this community.



Fig. 1.2 Screenshot from AUTC Facebook page, 2015

I chose to involve the AUTC in this research for several reasons. The first, and most pragmatic, is that I am already a member of the community, so I already have an insider's viewpoint, a shared language and culture, and the degree of trust and understanding necessary to carry out this type of research. It would take a very long time to develop this level of belonging in a group where I started as an outsider. My insider status made this research possible within the limited timespan of a PhD project.

Secondly, AUTC community members tend to be reflexive and analytical. The community recognises the significance of its ongoing collective memory despite, or perhaps because of, the constant replacement of community members. Club members use a wide range of media for creating and managing records, and the community has available amongst its members many skills, both analytical and technical, which could be useful in a project of this type.

Thirdly, although many of the community members are privileged, the club culture provides an alternative narrative in New Zealand society, with its own unique knowledge, skills, culture, values and language features that will not be preserved without the club members continuing to maintain it. Related to this is the lack of power the Club has over the way it is described by outside institutions that hold records about it. Insights gained from analysis of this community's recordkeeping issues could be transferrable to others.

Much of the research into alternative views of archiving relates to communities that have traditionally been "othered" – often indigenous communities known for strong oral traditions, or communities that have been seen as transgressive and excluded from providing their own voice to traditional archives. By locating this research within a community that appears to have a strong connection with traditional, western-European traditions of written records and structures, this study highlights the many points where archiving and recordkeeping theories and models can be challenged even by communities which appear to fall within their traditional ambit.

The archival communities

The archival practice and academic communities were represented through my engagement with and interpretation of the literature and my own experience and knowledge as a reflective researcher and practitioner.

These two archival communities have very permeable boundaries: there is a growing number of practitioner researchers working in the archival field. I have focused particularly on a records continuum perspective of recordkeeping theory and practice, as this is the theory and model that influences my own understanding of archives and recordkeeping most strongly. International standards and international experts that influence New Zealand and Australian archival practice and theory are also included as sources, as they are significant contributors to the local canon and therefore I wanted to consider their implications.

I used analytical autoethnography as part of the processes of data gathering and analysis to engage with and reflect on the perspectives of archival theorists and practitioners, my own observations and experiences of practice and systems and my apprenticeship as a researcher. Acknowledging my own presence and influence in the research was an important element of the participatory research methodology, enhancing the transparency of my perspective and its impact. This openness as to researchers' or practitioners' own biases is important in the decolonisation of research methodologies and of archival practice, and will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Levels of participation

I am an insider in the AUTC and the archival practice and research communities, and in this way I am a mediator between them all. This ensured that differing points of view were represented in the aims, construction of the questions, research design, process of the research and the outcomes, whether through my speaking with individuals and groups or by examining precedents and relevant literature.

The archival research community had a very strong influence in how the research was conducted and presented, in its expectations and customs for rigorous research practice, and its required genre of thesis-writing. The archival practice community also had a strong influence, through its practice as experienced

by me as a practitioner and as a user of archives. The negotiations between academic expectations and AUTC community needs are discussed further in chapters 4 and 5.

The AUTC made the strongest direct and acknowledged contribution through deep conversations and my own auto-ethnographic reflection and reflexiveness as I developed the aims, research design, model-construction, analysis and outcomes. This was deliberate, as it was essential that their point of view took precedence in determining how their own records were understood and managed. However, there were limits to this participation and negotiation. Because this research was driven by the PhD process it was necessary that I took ultimate responsibility for deciding the research methods and questions, but as a full member of all of the communities, my experience, frank in-depth discussions and reflexivity meant that the perspectives of the Tramping Club community were reflected in all aspects of the research. This limit to participation is a significant issue in carrying out inclusive, partnership research within an academic framework. As discussed in Chapters 3 and 5, it is essential to be reflexive and open about identifying the limits to participation.

1.5 Key concepts

It is important at the start of this journey to define some key concepts. These concepts were central to the research problems and questions. The concept of the Archival Multiverse and records continuum theory suggested the research problem and frame the research. The definition of archives / records and recordkeeping I have used throughout this research is taken from a records continuum perspective, and this is described briefly below. Community and collective memory are two other significant elements of the research questions, so my interpretation of these two concepts is also given here.

The Archival Multiverse

The concept of "the archival multiverse" (PACG, 2011) is an increasingly-used shorthand description for "the pluralism of evidentiary texts, memory-keeping practices and institutions, bureaucratic and personal motivations, community perspectives and needs, and cultural legal constructs..." with which archival practice built on paper-based technologies and the concept of single provenance is increasingly unable to cope. Discussed in detail in a text published in 2017 (Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau), the archival multiverse is a growing area for research and theory-building which enables or encourages the use of different epistemological lenses, the analysis of a wide range of archival traditions and research designs and methods, and the examination of the researcher's and practitioner's own perspectives as well as an openness to alternative world views.

The Records Continuum

The Records Continuum Model and theory recognise "the unity of space and time, and re-pattern knowledge and structures to manage records and archives in spacetime" (McKemmish 2017, p. 138), putting at the forefront of analysis recordkeeping processes rather than the individual record products of those processes.

McKemmish notes that Frank Upward, first to model the records continuum, "sees the great strength of the Records Continuum Model as a tool for perceiving and analysing complex realities, providing multi-dimensional and multi-layered views of recordkeeping and archiving in different spacetimes". (McKemmish 2017, p.138). Thus, it is a framework well-suited to considering the alternative world view relating to records and recordkeeping of the Tramping Club community which emerged from this research.

The Records Continuum Model and theory are discussed again in Chapters 3 and 5 in relation to the methodology, as they provide a theoretical framework for this research. In Chapter 8 I return to reflect on and analyse the model in terms of the context of the AUTC community.

Archives and records

In a continuum context, records or archives are a logical construct, being traces of acts or events created, captured and set aside by a person, institution or community. They are managed using a community's recordkeeping or archiving processes which link them to their context and maintain them for the purposes

of evidence and memory (McKemmish 2005), for as long as they have value, whether "for a nanosecond or millennia" (McKemmish 2001). The archives of a person, institution or community are an aggregation of those records or individual archival items. They can be in any format, whether physical (paper, film, an object, a building, for example); digital; oral (a story, a poem, a song); embodied in a person or a community (a dance, a skill, a cultural practice, a regularly-repeated event involving specific activities).

Recordkeeping

In the definition above I have used the term "recordkeeping" as a single word. In line with the continuum definition of records and archives, I use the term recordkeeping as cited by McKemmish (2017, pp122-123, citing in turn McKemmish, Upward & Reed 2009, p.4448): "a range of intertwined recordkeeping and archiving processes and activities carried out by records managers and archivists for current, regulatory and historical recordkeeping purposes ... [encompassing], the personal and corporate recordkeeping activities undertaken by individuals in their everyday lives, in families, work or community groups, and in organisations of all kinds" Expanding the view of recordkeeping beyond the traditional concept of professional information management and interpreting records in a format-agnostic manner enables the analysis of the full range of community processes for capturing, maintaining and sharing records of actions and transactions for the future.

Communities

Community is one of the central concepts in this research, and there are three elements of community that have become the focus. Firstly, the Oxford English Dictionary (2018) has several definitions of "community" in relation to people, including "A group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common", or "The condition of sharing or having certain attitudes and interests in common".

Secondly, the communities most directly involved in this study are a professional (archival) community, an academic community and a community which could be defined as a social / sports club. All are "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998, Lave & Wenger 1991), where members are brought together by carrying out activities in common and by 'what they have learned through their mutual engagement in these activities' (Wenger 1998).

Third, Jeannette Bastian (2003, p.5) described a "community of records" as "the aggregate of records in all forms generated by multiple layers of actions and interactions between and among the people and institutions within a community".

Collective memory

As noted above, a community can be seen as a "community of records" (Bastian 2003; Ketelaar 2005). Communities both maintain and are maintained by their collective memories (Olick, 2011). Those collective memories are in turn supported by records kept in many different forms.

Maurice Halbwachs, a sociologist working in the 1930s, developed a concept of collective memory:

The group of which I am a part at any given time give me the means to reconstruct [memories], upon condition... that I turn toward them and adopt, at least for the moment, their way of thinking...it is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory" (Halbwachs, 1992, p.38)

Margaret Hedstrom described collective memory from an archivist's perspective:

...a group's representation of its past in terms of shared origins, values and experiences. Collective memory is distinct from individual memory because of the emphasis on common representations of past events or experiences, some of which occurred long before the lifetime of any living person." (Hedstrom, 2010, pp.165-166).

1.6 Placing this research in the literature

The relatively new area of research in the archival multiverse (PACG 2011; Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau 2017) identifies that there are multiple epistemologies relating to records and recordkeeping for different communities. For communities to have their world views reflected in archives, and to have their records managed in ways that continue to support their needs for memory and evidence, they need to participate in archival processes.

A survey of the literature relating to the archives of communities showed a growing call for communities to be able to better participate in managing the records relating to their own lives (Bastian 2003; Caswell 2014; Gilliland & McKemmish 2015; Rolan 2016), a move to a "radical user orientation" (Huvila 2008). Instead of creating archiving processes from outside communities, insider knowledge is needed so that systems and processes speak in the language of the people whose records they are managing, rather than requiring that users of archives learn the language of the archivist (Sexton 2015). In order for archivists to enable communities to participate as they need in archival processes, or, in the words of Terry Cook (2013), for archivists to move from "passive curators" to "community facilitators" we need a better understanding of the way a community uses records in maintaining its collective memory (Hedstrom 2010).

To develop this understanding, and to ensure records are managed in ways that fit in with community understandings and culture, and that they can continue to support community collective-memory processes, participatory, decolonised methodologies are required (Tuhiwai Smith 2012) with active social engagement (Wilson & Golding 2016; Vukliś and Gilliland 2016) so that those understandings and needs are surfaced.

Stevens & Flinn (2010) found that community archives were more successful when the community managed its own records, and observed that archival practice needs to change to accommodate this better. In this research, once the community needs had been identified, I analysed archival practice and theory to determine whether it could accommodate those understandings and needs. I also examined issues highlighted relating to the relationships between the community's archives and archival institutions. Records continuum research examines the many different roles of recordkeeping and records in society (McKemmish 2017), and provided both a framework for this research, and theories and models for critique as the processes of recordkeeping and the place of records in this community's collective memory processes were examined.

1.7 Overview of research design and methods

Research within the critical research paradigm in information systems must meet the three principles set out by Myers and Klein (2011): insight, critique, and transformation. A participatory ethos is at the heart of this research, and the insight and critique were ongoing throughout the iterative processes of constant interaction and deep, challenging conversations with the knowledgeable and experienced members of the participating community members, and the constant reflection and reflexive response to the grounded data I was collecting. The transformation was also intrinsic to the process, developing naturally through our interactions and co-analysis through discussion.

My research design was emergent, developed throughout the process together with the research questions and outcomes. In the centre is an inclusive research design framework (McKemmish, Burstein, Manaszewicz, Fisher, & Evans (2012), including many features of community partnership research (Stoecker 2012). The participating communities were incorporated in the research development, production of outcomes and assessment of requirements and results through communication, collaboration, reflexivity and friendship as method. This was an iterative process, with elements of the research design, questions, methods, analysis and outcomes gradually being constructed as understanding of needs and opportunities developed. As this was PhD research there were certain requirements that were not negotiable, due to academic cultural expectations. These limitations on participation are acknowledged, and discussed extensively in Chapter 5.

As an insider in all of the communities involved, I used participatory, auto-ethnographic methods and grounded theory techniques to act as a catalyst within the communities. Autoethnography was also used as

an essential tool for analysis, as well as for sharing preliminary findings for feedback. When I began this research I feared that an authentically participatory methodology would be challenged by the fixed requirements of a PhD project, and there were times that academic requirements and language began to be a barrier to participation for the Tramping Club community. However, my position as an insider in all three communities gave me a head start in the necessary relationship building and negotiation of research aims, design and methods. The deeply self-analytical and iterative nature of the combined autoethnographic and blogging / conversational approach used, with constant interaction with the different communities, allowed problematic issues and barriers to be highlighted and addressed, providing added richness and depth to the emerging data and analysis. The data both came from and provided rich insights into the processes of recordkeeping and collective-memory construction in the Tramping Club community. These insights, grounded in a deep understanding of their contexts, therefore have a sound basis for translation to other community contexts for further analysis of their applicability and implications, while the methods used in this research would be of benefit in any setting where a deep, nuanced understanding of community processes was required. The background to the methodology is described in Chapter 3, while its development is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

1.8 Limitations

A requirement of participatory research in the critical theory paradigm is that it provides insight, critique and transformation for all participating communities. My insider status gives more direct access to that insight, but potentially puts up barriers to critique because of the need to preserve relationships with other community members. This risk was addressed through the transparency of the analytical autoethnographic method, ensuring that any failure of honest critique on my part would be evident and called out by members of the other communities involved.

As with all research sited in a particular community and focusing on interpretation and critique, the immediate outcomes and conclusions are specific to this setting. However, as noted in Section 1.7 the methodology leads to well-grounded theory which is able to be tested for transferability to other contexts.

All the data used in this research was filtered through my own interpretive lens, and much came from statements of others according to their own perceptions. At times, people's memories may have been unreliable: stories can become exaggerated over time, details forgotten or conflated with other events, and so on. Exaggeration and forgetting are both aspects of collective memory processes, and part of their impact is to reflect attitudes and perceived significance within the Club, as well as characteristics of individuals. Verification was achieved through triangulation with multiple sources throughout the entire research process. As collective memory was a major focus of the research, the process of verification was part of the data as well as an essential element of the analysis. My own biases were made transparent through my autoethnographic blogging.

The methods used for recruiting research participants in the AUTC community meant that participants were still connected with the Club's collective memory processes in some way, however remotely, and the participants were self-selecting. This means the views of former members who felt disaffected and disconnected from the Club were less likely to be included. However, many of the participants did voice both positive and negative views about the Club's processes, including their observations about reasons for connection or disconnection in their experience. The self-selection was an essential element of the participatory methodology, and is also authentic to the voluntary nature of Tramping Club membership.

Time has proven to be a limiting factor, as this project has opened up many interesting avenues of further research, which had to be set aside until this project is completed. These are raised in Chapter 10.

1.9 Significance of the research

This research not only shows the impact on community collective memory of the removal of records to other places, but the need for archivists and recordkeeping professionals to change practice to ensure they develop a deep understanding of community collective memory processes before carrying out any practice on the records of those communities. Through the process of this research, I developed a methodology for enabling archival and recordkeeping researchers to work together with individual communities to develop their own model of the use of records in collective-memory construction, so that any archival and recordkeeping interventions can be purpose-built for actual community needs and community understandings, and minimise harm to existing systems.

1.10 Structure of this thesis

This thesis is divided into three parts.

In the first three chapters, I discuss the need for this research, and describe its background and context, including my own research paradigm, the approach, methodology and methods I decided were most appropriate for the research aims and the communities involved.

This section describes, in chapters 4 and 5, the initial research conversations and discussions with the Tramping Club community, and explains the change in direction for the research and an understanding of a need for the use of research methods to fit the community's own culture, including its understandings and processes. Chapter 6 describes the process of constructing a grounded model of the Tramping Club community's processes of maintaining collective memory, through initial conversations and discussions to identify elements of the process and the relationships between them, and then further iterative processes of discussion, co-analysis and autoethnographic analysis of the concepts we had co-constructed.

In Chapters 7 to 9, implications of this process model for archival practice and theory – in particular, the Records Continuum Model, and concepts of preservation, authenticity, and other key archival concepts are analysed and discussed, using narrative modelling, literary warrant analysis, analytical autoethnography and continuing discussion with members of the Tramping Club community. The model is analysed in terms of complex, adaptive systems, and I draw conclusions relating to current recordkeeping and archiving models, and to the implications of removing records from within communities.

1.11 Conclusion

In the archival multiverse, both theory and practice must be constantly held up to scrutiny to ensure they are meeting the needs of all communities that choose to take part, or to not take part. In this research, by developing a purpose-built critical, inclusive methodology with the researcher as an insider in all of the communities involved I aimed to develop a well-grounded, rich model of community collective memory maintenance in the community that highlighted gaps in archival theory and the need for improvements to archival practice.

In this chapter, in preparation for the narrative journey through this research I introduced the research problem, the research questions, communities, and key concepts. I also briefly described the place of the research within the existing literature, provided an overview of the research design and methods, the limitations, the significance of the outcomes for each community and finally gave an outline of the structure of the thesis. In Chapter 2 I set out the background in more detail, discussing related literature that shows the need for this research and shows its context in terms of current archival theory and practice, and in terms of the tramping community in New Zealand.

Chapter 2: Background to the research

2.1 Introduction

When tramping, it is important to constantly scan the environment to be aware of issues likely to impact on your journey, and the same is metaphorically true for archival research and practice. Surveying the literature was a continuous process throughout this research, in line with the methodological approach taken. In establishing the research aims, questions and design, coloured by my discussions with AUTC members and an understanding from my own background, I surveyed the literature in areas relating to tramping itself, and then research in the archival multiverse, archival description, archival power and participatory archiving. As I engaged further with the communities and new themes and concepts began to emerge through the grounded techniques of analysis, the focus gradually changed. It was necessary to keep circling back to the literature and spiral out to explore new areas, from the methodological, including participatory, ethnographic and critical, to the wider humanities, taking in anthropology, geography, ecology, history, literature, philosophy, memory studies, indigenous studies, colonial studies, feminist studies, Māori studies, the analysis of sports and recreation, and more. The wide range of relevant literature speaks to the integration of the club's collective memory systems and processes in the complexity of the wider society in which it exists.

Much of the literature relating to the developing analysis is described further in later chapters, as I came to understand its significance, but here the main areas of literature surveyed are summarised. In this chapter, I introduce the literature that provides a background to the research questions and explains why there is a significant need to address questions relating to the management of the archives of a community's collective memory. I begin with an introduction to literature about tramping in New Zealand, then look at concepts of collective memory and community. Next, I look at ideas about records, archives, societal power and rights in records. I consider literature relating to participation in archiving and in research, and finally briefly look at records continuum research. The research questions emerged from this literature, individually and collectively, while also having their source in my interactions with the AUTC community.

The literature was used for dual purposes: as well as in the traditional academic sense, as a method for identifying a gap in the existing research, it has been used as a source of data. This is described in the methodology discussion in Chapter 3.10.

2.2 Tramping / Wilderness pursuits

The AUTC community exists within a wider community of outdoor clubs situated within New Zealand culture. To analyse AUTC culture it is helpful to have some background on this wider context. Tramping can be both a contemplative and companionable pursuit, while also uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous. It has led to the production of much literature in New Zealand, often also associated with photographs or, earlier, engravings of remote and beautiful scenes. Ross (2008) discusses to the significance of the idea of "the bush" to the Pākehā psyche. The early surveyors' tales of their travels in the back country made popular reading in New Zealand as well as in their countries of origin, usually Great Britain: for example, Thomas Brunner's 1848 harrowing tale of his "great journey" exploring the South Island, a facsimile of which was taken on a 14-day tramping trip to the area by my brother in the 1980s, where the trip members read hair-raising excerpts each night for amusement. (For an overview of early NZ European explorers and their stories, see Temple, 1985).

This exploration was often done in solitude or with barely-acknowledged Māori guides, and much analysis and literature has been produced regarding "New Zealand's existentialist men alone" (Benson 1998), such as Mulgan's Man Alone (1939) and Barry Crump's (1960) stereotypical "rough, wild, practical joker" Good

Keen Man. A considerable body of poetry also exists. Possibly the best known is James K Baxter's (1948) High Country Weather, which begins with a much-quoted stanza, evocative of the sense of being in the New Zealand mountains.

Alone we are born And die alone; Yet see the red-gold cirrus Over snow-mountain shine.

(Baxter 1948)

Despite frequent societal disapproval until later in the 20th century, due to doubts about chaperonage and costume, women were also exploring the more difficult parts of New Zealand's terrain – for example Australian Freda du Faur, the first woman to climb Mt Cook (du Faur, 1915). In reality, women colonists in New Zealand of the 19th century needed to be as hardy as any male tramper. Jane Maria Richmond wrote, in 1853 "I have never felt so wide awake as I have done since I landed in New Zealand... Sometimes...I feel as if nothing short of going up Mt Egmont can properly relieve me and let off the steam" (quoted in Porter & MacDonald 1996, p.90). The tales of "pioneering women" in the back country remain popular in New Zealand, supporting Ross' assertion of the significance of wilderness to Pākehā New Zealanders' sense of self, from Lady Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand (*first published in 1870, often reprinted and now also available as an e-book or even an audiobook on YouTube (Barker 2017)) to Mona Anderson's *A River Rules My Life,* first published in 1963 with frequent reprints, most recently 2018.

For Māori men and women, walking through the New Zealand bush was part of everyday life, with expeditions to gather food at different sites in different seasons, to trade goods and, at times, to escape from war parties. For example, Maria Morris / Maraea Morete writes: "We journeyed on then for some hours, still keeping to the river. When the moon set we left the water and camped for a short time for we were weary. At day light we fled to the hills. I carried my child on my back all the time" (Porter & MacDonald 1996, p.132). The AUTC has had relatively few Māori members throughout its history, and yet many of the tracks walked by this and other clubs were pioneered by Māori people finding the best routes through the land to carry out their necessary business. Their history has become, mostly unwittingly, an ingredient in Tramping Club culture.

John Pascoe, New Zealand's National Archivist from 1963 to 1972, was himself a keen tramper and mountaineer, as well as a photographer, writer and public servant (see Phillips, 2000). He is cited by some of the older AUTC members as a source of highly valued knowledge about the remoter parts of the South Island. He wrote extensively on New Zealand's wilderness, including a 1957 biography of South Westland explorer Charlie Douglas, edited from Douglas' own journals and the reports he wrote for the Survey Office in Hokitika. A revised edition was prepared by Graham Langton (a former AUTC member, historian and archivist who took part in this research) and published in 2000, republished 2004 and 2016, illustrating the continued interest in New Zealand in tales of tramping and exploration.

Other works relating to tramping in New Zealand range from guidebooks (particularly the South Island tramping bible, Moir's Guidebooks, in print in revised editions continuously since 1928 – for example, Gilkison & Hamilton, 1948) to introductions to tramping for beginners (Bennett & Slater 2007), to a rapidly-growing pile of photograph and map-embellished coffee-table books with suggestions of tramps from day-walks to expeditions the length of New Zealand (Barnett 2015; Barnett & Geographx 2007; Chapple 2011) or other evocative subjects such as back-country huts (Barnett, Brown & Spearpoint 2012 – a book for which my father was interviewed, as one of the builders of a hut on Mt Ruapehu in the 1960s).

Another resource relating to tramping is a list of the location of hut books removed from their original locations (Keir 2014). Hut books are significant for trampers as they are created for safety purposes to

record each person arriving at a hut, their intended onward route and comments about the tracks they have already travelled. The entries can be checked by Search and Rescue teams, and used also as a tool for managing the hut. They can be read by later visitors for many other purposes, such as discovering that friends have passed the same way, or to plan later routes, or for entertainment when trapped by bad weather. (Barnett 2015) There is a very large and growing number of online resources relating to tramping in New Zealand, far too numerous to cover here, as a simple Google search combining the terms "tramping" and "New Zealand" will reveal. Some are produced by clubs and societies with an interest in tramping such as the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand (FMC 2018) and the New Zealand Alpine Club (2018), both of whom have also published magazines for many years (FMC 1957—current; NZ Alpine Club 1892-current), others produced by tourism operators or by individuals with an interest in writing and publishing photographs about tramping, often in collaborative blogs (New Zealand Tramper 2018).

The Auckland University Tramping Club has also been prolific in publishing throughout its history, with a *Footprints* magazine produced each year from 1944 onwards to tell stories of the year's exploits, each author deciding whether to aim for accuracy, entertainment, or a difficult to determine mixture. There have also been two Jubilee publications (AUTC 1957; Aimer & Davis 1982), 5 editions of songbooks (for example, AUTC 1984) and, until at least the 1990s, a regular newsletter, known since the 1970s as *Belch*. The club has a public Facebook page (AUTC 2018a) and a website (AUTC 2018b), and many of its early written records are held in Special Collections in the University of Auckland Library. I looked through these records early in my research, and I describe this encounter in Chapter 3.4. Others of its written records were held by previous Presidents of the Club, and many of these were given to me to manage through the course of this research, with the request that I organise their long-term preservation.

2.3 Collective memory

Sociologist Jeffrey Olick (2011, p.228) argued that "It is not just that we remember as members of groups, but that we constitute those groups and their members simultaneously in the act (thus re-member-ing)". He then notes Robert Bellah and colleagues have therefore referred to "genuine communities as communities of memory" and have highlighted the role of "constitutive narratives." Collective memory is a growing concept in archival science (Hedstrom, 2010; Jacobsen et al, 2013). It is seen for example in Jeannette Bastian's (2003) development of the concept of a community of records in her study in the Virgin Islands of a national community whose records were largely in the custody of another nation.

Ketelaar (2005) discussed Bastian's concept of "community of records", considering to what extent records are constructive in creating and maintaining memories, communities and identities, and reflecting on the concept's potential in considering a more holistic view of the rights and duties of stakeholders. In a recent essay, Bastian discussed the need for archivists to conduct memory research to "expand the breadth and significance of the records in their care and discover broader contexts for the archival mission" (2017, p.285). She observed (p.285):

The tools of memory have acquired a legitimacy and an evidential gravity of their own. If archivists are to continue to be relevant to the documenting of society, then it is critical that memory and the expressions and traces of memory be incorporated into archival practice as well as theory.

Collective memory belongs to a community rather than an individual, but it is constantly being reconstructed by individuals within that community, through the communication of elements of that memory. Records support communities in their collective-memory building, but to make use of those records, and to preserve the community's meaning in those records, the records must be discoverable and accessible to the community, and controlled and described in a way that reflects the community's perspective. The "touchstones" of memory for a community, which include archival documents (Millar, 2006) can be the same items as those for other communities, but may have for them a different meaning.

Major social change can highlight the need for re-analysis of societal norms and accepted practice. This was seen not only in Bearman's 1989 call for the re-evaluation of archival methods to cope with the move to electronic recordkeeping, but also in a 2002 work in post-apartheid South Africa, *Refiguring the Archive*, where Hamilton et al (including an essay by David Bearman) considered the intersections and interplay between memory, evidence, democracy and "the archive", reflecting on the role of archives to construct, sanctify and bury pasts, and to construct the future, as tools of both remembering and forgetting.

In 2010, Margaret Hedstrom observed that in order to do our work as archivists, we need to develop a better understanding of the role archives and records play in a community's construction of its collective memory. In a related question, Anne Gilliland asked, in a discussion on the principles and rights involved in developing federated access to archives (quoted in Battley 2014), "What do records do in people's lives that nothing else does?"

So this leads us to the essential research question:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

2.4 Problematising archivists' definitions of "records" and "archives"

There have been many attempts to pin down a precise definition of records and archives, and continuing discussion over these definitions suggest they are contingent upon the point of view of the definer. Derrida (1998, p.90): "nothing is less clear today than the word 'archive". Hofman (2005, p.157): "... it is no longer a 'fixed'... thing, but more a virtual or conceptual state in a fluid sequence from a single record to societal memory."

I begin with an official, internationally-sanctioned definition of a record provided by the archival and recordkeeping community in the international standard for records management, ISO 15489:2016 (International Organization for Standardization [ISO], s.3.14, 2016):

Information created, received, and maintained as evidence and as an asset by an organisation or person, in pursuance of legal obligations or in the transaction of business

The standard also stipulates that records should "contain, or be persistently linked to, or associated with, the metadata necessary to document a transaction": the format and relationships between the elements comprising the record should remain intact, the business context in which it was created should be apparent, and the links between documents held separately that combine to make up the record should be present. These definitions both use the term "business": not a term immediately springing to mind in the context of club or personal records.

ISO 15489 describes the essential characteristics of authoritative records: Authenticity, reliability, integrity and usability; and stipulates that the records be maintained in "records systems", constantly capturing, maintaining and providing access to records across space and time (ISO 2016, s.4-5). In records continuum terms, this systematically maintains contextual information as the record, always in a state of becoming, is reactivated, reused and reinterpreted. However, the ISO definitions do not overtly refer to the organic nature of records as they travel through time and space. Similarly, it was not possible to get international agreement to use the term "recordkeeping systems" so the more limited term, records systems, was used.

The interpretation of these definitions depends on the observer: for a community with an oral tradition, a record may be a story passed on, or for other communities, a ceremony, a song, a building, a statue, or an inscription in a book. Bastian (2016) discusses the slipperiness of concepts of records, archives and "the archive", citing (p.12) Geoffrey Yeo's assertion (Yeo 2007, p.318) that there is disagreement about their meanings even amongst archivists and records managers. She also notes (p.15) Tom Nesmith's (2015, p.92)

point that people use a range of different "means of communication to recall their thoughts and activities", with many different keeping-places, including "in memories and on bodies, in nature, rituals, a location at home or at work, or an entire building … designed for the purpose." Bastian concludes that concept of archive depend on the standpoint of the observer.

A record may be an "asset" because of the pleasure associated with the memory it evokes, or it may be evidence of social obligations. It is likely that different communities may have different interpretations as to who is involved in the "business" recorded in the archives. Similarly, authenticity, reliability, and so on are contingent on the point of view of the observer. McKemmish (2005, p.12-13) provides a definition informed by Records Continuum theory, one which is more useful in understanding the records of a community continually creating, using, sharing, maintaining, destroying and changing records in their day-to-day, physical and digital presence in the world, surrounded by and influenced by the other communities to which they also belong or relate. She describes documents as traces of acts and events, transformed into archives & records by archival and recordkeeping processes which link them to the

...transactions, acts, decisions or communications they document, the people, and related documents, and placing them in their immediate business and social context, as well as maintaining an audit trail of their management and use.

They are then

...transformed into a corporate or personal archive by recordkeeping and archiving processes that 'place' records-as-evidence in the broader context of the social and business activities and functions of the organization, group or individual, and manage them in frameworks that enable them to function as individual, group, or corporate memory.

This definition, which is consistent with a records continuum view of records and archives, is appropriate for this study, as it allows for the understanding of records as existing within and being constantly reconstructed by the social world in which they exist.

These recordkeeping and archiving processes are relatively well-researched in terms of archival and recordkeeping understandings, but it is also important to understand how they function in communities living their everyday lives, not necessarily explicitly focused on recordkeeping purposes. To examine this in detail, it was necessary to analyse their meaning and relevance in terms of their relationship to the Tramping Club community's lived experience of records and recordkeeping processes. It was also important to examine how apparently-fixed definitions such as those created as international standards might fit into an alternative epistemology. This leads to the research question:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

2.5 Communities and archives

Communities come in a multitude of types and sizes, with their own values, understandings, and culture, and every person belongs to multiple communities, reflecting those cultures according to the situation. For example, just a few of the communities to which I belong include the community labelled as "New Zealanders", a community of archivists, the AUTC community, and my family. A term often used when defining differences between communities is "mainstream", the group for whom systems are said to be typically designed. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Mainstream: "The ideas, attitudes, or activities that are shared by most people and regarded as normal or conventional". This multiplicity of communities suggests that it is difficult to identify just what a "mainstream" community might be. Perhaps for archival description, the "mainstream" has traditionally been whichever community was responsible for managing the archives, or training the archivist.

All three communities involved in this research are relatively well-documented within their own circles, all creating records as part of their activities. As noted in Section 2.3, Bastian (2003, p.5) has described a "community of records" as "the aggregate of records in all forms generated by multiple layers of actions and interactions between and among the people and institutions within a community". She writes of how (p.3) they are the "products of a multi-tiered process of creation that begins with the individual creator but can only be fully realised within the expanse of this creator's entire society." Bastian argued (p.5) "Records, oral and written, become both the creators as well as the products of the societal memory of a community." This action of continuing to create the societal memory can only be carried out with ongoing access to those records. Records no longer under the control of the AUTC community appear to have become *out of sight, out of mind* and therefore largely unavailable to the AUTC long-term memory.

In a 2013 paper examining shifting paradigms of archival theory, Terry Cook noted an increasing level of interest and study in the area of community archives. He concluded that over the past 150 years, the focus of archival theory has moved from evidence to memory to identity and community, and (p.95) that the archivist has been transformed from "passive curator to active appraiser to societal mediator to community facilitator" as societal attitudes have moved from modern to post-modern understandings about knowledge and power.

With these shifting paradigms, it is necessary to ask to what extent existing practices can fit the newly formulated role of an archivist. This gives rise to another research question:

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

2.6 The power of the archivist and the power of the researcher

Terry Cook (1997, 2013) has been a strong influence on my view of archives. In his paper with Joan Schwartz (2002) "Archives, records, and power" their description of archivists as "performers in the drama of memory-making" is a neat encapsulation of the power of the archivist over what is retained and how it is interpreted, but also suggests on further analysis that they are only part of the "drama". Vukliś and Gilliland (2016, p.14) identified a 1970 speech by "radical historian Howard Zinn" as the first challenge to the English-language authority Jenkinson's (1922) view that the archivist was a neutral curator of archives. Cook (2013) suggested that community archiving and digital opportunities could heal the "disruptive and sometimes conflicting discourses within our profession" as traditional archival theory and practice moved through postmodern and contemporary social theories, influenced by philosophers such as Derrida (1998) and Foucault (1995). Derrida's *Archive Fever* has been suggested (Manoff 2004) to have had a strong influence on archival discourse outside its disciplines of origin, as an archival turn in wider society, influenced in part by the development of digital technologies, sees the concept of the archive "loosening and exploding" (Manoff 2004 p.10).

Eric Ketelaar (2017, p.231) identified anthropologist Ann Stoler as the source of the term "the archival turn", defined as a "move from archives-as-sources to archives-as-subject". Stoler (2002, p.85) said we could choose to use archives "not as sites of knowledge retrieval but knowledge production..." This opening up of the archival discourse into new disciplines allows new ideas to influence the interpretations of archivists themselves. For example, Peter Scott, originally trained as a linguist, brought the ideas of structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure to the problems of archival description in Australia in the 1960s, a time of rapid administrative change, using the concepts of structuralism to inform the development of the Australian Series System (Scott 2010, p.10). Records Continuum theory in turn was influenced by the structuralist concepts of the Series system, and by Giddens' structuration theory of space-time distanciation (Upward 2005). Dunbar (2006) introduced the concepts of critical race theory from anthropology, which he suggested could lead to the better representation of disenfranchised populations, while from philosophy,

Derrida (1998, p.17) suggested that the technical methods of "archivization" shape history and memory. In response, Duff and Harris (2002) discussed the power of archival description to "construct meaning", while Douglas (2016) suggested that archival description traditionally disguises the processes by which an archival aggregation has been constructed.

Vukliś and Gilliland (2016) discussed a "social justice" turn in archiving, observing that "the societal processes that create records are neither 'neutral' nor 'fair". Rodney Carter (2006) considered the "silence of the archive", observing that marginalised groups are excluded from the archive by the powerful, and suggested that archivists and researchers should read "against the grain" to highlight those silences and begin to give a voice to the silenced, though he also warned that some groups might choose that silence themselves. Wallace (2017, p.290) stated:

The turn toward memory as a feature of social justice positions archival work as a moral obligation to ensure that the oppressed and dominated are not written out of history and that narratives regarding them are not shrouded in distortions and misrepresentations.

Wilson and Golding (2016) argued:

... research into archives should involve the direct participation, as 'insider researchers', of those who experienced the matters contained in the records. Such participation is essential if the process of revealing and interpreting the archives is to maintain the dignity of the records' subject individuals, and ensure the integrity of the research.

Vukliś and Gilliland (2016) described a growing trend to archival activism, replacing "the passive application of ethical standards ... with active social engagement in the processes of records creation, capture, description and dissemination." Active social engagement both requires and leads to an in-depth understanding of community systems, processes and perspectives.

2.7 Addressing multiple perspectives - research in the archival multiverse

Archives and recordkeeping have an increasing and robust body of research to support theory and practice. McKemmish & Gilliland (2013) and Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau (2017) provide broad and deep overviews of the many rigorous methodologies, methods and techniques used in a rapidly-growing canon within the field. For this research, beginning from an archival multiverse perspective and with the need to understand the specific needs of a community, it was natural to use a participatory methodology (Cornwall & Jewkes 1995; Dennison & Stillman 2012; Beck 2002).

Post-modern conceptualisations of archives have in turn led to an understanding that there are an infinite number of ways of perceiving records and recordkeeping. Early discussions in this area are seen in Terry Cook's (1997) discussion of custodial archives versus the "postcustodial":

[Archivists should] liberate themselves from the constraints of the 'custodial era' with its focus on physical groupings of records, and ... embrace instead the implications of the 'postcustodial' era with its conceptual paradigm of logical or virtual or multiple realities

The concept of the archival multiverse steps beyond this postcustodial idea to a broader understanding that there are multiple possible epistemologies relating to archives, records and recordkeeping. Research in the Archival Multiverse is a key recently-published work (Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau 2017) which set out background, context, frameworks, an overview of the application of related research methods in archival science, and research case studies.

With an archival multiverse understanding, it can be seen that the idea of archives can have many different meanings, depending on the viewer's perspective. Many insights into the archival multiverse have come from research with Indigenous communities. Ally Krebs (quoted in Faulkhead & Thorpe 2017, p.3) wrote "Indigenous peoples' views, definitions and understandings of 'archive' are often different and more diverse than those emanating from traditionally based Western archival science." This is illustrated in an increasing

body of literature from a range of countries, including Australia (Bradley & Yanyuwa families 2010; Thorpe 2017; Faulkhead 2008), New Zealand (Jacobs & Falconer 2004; Winiata 2005; Tikao & Frean 2012), the Pacific (Wareham 2002) and Korea (Youn 2017). Other communities too are expressing different concepts of archives that problematise the western archival tradition: for example, "Queering the Archive" (Kumbier 2014; independent community archives in the UK (Flinn & Stevens 2009) and online communities (Upward, McKemmish & Reed 2011).

Archival practice itself, although codified in national manuals and some international standards, is not uniform across jurisdictions, and often not even within them (Oliver 2014; Ketelaar 2017). Huvila's study (2015) of Nordic archives professionals found that their work and the meanings of the archives they managed were strongly influenced by their individual and institutional contexts, just as I found in my own Masters research into descriptive choices made by archivists in New Zealand (Battley 2011). Archiving and its wider concept, recordkeeping, is indeed a product of its society (McKemmish, Piggott, Reed & Upward 2005), discussed also in Michael Piggott's (2012) essays on the "societal provenance" of archives.

Gilliland, McKemmish and Lau's Research in the Archival Multiverse (2017) provides an overview of new areas of activity examining how archival theory and practice can better meet the multitudes of different needs, interests and understandings of the endlessly diverse communities and individuals who create, maintain, use, share, capture and are captured in, influence and are influenced by archives and records. One significant area that needs to be explored is the development of methodologies to understand how a community uses records in maintaining its collective memory, from which understanding we can then begin to unpack the implications for archival practice and theory.

Research in Indigenous and other communities outside the "mainstream" indicated that for outcomes that would be fully appropriate for the community whose records were concerned, and that would give a rich, nuanced understanding of the issues involved, a negotiated methodology would be necessary (Faulkhead 2018; Smith 2012). The background to the development of the methodology is discussed in detail in chapter 3. Negotiating methodologies is a relatively new research practice, with little literature so far relating to how it can be realised in practice. Literature relating to insider research in archival and other fields can provide useful guidelines (Evans et al 2012; Halilovich 2014; Coghlan & Shani 2008; Costley et al 2010). As the research went on, I came to better understand the significance of my own positioning as an insider researcher in each of the communities involved, with direct access to cultural understandings and the ability to negotiate between the different groups. This is discussed in Chapter 3.6 and in Chapter 5.

Here, then, is another of the research questions, inspired by the foregoing literature and developed through later engagement with the research:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

2.8 Archival description as a point of view

Some literature about archival description has begun to address concepts of multiple perspectives and participation. Hurley (2005) introduced the concepts of parallel provenance and simultaneous multiple provenance, identifying the need to be able to (p.10) "render alternative narratives about the same records" – which he suggests is made possible through the Australian Series System of description. Heather MacNeil (2012) describes archival finding aids as

... vehicles for carrying out a range of explicit and implicit social actions, [including] making archival holdings visible and accessible... and enshrining particular perspectives on the notions of 'community', 'identity', and 'cultural heritage'.

Thus, if a community wishes to have its own perspective reflected, it must either provide input into institutional finding aids, or create its own. Nathan Sowry (2014) discusses the concepts of co-creatorship and pluralist provenance in his call for "broader descriptive practices that account for the possibility of multiple narratives". A scoping study for the "Find & Connect" project (McCarthy & Evans, 2012) for research into records of Forgotten Australians & children in out-of-home care concluded all people and organisations connected with records should be able to contribute to use through description, to prevent further injustice. As Anne Gilliland (2013) has observed, the more points of view that can be expressed through description, the better, more authentic, reliable and more nuanced the view of the world will be.

It is debatable that simply providing input into institutional finding aids can be enough to represent community perspectives. Rolan (2016; 2017a, p.127-128) has created a participatory recordkeeping continuum model that represents the different dimensions of participatory distanciation in relation to the activities represented by records. At the centre of his model is direct experience of the activities to which they relate, to, most distant, merely having an intellectual or research interest. These dimensions identify also the related need for control over the records according to the distanciation of the participants, with those closest to the experience likely to have the most need for participatory control of recordkeeping activities. Rolan observed (p.130) "The first (deepest) dimension of participation requires interoperable infrastructure that underpins the negotiated management of records", while at the outermost fourth dimension are "interfaces that support the moderated transacting of material to/from researchers. This is the traditional archival interface".

Increasingly, projects are attempting to address the need for communities to contribute to description to improve access and contextualisation of records. Ketelaar (2008, p.9) says "the record speaks with multiple voices through many intermediaries" and suggests archives can act as social spaces, connecting private and public memories by using the digital technologies of archives as "relationship technologies". However, often efforts towards community participation fall short of Rolan's first-dimension-appropriate interoperable infrastructure. Many recent initiatives fall under the banner of "Archives 2.0" – described by Rolan as 3rd-dimensional interlinked systems allowing participants to interact to share knowledge. One much-cited example is Yakel, Shaw and Reynolds (2007) description of a research project designed to increase user participation with online digital collections. Using the Polar Bear Expedition Digital Collections as a test collection, they encouraged user input through social navigation features and collaborative filtering. This project was archivist-initiated and moderated. Recent studies (Iacovino, 2012, Eveleigh, 2012) conclude that currently, community participation is usually just a matter of adding bits of metadata, such as tags, to archivist-controlled description.

Moving further towards Rolan's inner level of participation, Shilton & Srinivasan's (2007) study relating to the development of the South Asian Web was a move towards a more community-focused ethos. They suggested participatory models of archival practice could lead to more empowered communities and more representative archives. Huvila (2008) carried out an action research project in Finland developing two digital archives, with decentralised curation, and what he called a "radical user orientation", though again the projects began from point of view of archives, not community. The Trust and Technology project discussed below (McKemmish et al 2011) was another example of second-dimension participation, where the physical management of some community archives may be delegated, but integrated systems allow the community that is their source to manage their intellectual, spiritual and other aspects.

Anna Sexton (2015), in her thesis which examined challenges in the development of a participatory archive, deliberated at length on limits to participation in archives as well as in research. She observed (p.323, citing Derrida and Dufourmantelle, 2000, p.29):

Derrida also points me towards the impossibility of the notion of enacting an absolute hospitality in which the guest becomes the master: "The foreigner...has to ask for a hospitality in a language which by definition is not his own, the one imposed on him by the master of the house...this personage imposes on him translation into their own language, and that's the first act of violence'

Jenny Bunn (2011) used an interpretive, second-generation Grounded Theory approach to investigate the way archivists see the process of description, and concluded "practicing archival description is a point of view". She also cited (p.188) Dervin, Reinhard & Shen (2006), asking how it is possible to communicate [through archival description] without "demanding that the other defend themselves in worlds of our own constructions". Currently, the points of view that archival systems are capturing are usually those of agency managers, or archivists, not the points of view of all parties to the creation of the records, and often not those closest to the activities recorded in them. Similarly, archival systems tend to describe records at points in time, and fail to enable through-time views and performances of ongoing business (or community) and recordkeeping processes. Again, I return to RQ2 and RQ5, and ask how existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models represent the place of records and recordkeeping in a community, and how best should participatory methodologies be adapted and applied for this research?

2.9 Human rights, cultural rights and participatory archiving

Discussion and research in the areas of human rights and participatory archiving has been an increasing focus of archives and recordkeeping conferences and literature, and has led to the development of new models for participatory archiving as well as sets of rights and principles. Both the practice and academic communities have been influenced to some extent by these discussions, as evidenced by the International Council on Archives' development of "The Universal Declaration on Archives", formally adopted by UNESCO in 2011, which asserted the relevance of archives in today's society and specifically noted their role in "Supporting democracy and human rights, and preserving collective social memory".

Gilliland and McKemmish (2015) discussed the "establishment of participatory archives, or the restructuring of existing archives along participatory lines". Towards this aim, they set out a list of participatory archival rights and principles in support of the multiple "rights, responsibilities, needs and perspectives" with regard to the record, in support of human rights agendas". In related research, Gilliland (2014, pp.22-29) developed the Voice, Identity, Activism (VIA) model: "A community-centric framework for approaching archives and recordkeeping", in which the interests, needs and wellbeing of the community are central; the records should not be seen as "collectibles" or "rescue projects" and the constantly evolving community interests, understandings, emotions and demographics will be a challenge to traditional archival practice that must be addressed.

Livia Iacovino (2015) noted the area of cultural rights, "in particular, cultural identity important for Indigenous and minority rights in records", is a less-developed area of the growing body of research into participatory archiving and human rights. Iacovino observed that for governments and professional archival institutions, "maintaining control over records generated from the participative web remains a major goal and limits the implementation of a participative archive as a prospective tool for cultural rights". Since the turn of the millennium, interest has grown in research into archives in disempowered communities (e.g. Bastian, 2003 – a former slave colony in the Virgin Islands; Flinn, Stevens & Shepherd, 2009, and Stevens, Flinn & Shepherd, 2010 – multiple types of marginalised communities in the UK; Wakimoto et al, 2013 – queer communities in the USA), and it was found they were best served if they maintained their own contextual information. An overview of independent community archives in Britain (Flinn et al, 2009) found independent archives allowed communities identified by their wider society as "non-mainstream" to maintain their own voice & values. The researchers pointed to the need for more scholarly and professional research into this area. An ethnographic study into community archives in UK by the same research group

(Stevens et al, 2010) suggested they were more successful when the community managed its own records, and that archival practice needs to develop to accommodate this better.

Thus, although there has been some recent movement towards research into increasing community participation in archival processes, there is the need for further research to increase understanding of how participation can occur, how archival practice needs to change, and how participation might impact on community experiences with archives.

2.10 Communities managing their own narratives

Research into communities managing their own narratives includes the grounded-theory based community participatory research by Shannon Faulkhead, (2008, 2009) into how a Koorie community uses oral and written evidence to create narratives. This was incorporated in the Trust & Technology Project (McKemmish et al, 2011) which looked at developing archival systems to suit indigenous ways of knowledge, and suggested an archival action agenda, including the development of further tools and systems which could improve the ability to incorporate different world views into archival description.

Communities with different points of view from those of institutions holding their records have problems accessing and interpreting archives, but the implications are wider than this. Michelle Caswell (2014) identified the lack of representation of particular communities as "symbolic annihilation": another manifestation of colonialism. For example, Jacobs and Falconer (2004) noted that many Māori people need to trace land ownership through tribal connections, but these are not normally captured in archival descriptions, often because the people describing the records do not know what they are, or do not recognise the need.

Since that time, some Māori iwi have used Treaty of Waitangi settlements to develop their own archives. For example, in her book on decolonising methodologies, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p.131) describes the development of the Ngati Awa Research and Archives Trust. Similarly, the Trust and Technology Project involving the Koorie community of Victoria (McKemmish et al, 2011) highlighted the need for new approaches in archival practice to support indigenous frameworks of knowledge, memory and evidence. These different points of view can best be captured if the communities themselves participate in description, whether it is within the archive or through making connections to the archive from within their own community information systems.

Caswell (2014) described a community fighting back against symbolic annihilation through the development of the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), which began after people of South Asian descent in the USA began to question their lack of representation in the mainstream of US popular history. Her article posits that independent, community-based archives are crucial tools for fighting the symbolic annihilation of historically marginalized groups. Caswell suggested symbolic annihilation could be replaced by "representational belonging", discussing the powerful emotional or affective impacts of seeing yourself reflected and acknowledged in the archives, retaining evidence of your community and its place to stand in time and space. In more recent research into the perspectives of marginalised communities on the physical spaces of their own community archives in Southern California, Caswell et al (2018) observed (p.73) that "Many users described their community archives site as a "home-away-from-home," marked by intergenerational dialog and a profound sense of belonging", and noted that some users believed that they "foster dialog and debate about identity, representation, and activism and enable the community to envision its future".

The foregoing literature points to the need for a deep understanding of the recordkeeping needs, practices and understandings of specific communities, and the way records and archives interact with and support each community's collective memory, to better support community recordkeeping and so any potential archival or recordkeeping intervention can be assessed according to the community's specific needs. This

therefore further reinforces the need to ask research questions RQ1 and RQ3: what is the place of records in the AUTC collective memory, and how does archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate the Club's collective memory processes?

2.11 Records continuum research

Records continuum-based research is working towards addressing the need for better understanding of differing recordkeeping requirements and contexts. Sometimes misinterpreted as just an alternative approach to records management, contrasting with the "lifecycle model", the Records Continuum Model and records continuum theory have developed into a holistic view of recordkeeping known as "continuum thinking" (Upward, Reed, Oliver and Evans 2018, p. 23). Several accounts of its beginnings have been written (for example, Piggott 1994; Upward 1996; 1997; 2005; McKemmish 2017), but here I will focus on the literature most relevant to the current question I am addressing.

Continuum thinking and the continuum model focus on processes rather than products in the universe of recordkeeping (McKemmish 2017). Continuum thinking has been used since its inception to address challenges to traditional archival practice and understandings. Upward (1997) cites David Bearman's (1989) call for the reinvention of archival methods to face the challenges of electronic records as one of the inspirations for the development of the Records Continuum Model. The model owes much to Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, and Bergson's theories of time "in which there are billions of moments and movements out from the moment, with no privileging of past, present or future moments" (Upward 2005, p.201), while Derrida's "Archive Fever" (1998, in translation) provided reflections on documents, evidence and alternative conceptualisations of archives from outside the archival profession.

The records continuum and related continuum models continue to develop as a theory, a model, and a framework for practice and research, with a dedicated research group (RCRG 2018) and a growing body of research. The research group defines records continuum theory as: "concerned with understanding the complex, diverse and multi-faceted roles of records and recordkeeping in society. It is informed by a unifying concept of records, inclusive of records of continuing value (archives), and stresses their evidentiary and transactional nature" (RCRG 2018).

Leisa Gibbons' (2015) re-imagination of Upward's Cultural Heritage Continuum Model looked at "culture-as-evidence", explicitly acknowledging a new "curation" dimension allied with the concept of mediation of expression and creation of cultural artefacts, and identifying the centre as a locus of co-creation. This model shows how personal memories interact with community narratives and identities, systems, functions and mandates, allowing for a rich analysis of the elements and influences on perceptions and traces of community memory. However, as with the Records Continuum Model, the influence of the physical environment is (perhaps) assumed, for example under the headings of "traces" and "tools", but not explicitly present.

Greg Rolan's recent research into the development of interoperable systems for participatory recordkeeping also developed new models, a participatory recordkeeping model, as discussed above (Rolan 2016) and a conceptual metadata model for interoperable recordkeeping systems (Rolan 2017), both of which address the concept of agency in archiving.

These developments in archival theory and possibilities for change in practice appear to go some way towards addressing the needs of communities for managing their own records of collective memory, but need to be tested through the eyes of existing communities. The question remains:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

2.12 We need to understand how communities use records before designing archival systems for communities

Consideration of the politics of perception, experience and representation brings us back to the influence of archives and archivists over representation of communities. Community records are transferred into professional archival institutional places, where archivists interpret and represent their meaning through the medium of archival description. Bastian suggests (2016, p.3) that archivists should "embrac[e] 'the archive' in all its diversity and latitude", which "could open valuable pathways towards a more inclusive and all-encompassing understanding of the variety of records communities create and the many ways in which they tell their stories." Our archival systems, however, have been developed on the basis of a much more monocultural understanding of "the record" and "the archive".

In the 1980s, David Bearman (1989) called for a reinvention of archival methods to deal with the many changes in technology and societal creation, use and expectations of records in the latter part of the 20th century. A 2014 edition of *Archives & Manuscripts* reiterated and updated Bearman's call (Cumming, Findlay, Picot & Reed 2014), stating that the accelerating changes in society and technology made the need for changes to archival methods still more urgent, specifically in access (Reed 2014) and appraisal (Cumming & Picot 2014), in order to address both the challenges of digital recordkeeping overwhelming traditional archives, and to find a way to grow community participation to better reflect the multifaceted narratives that effective recordkeeping could potentially preserve (Battley, Daniels & Rolan 2014). More than just access and appraisal, all processes carried out by archivists may influence the stories that can be found in the archival record.

The ability for a community to manage archives about itself has been identified as not just a powerful driver for reclaiming identity and rights (Wareham, 2001), but for its very survival (Winiata 2005). Archival institutions holding records of Indigenous communities have been described as "prisons" (Wikaira 2004, p.49, citing an elder of her community), and their peoples as "captives of the archives" (Hagen 1978; Fourmile 1989). However, the research above suggests it is not just Indigenous communities that are captives of the archives, but potentially all communities with their records maintained and described by others with different points of view and cultures. Opening these prisons and freeing the captives requires first that archivists have a clear understanding of the impact on communities of having the records of their collective memories kept in archives managed by others. To reiterate Margaret Hedstrom's (2010) point: we need a better understanding of the role archives and records play in a community's construction of its collective memory.

Secondly new developments in archival theory and practice are required to enable communities to maintain Kaitiakitanga – guardianship – over their own records, and have them described and managed in their own terms and enabling their expression and use within their own cultural practices and understandings, irrespective of whether they are the community's alone or shared with multiple communities. Finally, participatory methodologies are needed to ensure that the outcomes of research into community needs and understandings are robust and well-grounded, and that the resulting archival theories, systems and practices are based on authentic community-defined epistemologies and needs.

2.13 Conclusion

This literature review provided the beginning of a map for navigating through this research. It set out the background and surfaced four research questions in order to meet the aims of this research: to help the AUTC maintain the records it needs for the long term, to critique recordkeeping and archival concepts and

models in terms of their fit with community perspectives on records and recordkeeping, and to suggest improvements. The overarching question was:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

From this question, two more questions were derived:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

A rigorous research process was required, and the literature indicated that to find well-grounded answers to these questions a participatory approach was essential, which led, after reflexive modification through the process of the research, to the final research question:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

In the next chapter, I describe the initial development of a methodology designed to enable as much community participation as possible to answer the research questions as they emerged.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework and methodology

3.1 Introduction

Perhaps appropriately for research involving a tramping club, the process of constructing this research has been a long and winding journey of exploration and discovery, with a map I drew myself as I travelled, with the support of my companions on the journey. Ultimately, the aim was to reach outcomes purpose-built for the communities involved, but getting there was a complex, challenging and ultimately rewarding experience which involved a great deal of discussion and changes of plan en route, and excellent companionship along the way. This chapter describes the theoretical framework and broad methodological concepts with which I began and the rigorous and community-appropriate research design which emerged through reflexive engagement with the communities and the research itself. I began with the intention of helping a community develop a method for preserving the records of its collective memory with the support of the knowledge and skills of archival theorists and practitioners. What happened next was a major shift in focus, after I listened to the community and began to understand the strengths they already had in maintaining their collective memory, and what they actually needed. The focus became the processes of collective memory; differences in understandings of archives, records, and other related terms; and the many different types of records that exist outside archival institutions.

In this chapter, I summarise the research design and methodology, and describe the background, framework and paradigm that explain the choices I made with regard to methodology, methods and techniques. A vignette of my own encounter with Tramping Club records in an institutional setting provides an example of an impactful experience that enriched my own understanding at the outset of the research. This leads to a reflection on insider research, and a discussion of analytical autoethnography. Following this I describe the research methods in more detail, and reflect on limits to participation.

3.2 Research design and methodology: an overview

The research design, questions and outcomes were intentionally emergent, and this was dictated by my aims for the research. In order to understand how the archival and recordkeeping community can be enablers of community collective memory maintenance, I needed to understand the needs of the AUTC community from the community's point of view. I wanted the model of the community's use of records to be rigorously grounded in the community's own perspective, and constructivist grounded theory emerged as a significant aspect of the research methods.

The research methodology was informed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) concept of decolonised methodologies, an idea developed in reaction to centuries of research "done to" Indigenous peoples. Instead, this research has the intention of being "done with" the participating communities, and for that reason had to be conducted using culturally appropriate methods for the communities involved, and meeting their ethical requirements. The research was an iterative process involving ongoing reflection, communication, negotiation and reflexivity, as well as the development and preservation of ongoing friendships, through my insider status in all of the communities. Figure 3.1 provides a visual representation of the complexity of the research design.

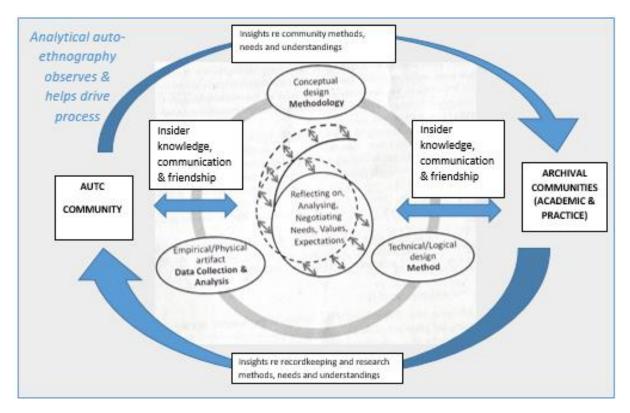


Fig. 3.1 Research Design – Inclusive, emergent multiple-community research with an auto-ethnographic catalyst (after McKemmish et al 2012, Inclusive Research Design)

The process of arriving at an appropriate methodology for this research itself modelled in some ways the research methodology. I began with an appreciation of the value of records continuum theory for illuminating aspects of recordkeeping processes, and an awareness of the developing concept of the archival multiverse (PACG 2011), as discussed in Section 2.7. As part of my research training I reviewed different methodological approaches, blogging about each of them and reflecting on their relevance to my area of interest, as along with how well they related to my own standpoint as a researcher, an archivist and a member of the AUTC (Battley 2013). This process of gathering data, reflection, blogging and spiralling on to gather more data, reflect more, and so on, combined with my desire to do more than observe but to work towards improved outcomes for communities and archivists working together led me to decide that my research was situated within the critical research paradigm.

3.3 Records continuum-framed research in the critical IS research paradigm

Kincheloe and McLaren (2003, p. 436) state "a critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, education, religion and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system". Kincheloe and McLaren (2002) identify the origins of critical theory as the Frankfurt School, a group of social research theorists, Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, based in Germany in the early 20th Century who were both influenced by and reacting against German philosophers such as Marx, Kant, Hegel and Weber, and their context in post-World War I Germany. This led them to the "belief that injustice and subjugation shaped the lived world" (p.88). All three were Jewish, and chose to migrate to California as a result of the rise of Nazism. Kincheloe and McLaren suggest that the contradictions they observed in the culture of the United States, such as the rhetoric of egalitarianism in contrast with the reality of racism and class discrimination, led to the publication of a number of works which formed the basis of further theory-building and the rise of the critical research paradigm in the English-speaking world. Rather than just observing and analysing social conditions, critical research seeks "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them" (Horkheimer 1982, p.244).

However, as Kincheloe and McLaren (2002, p. 89) observed, "There are many critical theories not just one", including critical theories in relation to post-colonial Indigenous experience (for example, Pihama 1993); feminist critical theories (Rhode 1990) and more recently, critical race theory (Dunbar 2006); and a growing interest in critical theories in information studies (Myers and Klein 2011) and archival research (Caswell & Punzalan 2017). Myers and Klein's specific interest in the field of information studies gives their work a particular relevance for this research, but it is also informed by the insights provided by the critical theories of post-colonial Indigenous research, as cited by Tuhiwai Smith (2012) in her work towards decolonizing research methodologies.

In relation to critical theories in information systems research, Cecez-Kecmanovic & Kennan (2013) observed (p.121) that the "key distinguishing feature of critical social research is its concern with moral and ethical questions related to (often hidden) forms of domination, control and exploitation through information systems and knowledge management systems". Myers and Klein (2011) set out principles for critical research in the field of IS, based around three basic elements: insight, critique and transformation. Insight is concerned with interpretation, and requires a careful description of the situation, developed through qualitative research, and that provides rich data. My research seeks to understand, from the perspectives of the communities involved, how records, archives, recordkeeping and collective memory are perceived, constructed, managed, valued, used and shared. Therefore research using mainly qualitative data collection was appropriate (Williamson 2013).

The next element, critique, separates this research approach from an interpretive stance. Myers and Klein noted that critique builds on insight. It explicitly relates to power relations and social asymmetries which privilege certain ways of ordering the world (Myers & Klein 2011, p. 23-24), a vital issue for communities who do not have control over their own records of collective memory. Williamson (2013, p.15) described the use of critical theory in archival research as "addressing the power imbalance between traditional archives and communities outside the mainstream." She noted that the critical theory paradigm posits that "Reality is socially constructed (interpretivist / constructivist) but at base are real structures that need to be examined to improve conditions." Existing archival models are created by archivists in specific contexts, which differ from the contexts of many potential users of those archives. Therefore, the models they create may suit their original archival context, but not necessarily those of others wishing to use them. At the outset of this research, I was interested in examining the points where existing archival models fail to meet the needs of a specific community, and to explore how they could be better met. To research this aspect I needed to use a critical theory approach, looking at the descriptive structures "in the material world in order to help people change conditions" (Neuman, 2011) by locating areas of conflict and investigating possible solutions.

The third essential element of critical research as defined by Myers and Klein, transformation, is concerned with empowering communities and advocating for essential improvements to power imbalances – noting that "the ultimate arbiters of the desirability of changes are those affected by them" (Myers & Klein 2011 p.24). In other words, a participatory approach is required in order that any transformation is appropriate. Inclusive, community based research has been identified as appropriate in a critical theory paradigm (Gilliland & McKemmish 2004), to support a participatory and transformational research approach.

Managers of archives have a strong influence over their interpretation and accessibility. Enabling people with relationships to the records to make the connections they need gives better access to their rights and entitlements, and supports their collective memories. It also enhances the contextualisation of information by adding alternative viewpoints, to improve understanding of the broader place of the records in society. This research sought to empower the AUTC community to take control of the records of its own collective memory, while working with the understanding of the archival community to further develop tools for

community participation with archives. My application of the research methods and understanding of the desired outcomes were further developed and negotiated with the participating communities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, a records continuum approach frames this research. Described as an approach which views recordkeeping as "a continually interacting and evolving set of contingent activities with individual, institutional and societal aspects" (McKemmish & Gilliland 2013, p.93), it is associated with participatory models of archival practice, and community partnership research. Upward, McKemmish & Reed (2011) noted the relevance of an "integrated, process-centred" records continuum approach to meeting the needs of multiple perspectives and provenances, and constantly developing digital technologies in the archival multiverse. They suggested "continuum concepts of co-creatorship, multiple simultaneous and parallel provenance, and participatory models of the archive" may allow for the repositioning of indigenous [and presumably other] communities as "active participatory agents in archival and recordkeeping processes" (p.201), as records and their interpretation are created and recreated, used and shared over time and across space. These qualities make it a suitable framework for participatory models of archival practice, and inclusive, community partnership research.

3.4 Research with a participatory ethos: emergent aims, questions and methods

Participatory research is an evolving methodology which increasingly enables community understandings, values and needs to be included in research design, methodology and desired outcomes. It began in the fields of health, education and community development (Kemmis & McTaggart 2007; Beebeejaun et al 2014; Cornwall & Jewkes 1995) but is now also used in the area of archives and recordkeeping (McKemmish & Gilliland 2013, who cite Bradley & Yanyuwa families 2010; Duranti & Preston 2008; Evans et al. 2005) and other information studies, often in action research projects within organisations where there is a problem to be solved, while researchers study the outcome of the intervention in the problem (McKay and Marshall 2001).

Stoecker (2005) defined principles of a participatory research design he called Community Partnership Research, where the community is an equal partner, with no hierarchy of research roles, the skills and knowledge of all partners acknowledged and respected, and all participants owning and validating the research and its outcomes. This has been further developed (McKemmish, Burstein, Manaszewicz, Fisher & Evans, 2012) into a model of Inclusive Research Design, a reflexive, iterative and ongoing process where research takes place in a negotiated space using approaches and paradigms appropriate to the needs and understandings of all partners, and the research acknowledges the significance of both formal and informal encounters in planning and decision-making throughout the process of the research, using "friendship methods" including natural conversation and everyday involvement, vulnerability and giving (Tillman-Healy 2003). Inclusive research design accepts that there will be different needs, expectations, values and understandings amongst the participants, and requires the use of techniques such as reflexivity and secondgeneration grounded theory to identify these and take them into account, leading to a better understanding of the contexts of the research communities. It also acknowledges the cycle of constant re-negotiation, reevaluation and adaptation of the processes as the research progresses. These in turn lead to more nuanced research outcomes which should better meet the needs of the participants (McKemmish et al., 2012). Community Partnership and Inclusive Research Designs are beginning to be used in information studies and archival research (For instance, Evans, Faulkhead, Manaszewicz & Thorpe, 2012; Humphreys, McCarthy, Dowling, Kertesz & Tropea, 2014; Lang et al 2012, Pan, Bradbeer & Jurries 2011; and, to some extent, Shilton & Srinivasan 2007).

For these reasons, I concluded an inclusive research design was the most appropriate methodology, in order to capture the needs of the Tramping Club community from its own perspective. It engaged them in an iterative, ongoing research process. McKemmish & Gilliland (2013, p.94) note the relevance of a participatory approach involving action for a collaborative research and development project where

university, community and professional groups are involved, and the locus of the research is a community. All those involved have problems to be addressed by the research, and all have unique domain knowledge and expertise to add.

This research began with my interest in the ability of communities to participate in archival processes so their world views are better represented. I set out with participatory intentions, but I was always ultimately the originator and driver of the research. However, the participatory ethos intrinsic to the methodology meant that once I had fully engaged with the Tramping Club community in the research, and my understanding of the Club's existing state and needs changed, the aims of the research shifted too. The focus of the research became collective memory, and the part that records play in it. As I began to construct the initial model with the AUTC community, I realised the changes the process was bringing to my understanding of basic archival and recordkeeping concepts and practices. It was clear it would be necessary to rethink the scope of the original project. Instead of designing a new archival system for the tramping club, a much more interesting and useful question to explore was what systems and processes they were already using.

As a practising archivist and an archival researcher, I am a triple insider in this research, so I bring to it the practice and research perspectives in an embedded and embodied way. I also made use of use of the extensive literature that set out existing archival models and standards. The archival academic community had a strong influence on the research as arbiters of the performance of academic research. I am also a full member in these communities, and therefore have direct access to the culture and perspectives of all of them. As an archival and recordkeeping academic in the critical research space, I am part of the emergent thinking and researching in that area, so I am both drawing from it and feeding back into that body of work. The origin of the research design and aims came from that community, and I reflected on this extensively in my autoethnography, along with my experiences as a practicing archivist. As an archival practitioner for 28 years and a member of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand national council, I also brought to the research all of my existing knowledge and understanding of current practice in the New Zealand professional archives context.

Before I go on to describe the research methodology in detail, I interpose a vignette illustrating the experience of working as an insider at the confluence of three communities. One of my earliest encounters with the records officially known as "Tramping Club archives" was with those held by archival practitioners in "Special Collections" in the University of Auckland Library. I realise now, reading these notes I wrote at the time, the profound effect this encounter had on the direction I took in this project, and on the conclusions I have come to in the research. This early visit gave me a visceral understanding of the impacts of place and community on the experience of archives.

3.5 Vignette: a reflection on visiting "Special Collections"

My first encounter with the Tramping Club records held in the Special Collections section was in November 2013. I was greeted warmly by the Archivist in charge for the day, who I knew already from us having worked together in the past. It was good to catch up, and then she showed me to a table in the unfamiliar reading room, pointed out where the relevant finding aids were, said I was welcome to ask any questions I needed to, and left me with the lists. I wrote notes about the experience. They begin like this:

"Inventory of the records of the University of Auckland Tramping Club, 1936-1978 MSS & Archives 89-22, Special Collections, University of Auckland Library"

Feel quite annoyed they have changed name to "University of Auckland Tramping Club". Who decided that? That's not what it's called. Can't they see the initials are AUTC? Should I say something?

[I wondered at that point, still trying to be "objective", whether it was appropriate for me to try to get things changed.]

Next, I am given some boxes to look through

The first item in Box 1, folder 1 after a roughly-scrawled list of contents, on a 'found' piece of paper, is a leaflet on "safe tramping". After several newsletters from the Tararua Tramping Club from the 1940s, containing supper duty lists, notes about Tahurangi Hut and three birth notices, I see the first directly AUTC / AUCTC related item: a trip plan for a Milford Sound trip. It lists the members of the party, and I feel a visceral jolt, and tears come to my eyes as the first name to catch my eye is Margaret Hoyle, the pre-marriage name of my father's sister, who died a few years ago. At the end of the list of five names is her soon-to-be husband. It is a half-sheet of paper, typed. After the names of members of the party, and a contact address, it shows "Rough plan of campaign, including transport to start of tracks, tracks to be used, intended sight-seeing on way (launch around Milford Sound), alternative routes depending on weather. Dates 11-27 January." No year is given, will have to work out — ask Dad? Work out how old Margaret was, and work back?

On the next page, I note "Folder 2: 1st is AUCTC Newsletter — looks not unlike "Belch" (the newsletter when I was in the Club in the 1980s). Dated March 21st 1944. The newsletter notes 1st issue of "Footprints" — hope to have it out about Easter. From the introductory 2 paragraphs: "It is possible that by the same date, Tramping Club will be occupying the hut at Simla" (i.e. O'nuku) [I note] Wow! Items 1 and 2 in this list are huge definers of the AUTC for me. It continues "The Club, then [I write: Note capital letter] has reached an important stage in its development, and the necessity for securing the support and enthusiasm of freshers [I write "note small f"] is so vital as to deserve mention again."

Later, I noted:

Experience of looking at archives — really, really strongly wanted to share with all of the people in there, and with [my son, who is in Tramping Club now]. Came home and told him about them — he asked where they were so he could find them. [I] suggested he tell the rest of committee, he said he was already thinking that... When [I] found photos and names of relatives, felt terrible urge that others feel in our reading room to share with the only other person there — another reader. When found own name in Hut book, did actually mention it to other reader, am embarrassed to report.

Staff very friendly and helpful, didn't like to correct them re name of Club — maybe I will when I have been back more often, see what they say.

This experience raised many issues for me. Experiencing the records on my own, I felt a strong need to be with others who knew about what I was reading about, so I could discuss what I had found, share memories, ask questions, expand on ideas, share stories and just have a communal rather than an individual experience. I was inspired by discovering the origins of Footprints and the Club hut, and noted that the Committee was already aware of the importance of bringing on apprentice Freshers. I also felt uncertain, uncomfortable, out of place and observed, although I was friends with the archivists, who belong to the same practitioner community as I do, and despite the fact I knew from my archivist perspective that they would be pleased if I gave them more information about the records, and were far too busy working to really be observing me too much. Although an archivist myself, I felt uncertain of the protocols of the particular institution when I arrived, worried that I might damage the records, annoyed at how little I understood of much of what I was reading, annoyed by the records being named by someone who didn't belong to the Tramping Club community, however well-intentioned they were, but most of all I felt the need to share the stories I was finding in the records with people who would understand and be as excited by them as I was. I stayed for quite some time, reading everything that was there, gradually making connections between the records and what I already knew, but still feeling that the story told by them was very thin, just a shadow of the warmth and noise and colour and physicality of the Club I know.

.....

3.6 Multiple hermeneutic spirals in insider research

The vignette above illustrates the way my insider status in each of the communities gives me access to a rich, deep well-grounded understanding of each of them. Halilovich (2014) describes the advantage of being a cultural insider in "understanding the issues, gaining access to prospective participants and establishing relationships with the research cohorts... [and having] access to information that might have been off limits to outside researchers." However, he also notes the risk of having twin insider / outsider roles as his loyalty could be questioned. Evans et al (2012) discuss the challenges and values of researching within one's own community as a "double insider", able to create bridges between the participating communities but also being called on to negotiate tensions and differences. Evans et al cite a growing body of literature on insider research within organisations and other work-related environments (for example, Mercer 2007; Coghlan & Brannick 2010; Costley et al 2010). Mercer in particular notes the "double-edged sword" of working within your own community.

I address the importance of groundedness of research intended for community transformation in the discussion of constructivist grounded theory, below. However, as an insider in all of the communities involved in the research, I frequently found myself butting up against incommensurable perspectives in my own mind, as is also evident from my reflections above. I was both the observer and the observed, the archivist and the archived, in this more than double hermeneutic (Giddens, 1984) - the mutual interpretation going on between the subjects of research and the observers in any social science research. I was situated in multiple double hermeneutic spirals of Tramping Clubber, archivist and archival researcher. My insider status made the research possible, and at the same time led to challenges for me, as I was forced to examine and address the sometimes unresolvable differences between my own, previously compartmentalised, perspectives.

As a researcher, I was using a recordkeeping model to help understand and develop a model of a recordkeeping system – the Tramping Club's use of records in maintaining its collective memory. I was also trying to analyse the model of recordkeeping I was using for analysis. As Schauder (2002, p.308) observed "what information management and systems researchers are modelling is other people's information modelling!"

At the same time, I was both the researcher and the source of data. By researching across three of my own communities, I was accessing and using as data three separate communities of memory: the archival practitioners I had belonged with since 1990, the archival researchers I had joined around 2010, and the Tramping Clubbers I had known since I was a child, all intersecting in my own mind. I needed a research method that would allow me to face these intersecting and yet often contradictory perspectives head on, to unpick them in detail to identify the key points of connection and difference, so as to understand the implications for each community of the perspectives of the others. The analytical autoethnographic approach I used, such as that in Section 3.5, allowed me to surface and address these issues as they arose. It enabled a reflexive response to my own reflection on my observations and on others' stated perspectives. This reflection and response enabled emergence of research questions, methods and outcomes. In Chapter 5, I reflect further on my insider positioning and the reflexive approach I chose to use to surface and analyse the issues raised.

In writing this thesis, I am specifically addressing the perspective of the academic research community, in its format and the subjects explored. I have addressed, and continue to address, the interests of the other two communities in other, culturally-appropriate places, and this is summarised in the final chapter.

3.7 Analytical autoethnography

Maréchal (2010, p. 43) described autoethnography as "a form or method of research that involves self-observation and reflexive investigation" (p. 43). Ellingson and Ellis note further (2008, p.445) "Analytic autoethnographers focus on developing theoretical explanations of broader social phenomena". As a researcher with a foot in all three communities I had existing beliefs I couldn't help but bring to my interpretation, which made reflexivity essential. Analytical autoethnography was used throughout the entire research project, to ensure the process was as reflexive as necessary. It allowed me to bring into the research all of the knowledge I have about these three communities, in which I am immersed. This brief introduction to analytical autoethnography is supplemented by a longer discussion in Chapter 5, under the heading "Analytical autoethnography: Reflexive blogging".

Anderson (2006) noted that analytical autoethnography is relevant for research in which the researcher is a full member in the research group or setting, visible as such a member in published texts, and committed to developing theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena. Reflexive research practice has been identified as important for archival and recordkeeping research (McKemmish & Gilliland, 2013, p.100), particularly in interpretivist frameworks, participatory research and second-generation grounded theory research. Autoethnography provides a way of recording and analysing the influence of the researcher's point of view on the research process. It has been identified (McKemmish & Gilliland, 2013, p.100) as a way of dealing with the "double hermeneutic" referred to in Section 3.6, particularly, as Schauder points out, for research involving information systems, where the systems themselves are constructed models, being interpreted using other constructed models (Giddens 1984, p. xxxii; Schauder 2002, p.307).

It was also essential to capture the points of view of other members of the communities with regard to the process of this research, both to provide more information on the reasons for their decisions, and to ensure any problems that arose were identified so they could be dealt with. Therefore, representatives of all communities involved were encouraged to provide regular feedback, in a manner that suited them. I was hoping at the outset that this might be regular or irregular contributions to a project diary, or private emails, or a project blog. However, no-one in any of the communities felt motivated to make regular written comments. A few in the Tramping Club provided feedback on a discussion board, and some emailed me with feedback on the project as a whole or on specific aspects of the process, but most of those who commented in all of the communities chose to provide their feedback verbally, and in this case I recorded it on their behalf, with their permission. I sought feedback directly by emailing preliminary findings to the Tramping Club community and having follow-up email discussions, conversations and pot-luck dinners, discussing the process as well as the results. Similarly, I sought feedback from the archival communities by discussion in person, through ongoing observation, through engagement at conferences and other events, and engagement with the literature, both as writer and reader.

3.8 Participation and its limits

This research focused on understanding the needs of communities in terms of how recordkeeping and archival processes can better meet their needs and maintain their memories, understandings and points of view. Respect for multiple perspectives, needs and outcomes requires an inclusive approach, using insiders' perspectives in the archival communities of practice and theory and in the Tramping Club community to provide rich data to address the problems and needs of each community. To meet the aims of the research, the AUTC community needed to be deeply engaged in the research and its outcomes. Their involvement served the purposes both of ensuring any model we developed was authentic, and that their needs would be well understood. It also enabled Club members to develop skills within the community to manage their own records into the future, rather than leaving them to be managed and interpreted by external institutions, losing track of them, or failing to preserve them at all. This was a transformative goal, as is appropriate for a critical theory-based research project, and one that is needed to ensure the AUTC maintains the records supporting its collective memory into the future.

Just as with recordkeeping processes there are degrees of participation (Rolan 2017), so it is with research, from community as subject to community as full partner. Sexton (2015) highlighted the complex challenges of being participatory within the confines of PhD research. Given the academic requirements, my own research was not able to achieve full community partnership, but its methods were informed by its principles with the aim of being as participatory as possible within the necessary limitations, while also using the principles of community partnership research and inclusive research design to highlight where the ideals of partnership had been prevented by circumstances. Ideally, all aspects of the research and outcomes which relate to the particular communities should be negotiated between the community partners according to their needs, values and expectations. However, always undercutting the ability to achieve true partnership were the academic cultural requirements of "doing a PhD", which dictated that I develop the basis of a research plan following specific cultural expectations, adhere to particular types of practice and meet predefined milestones along the way. Although I was able to consult with the Tramping Club community on many aspects of the research design, academic requirements meant there were restrictions around their control of the project. This limitation to the community's participation was acknowledged to all parties from the outset, documented to ensure the processes were transparent, and formed part of my analysis as the research progressed.

At times, aspects of the research were of little interest to the Tramping Club community, and when they were not interested, they let me know, and chose not to participate. For example, in Chapter 7 I discuss using the story of the Tramping Club to think about the Records Continuum Model, as a sense-making method for the archival and recordkeeping community. The Records Continuum Model had no perceived relevance or interest to the majority of Tramping Club members, and when I introduced it to a group at a discussion session they preferred to discuss the Club's collective memory in terms that made more sense to them.

To achieve a culturally-appropriate participatory research methodology, my research design was intentionally emergent, reflective and reflexive. Although it was not possible for the AUTC to specifically negotiate the design of the thesis, the communicative, reflexive and iterative processes used enabled them to have a voice, a degree of agency in the processes of this research, from developing the aims and questions, and deciding on the parts of the process they wanted to be involved in, to arriving at and evaluating the outcomes. My own position as an insider in all of the communities gave me access to the perspectives of each, but also coloured my impressions and expectations, so I found my perspectives being actively challenged by members of each community throughout the process of the research. Openness about my own perspectives as well as about the limitations to participation was essential both for trust and transparency, and for the rigour of the research.



Fig. 3.2 Community conversations in a community place: Tiritiri Matangi [Island], December 2013

3.9 Observing the process of collective-memory maintenance in the AUTC From interviews to conversations

Following the initial literature review and analysis to develop the research aims and general methodology, the second phase of the research was a series of conversations and discussions with the AUTC community. Initially, I had set out to conduct interviews with the Club members, but the very first encounter showed me that what we were having were conversations, with all the openness, sharing and co-vulnerability that implies. As a community member and friend I had to respond naturally to the people I was speaking with, not only for the sake of our relationships but also so that the results would be authentic. I was open to being judged as a member of the Tramping Club community each time I engaged in a conversation about the project.

I began with a schedule of general themes (see Appendix A) for the questions to be asked of participants in semi-structured interviews (Williamson, 2013, p.361). However, as I was taking a qualitative, participatory approach to data gathering, looking for rich, grounded data, the questions and the interview or discussion technique differed between the participants throughout the process. In practice, some participants did not want to speak in person, but preferred to respond in writing, so I adapted the interview questions so they could be answered in this way and sent them to people who asked for this. Many others did want to be involved in personal interviews or discussions – more than I could accommodate. However, the discussions did not strictly follow the schedules I had drawn up. Instead, while still treating the questions as a starting point, the "interviews" were instead, as discussed by Baker (1999, p. 247, cited in Williamson, as above) "discourse ... constructed by both the interviewer and the respondent over the course of the discussion." As time went on, more participants became a virtual part of this discourse as their ideas were added to my own.

The iterative nature of the research process makes it difficult to describe the steps in the process as a series of separate stages, but in time, these conversations led to the development of a model to answer the emergent research question: **(RQ1)** "What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?" I constructed this model of their collective-memory processes using constructivist grounded theory techniques as a method of analysis, in keeping with the critical approach of this research, together with analytical autoethnographic analysis of my own reflections and prior knowledge, as discussed above. Connerton (1989) argued "To study the social

formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible". These "acts of transfer" use texts or records in many forms, written, oral, physical or bodily (Ketelaar, 2013).

Grounded theory

Constructivist grounded theory techniques (Charmaz, 2006) use inductive analysis, which is an interpretivist approach also used in Critical theory-based research. The value of grounded theory for this research is that it can be used to develop theory in areas in which there is little existing literature: an emergent field of study, as discussed by Urquhart (2001, p.108; 2012) and Herring (2013). It has been identified as useful for research in areas where the actions of individuals are important, and for researching "how" and "why" research questions (Shanks & Bekmamedova, 2013, Charmaz, 2006).

In constructivist grounded theory methods "the viewer creates the data and ensuing analysis through interaction with the viewed" (Charmaz 2003, p.273) and "we shape the data collection and redirect our analysis as new issues emerge" (Charmaz 2003, p.271). An example of the emergence of ideas through the interplay of grounded theory and analytical autoethnography can be seen in the vignette in Section 3.5, which shows the beginnings of some of my new understanding of the impacts of experiencing community records in a place outside the community.

Categories and themes were developed throughout the entire process by open coding of the transcripts of discussions and of my interpretations of the processes of those discussions and other interactions with club members. I began the initial conversations with my own ideas about what the questions should be and my own impressions of how the Club collective memory functioned. In each discussion, I received more ideas from the people involved, I added these to my understanding and they informed the ongoing analysis. This constant change in my understanding as I analysed and internalised what I had been told led to a gradual change in the conversations as each new person was interviewed, and became part of the construction of the model.

Jenny Bunn (2011) took a grounded theory approach together with autoethnography to explore concepts of archival description in her doctoral research. She selected grounded theory in part (p.41-42) because of Torraco's (2009) assertions that it "allows a closeness of fit between theory and data", is "best for generating new insights and tentative hypotheses, regardless of existing theoretical explanations of the phenomenon" and allows the research design to develop as the process continues, allowing for truly novel findings. Bunn found that "grounded theory, as the quest to define that which it is defining, was in itself one answer to a perceived lack of definition" (p.61). Grounded theory methods are an effective way of getting a lot of detailed, contextualised data about a process which is not well understood, involving "continuous interplay between data collection and analysis" leading to the development of new theory grounded in empirical observations (Urquhart, Lehman & Myers 2009), so I concluded it would be very useful for this research.

Grounded theory had its beginnings in the 1960s, with sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss's publication "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" in 1967 bringing it to wider attention. It has subsequently been used in many qualitative studies in the social sciences, including, more recently, archival research (McKemmish & Gilliland 2013, p.95). There are a range of grounded theory methodologies and it is necessary to specify which one is being used. Although the techniques of each are very similar, the standpoint of classic and later grounded theory methodologies differ in a significant way. The development of constructivist grounded theory from the 1990s stemmed from a rejection of the concept of the researcher as objective explorers and discoverers of existing realities. Herring (2013) notes that a key difference between Glaser, Strauss and Corbin's "Classic" grounded theory and constructivist grounded theory is that Classic grounded theory asserted that the researcher could be objective. Bryant (2003) observed that it is not possible for a researcher to be completely objective, as all are influenced by previous knowledge and experience. Charmaz (2006, p.10, quoted in Herring 2013 p.205) stated:

... neither data nor theories are discovered... We *construct* our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives and research practices.

From my critical theory perspective from within a records continuum framework, Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory (2006) fitted most appropriately as I did not believe it was possible for me to code qualitative data in a completely unbiased way, as required in the "classic" view of grounded theory of Glaser (1967, 1992), who believed it was possible for coders of data to be objective. I was struck very much by Urquhart and Fernandez's (2013) phrase "The researcher as blank slate, and other myths" as it resonated with my understanding that as a researcher working within three communities to which I belong, I bring to my research an enormous quantity of prior knowledge and understanding that colours my findings, and provides the rigour of an insider's view. The decisions I made on how to collect data, and my interpretations of the data I collected, both qualitative and quantitative, were all influenced by my background. Although I tried to code the data with an open mind, as required, it was important to acknowledge my internalised biases, and to write up the research with a detailed, narrative structure showing (according to the requirements listed by Birks and Mills, 2011, p.9) how the initial coding and characterisation was done, how data collection and analysis proceeded, examples of memos written to develop concepts and theories, that theoretical sampling was carried out to confirm emerging concepts, that constant comparative analysis took place for the same reason, that I kept going with the process until the theoretical concepts were "saturated", and that the theory developed had been integrated with both the data collected and with existing theories in the literature. Acknowledging my point of view and the impact that this had from the outset allows my findings to be interpreted with this awareness. Without the prior knowledge and relationships I have within these communities, this research would not have been possible: without it, I would not have access to the depth of data, nor the awareness of relationships between aspects of the data that run beneath the surface of actions taking place.

The processes of constructivist grounded theory

Urquhart et al (2010) describe five guidelines for the conduct of grounded theory studies in information systems, which I have chosen to use in this research. These processes were developed with the aim of building theory, or theoretical models, which was my intention. The guidelines are (2010, Table 1):

- 1. Constant comparison: constantly comparing the developing constructs or codes with new instances of data in order to strengthen the theoretical constructs and models.
- 2. Iterative conceptualisation: through theoretical coding, categories / constructs are related to one another, developing an understanding of the relationships between the concepts of the theory or model
- 3. Theoretical sampling: As the study continues, the developing theory determines where next to sample the data, in order to more firmly ground the theory in the data
- 4. Scaling up: This involves grouping higher-level categories into broader themes, to move from simple description into the construction of a more general theory
- 5. Theoretical integration: This involves relating the constructed theory or model to existing theories in the related literature, through comparison, in order to integrate the theory with the discipline and perhaps lead to the generation of formal theories.

These guidelines align strongly with Charmaz's guidelines (2006) for coding data (open coding, focused coding, axial coding, theoretical coding) to move from the observed data towards a constructed theory, or theoretical model. Charmaz recommends the use of theoretical memos, where the researcher reflects on the emerging theory, and I used these extensively in my research process, writing them on the transcripts of the discussions, in my research notebook and in my regular blogs written for my supervisors.

Charmaz also supports theoretical sampling to assist in the saturation of categories. In this research, as Charmaz suggests, the sampling involved not only following up additional people to speak with, but also digging back into the existing transcripts in light of gradually developing concepts suggested by later discussions. This iterative aspect of the research data, as recommended by Urquhart et al. (2009), Charmaz (2006) and Glaser and Strauss (2009, republished from 1967) establishes the "saturation" of the concepts or categories of the theory.

Rather than setting out to prove a hypothesis, when using grounded theory methods key areas of research are identified and explored, meaning that some aspects can change as it develops (Herring 2013, p.206). This openness to new directions fits well with an inclusive research design, and allows for the surfacing of unexpected themes, enhancing opportunities for the construction of new models for understanding. I found as the research progressed that this aspect of grounded theory methods fitted with my participatory ethos, with impact on the processes, the direction and the outcomes of the research. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 the research methods and techniques are instantiated.

3.10 Literary warrant

The next essential element of the research was to address the perspectives of the archival theorist and practitioner communities, relating to the principles of archives management as understood and practiced in the Australasian context. I needed to identify how they met or failed to meet community needs and understandings. The outcome from this was an analysis of existing models of archives management and recordkeeping theory – in particular, the Records Continuum Model, which gradually became not only a basis for analysis of data but also data to be analysed itself.

The research with the AUTC was beginning to raise fundamental questions about basic archival concepts such as the meaning of "records", "recordkeeping systems" and "finding aids", so I needed to go back to the literature to see whether existing archival constructions of these concepts could accommodate community views.

The use of standards and authoritative literature as a source for the perspectives of experts is an established research method in archival studies known as literary warrant (Duff, 1998; McKemmish & Gilliland 2013; McKemmish, Burstein et al, 2012; Duff & Cumming, 2017). Literary warrant is found in authoritative sources such as professional and scholarly literature, published standards and guides to professional best practice that are recognised and valued by domain experts. (McKemmish, Burstein et al., 2012, p.102). Hoerman and Furness state that Duff and Cumming note (p.460) that warrant assessment "provides groundedness, detail, relevancy, and specificity to research analysis and a direct connection to contemporary practice, specific knowledge, or current societal attitudes and values." Thus, it is highly relevant in this type of grounded research which seeks to understand current theories and practice in their particular place and time. This use of literary warrant can in turn be justified by literary warrant – an unavoidably circular argument, but there are many precedents in archival / recordkeeping research (McKemmish & Gilliland 2013, p.102, citing Duff 1998; Iacovino 2004; Cumming 2005; Evans et al 2005; Gilliland et al 2005; and McKemmish 2011), and in library and information science, where it was first defined in 1911, used in the development of classification terms (Hulme 1911; Barité 2017). It is difficult to draw a hard boundary between literary warrant analysis and the more traditional use of a literature review in the use of academic literature in respected journals as well as standards and professional guides to illustrate precedents and indicate the current state of knowledge - referred to also as scientific or philosophical warrant, or consensus (Bliss 1929).

Literary warrant is used to assert and analyse existing theory and practice and construct new methods and models. My own research has in turn added to the literary warrant for participatory research methodologies in archival research with communities, with the publication of my paper in 2017 that is included as Chapter 5.

I used the literature not just as the records continuum-, archival multiverse-based frame for the research, nor just as justification for the critical, participatory methodology used, but also as a data source for analysis in the same way as I used the research conversations, discussions and interviews. The literary warrant used in this research was not restricted to archival sources, but instead as the research went on, spiralled out towards other disciplines including anthropology, geography, philosophy, ecology and other domains of relevance to the participants, moving in turn from strict "literary warrant" as defined in the literature to a source of data on concepts, which then became part of the grounded analysis through the autoethnographic techniques I was using. Livia Iacovino (2004, quoted in Duff & Cumming 2017, p.476) described warrant analysis as "an essential tool for interdisciplinary research". To examine only our own literature keeps us in a bubble of our own making. If we truly want to "welcome the world" (Eveleigh 2012), we need to look to other disciplines that for many years have been addressing related issues and concepts. In the complexity of this research with multiple partners from diverse backgrounds, it enables the clear statement of particular perspectives from each of the communities, and a wider view of the societal context in which their perspectives and processes exist.

Duff and Cumming (p.462) warn of the risk of bias in the selection of warrant sources, and state that to mitigate this it is necessary to be clear about the researcher's own background and beliefs. The analytical autoethnographic techniques that form a central part of this research, as discussed in Section 3.7, ensure that my own standpoint is clearly articulated as a central part of this research, which provides a clear basis for interpretation of my selection of warrant sources. Another issue with warrant analysis warned of by Duff and Cumming is the risk that "authoritative sources" such as standards, laws and best practice can drown out alternative views or innovative approaches. The "archival multiverse" perspective taken in this research (Gilliland, p.50), which emphasises the plurality of possible points of view with regards to memory, texts, needs, practices, constructs and understandings in relation to archives and recordkeeping, highlights the need to understand that authoritative sources come in many forms, depending on the observer. In this research, each community provided its own authoritative sources, and my own records-continuum-based, archival-multiverse informed point of view determined that in addition to traditional archival sources for archivists in an Australasian context I would seek out authorities from communities outside the mainstream of archival theory and practice, and often those taking a critical standpoint.

Summary of literatures used for each chapter

In Chapter 4, where I discuss the initial research conversations and discussions with the community, the literature I used related to qualitative, critical research techniques; participatory, decolonised methodologies; and methods including interviewing and focus groups, constructivist grounded theory methods, methods for capturing views that were as authentic and contextually-relevant as possible, and qualitative data analysis.

In writing the paper published in 2017 (now Chapter 5), I reflected at length on what I had learned about the process of interviewing, and this led me to seek out more literature relating to the co-production of research, including methods, ethical issues and examples of rigorous research practice. For this, I needed to look not just to literature from the archival community but also to researchers in wider fields of participatory, interpretive and critical research, social justice, co-design and inclusive, partnership research methodologies. This in turn led me to explore literature relating to friendship as method, insider research and autoethnography. Further, I began to consider literature relating to theories of collective memory and the ways it might be maintained and passed on.

Chapter 6 relates to the construction of the Club's model of collective-memory maintenance processes, and so the literature used related to modelling, as well as processes and systems. Much of this chapter was based on the grounded data, themes and concepts constructed from the community discussions and my observations.

In Chapter 7, I discuss narrative modelling as a form of analysis, and demonstrate its use, so literature relating to this and storytelling or yarning were used as a basis for the method. As the analysis progressed, more literature relating to the emerging model was brought in from areas such as psychology and geography, anthropology, psychology and archival theory. The constructed model of the AUTC's collective memory system was then analysed in relation to archival theories and models of practice in the archival literature.

In Chapter 8 my reflection led me to ecology, complex systems, theories of embodiment of knowledge, sense and affect, studies of colonisation and marginalisation, organisational culture, and back to archival standards and theories including records continuum research for comparison and analysis of gaps.

In Chapter 9 I went back to re-analyse the issues faced by communities not well represented by existing archival practice, and then on to literature which focused on the elements of place, affect and identity. This area has been little-considered until recently in archival literature, but is increasingly discussed in other fields, so as well as the emerging archival literature relating to social justice and Indigenous archives, I explored literature in the areas of geography and its philosophy, New Zealand studies, literature, history, Maori studies and anthropology.

3.11 Analysing the suitability of existing recordkeeping models

As noted above, after development of the conceptual model, the third phase of the research was a critical analysis of the suitability of existing archival practice and recordkeeping models for the way the AUTC uses records in maintaining its collective memory, as defined in their model of collective-memory construction.

By comparing the concepts and relationships identified both in the community's use of records for collective memory construction and in professional archival standards and practice, points where the archival models could not meet the needs and understandings of the community were highlighted. This enabled critical analysis of the suitability of archival standards and practice for the community's needs. It also provided rich, contextualised data about issues with, and the possible value of, existing recordkeeping standards and practice for enabling a community to take control of their distributed, co-owned, digital, paper, oral and other archives. It showed whether and how our current work as professional archivists supports the synergies between their records and collective memory.

3.12 Conclusion: The value of a flexible, reflexive, iterative research methodology

In this chapter, I have developed a research design to address all of the research questions. All three communities involved in this research are grappling with significant, complex issues relating to a rapidly changing climate, in terms of physical, digital and community needs, potentials and expectations in terms of managing archives and records to sustain community collective memory. To address these issues, a nuanced understanding of all three communities was needed, with those of the AUTC community paramount as they are most immediately and directly affected by the outcomes. This called for the participation of the Tramping Club community in identifying the need for the research and clarifying the research problem and aims, refining the research methodology and assessing the outcomes, while considering at the same time the needs of the other two communities from my own, insider's perspective. As the research is situated within an academic framework there were limits to the influence the Tramping Club community could have on the research questions and methodology as a whole, and these limits had to be transparent both to the participants and within the resulting publications.

Working together with communities with a participatory intent required that the aims and the methods and techniques used could be refined when it was found that they were not appropriate for the needs or interests of the participants. Some aspects of the research were also found to be too complex or extensive to be achieved in the time available. This meant the research process was one of constant gradual adjustment and change. The use of grounded, reflexive techniques allowed the needs for change to be readily identified, and open communication and discussion with the participant communities enabled the changes to happen

as needed, with the agreement of the participants. These changes as they happened led to insights into inclusive research methods, and these are further described in Chapter 5, which discusses the gradual development of the research methodology through the construction of the community research relationships. But first, chapter 4 describes the initial phase of the research, where the Tramping Club community and I began a new phase of our relationship, from friends and fellow club members to fellow research participants.

Part II

Constructing the methodology and the model

Chapter 4. The Tramping Club conversations: my apprenticeship as a researcher

4.1 Introduction

When I first officially joined the AUTC, I found out how to be a Tramping Clubber by observing what more seasoned members did and asking questions as we went tramping, socialised and worked on club activities together. The Club's system of informal apprenticeship is discussed further in Section 4.7. Just as I began as an apprentice Tramping Clubber, so I set out on this research as an apprentice researcher. I found out how to carry out research appropriate to the context of the Club as we engaged with one another and as I reflected on the data I was gathering in terms of my existing research knowledge and skills.

In Chapter 3, I laid out and described the emergent nature of the participatory methodology guiding this research. In order to address the research questions I needed to build a rich picture of the collective memory processes of the AUTC. As discussed in section 3.9, what began as semi-structured interviews with past and present Club members quickly evolved through my participatory approach in to a series of Club conversations. These varied in form and format guided by my insider knowledge and as I learned to negotiate my triple researcher / professional practitioner and Club member roles.

In this chapter, I present the research data that emerged from these conversations with AUTC members within the Tramping Club community in my new position as a researcher, and the analysis to identify the role of records and recordkeeping in the community's construction, maintenance and use of its collective memory (RQ1). A full discussion of the methodology which emerged from and guided these research activities follows in Chapter 5.

I begin with an overview of the processes to gather and analyse the research data. I then discuss the grounded insights which emerged from talking with Club members and former members about the process of maintaining collective memory in the Tramping Club, along with the impact this had on how I collected the research data. I then describe the themes which I constructed from the conversations, and the way in which they were both validated and contested. The richness of contexts, understandings and interpretations provided many different view of the process of collective-memory maintenance, in turn enriching the analysis. These themes became the foundation on which I co-constructed a model of the Tramping Club Process, as detailed in Chapter 6.

4.2 Gathering and analysing the research data

Gathering

As discussed in Section 3.9, the second phase of the research was a series of conversations and discussions with members of the AUTC community. The participants in interviews and discussions were self-selecting after I advertised the research through multiple channels used by current and former Club members, including the current Committee and its email lists, the Club Facebook page, an email list gathered through previous reunions, and word of mouth. A few people decided they would rather respond to written questions, so I emailed them questions from the interview guide, together with information about the research and a consent form, and they emailed their replies. The sample quickly "snowballed" (Dudovskiy n.d.). Recruitment is discussed further in Chapter 5. The number of people involved from each era is shown in the table below. The number of written responses shown does not include the large number of other emails related to the research I received from Club members, and similarly, the numbers given for conversations and discussions do not include the many casual conversations we engaged in throughout the course of the research, many of which fed into my interpretation of the data I was gathering more formally.

The division of eras is arbitrary as some people spanned multiple eras. One person interviewed was directly involved as a current member, committee member or President intermittently from 1961 to 2010, while the longest-serving person I spoke with joined the Club in the early 1940s and remained a life member until his death in 2017. Three of the older participants died during the course of the research. At each of their funerals there were many former AUTC members as well as the current President, and many stories were told relating to their tramping experiences and love of the wilderness.

| Era | Individual conversations | Group discussions (No. involved) | Written responses |
|---------|--------------------------|--|-------------------|
| 1940s | 2 | | |
| 1950s | 1 | (12) | 1 |
| 1960s | 5 | | 3 |
| 1970s | 2 | (10) | |
| 1980s | 6 | (15; 9 - Auckland) (7 - Christchurch) | |
| 1990s | 2 | (2) | 1 |
| 2000s | 2 | | |
| Current | 5 | (10 – Committee meeting) | |

The initial interview guide and the pre-discussion information provided to participants are included as Appendices A and B.

Analysing

After each interview or discussion, my first step was to think about the process, and write some notes of my first impressions in my journal. Anything that struck me as particularly pertinent I wrote up in my fortnightly blog to discuss with my supervisors and as a reminder to myself of what I thought was significant at the time.

The next step was to transcribe each conversation, typing them out together with regular indications of the time on the recording. This was a very slow and laborious process, but also very rewarding. My experience supported others' assertions of the importance of transcribing your own interviews (Bryman 2008, p. 456) and of transcribing as soon as possible (Luker 2008, p. 175). As I listened and transcribed, the circumstances of each discussion came back to me strongly: the physical space, the feelings I experienced as we talked. The background sounds reminded me of the many small things that had been happening around us at the same time: the telephone ringing, someone bringing a cup of tea, a car revving in the street. This rich soundscape was not something I could transcribe easily but served as a powerful reminder of the experience of each discussion. It added context to my understanding of what was being said, and how and why it was being said. It was therefore very important to me that I did all of the transcription myself as I felt only a participant could understand the nuances of the discussion.

While transcribing I highlighted the parts of the conversation I thought were significant in regard to the role of records and recordkeeping in collective memory (RQ1). I did this in a very simple way, by changing the font colour for those sentences or paragraphs. I experimented with using different colours for different

codes, but found that many could fit under multiple codes, or would change as my thinking developed. In the end I just used two colours in the initial transcription, highlighting anything of significance in red.

As I transcribed, I also gathered notes about these highlighted sentences in my journal, and then wrote it up with some preliminary analysis in my blog. As I transcribed more discussions, aspects of my interviewing style and questions struck me as inappropriate or ineffective. For example, during one conversation I prompted someone with a name, and then realised they had not wanted that person's name recorded, to protect their privacy. I decided not to write the name into the transcript, and to never suggest a name or other similar information during the recorded conversations again unless asked to by the participant. So through my transcribing I was able to review, refine and improve my interviewing technique.

Through reflection I also realised the powerful effect that the place the conversations were conducted was having on the discussion. Two of the early conversations were held in rather sterile meeting rooms in public libraries, and the recordings sound quite stilted and uncomfortable. Subsequently, wherever possible the discussions took place in people's homes or other familiar and comfortable places, such as cafes. Although at times the noise levels in cafes made discerning all of the words in the recordings more difficult, it was still possible to hear them. I decided it was worth it for the better experience and more natural conversation that resulted. In the meeting rooms, there were very few distractions from the recording device sitting in the middle of the table, and the participants were inclined to stare at it, whereas in a more natural setting they seemed almost to forget about the recorder and talk much more freely.

The first stage of analytical transcribing led to an initial set of concepts, strongly grounded in an AUTC perspective. These are described in Sections 4.3 to 4.6 below, with notable concepts or characteristics highlighted in bold.

4.3 "Members" and "former members": a continuum of belonging and of memory

From the outset of this research it was clear to me that people who had been in the Club in the past, and had maintained some degree of contact with other members, were an essential part of it. My own experience growing up had shown that it was not necessary to be a current Club member to have access to the Club's collective memory, as it was accessible via **family members and friends** who were or had been in the Club, as well as through some **Club publications**.

I had always identified as "Tramping Clubbers" my parents' friends from their time in the Club, although they had not paid subscriptions for many years. A few, I discovered later, were in fact **life members**, which meant they were sent a copy of *Footprints* magazine each year, but even those who were not life members still identified as "Old Soles", the AUTC term for former Club members from the early years – a term that doesn't seem to be as well known amongst later former Club members.

The former members who took part in this research all kept up **friendships** with at least some of their contemporaries in the Club, most attended reunions, continued to tramp (or at least do day-walks) and retained some physical records of their time in the Club. These former members had a **long knowledge of Club history**, and detailed knowledge of the Club at the time they were active members, while **current** members have a **detailed understanding of the Club as it exists now**.

The records kept by former members are an important part of the Club's collective memory. They are usually accessed through **personal contact**, though periodically a **Jubilee or other reunion** is organised, and then special efforts are made by the organisers to **gather records and people together**. Some of these records are **facilitative** – **lists of people and addresses**, for example. **Stories, photographs and songs are shared** at reunion events, and sometimes jubilee publications are also produced.

It was noticeable, and sometimes clearly implied, that my own **proven connections with the Club** allowed for more **trusted sharing of information** in all of my conversations and discussions with Tramping Clubbers, including with those I had never met before. For example, Ron (1940s) had checked my appropriateness to do this project before I had arrived: From my blog of 21 April 2015:

[He] commented that he had checked out my family connections with the AUTC in one of the Jubilee publications before I had visited.



Fig. 4.1 Ivan, Gennis and David (my father), Hunter Valley, 1956

It was notable also that members of each of the groups declared that they were not experts in the Tramping Club, as they only knew the Club from their own time. I was fortunate in the timing of this research that some of the earliest members of the Club were still alive, so that it was possible to have conversations with Club members from each of the eras from the late 1930s until now. A picture of the entire sweep of the Club's history could be built up, which made apparent how much the Club's essence had remained the same over the years despite changes in society – just as Wayne Erb (2007, quoted in the Frontispiece) had noted - and how similar in many ways the experiences of Club members were in the different eras. Both groups, members and former members, were in fact experts in the essence and spirit of the Club, and in its method of maintaining its collective memory.

4.4 Participation and reciprocity

Meanwhile, my research was having a reciprocal influence on the participants. A note from my blog at this time (April 2015):

It occurred to me (after several people told me they had discussed my email with others) that this project is already having an effect. People are telling me it's a positive one — that we need to be working on this. It's getting people thinking about what will happen to their photographs and copies of Footprints, for example, after they die...

People took the opportunity to follow up on this by accessing my own archival knowledge: From the blog on 5 May 2015:

Some were keen to ask for more information about archival matters and the security of various repositories they might consider using for physical records.

I reflected that because the participants knew me and understood my background, as well as knowing that I understood their points of view, they could **trust the advice** I gave them would be relevant to their actual needs.

I also reflected that it was **convenient** to ask me. **I was right there**, and they knew I had knowledge about archives and could answer questions they might have had in the back of their minds, but not addressed, perhaps because they didn't feel motivated enough to seek it out, or perhaps because they didn't know where to start looking or who they should ask. This illustrates the significance of having information in places that people can bump into it, either by happenstance or design.

Some participants took the opportunity I was providing to **deliberately pass on knowledge** to the current club, using me as a conduit – again, it was **convenient** as **I was there** - for the purpose of ensuring the **safety of current club members**. In my blog of June 2015, I reflected:

Sharing knowledge keeps people safe, too, and the concern for current club-members wellbeing can be seen in the way former club members want to make sure they are learning enough skills such as reading the weather and avalanche awareness. One asked if I would make sure I passed on to current members the need for expert training if there aren't currently enough with sufficient experience.

Concern for the interests and welfare of current Club members, and the Club as a whole, was apparent in the conversations and discussions with people from all of the eras. Thus, the reciprocity was moving in a number of directions throughout the research. The process was enabling, through my presence with the different Tramping Clubbers in turn, the passing on of knowledge to increase the wellbeing of current members and of the Club itself – and therefore also protecting the reputation of the Club as a skilful, knowledgeable and reliable organisation, whose members wouldn't end up in the news having had to be rescued from having made poor decisions. This was something which the older members clearly valued. At the same time, I was able to let older members know (many of them asked) what was happening with the current Club. These processes of passing on information between generations was also happening constantly without my intervention, but because I was there, it was convenient to use me too. I reflected that many of the older people I spoke with had little or no regular contact with the current club so, because they hadn't witnessed it themselves, they needed reassurance that the necessary information was still being passed on effectively.

Others enjoyed the interview process as an **opportunity to reminisce**. This is from my blog of 21 April 2015, after interviewing Ron, mentioned above, who had been a member in the early 1940s:

At the end of the afternoon, he said he had very much enjoyed the interview — and so had I.

Another benefit mentioned by participants was the **opportunity to reconnect** with people from the Club. From my blog of June 2015:

Many people are taking the opportunity to find out about other people in the club they have lost contact with, while often going out of their way to find names and suggest more people for me to contact.

After having a discussion with a large group of friends from the 1950s club, at their annual "May Camp", I wrote (5 May 2015):

Afterwards, my mother phoned with some feedback others had given her, that they had very much enjoyed themselves as often at these gatherings people gather into small groups, and this process had encouraged them to all reminisce together. Also, some had said it had encouraged them to think differently about the records they had, and how to ensure their own records of the club would be preserved after they died. Again, the observer effect appears to be operating.

People from my own era also told me they had enjoyed the opportunity to get together, and to reflect on our time in the Club. This reflection comes from my blog of 5 June 2015:

The next day, I was surprised to receive some emails saying how wonderful the experience had been, and how it made them realise how special our relationship is: "We spent nearly 3 hours trying to understand what binds us together. We are making explicit what we all somehow know innately." This person described me as a "catalyst" – and I reflected that it is exactly what my project has become within the club.

For example, ideas from the 1950s group discussion fed in turn into the 1980s discussion, and led to plans for more get-togethers: (again, from the 5 May 2015 blog):

I mentioned [to someone who had expressed an interest] I had just been to a '50s era May Camp, and together we hatched a plot to do the same with our '80s group — so the pot luck dinner is both to have a group discussion about the project, and to plan for a May Camp of our own next year.

Both of these elements: enjoyment of sharing stories and reminiscing with one another, and new consideration being given to the preservation of personal records about the Club, were apparent in all of the conversations and discussions I had with Club members past and present.

I could see that my research was having an impact on the participants, both by providing an opportunity for them to get together and recall the past, and by causing them to think about issues relating to passing on their records to the next generations. It also helped reinforce relationships. For example Martin emailed the 1980s group after our meeting to say:

Hello Everyone, after the gathering at Belinda's the other night to discuss the enduring nature of our "culture", I thought about a notable absentee.... [Martin went on to talk about a former club member living with chronic disease]So, go visit him. He lives at...

Reciprocally, the process of interaction was also having an impact on my research methods. As a member of the community, I felt the need to reciprocate with comments revealing my own experiences as the conversation progressed. I struggled with the idea of this, wondering if it would skew the results, and then realised that if I responded in a clinical, unnatural way this would also skew the results. I reasoned that natural behaviour on my part would result in natural responses from the other participants. An example of this can be seen in my conversation with Mel (late 1990s), who also felt motivated to send a suggestion via me to help the current Club. This is a long excerpt as it demonstrates the development of the ideas between the two of us, within the conversation:

Mel: Well, I think when I was in the Club, we used to hire a bus at Christmastime and take, you know, forty people down to the South Island ... You'd go and do this tramp, and then link in with those people doing that one, there were tramps all over the South Island for three or four weeks....They did it for quite a few years. ... But when I talked to members ten years later, they said "Oh no, we haven't had a bus going down."

Me: [I tell Mel my son is in club now]... but I think they just found their own way down, as far as I know. I mean, he flew down, a couple of times, on super cheap flights

Mel: Yeah, well, they didn't have all those super cheap flights twenty years ago. .. [Demonstrates change in society leading to change in practice]. But 40 people sharing a bus, what a lot of fun! Like, I kind of think they should bring that back.

Me: Yeah, that does sound fun.

Mel: They can get their own [cheap] flight home, but going down there [both laughing], I mean, it must be a hell of a long bus ride, trip, but it must have been a lot of fun.

Me: [I feel compelled at this point to share my own story of travelling in a group to a tramp, to show I genuinely understand what she means, and agree with her from shared experience]: Yeah, we went down, six of us, in an old Valiant, in the '80s, one time, and that was really fun. Really dangerous, but really fun

Mel: Yeah! Mention it to [your son]. Suggest that he hire a bus, and take 40 people down, because... yeah, it was pretty cool.

The influence of these interactive conversations, with my movement from research interviewer to Tramping Clubber, on the developing methodology of this research is detailed in the following chapter.

4.5 Negotiating memories between people

Understanding the processes of collective memory is very difficult when looking at them from a single, time-fixed point of view. A single set of interviews would have gathered a snapshot of Club members' ideas about records and collective memory of the Club at a particular time, but I needed to develop a deep understanding of the interplay between them. I found the ongoing engagement of this methodology was valuable in enabling the gradual development of this understanding. The conversations as a whole had much to reveal about the processes of collective-memory maintenance for the AUTC. When interviewing or conversing with individuals, I could observe their use of many different methods of remembering and triggers of memory, in addition to the elements of memory maintenance they referred to directly. In addition, when talking with groups, I could see the way memories were negotiated between people, as they discussed what had happened, asked for confirmation or reminders and sparked ideas between one another.

The 1950s group discussed how information is **passed on between generations.** Together they remembered aspects to build an understanding which they would feel confident to convey to me. I could see they were also enjoying reminiscing together, reminding one another of shared events:

Dorothy: We do see all the younger ones when we have a ... we had a 50 year anniversary at the hut, and a dance too, didn't we?

Brian: That's right, yes

Dorothy: I've got photos of a couple of occasions when we got together with all of the club, and...

Brian: That's right, the 60th, actually, it was, and Marin said "That's my last tramp"

Dorothy: Actually, he got very bogged in the mud. [All laughing]

The 1950s group's conversation went on to a small debate on how much knowledge transfer there really is between generations at reunions. It is necessary to provide a long excerpt to show the process, as the group discusses how effective reunions are for passing on memory to the next generation. There was much quiet laughter which seemed to **keep the tone positive** despite people expressing dissenting opinions:

Brian: Also, of course, the Club's had meetings, well, dinners, 25th, 50th, 60th, 75th and 80th

Dorothy: So yes, we do see something of the younger ones.

[Another male voice]: Yes, that's when the transfer, the cultural thing gets generated I think [general sounds of agreement].

Boyd: As long as they don't set up about this group talking about their time, and that lot talking about their time, and there's not cross-connection. [Other voices: Ah, yes] [Some quiet laughter]. Because it seems, being a bit boastful? Or nosy? Or whatever, I don't know, but there seems not to be the cross-generational discussions at those meetings. [Voice: You're right]. Unless you make a determined effort.

Megan: And it's ephemeral, it's almost like small talk for about ten minutes.

Peter: You fear telling the younger generation what they should do [laughter].

This negotiation of memory suggested several other points. One was that raised overtly by the 1950s members: reunions may not be the most important time where substantive collective memory is passed on, as much of the cross-generational discussion is, as Megan said, "ephemeral". As Peter noted, the older generation don't feel they should be "telling the younger generation what they should do". This suggests, since the information is indeed being passed on successfully, there must be other mechanisms at play.

Another significant point is that when the club members get together, aspects of the collective memory can be **renegotiated** as they are shared and used purposefully. There was a lot of quiet laughter, often associated with the raising of dissenting opinions, which seemed to me on listening later to have been a strategy for allowing disagreement while protecting important relationships.

When talking with pairs of people, I could see similar processes of negotiation of memories. Arwen and Carol from the 1990s were discussing the Club Captain's book:

Arwen: Yes, I'd forgotten about that, you see, there you go, it's taken us a couple of hours to remember that. But we got there in the end [all laughing].

Conversation **built and reinforced memories**, and reminders were consciously given to the other person. This served a number of purposes, often simultaneously. One, to reinforce relationships between them and with others not present. For example, Arwen and Carol from the 1990s:

Arwen: I'm just thinking, actually, you and Richard, Edwina and Craig, and Nick and Sophie are all actually from within the Tramping Club [both laughing]. [Carol: Yes, yes]. That's not an unusual story, as I'm sure you're aware [i.e. they had met and married through Tramping Club]. And then Mark and Kathleen are not technically Tramping Club, but [Carol: Yes, Mark was in Tramping Club, yeah] and — Oh, Christine.

Carol: Did you get Matt and Lisa?

Arwen: Oh, Matt and Lisa, that's Tramping Club, yeah.

Another purpose was to provide helpful suggestions and advice regarding common interests to **build knowledge**, while at the same time **sustaining relationships**. For example, Arwen and Carol again:

Arwen: ... [Speaking of her young son] He's insistent that we go and stay in Howden Hut, down on the Routeburn [and Arwen is reluctant as she believes it is overpriced]

Carol: How does he know about it?

Arwen: Well, because we did some of the Caples trip, and we've also been up Key Summit, which is quite close to Howden Hut.

Carol: Right, right. You could go a bit further, and go to, um, Lake McKellar, like we did the other year. Yeah, past Howden Hut and to Lake McKellar, just continue on.

All of these aspects of collective memory processes - negotiation of memory, triggers of memory, sustaining of relationships, building or passing on memories of knowledge - benefitted the resulting data and analysis. Participants were reminded by others of things they wanted to tell me, suggested more people I should contact, discussed what I was doing amongst themselves and clarified ideas which they then passed on to me. This was all part of ongoing feedback on the developing themes and model of this research.

4.6 Bringing in evidence from other sources

When talking with individuals, the conversation was of course one-to-one, and yet it also brought in evidence from other sources. These included **physical items** referred to, including photographs, notes, maps, *Footprints*, minute books, lists, and diaries. Other **people** were also referred to, as actors within the memory, sources of more memories, providers of reinforcing evidence, illustrative examples, and a way of confirming and building relationship networks. For example, Ron (1940s), was reminded of various **events** by looking at some **photographs and a note**, and the added trigger of some **names of people** and images of **places** he remembered led to a series of stories:

... I've mentioned Morrison Cassie: there's Cass, this is the top of Mount Princess, which is a peak that overlooks Lake Tennyson. And this was taken on the first of the Christmas trips, down there [in the 1940s]. Geoff Westwood, Dennis Rudwall, and Cass. [Shuffling more photographs]. And I mentioned that one: oh yes, Ruapehu, my first

trip to the mountain, I think I was 19 - probably 1946. And where we stayed, in one of the huts behind the Chateau, there... you had to hoof it up the road to the mountain, and go skiing...

People cited specific records as important conduits for passing on valuable information. For example, Arwen and Carol (1990s):

Carol: The Club Captains and things had a book. At the end of your year, [....] you wrote what you'd done, and what the year had been all about, and everything else in it. ...

Arwen: [...] it was kind of key learnings, and key events, and what happened, and being able to pass that knowledge and experience on to the next Captain.

Carol: Yes, because people don't stay at University forever, necessarily, do they ...

A comment from Graham [1960s] was one of many from different people that highlighted the significance of places as triggers of memory:

... There was always quite a big gathering around the noticeboard too, but we tended to have lunch at the Sir George Grey statue, and of course you could always climb the statue as well.

Graham [1960s] was one of many who also recommended specific **people** as an ideal source of memory: He's someone else I've kept in touch with. He would be good to talk to, because he was in the Club for probably 20 years.

Several people gave me lists of people they thought it was very important I should contact. Many of these people were also recommended by others, and most of them, fortunately, I was able to connect with in some way. One of the most-frequently cited was Marin Segedin, who had been in the Club almost from its beginning. I did manage to speak with him, but unfortunately I had left it a year or two too late, as he was not well and found it very difficult to talk. The significance of the Club to his life was apparent as he had retained many photographs, papers and books relating to his time as a member and life member in the small amount of space he had available in his apartment. Club members from many subsequent generations spoke of him with much respect and affection, and at his funeral a few months later there was a large turnout of Old Soles. Although I was not able to hear many of his memories from him in person, there was a great deal of evidence of his influence on the Club, and that many of his stories had continued to echo down the years.

My reflections on these elements of reciprocity, participation, individuals as catalysts, connections, convenience of proximity, storytelling, records, people, places, negotiation, concern for the ongoing wellbeing and spirit of the club and co-creation of memories, systems and processes fed directly into the concepts underlying my growing model of how the community's collective memory was maintained. Most of all, it was apparent that the maintenance of the Club's collective memory was a complex process with many intersecting elements.

4.7 Emerging / constructing themes

When the initial transcription and preliminary analysis was completed, I began to go through the transcripts again and identify open codes: generally phrases taken directly from the transcripts that threw light onto aspects of the research questions. As I read the transcripts, I asked myself questions such as "What is the Tramping Club collective memory?" "How does the Tramping Club maintain its collective memory?" and "How does the Tramping Club use records to maintain its collective memory?" From the transcripts, I could begin to construct answers to these questions from these open codes. I began a process which moved

through the two stages described by Urquhart as "constant comparison" and "iterative conceptualisation", as discussed in Section 3.9.

Charmaz (2006) described this stage as "focused coding", going back over the research data and the constructed codes and deciding "which initial codes make the most sense to categorize [my] data incisively and completely" (Charmaz 2006, p.57). Some categories, properties and relationships were beginning to become apparent to me. I worked on strengthening the codes or concepts, continuing to compare them with other data and validating between the different transcripts. In conversation with club members we worked on constructing these further. I also explored the constructed codes through my journal and my regular blog, and discussions with my supervisors. However, there was an enormous number of open codes, too many and diverse to easily comprehend or develop into a theory. I needed to find some way of bringing them under control.

I described the next step in my blog (8 March 2016):

I [went] out [to] buy a pile of index cards and coloured markers, to try and get a handle on classifying / piling into themes the open codes that had emerged from the [conversations]...

I wrote the open codes onto the index cards, and spent some time piling them into heaps on the living-room floor according to how they seemed to me to relate together, according to my own experience and from what I understood about what people had said to me: a physical type of "focused coding".

Again, from my blog:

By the end of the exercise, the piles were a huge mess melding into one another, but it forced me to think very hard about how and why the different cards went where they did, without the distraction of having to copy and paste and point and click, and with the luxury of having the entire body of codes visible in front of me.

Some of the codes had become categories, some properties, and relationships were emerging. The exercise had helped me to construct focused codes and also to begin to develop an understanding of the relationships between the focused codes – a stage Charmaz (2006, p.63) calls "theoretical coding". I was moving towards Urquhart's 4th stage of theory building, as described in Section 3.9. I began to construct themes, and after just a few hours the codes were built into the thematic groups below.

Central importance of personal relationships and shared experience

A sense of camaraderie or whanaungatanga amongst like-minded people was mentioned by the majority of people. For example, Chris (1950s) observed there was:

...a strong commitment to inclusion, especially of Freshers and new members, and making sure that everybody had a rewarding time, both on Club trips and at Club functions more generally...

Many people noted the importance of the sense of belonging and community provided by the Club in the new, unfamiliar setting of starting university, and being surrounded by people you didn't know. Jane (1970s) said "It's a very collegial, supportive culture". Often, words such as "whanaungatanga6" and "camaraderie" were used to describe the sense of nurturing and belonging that people found as members of the Club. People reflected on how best to define it, and chose to use terms and explanations they knew I would understand as a former AUTC member and a New Zealander. For example, J (1960s), specifically citing Maori culture said:

Going to University in a new town would have been very lonely without Tramping Club. [...] I belonged to a few other groups around campus, but none of them had the sort of every day culture. I mean, it's what Maori call

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⁶ Whanaungatanga – sense of family connection, belonging

Whanaungatanga, very much that atmosphere. Very much like young Maori coming to University and going to the Marae, and having a, you know, having a whole group of people that they feel comfortable with, around them.

People often used terms such as "**like-minded people**", and noted, as J. did (above) the difference between Tramping Club culture and other parts of the University. Anton (2010) identified some of the characteristics of Tramping Clubbers as:

... certainly very different to ... the University. They...like to be active, generally quite sociable, can be a little bit sort of cheeky and mischievous.

Craig (1980s) noted that in a history of the University Engineering School it said if you didn't want to be hard-core, hard-drinking right-wing engineer, you joined the Tramping Club. Joe (1990s) said:

I left my cultural region at the age of 15, and I had basically floated everywhere, ever since. And AUTC was my first group of friends that I really sort of socialised and bonded with.

Eddy (1960s) observed:

...the collective memory of Tramping Club for me is as much with the social aspects as much as with the actual tramping. The tramping was interesting, but one could have had that in various ways" but being in the AUTC was "a complete lifestyle... a big group of people you could relate to and socialise with... a big family.

Mel (late 1990s) told me about her introduction to the Club:

It was a few weeks later that they had the Progressive Dinner, and I went to that, and just instantly, like, as soon as I got to the first venue, just went 'Oh my gosh, these are my people'...And none of them were like the 'cool crowd', the people I was kind of intimidated by at school, it was just the people I could resonate with.

So this feeling of camaraderie, shared culture, and belonging, as well as the opportunities for adventure with a background of trusted experience, gave members of the Club something they needed in the University. This provided a strong motivation to continue to belong and to maintain the Club itself.

The special **depth of friendships** made through tramping together were frequently cited. Craig (1980s, now living in Canada), said:

...I'd probably say that of the friends that I still have from being in New Zealand, I would say that basically most of them are the friends that I made through the Tramping Club...

The depths and enduring nature of friendships were allied in many people's minds with the places and experiences they had shared. For example, Joe (1990s) said:

...what else could be better than sitting next to a glacier, or somewhere on a peak, and looking at it with a group of friends.

In addition to the influence of spending time in beautiful places together, many people noted that Club members get to know each other well through **overcoming adversity together**, and this helps to build and cement strong relationships. For example, Andrew B (1980s):

You just need to go walking in the rain for four days, and eventually that'll tell you everything you ever wanted to know about them.

Graham (1960s) said:

I always felt that you saw both the best and the worst of people on tramping trips... Particularly if you had bad weather.

Jane supported this view, too:

I think once you have spent five or ten days in the bush with a group of people, and totally relying on them for your own safety and wellbeing, if you like, you either end up sort of loving them or hating them [both laughing]. I think, mostly loving them.

This was a consistent view independently expressed by people from each of the eras I spoke with. This from Brian (1950s):

...where people go away, live together in huts, tents, snow caves, things like that, and I guess also, put their lives into each other's hands, someone's on the other end of a rope, or crossing a stream, or something, it does build the strong bonds....

Graham (1960s) summed up the significance he saw in the way these relationships were tested: And I thought that was quite a good recipe for life.

The strength of the relationships forged by tramping together means that groups from specific eras maintain relationships and regular contact, as was apparent in the research encounters described above. Many still often went on adventures or holidayed together, as family commitments permitted, including many from my own era. John (1990s, and President for much of the 2000s) said:

I guess most of my friends are still friends through the Tramping Club... that group of friends still goes camping together, and ... their children do stuff together, so there's maybe ten families that stick together, from that group.

Reunions were also cited as significant events that brought people together to share memories, as noted by the 1950s group above. A vital resource for organising these reunions are membership lists, which are created each year when people sign up for the AUTC, usually in Orientation week. New contact lists have also been created when reunions are organised, giving the new email addresses, for example, of people who might come to the reunion. These are added to for each reunion as people provide contact details of friends who had lost touch with the Club. Contact and membership lists are essential for several reasons, playing a vital role in maintaining relationships, enabling functions to be carried out and supporting club rights. Many former members have vital parts of the Club's functional memory as well as power and relationships in wider society to support the Club's interests. For example, David (1960s) told me:

...the lease on the Hut, certainly there was vulnerability ten years ago... And knowing that you can access a whole lot of people who have fond memories of the Hut is important, so we need somehow to maintain those lists.

There was fear amongst some former members that the Club hadn't managed to preserve those lists, which they saw as vital: Graham (1960s) said:

I would be very surprised if the Club's got anything like good membership lists. Which is the core of an archive, really, in many ways.

Fortunately, I found that the lists had been preserved to a very great extent. Many of them were being kept by a former President, waiting to be transferred to a safer location. The former President asked me to take them and ensure they were looked after and that they remained with the Club. He was still in touch with the Club membership but feared that after he was gone, the physical records he was preserving might be lost. Through the **convenience of my visiting him in the place he was keeping the records**, and making a **personal connection** with him, and because of the relationship I have with the Club, and my archival **knowledge**, he was able to ensure they were passed on to Club members of the future.

It was apparent from what people said and from my own observations that memories of the Club and its culture are kept alive through maintaining these personal relationships. Boyd (1950s-1960s, who spanned several eras of the Club) addressed the working of interpersonal relationships as a significant aspect of the Club's collective memory directly, when he said:

[... we act as a group] who recall things, who trigger each other's memories, of things, by looking at photographs and talking about subjects, and I think in that respect **we act as a collection**, which meets periodically, and refreshes that memory, and retains that information.

Brian (1950s) independently supported this view:

I think [collective memory]'s been fostered by tramping club people getting together and reminiscing, and meeting up with current members, and going up to the Hut...

That this is still true for the current Club can be seen in Anton (2010)'s observation:

I guess the memory in terms of how things work, in terms of short term, is word of mouth, mostly.

This is true not just for finding out about how things are done in running the Club, but also for tramping itself. Many people told me that one of the best ways to find out about routes is to ask someone who's already been there. They said that **word of mouth** is an excellent source of information, and sometimes the only source. For example, Anton (2010s) said:

...you often, when you go tramping, you meet other people, ex-club members. So as a club member, that's often a source of information.

Dave (1980s) described the process of planning trips:

We used to say 'Oh, where have you been?' And people would say where they'd been, and you'd go 'Oh, maybe I'll go there!'" [This source of information would then be supplemented with other sources, often paper but sometimes another person] "And sometimes you'd go 'I don't actually know where that is', so you'd go and find a map, or ask someone else, to try and find out where it was.

Dave made it clear that he believed fellow Club members were excellent and reliable sources of information for planning trips:

But there was almost like it was an expectation that it was a good place to go, even if it was a ridiculous place to go.

David (1960s) also spoke of using a **combination of written records and word of mouth** to enhance the reliability of information and to provide a broader, deeper understanding:

[In the summer trips book] there would be advice on what to expect, in different places, find out who was going there. You'd talk to them, do you know these people, do you know anyone who's been there?

From the perspective of a tramper providing information, Carl (2010s) explained why he used the spoken word to share information rather than writing down what he knew. I asked him if he kept a written or other record of his trips, and he replied:

Not really. I'm really bad at photos, and writing stuff down. I just think I don't write very good trip reports [both laughing]. So I don't — not really, no. I've probably done, like one or two, of fifteen-odd trips.

I asked him: "But after you've been on a trip, do you talk about it to other people?" Carl answered: "Oh yeah, definitely. Some places are amazing!"

So the fact that places are amazing is a strong motivation for Carl to share his first-hand experiences with others he knew or met, through **stories about his trips**.

However, on the negative side, gaps in relationships led to gaps in access to memory, though not necessarily gaps in the collective memory. John (1990s) who was President when I interviewed him, said:

So at the moment, if somebody asks me something, and I don't know, I would go and talk to David [previous President] in the first instance, or Don [Club member from late 1950s, still at the University], or some of the

Captains from bygone eras. But that's strictly informal, and that's because I know them personally. So there is no, or it feels like there's no structure to the memory.

John saw this lack of structure as a problem, and went on to say that he thought this had led to a gap in the Club's memory:

I think there is a sort of a bit of a missing generation, in — well, I don't want to make any assumptions, but in the '70s and '80s, the late '70s and early '80s, there seems to be a bit of a gap.

I found this comment very interesting, as I know many people from this time, which overlaps with my sister, my brother, and me. This era, for me, is one of the richest and deepest for AUTC memories. His gap in the memories is completely different to mine.

John also identified a difference between the International students who join the Club for the 6 months to a year they are in New Zealand, for the opportunity to explore its wilderness, with those who are in the Club for the duration of their degree. As an example he cited the "Club lore" - the shared stories and esoteric **knowledge about cultural objects** that enhances AUTC unity. These stories and objects are in some senses taken seriously although they are also seen as a joke. John said:

Yeah, I don't know how much of the **Club lore** they absorb. By the Club lore, I mean things like — well, the Club treasures — which are in a bag over there.

I asked if I could look inside, and he said sure, but to be careful because the bag is heavy. I looked inside, and in there were three Tibetan goblets and a Tibetan knife, which the Club also called a Kukri, in a leather sheath. "Three of them, and the Tibetan knife, which are presented at General Meetings", John said.

When I got the knife out, I remembered and mentioned to John my memory from 30 years ago: the legend that if you remove it from the scabbard you must draw blood or bad luck will befall the Club. John said:

Exactly! And do you know what, I make an announcement every year at the annual meetings, and three out of the four meetings, somebody has volunteered to cut themselves.

Two years later, both of my sons were at the AGM when the last year's Captain, daughter of two former members, handed over to the new Captain. The Kukri had not been at the previous AGM as the new President had not realised it was meant to be. At this meeting, the Kukri was brought because the President was reminded of the need. The outgoing Captain chose to remove the knife from the scabbard and give herself a small cut. She had heard stories about the knife from her parents and from her contemporaries in the Club. I reflected on hearing about her decision to draw the knife that perhaps she wanted to reinforce the strength of her background in the Club as well as her strength and resolve as she handed over to the new, male leader. My sons told me that some of the comments in response related to her craziness in doing it, but they were said in an amused, positive tone.

Another aspect of "Club lore" that supports unity involves the use of humour, in-jokes, catch-phrases, funny stories and songs. These are shared and also stem from frequent parties and other social events, including wine and cheese evenings on top of local peaks or on traffic islands, parties at the Hut, elegant luncheons on the summit plateau of Mt Ruapehu and, recently, "extreme ironing" expeditions. Silliness has always been much appreciated in the AUTC, as long as it is still within the margins of safety and environmental awareness – though this can be mocked too. For example, this exchange from the 1980s pot luck dinner / discussion, when people got onto the subject of records left behind:

Ian: "Do you think the plastic horse is still on top of Climax?" [...] Dave: "We didn't see it, but we weren't very observant." [...] Ian: "But from my recollection, there were three trips found the plastic horse on top of Climax." Peter: "I don't think it's there. There's been a lot of glacial movement." Ian: "It may well be gone now, but it's even

slightly bizarre that, you know, it's one of the most remote places in New Zealand, and people could go back there, years later, and find the same horse." Dave: "But was it an archival horse?" Ian: "Possibly!" Dave: "You can trust your secrets to a horse." Ian: "Well, there's a concern about littering, and I didn't want to mention it, but I guess a horse leaves footprints too." [People laughing].

In this discussion, the negotiation of memory, the pride in travelling to difficult and wild places and the unity that promotes, the enjoyment of shared stories and of puns, and the supportive nature of the group are all demonstrated. Dave and Ian are both explicitly and deliberately bringing in terms from my research for effect and as a joke but also to explore the question I have raised.

People are kept in line with club "standards" by the use of humour as well. In the 1950s, there was a catch-cry "What would Marin say?" cited by several of the people I spoke with. I had also often heard of this from my parents as I grew up. This was normally related to issues of morality and the negotiation of sexual mores. Chris (1950s-1960s) noted it when he listed elements of club culture from his era:

There were many symbols of TC in my time: club team in the winter netball tournament, the Club Dinner, lunches at Sir George and dinners at the Golden Dragon, having a float in Procesh, "Footprints", the trips themselves, slide evenings of trips, the call "Mogambo", O'nuku, songs around the campfire, and the taboos on drink and sex. (The moral code was instilled, half-jokingly, in the phrase "What would Marin say?" referring to Marin Segedin, one of the founders of the Club, life member, maths lecturer, and the person who promoted this approach.) [Chris's parentheses].

In the 1980s a related warning cry was "PDAs!!!" which was a joking warning against "Public Displays of Affection". Couples did meet and develop relationships on tramps, but it is unusual for there to be much in the way of serious public displays of affection even now on tramps. The exception to this is "O Camp" (Orientation Camp), amongst people new to the Club. Out on trips there is a lot of joking, pretend intimacy, such as many people squashing into a small tent or a bunk. Club members sometimes push the boundaries of semi-public nakedness, skinny-dipping together in remote locations – though only the people who were comfortable with this take part. Several people commented that when people split into couples on a trip, the unity of a tramping group as a whole was reduced. In contrast, jokingly pushing the boundaries of personal space and privacy together as a group, while ensuring that everyone was comfortable with what was going on, served to unite the group more.

Continuity and Change – contrasting observations from differing perspectives

Despite the large number of International students, and the three-year length of many degrees leading to rapid changes in membership, the essence of club has not changed greatly since its beginning. This was observed by life member Wayne Erb in his introduction to the AUTC Jubilee History of 2007 (Erb, pp.4-5):

Circumstances and technology do change but reading through old Footprints, I am struck by the sense of how our experiences have run in parallel through the years ... Our story is all the more remarkable given that this is a student club and that basic fact means most members are only active for around three to five years, scant time to pass on club knowledge and lore yet somehow each generation muddles through with the core of club culture more or less intact.

However, elements of Club culture change with societal trends. Some people I spoke with suggested this meant there might not be a consistent Tramping Club culture. They believed that the rapid turnover in membership allied with dramatic societal change would lead to significant changes in AUTC culture. For example, Chris (1950s-1960s) reflected:

First, as the average TC membership time would be 3-4 years, the evolution of membership would ensure the accretion of alternative ideas over time. Second, I observe an immense change in New Zealand society since 1984, which has

changed cultural attitudes and practices immeasurably....For reasons just given, I'm not sure there is such a thing as a static 'Tramping Club culture.

Eddy (1960s) commented:

... the various trips the Club did were the essence of what the Club did. As well as the social events. Which were quite different in my time, I think, than yours.

So Eddy is here both providing validation of the concept that the social events are part of the essence of the Tramping Club, and suggesting that those social events have changed significantly over the years. J (late 1960s) suggested that some of the changes in Club culture that she observed in the current members at a recent reunion were a necessary improvement:

I don't know that their culture is quite the culture that we had, though looking back on it, there were bad aspects to our culture, you know, this rip-shit-or-bust type of tramping, especially around the boys, you know. There were some strong women in Tramping Club, but they had to really fight, they had to really basically fight the men to be like that, and that probably has changed, I imagine.

Despite these apparent alterations, I was observing much continuity in my conversations with people from each era. This continuity, not always observed by those taking part, within a structure which enables the passing on information but allows for change, is discussed further below. Like me, Wayne Erb had surveyed the stories of people from a range of eras and found many elements of club culture that remained intact despite the constantly regenerating membership.

The significance of storytelling

Storytelling was cited by many as a way of bringing people together, and keeping them united. The creation of stories together was also seen as a natural outcome of going on eventful trips together. Andrew B (1980s), in our group discussion, reflected on why we are still together after 30 years, when we have long lost touch with others that we were with at University:

... the nature of what we do tends to generate stories, and these stories are part of what glues us together. It's not the only thing, but it means that there can be a culture, because there's shared identity, shared events, shared interpretation of things. That isn't always true with other kinds of clubs and other kinds of activities.

He went on to observe that the nature of these stories helps to give us an identity, as individuals and as a community:

And these stories often live on in the way we define each other, in part. I still tell stories about people in the Club that I've done things with. Because they're amusing, or tragic, or embarrassing, or something

Storytelling is also often used to pass on information. For example, Brian (1950s) said:

I might have said, well, last weekend, we went down to DG [Destruction Gully] and then to the coast to Huia, and got the bus, and he might have just said, oh, well, in the old days, there used to be a launch from Huia to Onehunga... These things just got passed on in a sort of — we never thought we were transmitting the club's collective memory, we were just talking about trips, I suppose.

Brian went on to speculate about why people would tell stories about their trips, and suggested that it was the **nature of the trip itself** that inspired and coloured the storytelling:

Oh, I suppose people always like to talk about their own trips, particularly if they have been pleasant ones, or big ones, or exciting ones, or novel ones, or something. Or occasionally if they're very bad [laughing].

People often have excellent recall of places and people on trips from many years ago, and these are reinforced through repeated storytelling. One member who has had a stroke and suffered memory loss could still talk in detail about a trip done in the 1960s. Although she said she couldn't recall names of people and places, in the course of recounting a story about the trip she gradually remembered many of them. All

people involved could recount stories of trips they had been on, in some cases 60 years ago, with detailed information about routes, people and places, sometimes reinforced with the use of maps and photographs from the time. For example, this excerpt from Jim's story from the 1960s:

...We tramped from where the bus let us off, at the corner above the dam at Parau, and we walked all the way out to Huia, and then up to a place called Middle Camp, which is now under a water-supply lake, and I remember that first walk with AUTC, because I remember the people: There was Eddy W, and Rod M, and then there was a guy called Bruce J, who had a motorbike there, for some reason. And there was a girl on the back, her name was Meg S. And Bruce rode his motorbike out to Middle Camp. And Bruce of course later became one of New Zealand's leading mountaineers...

Storytelling was done individually and in groups, with several people contributing, and it was triggered by many different things, including people meeting at events, questions asked, and places seen in photographs or mentioned by name.

Club language / naming

Tied into the story-telling are Club-specific names or words for things. For example, the Club Captain was known for many years more familiarly as K2 or K squared (Klub Kaptain). Brian (1950s) told me about some of the records held in Special Collections which were identified on the papers but not in the finding aids with the Club term. He checked with me whether I understood the term, while we were speaking:

... there was a whole collection of papers, that was another abbreviation, K squared, stood for Klub Kaptain [smiles] [Me: Klub Kaptain, yeah]. Or maybe that's still..." I replied "Well, it was when I was there [meaning, in the 1980s].

Mogambo was the club cry when members were calling to one another from a distance when out tramping, mainly used in the 1950s-1970s. It came about after a core group of Club members attended a movie of that name – according to my mother, it was a terrible movie, which made it more fun. The earlier call for identifying members was "Akarana" (a transliteration of "Auckland" into Māori). "PDs" in the 1940s and 1950s were pretty dresses: unusual wear for tramping clubbers so worth a special name. In the 1980s, a similar-sounding term, "PDAs", as noted above, related to "public displays of affection", a totally different referent. A scrog stop (a break to eat scroggin, a mix of nuts and dried fruit and chocolate) is still a current term, dating back at least to the 1960s; Posh Dins (an annual or biennial event where people got dressed up to go out to dinner, previously Bin Din (biennial dinner) continues in the 2010s.

There were also particular Club foods with specific names: Ivan's or Ivan's Biscuits (long-lasting oat biscuits, a special club recipe, named for Ivan Pickens); Govan's (breakfast, a very sustaining recipe, invented by Govan Wilson); pog (porridge); dehy or dehyd, depending on your era (dehydrated meat or textured vegetable protein, also known as TVP and highly indigestible), and more. There are words which immediately identified particular types of tramps for members of different eras, some of which have lasted many years (bush-bashing or bush-crashing, stream-bashing) while others began more recently and may or may not last (wombling, for example). The current Club takes part in an event in Canterbury each year where teams from universities around New Zealand compete in a 24-hour navigation race. This is known as Twalk, and pronounced in a single syllable amongst South Islanders. AUTC members usually pronounce it T-walk, perhaps because it was first seen by members written before they heard it spoken, and this spread through the Club and has stayed.

Triggers of memory

Many different types of physical object, people and places including photos, Footprints magazine, maps, locations of tramps or other events, people from a shared era or well-known Club personalities, the Club 'treasures' and equipment, as well as stories and Club-specific terms, serve as reminders of trips, events, places and people. They often trigger stories and provide verification and information for future activities. Martin (1980s) spoke of a kind of nostalgia evoked by his tramping equipment:

...pulling out the old fleece, and sleeping bag, or pack, and they carry stories, and stuff, and I'm feeling that a lot. So I'm kind of grieving for a past that I'm not able to go and re-enact. And so I'm really living through that strongly, at the moment.

This conversation was in 2015, and since that time he has been increasingly going on trips in the outdoors with club members of his era. I reflected this might have in part been inspired by the strong feelings he mentioned here evoked by rediscovering his tramping gear, combined with the increased opportunity now his children are older.

Places can be powerful triggers of memory too. Brian (1950s) provided an example, talking about a recent tramp in the Waitakere ranges, near the AUTC Hut:

I was up there recently [in the Waitakeres], and we passed a track just past the Hut, RGB, and I explained, this was cut by a club member in the late 1940s. [Me: Oh!]. Ron Bennett. [Me: Oh, I didn't know that.] Ronald Gibson Bennett, and he wanted to have a track so that people could get down to a swimming hole in the Anawhata, and other people expressed surprise - I suppose it is surprising now – that one could just go in with a slasher [smiling] and cut a track in the Waitakeres, at a place that sort of suits you to... he's still alive, you can ask him about it.

This excerpt illustrates many aspects of the passing on of Club collective memory: the physical cutting of a track in a place close to the Hut by a Club member led to his name and activity being frequently remembered by Club members, and the happenstance of my visiting Brian and asking him questions meant he remembered this story and passed it on to me. Another common aspect is his recommending I go and ask someone who has more of the story for more information. I had known of RGB track for many years, as it appears on all of the maps I have of the tracks of the Waitakere Ranges, but I had not realised that it was named after a Club member.

Footprints magazine has been an important memento for me since I left University, as it contains stories and photos that remind me of my time in Tramping Club. Most of the former members I spoke with still had at least some of the magazines from their era. Life members continue to be sent each year's edition, and some have paid to have these bound, illustrating its importance to them. It is used for multiple purposes: Anton (2010s) said:

If you want to find out about the history of the club, there's Footprints and the Jubilee magazine.

A man from the 1950s group said:

Footprints is a very useful collection. Partly because it records what was done, but also others look at it afterwards to see 'Oh, that looked like a good trip', or 'oh, I won't do that.' So it becomes a mechanism for advising others what can be done. Or what shouldn't be done.

Footprints is an important way information is passed on, but often just as a reminder, as it does not tell the whole story. Some trip accounts are **fairy tales** and if you really want to know the details you have to ask someone who was on the trip. This illustrates the way the Club protects the privacy of individuals while being open about its activities in a broad sense. Craig (1980s) said:

Footprints ... is a record of the happenings of the club, and those of us that were there can basically just look at those reports, and fill in the gaps, but it doesn't capture the whole story.

Robert (1980s-1990s) described the process of reconstructing a memory of a trip using a combination of records and shared memories:

... [name] and I had quite an interesting little email conversation, trying to work out where we'd been for one of our trips ... we used photographs of where we'd been, and maps, and even the Footprints write-up, despite the fact that we wrote about this as a fairy-tale.



Fig. 4.2 Cover of Footprints, showing Club Hut, O'nuku

People who have been on a trip or to an event understand the accuracy and authenticity of records about that trip. They know how much trust to put into what has been written. Similarly, they often know how well they can trust the information about a different trip given to them by a particular person if they have been tramping with them for an extended period. For example, Club members know that another Club member's estimate of how "easy" a trip is should be calibrated against the type of trips that person usually goes on. Entries in back country Hut Books (Visitor books kept in backcountry huts to record names, date of visit and planned route) are also not always to be taken at face value, although usual Tramping Club practice is to follow the requirements of Hut Book etiquette for safety reasons and to protect the good name of the Club. Others may not: just as with other information provided to officials, information provided by the community may have been edited before being handed over, for many possible reasons. Some questions that could be asked: Did users of the Hut Book record the names of all of the party, or just some, to reduce hut fees? Did they forget to fill in the Hut Book altogether, but have a photo of themselves at the hut in their own records, or a story of their trip? As a general rule, AUTC members would fill in Hut Books accurately, as they are valued as a source of information, a safety measure and an interesting indication of who has been in a location, when. However, sometimes the books are decorated

with poems, drawings and brief stories if people are stuck in a hut for a particularly long time due to the weather, or if others have already treated the book in this way.

These triggers of memory, just a few of which have been listed here, serve also to emphasise the shared history and culture of club members and help to maintain unity as people share stories relating to them, and inspired by them. These shared stories, understandings and trust relating to knowledge specific to the Club are a strong uniting force.

Significance of shared views and aims behind the Club itself; trust and membership; pride in specialist knowledge and skills

The written constitution of the Club, which is present at Annual General Meetings, is part of the reason memories and culture have been maintained: the stated aims are to foster tramping and a spirit of camaraderie amongst trampers. As noted above in the discussion on the significance of personal relationships, members tend to be like-minded people, with similar interests (such as tramping, preserving the environment and not being hung up on fashion). People who are not known are assessed for shared views, aims, interests, skills, and knowledge before detailed information from the Club is shared. For instance, while talking with Eddy (1960s) I felt as if he was a bit dubious about my **credentials as a Tramping Club researcher** until he had asked me about some South Island trips I had been on.

Proof of membership was another method used by people who didn't know me to make sure I was an appropriate person to share Tramping Club stories with. They knew I would understand what I was being told, and that I would deal with the information in a way that was suitable for the Club. For example, David R (1960s) used the lists of past committees in the Jubilee publications to discover my family connections with the club when I approached him for this research. David also described the characteristics of typical Tramping Clubbers:

People were a good friendly sort, and they didn't go in for flashy appearances. They're often quite modest.

J (1960s) defined Tramping Clubbers largely by their difference from mainstream culture of the time:
... people have this image of the '60s looking back on people being sort of super-cool and wearing mini-skirts and the Beatles, and all that kind of thing, and it was very far from that. The kind of people who joined Tramping Club were, well, obviously they were outdoorsy sort of people, but they were also quite often not your average person who would join a sports team... they weren't into pop culture so much.

An attitude that was evident amongst many Club members was **pride in the specialist knowledge and skills** developed through their experiences as Club members, as well as the access that these skills provided to remote places. This was connected by Andrew B (1980s) directly to a sense of New Zealand identity:

... belonging to the Tramping Club pushed me into parts of New Zealand that I would never have probably got to, otherwise. Partly because people inspired me, and I think it's given me this ability to claim a certain kind of national identity as a result [...] I find it interesting that a really key part of the New Zealand culture is about the sense of being outdoors in the wilderness. And yet, bugger me, 90 percent of them never get there [Laughter]. And for most people, it's a myth.

Again, the difference between Tramping Clubbers and the mainstream of New Zealanders is emphasised, suggesting that AUTC members feel they have a more **authentic type of New Zealand identity** through their activities as members of the Club. This is echoed by international students who say they want to get to know New Zealand better by joining the Club.

Importance of programme of repeated events

The annual programme of repeated events, such as BushSchool, SnowSchool, RiverSchool, May Camp, Christmas Party, Hut Birthday, O-Camp (Orientation Camp), and South Island trips are a major way culture, skills and knowledge are passed on. They continue because they still suit club members and meet their needs and understandings. Carl (2010s) talked about the ongoing popularity of Trips Launch:

I think they do the same things because they suit. I mean, Trips Launch is kind of fun, it's been going on for years, it's kind of fun just to meet, eat some pizza, and hear what's going on.

Joe (1990s) said he knew nothing about tramping when he started, but learned quickly through the programme of training provided:

No, I had nothing when I came in. There was BushSchool, which is what they ran for beginners, in the beginning, and then they had a leadership course, where they sort of picked people to go in, to go on a weekend course, by invitation, [...]. They also sent me to – there was a SnowSchool, where they introduced us to ice-axe, crampons, and some basic alpine type of stuff.

John (1990s, President in 2000s) explained that the programme of events passed on knowledge but also attitudes:

... there is a sequence of regular events, stay the same. And from those, I guess some attitudes get passed on. So the first event of the year is O Week Camp, which 70 people get to go along to. To the Club Hut, so the tradition of going to the Club Hut regularly, and taking strange things there, and having a good time at the Hut [both laughing], that's passed on, from year to year.... There's May Camp [...]. There's the instructional schools...

Skills learned were quickly passed on to the next group of Freshers coming in, and personal qualities such as interest in tramping and motivation determined that skills could be picked up quickly. Joe (1990s) explained:

And then, basically I started leading trips after about a year. And then I started teaching things. And basically being very keen, I was a very, very active member. I was out tramping every second weekend, with the Club. So, yeah, I learned very fast. Because I was very, very keen...

Joe was clear about the way the structure of the Club's events ensured the successful and safe passing on of tramping knowledge and skills, through training, apprenticeship, support of more experienced members, and through making your own mistakes:

So they had formal courses. And then of course we'd go out, and for the first few trips that we'd lead, they'd put an experienced leader with us, so I would be leading the trip, but they would be there to make sure that we were ok. And then of course, you make some mistakes, and you go 'I'm not doing that again." [Both laughing].

Apprenticeship: learning through doing alongside experts (Wenger & Lave) – the Tramping Club Process

This programme of repeated events forms an apprenticeship process. Freshers (new members) begin at Orientation week with Freshers' Tramps, then go on more tramps with trip leaders who pass on knowledge and skills. They attend the various "schools", including sometimes, as Joe mentioned above, learning to be a leader with the support of a more experienced "side-kick". David (1960s) talked about how potential leaders were identified, and how side-kicks were there just in case the leader wasn't as good as they had thought, as well as to provide advice when asked for. Finally, after the apprenticeship they are judged ready to lead trips independently. Chris (1950s) and Jim (1960s) also described the process of apprenticeship in their respective eras (see Appendix C for excerpts of these and other discussions), which were not dissimilar in essence to Joe's and John's experiences in the 1990s, above. Chris used the term "apprenticeship" while Jim described it as "The Tramping Club Process".

After describing, similarly to others, the typical process of apprenticeship, Rob S. (1980s – 1990s) noted that people cannot get access to more advanced tramps until at least some of the core people know and trust them:

...the first year, I had quite a bit of difficulty getting on [South Island Christmas] trips. The ones that I put my name down, they wanted people who they knew the experience of. By the time they'd sorted that out, and decided I wasn't experienced enough, there wasn't any trip left, so I had a little bit of a hiccup over the first year. But the second year, things were fine, obviously people believed I was experienced by that point.

The safety reasoning behind this was described by Jim (1960s):

...the Trips Organiser and the Club Captain together, they put people on the right trips, and the trips were graded, so that they didn't put ..., inexperienced people onto really hard trips, so it was very good from that point of view.

However, as Anton (Vice President, 2010s) pointed out, it was important that people were allowed to make mistakes for their own personal development, while retaining a safety net just in case:

And the Committee members themselves, part of it is about their own learning, and their own education and development as a person, so some of the stuff, they're happy to sort of figure out for themselves.... I've sort of realised that actually nothing's going to go wrong; I'll step in if I think somebody's going to do some damage to themselves, but at the same time, by telling them this, I'm possibly stopping them from developing....

Anton described how situations could be created in which mistakes could be made safely; for example, by choosing safe places:

We changed the way Advanced BushSchool went because of that... There was no "This is what you're going to do", it was more "Here's an objective, we want you to go out and make as many mistakes as you possibly can, in this safe environment." You know, go to a place that doesn't have too many cliffs for them to fall off...

Committee members and the Captain do pass on important files and written advice to their successors. Much is also passed on by word of mouth and learning by doing, through apprenticeship to former office-holders and through the experience of having observed others in that role. I asked David (1960s, life member, former President) how he learned to be Captain when he took on that role, and he said:

Well, as I said, there was quite a lot of fairly well-defined activity, in those days, so we tended just to follow what had been done in previous years [...]. But was there a set of instructions? Not really. I think now they do it a bit more systematically, in a way each person is kind of buddied with their predecessor in the job.

Meeting places / Club places

Returning to Graham's comment (in Section 4.6) about club places, it was notable from the conversations as well as significant in my own memory that regular **gathering places** have always been really important to the Club. This used to be Sir George Grey's statue, then the noticeboard; now people only meet once a week in Albert Park for lunch. They use the Club Facebook page and email list for more regular and reliable contact, and to create new events. The social organisers have recently introduced an additional weekly social event that takes many different forms, from "extreme ironing" on local volcanic cones, to rock-climbing, to "fine dining" at fast food restaurants, always taking the Club flag to create a temporary Club place.

J (Late 1960s) highlighted the vital importance of the physical meeting place from her time: The noticeboard was the focus of the whole world, in those days.

J. laughed as she said this, but looked and sounded sincere. I felt pleased that there had been this continuity, as the noticeboard had been the centre of my world, too, in my time in the Club in the 1980s. Joe, of the 1990s era described the noticeboard as:

... for me, and for a core group of people, our social hangout.

Ten years later again, in the 2000s, the noticeboard was still an essential meeting place. C said:

There was quite a strong presence, so if you kind of ever had an hour, and you wanted to hang out with people, or you wanted to have lunch, there would usually be people there you could go sit with.

I wrote, when transcribing this conversation, my surprise that the noticeboard should still have been the meeting place. C also identified the importance of the noticeboard as a method for contacting and attracting potential members. She said:

... while I was at the noticeboard, ... I think I'd looked at it a couple of times, trying to decide if I should sign up for something or not, someone ... approached me who was one of the members, ... saying 'oh, that's my trip, come along!'

Temporary Club places are sometimes created artificially through events such as jubilees and other reunions. As discussed by the 1950s group in Section 4.5, these are significant times when collective memory is renewed and passed on, both by renewing contact between people and, to a degree, passing information between eras. They also provide an impetus to gather records together in a particular place, and sometimes also to create a related publication, including photos, stories, songs, recipes, lists of trips, lists of people with club positions, lists of contact details, and jokes. Brian (1950s, former President, and now de facto Club Archivist), told me:

The story about the history of the hut began when Tramping Club had its 75th birthday, and questions were asked as to whether the hut was a possible historic building.

He subsequently spent a considerable time in public archives researching the history of the hut, and wrote an article about it. Sometimes, stories are gathered together from the past for re-performance rather than publication, as Jim (1960s, life member) describes:

At the Wanaka 1960s reunion in 2012, I was asked to speak about the early '60s, and so made some notes. I never wrote the speech out, I'm sort of thinking of doing it now.

However, he did make use of his notes again, in talking with me: "So I've got some notes to crib off." Jim also described the benefit of reunions for bringing people together who rarely see one another:

I did enjoy the 2007 reunion [...] David A came from Canada to go to that, you know, so — oh, and Tony K came from the UK...

The willingness of people to go to such an effort to travel to a Club reunion is an indication of the significance of the Club in their lives. A reunion provides a convenient place where people know they will be able to see people they want to meet again.

Another significant place for the Club is Ongaruanuku, or O'nuku, the **Club hut**, linked to and triggering many individual memories, and used for many Club events, including, usually, Freshers Camp, so often it was connected with the first memories people had of their Club membership. For Ron (1940s) the Hut was indelibly attached to his memories of the end of World War II:

Later on when VJ came on, ... great big celebrations that really ended the war, I missed all that, because I was up at Ongaruanuku [laughing], with ... Davy H..., who'd been a dispatch rider in the Western Desert.

In the 2010s members went there less often as Auckland Council increased its control, along with members having better access to transport to go tramping in more distant places. However it was still a significant element of the Club's culture. John (1990s, President in the 2010s) said:

... when I was a student, I used to basically go out there every weekend.

Now, with the new Council controls, he said:

...the number of people we can host at the Hut has been an ongoing issue... And so we've got conditional permits on the new lease for three nights a year – which are basically [Hut] Birthday Party, Christmas Party, and O Week, to take 70 people to the Hut.

In 2017 Kauri dieback disease was spreading through the Waitakere Ranges. A Rāhui (restriction on access to area by unauthorised persons) was placed on the Waitakere Ranges by the local iwi (Maori community) to protect the trees from the disease, as it appeared to be spread on people's boots. This caused a powerful and initially divisive debate amongst the Committee, as the environmental and cultural concerns felt by all members to varying degrees battled with the importance of access to the Hut. The President, Vice Presidents and Life Members were all brought into the loop and consulted. Eventually agreement was reached to respect the Rāhui, while offering to assist the Council with improving track surfaces so that eventually it would be possible to return to the Hut without damaging the trees. Soon after this, the Council also imposed a legal ban on access to the Ranges, and negotiations regarding the Club helping with tracks and continuing to destroy predators in the Ranges are continuing. This process of debate and negotiation in the Committee demonstrates the way the Club deals with challenges and changes while protecting its core values. Conflicting perspectives about significant things at the heart of the Club were negotiated, sometimes heatedly. The greater length and depth of knowledge of older members were brought in to help address the issues, though the current Committee had the final say about what would happen. Meanwhile, some Committee members worked to ensure the Committee's relationships were protected or restored and the ethos of the Club was followed appropriately.

It was apparent both from what people said and the way they said it that places themselves have a strong impact on people, experiences and records. Shared experience of places, even at different times, unites people and feeds into individual and group identity. These impacts were affective and also uniting, because of a shared experience and understanding. Dave (1980s) said:

... it's not only your experience you shared with the people who were there, but you can then discuss your stories about it with people who went there at a different time.

Club members also reflected on the influence of keeping or experiencing records in places that are not Club places, not just because they are outside the current awareness of the Club, but also outside the Club culture and ambience. Brian (1950s, current Club archivist) described visiting club records that had been transferred to an archival institution:

And there were also two big photograph albums, which again had been wafting around. They'd come out at Club functions. They used to sit in this wardrobe for a while. When I wanted to look at them, recently, they're now at the Archives in the University, so I had to put white gloves on to be able to look at them [laughing], but I appreciate this was policy for Archives, so I guess we've.....

At this point in the conversation his words trailed off and he looked thoughtful. I reflected that he seemed to regret the loss of immediate contact between the albums and the Club at functions, where stories about the photographs had been shared and renewed with fellow Club members. I also noted his amused and slightly incredulous look at the thought of these records, which had been until then subjected to the experiences of everyday life, being handled with white gloves.

It was apparent during the conversations that current members of the Club had little or no awareness of the records that had been transferred to Special Collections in the University Library, although this was only a very short walk from common Club meeting places. John (President at the time of our conversation), when I asked if he was aware of the Tramping Club records in Special Collections, said:

I'm vaguely aware of that, I have never actually looked at it.

I went to a Committee meeting with some records from my time in the Club, and told them about the records in Special Collections, and there was a lot of interest in looking both at my records and at those that had been "archived".

People also expressed the significance of meeting in appropriate Club places in relation to reunions. For example, Mel (late 1990s) said:

I felt sad that the next Jubilee was just a dinner in town. It was like "What? No trip to the Hut?! No tramping?!

Mel, a former Trips Officer for the Club, felt so strongly about this that she decided to act:

That just seemed a bit sad, and I ended up asking if I could have a list of all the previous members' email addresses, so that I could email them and say 'Hey, let's just go on a trip to the Hut anyway!''. Mel explained that for her, place as well as activity were essential elements of AUTC culture: "Because it just, you know -I mean, dinner in town, that's like a fancy occasion, and trampers aren't fancy! Like, how is that Tramping Club?

Structure of club maintains information but allows for change

As demonstrated in the negotiations about access to the Waitakeres discussed above, the structure of the Club is an essential element of its sustainability. There is a new Captain and some changes to the Committee each year, but Vice-Presidents, President and Life Members are around for the long term and can step in if they think it is necessary for safety or other reasons. Committee members can choose to make changes to the Club. For example, John (1990s, President when I spoke with him) said:

And there are Vice-Presidents who have a bit longer stay in the Club, usually, 4 or 5 years, so they help carry it on.

Similarly, it is the President's role to provide continuity both within the Club and for external communication, as John explained:

There's one role, which is defined by the Constitution of the Club, which says I chair general meetings of the Club [...] It's my job to do that, and to be a stable contact person, and so that means there's a "President@autc" email address, and people can send that, and get hold of me, and someone who knows some history about the Club.

As well as a contact point for communication and information about Club history, the President provides a stable node in the network to keep contact with former members:

Also, I keep the list of Life Members, [and] people on the mailing list, and things like that, so it's a kind of focal contact point that's not going to change every year.

Life members normally don't get involved with the day to day running of the Club, but at times they feel motivated to provide some input. Sometimes this is simply support. For example, David (1960s, life member) said:

There was a correspondence recently amongst the Committee relating to some organisation on campus which wants to take particularly international students, give them experiences of various outdoor activities, and they've been in touch with the Tramping Club about going tramping. And Matt had emailed the committee about this, and this was one time when I thought I would respond. And one of the things that I said to him was that I thought that the Tramping Club seemed to have a very responsible attitude towards safety, and he'd already raised it in his email, but I said this seems to be a great thing that you're doing, and you don't want to let that go, so I support you in that.

Most members stay in the Club just for a short time, but some doing higher degrees are there for much longer. C (2000s) described one of these people as:

... kind of a walking memory-bank for the Club". She said "I guess this is why you have VPs — you know, you'd be trying to solve what are essentially problems that every, or many, Committees would have tried to have dealt with over time, and a lot of solutions have been tried that just didn't work, so it's very helpful to have someone who can say "I can see where you're going with that, but I think it may not work, for this reason and that reason, and have you thought about that?

C described the convenience of having a knowledgeable person at a meeting, in contrast with a written record:

If someone had wanted to write up best-practice notes of what they'd learnt, you're not going to use them at the time when you need them. You're not going to know you need to refer to them.

Changes did happen, however, when they were seen as necessary, whether for personal reasons relating to individual Committee officers, or because of changes in the broader context of the Club. For example, David (1960s, life member, former President) said:

...when I became Captain because I was reluctant to do the job, I was about to do a Masters degree and I wanted to do reasonably well at that...so in the end it was agreed that they'd establish a new Committee position which was called "Trips Organiser" [...] that took away some of the work of the Captain.

Sometimes new initiatives are introduced because of specific areas of knowledge of Club members, and if these are seen as positive, they are carried on. Anton (Vice President 2010s) said:

At the time that I first joined the Club, someone had been ... talking to an avalanche instructor, and the two of them had identified that avalanches were an issue with the Club. And the Mountain Safety Council gave the Club one free avalanche course [...]. Over the past ten, or even five years, we had a real attitude shift with avalanches. ... One of my goals was to continue people being aware of the avalanches, was to enforce the instructors of Snowschool to have done an avalanche awareness course.

Some aspects of club culture changed due to changes in society, such as the end of the former no alcohol agreement, noted by David (1960s, life member), which he described as:

... a bit sad, although I don't think it's abused.

There has been an increase in women as leaders; the increased access to cars increasing the range of places for trips, and the increase in international students who only stay a short time. University semesters have also changed, bringing a change in holiday dates. However, the core group can choose to reject change. For example, in regard to the use of alcohol, David observed:

... there was someone who returned who tried to encourage a bit of overindulgence in that respect, and I don't think that was very popular amongst the current committee members.

Sometimes, change is rejected for idiosyncratic, Club-appropriate reasons. For example, Anton (Current Vice President, 2010s) described the attempted changing of the name of May Camp:

...that particular Social Officer thought that it was ridiculous that it was called May Camp, and we all agreed with her, but liked it anyway. And so she tried to change it, she was the Social Officer, so she has the freedom to change the name, right. But the next year, we got onto the following Social Officer, and went 'How about naming it May Camp again?'

Graham (1960s) described the impact of feminism:

Soon after that, there were a group of women that came through just as I was sort of getting out of the Club who took on much more leadership roles, and were Club Captains, and things like that. But they also led a lot more trips. So I think it was partly a generation. [...]. Because I was in the University club just before feminism hit the world in the early '70s.

Privacy of club records; control of access to information

As has already been noted, there are some restrictions on access to Club life. For reasons of safety, people are only able to go on more difficult trips once they have proved themselves competent on easier trips. With regard to access to other aspects of Club knowledge and information, generally the consensus was that Club records should be open, as they were seen as interesting, something to be proud of, and particularly as the records can pass on safety information. However, some privacy issues were raised. David (1960s and life member) said he was happy for the Club to share information about itself with people outside it because:

... I think the Club has been an honourable club, over the years.

He also thought it was important that the Club shared things it had learned, with others:

It's had a few tragedies. People can learn from those things, and I think it's important to share what went wrong.

C (2000s) did think there should be limits to what the Club shared in public, because of the change in access to information previously hidden in relative obscurity ("I guess previously it was in the University Library, but realistically, no-one's going to go and actually find that") now potentially available through a simple Google search: ("the idea that an employer could be googling"). C explained:

They've seemed to be starting a project of scanning all of the old Footprints [...]. And I felt really uncomfortable about that, because... I'm someone who takes my privacy online quite seriously...when Footprints was created [...] there was never any expectation it would be a public thing. It was for a community of people, and it would be really only read by that community of people, and maybe their friends and family. The idea that it's potentially available to everyone, completely searchable — you know, it's got my photo in it, it's got my name in it, feels a real invasion of the spirit in which it was created.

This discomfort C felt related to the way she had changed since her time in the Club, and her wish to control her public image, although she was still happy for other Club members to look back on her past in the Club:

And because it's also a kind of a coming-of-age time, the way I wrote then isn't the way I would write now, publicly...I don't have any issue with past or current members looking back and seeing all that stuff.

There were comments from current members about some things that should be kept just for the information of Committee members. For example John (President at the time of our conversation) said:

Some of the things that are said in Committee Meetings, about other people. You know, that's probably the kind of stuff that shouldn't be out in the public. ... [in the Safety subcommittee] If someone wants to do a Club trip, they now submit an intentions form, ... and we might have a discussion that — well, this person is probably not competent to do this... do we want this to go ahead?

Keeping these private enabled frank discussion, necessary for ensuring the safety of Club members, while also making sure that any negative comments about the abilities of members planning trips were not circulated more widely. The trip planners themselves were told why their trips had not been approved, so they knew what kind of training would improve their chances.

Core group

The concept of a core group has already appeared several times in the examples above. These are usually committee members, but not exclusively, who are more active in Club activities and more likely to maintain contact in the long term. The core group has influence over who has access to tramps. This is judged on the evidence before them relating to their tramping skills and knowledge, as discussed above under the headings of "apprenticeship" and "privacy". New members of the Club need to be able to convince this core group of their competence, usually by tramping with them, but also through the word of mouth of other trusted members of the core group. Sometimes, competence can also be shown by telling stories of previous trips undertaken with other respected groups, or on occasion, of success in related outdoor pursuits such as orienteering, trail-running or multisport events. However, the truest test is still tramping together with members of the core group.

The core group also often influence others to join. Jim (1960s) told me why he decided to join the Club as soon as he started University:

I had been in a school tramping club, which was quite unusual in those days. And several of my friends from that school tramping club, which was Rangitoto College, said, well, we're going to join the University Tramping Club [...]. And I think that was because one of the teachers at school, who'd taken us tramping, had been a former Club Captain of AUTC, and he told us ... that was a good club to join, if we were keen on tramping. And a lot of us had got hooked on tramping before we even got to University. And that person was Peter Aimer, who was Club Captain in 1955.

At this point in the conversation, I said "oh!" because Peter is a very good friend of my parents. I have known Peter all my life, but I don't think I had met Jim before, and I had not known that Peter taught at Rangitoto College. Another piece of the collective memory of the Club was passed on to me, showing more of the network of influences.

The conversations and my own reflection on them indicated that individual people can be nodes of memory, for several related reasons. It may be because there are lots of stories about them, or because their long association with the Club means they know lots of Club information and people; Graham (1960s) advised me to speak with Boyd M (which I did), saying:

He would be good to talk to, because he was in with the Club for probably 20 years.

Others become nodes of memory because they are active in arranging get-togethers or sharing photos and stories. For example, Megan T organises an annual 1950s reunion, and Debi coordinates a mid-winter Christmas party for my1980s group. Jim (1960s) told me:

We did have a sort of smaller, more specific '60s reunion three years ago in Wanaka, which Ruth L organised very well.

New generations (children of former members) are able to ask for advice from parents about trips, gear and so on, or are given it without asking, together with stories about time in the Club. In my experience, this is often prompted by the children finding interesting-looking photographs and asking questions about them. Children of former members also seem to have a fast-track into the Committee. This is my personal experience both as a child of former members, and as the parent of two sons who have both joined the

club, and were invited to become general committee members in their first year at University. This was also the experience of John (1990s, President in 2010s):

I was aware of the Tramping Club long before I joined, because my father was in the Tramping Club in the late '60s. [...]. I knew about the Hut, because I'd been there, and I knew, well, I'd heard stories of epic tramps, basically. [Smiling]. And I knew of some people who I'd never met. But I did end up meeting their children. [...] I think we have, at the moment, several third-generation members in the Club. The current Captain, for example [laughs — he means my son], and a couple of others on the Committee, as well.

The Club Captain immediately after my son was the daughter of two of my contemporaries in the Club, who was in turn the son of two of my parents' contemporaries. However, the Captaincy is not exclusive to those born into it: the parents of the Captain for the following year were never in the Club.

Ongoing significance of the sharing, use and re-use of club information and records

A large number of the people I spoke with said membership of the AUTC had a big impact on their lives, and they valued their time in the club, citing the relationships they had developed, and what they had learned as members. Many people said they learnt significant skills which have used in later life, including leadership, organisational and outdoor skills. I often felt moved by these comments. They were clearly very sincere, and I felt privileged that people would tell me about aspects of their lives that were so fundamental to their being, and seemed quite private as well as significant. For example, Joe (1990s) told me:

The time I spent in the Tramping Club was the best time I had in my life...

C (2000s) described the way becoming a committee member in the Club and observing others she admired enabled her to learn many life skills:

I became a more confident public speaker, I became a better organiser... and a lot of it's being on the Committee and taking leadership roles. I got better at working with... difficult people, or through challenging situations, and I think just better at being a nicer person — even if I was feeling tired, or grumpy, or cold, or hungry, or whatever [laughing] — and I guess I saw that there was a lot of role-modelling, as well. I saw people who behaved in a certain way, and I thought yeah, I really admire that, I'd like to be like that.

Both C and Joe (1990s) told me that the Club had changed them fundamentally, and in their opinions had greatly improved their lives as well as their skills. Similarly to Andrew B's comments above, C talked about the impact of her time in the Club on her as a New Zealander:

I got to see a huge amount of my own country, whereas I met a lot of Kiwis overseas who haven't been to the South Island, and I think that's quite tragic...

Joe spoke of the ongoing value to himself and others of the outdoor skills and confidence he had developed: I can survive in the outdoors, really. And that was something I was not able to do before. And I've since gone to many places...and I'm happy to stay in the outdoors. Whereas before AUTC, it was all very scary. And you know, I'm here in Nepal [he was working for a time as an ophthalmologist for an NGO]. And now, the people that I'm meeting here, have never been to their own mountains. I mean, they don't have that culture.....So the AUTC has given me a lifelong interest and a set of skills that I use.

David (mid-1960s) also spoke of the valuable skills he learned through observation of people he admired:
... in that first year took notice of how the club was structured, as far as the administration was concerned, and then admired the Club Captain, for example. [...] Learning about leadership was one of the valuable lessons that I learned in Tramping Club.

David later went on to work in management roles in his career. Learning leadership skills were also cited by Graham (1960s) as an example of the transferrable skills gained through belonging to Tramping Club, in addition to other personal benefits:

Yeah, well, it had a huge impact on me, both physically and also ... well, I met my wife through it [laughing] [...] but yeah, it had a huge impact on me, and I think helped me develop leadership skills, which served me well when I was teaching.

Club information, records, knowledge embodied and written down have been used by members past and present for a multitude of purposes, including Search and Rescue, work in the field in a wide range of professions, including but not limited to scientific, broadcasting, politics, engineering, the arts, sports (including caving, mountaineering, and many more) – the list is very long, as former members number in their thousands. Taking just one example of physical records, photographs taken by Club members on trips can have many new lives in different contexts. The same photograph of a glacier could be shared with others on the trip, submitted to the Club (or external) photo competition, used to illustrate a trip report in Footprints, reused in a Jubilee publication, shared on Facebook and the website, and used by a glaciologist for comparison with earlier and later photos of the same glacier to assess the impact of global warming. The uses of the records of the Club's collective memory outside the bounds of the Club itself are unpredictable, as their possible function and relevance is contingent on the context. However, some aspects of the use of particular records within the Club are more predictable, at least in the short term, and these are the records that are being deliberately passed on, through the methods which I was beginning to discern through these conversations.

There was a lot of discussion about what of the Tramping Club collective memory it was most important to preserve and pass on. Many thought the most important thing to preserve was for Club members to continue enjoying tramping in the wilderness with one another. For example, David J (1960s) said:

I'm not sure that long term there is a need to maintain a collective memory. There is a need to continue to have a University Tramping Club to help people understand the beauty of the bush and tramping and to help conservation, but it has to be relevant to the modern day and have the ability to attract university students to it. That to me is the most important thing.

Similarly, Michael (late 1960s) said:

I think retaining whatever enables people to continue to share the experiences and friendships by going out tramping and climbing and socialising.

These points expressed both by David and Michael tie in precisely with the original aims of the Club, as defined in 1932, and reaffirmed by the Committee of every decade since. Clearly the essence of the Club culture is being sustained, irrespective of the changes in context going on around it.

4.8 Conclusion: Starting to put it all together

In this chapter I have built a rich picture of the collective memory processes of the AUTC, and identified the range of records and recordkeeping and archiving processes embedded in the Club's activities and culture. Amongst the significant themes that had emerged were the interrelated concepts of personal relationships, trust, membership, pride, shared aims, and the concept of a core group; the twinned concepts of continuity and change; access to knowledge and the many different ways records were shared; the importance of shared experiences and a programme of repeated events; a system of apprenticeship; Club places; the structure of the Club; storytelling and shared language.

As the conversations went on I had moved through Urquhart's stages of grounded theory analysis as described in Section 3.9. Rather than a linear progression, my experience was more iterative. In Chapter 5,

the research methodology that emerged through the research data gathering process is detailed. After each conversation or discussion I transcribed the recording and reflected on the growing body of data, created open codes, and reflected back on what this added to the data I had already collected. I gradually constructed more focused codes and themes throughout the entire process of data gathering and analysis, both before and after the exercise with index cards described above. The iterative process enabled the conversations and discussions themselves to develop and become more focused, and I discussed the developing codes and themes with Club members. This led to the construction of themes and interrelationships that were well grounded in the community's own perspective.

Then, the next step was to work with these themes and interrelationships described in Chapter 4 to construct a visual model of the Club's collective memory processes, again in consultation with Club members past and present. This process and the resulting model is described in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5. Co-producing archival research with communication, reflexivity and friendship: crossing the three-wire bridge

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the development of the participatory research methodology as I engaged with the three communities involved, and illustrates three important methodological elements: a commitment to constant, open communication; a focus on reflection and reflexive response, using auto-ethnographic blogging as a research technique; and the use of "friendship as method".

I began the research as an apprentice, intending to follow an existing methodology. However, through my reflections on my experiences within the Tramping Club community, the expert guidance of my supervisory team and with access to a body of participatory, critical, and grounded theory research literature, a new methodology emerged. The outcome was my pioneering a critical, reflexive, insider research methodology with an ethics of friendship – a response to the research question which had itself developed through the course of the research:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

From apprentice, I became a future guide to other researchers in participatory / insider spaces by writing a paper on the development of this methodology, published in Archival Science and presented here as Chapter 5.

The article echoes much of the first three chapters of this thesis. However, I originally wrote this article in 2016, and I find it notable on re-reading it that due to the iterative, reflexive nature of the design of the research, since that time my perspective has changed with regard to limits to participation in this research, as discussed in Section 3.8. This means that some of the statements in this chapter relating to levels of participation do not match those in the rest of the thesis. I later realised that there was indeed a "hierarchy of research roles", which I implied in the second paragraph I was hoping to avoid, as I was steering the research from my PhD student position As a result of this change in my perspective, my naming of the research methodology has also changed. Instead of "mediated community partnership research" I now believe a more accurate name would be: "Inclusive, reflexive research as an insider within multiple communities". The research questions have also changed slightly. I have placed the paper here without alteration because it is an accurate reporting of my understanding at the time I wrote it, and because in its contrast with Chapter 3 it highlights the effect of the emergent research methodology on the research itself, and the small but important difference in my own understanding about what it means to be participatory that developed over the intervening two years. My conclusions regarding the importance of communication, grounded techniques, reflexivity, friendship and a commitment to as much community participation as possible in this type of research remain unchanged.

5.2 Co-producing archival research

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Co-producing archival research with communication, reflexivity and friendship: crossing the three-wire bridge

Introduction

Communities all over the world are facing issues with constant change: increasing migration due to conflict, climate change and economic crises, technological innovations, and increasingly distributed records. We are all members of diverse and multiple communities, and as archival communities are also grappling with these issues professionally, with a particular focus on the scattered and transient nature of many digital records, and need to develop new methodologies to deal with them (Bearman 1989; Reed 2014). For archives and records to become hospitable to and adequately reflect the multifaceted narratives they may contain for multiple communities (Battley, Daniels and Rolan 2014), those communities need to be participants in archival processes. Successful participation between communities and the archivists responsible for some of their records requires an excellent understanding between the groups of their respective needs, values, skills and knowledge (Stoecker 2012; McKemmish et al 2012).

In 2002, *Archival Science* published a much-cited special issue highlighting the inherent power in the control of archives and records. Since that time, many more publications have discussed this issue, and the need for communities to have agency in the records relating to their lives (For example, Bastian 2003; Shilton and Srinivasan 2007; Evans, McKemmish, Daniels and McCarthy 2015). Gilliland and McKemmish (2014) describe the role participatory archives can play to address the human rights and recovery of peoples described by Fourmile (1989) as "captives of the archives". Developing these participatory archives requires excellent communication and committed partnership between people with archival knowledge and the community of the archives. However, communities and archivists often "talk past each other" (Metge 1978) when it comes to understanding one another's perspective. Archivists need methods to get past this cross-cultural misunderstanding to interpret community needs and values sufficiently well to develop systems that fit the community's world view at every stage of the recordkeeping process, including decisions about digital initiatives. This paper describes the ongoing development of a methodology to enable a community to fully participate in, or co-produce research into their own use of records for collective memory, in order to develop an archival system that is purpose-built to meet their own unique needs.

Developing participatory archival methods to support collective memory maintenance

There has been a tendency in the archival community to see "community" as something other, outside the mainstream, but in truth we all belong to multiple communities, within an archival multiverse (McKemmish and Piggott 2013). We need to find ways to accept and work within the reality of multiple intersecting and sometimes incommensurable "ontologies and epistemologies between communities" (PACG 2011, p.73). The argument for the need for multiple interpretations is relevant to all of us, as in different aspects of our lives we need access to different types of records categorised in different ways. Although our archives are institutionalised according to our evidence and memory paradigms (McKemmish, Gilliland and Ketelaar 2005), these paradigms have been until now largely

those of professional archivists and archival scholars. We as archival communities tend to examine our own practices to see how best to standardise the arrangement and description of the records we maintain for wider society, so that our worldwide archival information networks can talk to one another (Gilliland 2014, pp.97-98). However, this archival navel-gazing perpetuates the difficulties people who are not archivists have in interpreting and accessing the records of their own diverse communities.

To develop new, participatory archival methods, research is needed into the requirements and understandings of the communities that use archives to maintain their collective memories. However, research methodologies themselves can be problematic. The ethno-centric, culturally charged nature of Western academic research has been highlighted by researchers within communities with a history of colonisation (Tuhiwai Smith 2012; Faulkhead et al 2007; Beebeejaun et al 2014). Caswell (2013, p. 288) calls for "energetic engagement, understanding, strengthened commitment, and dialog" as aspects of a developing concept of "archival pluralism" where multiple ways of knowing can be supported. The methodology described in this paper works towards this type of energetic engagement between archival communities and communities with archival records.

Participatory research is an evolving methodology which increasingly enables community understandings, values and needs to be included in research design, methodology and desired outcomes. It began in the fields of health, education and community development (Kemmis and McTaggart 2007; Beebeejaun et al 2014; Cornwall and Jewkes 1995) but is now also used in the area of archives and recordkeeping (McKemmish and Gilliland 2013, who cite Bradley and Yanyuwa families 2010; Duranti and Preston 2008; Evans et al. 2005) and other information studies (for example, participatory design research in information systems: Sanders and Stappers 2008; Beck 2002), and often in action research projects within organisations where there is a problem to be solved, while researchers study the outcome of the intervention in the problem (McKay and Marshall 2001).

Stoecker (2005) defined principles of a participatory research design called Community Partnership Research, where the community is an equal partner, with no hierarchy of research roles, the skills and knowledge of all partners acknowledged and respected, and all participants owning and validating the research and its outcomes. This has been further developed (McKemmish, Burstein, Manaszewicz, Fisher and Evans 2012) into a model of Inclusive Research Design, a reflexive, iterative process where research takes place in a negotiated space using approaches and paradigms appropriate to the needs and understandings of all partners. This research acknowledges the significance of both formal and informal encounters in planning and decision-making throughout the process of the research, using "friendship methods" including natural conversation and everyday involvement (Tillman-Healy 2003). Inclusive research design uses techniques such as reflexivity and second-generation grounded theory to identify and address the diversity of needs, values and expectations amongst the participants. . It also acknowledges the cycle of constant re-negotiation, re-evaluation and adaptation of the processes as the research progresses, leading to more nuanced research outcomes which should better meet the needs of the participants (McKemmish et al. 2012). Community partnership and inclusive research designs are beginning to be used in information studies and archival research (Evans, Faulkhead, Manaszewicz and Thorpe 2012; Humphreys, McCarthy, Dowling, Kertesz and Tropea 2014; Lang et al 2012, Pan, Bradbeer and Jurries 2011; and, to some extent, Shilton and Srinivasan 2007).

I am currently engaged in research which examines how a multigenerational, dispersed and constantly-renewing community with distributed archives maintains the records of its collective

memory. This research involves the participation of three different communities to which I belong: the archival research community, the archival practice community, and a New Zealand-based tramping (hiking) club. Together, we are developing a methodology tailored to the communities involved to discover how the tramping club uses records to maintain its collective memory, and then to analyse the implications in terms of design of an archival system. This community, a University-based club, might seem to be within the norms of "the mainstream", so we are examining also how well the archival traditions of Australasia meet its needs. Working with three different communities, with their different interests, needs, skills, and values is a complex process, though Evans et al. (2012) talk about the value and challenge of being a "double insider", able to provide a bridge between communities, developing friendships and enabling the sharing of knowledge and expertise, while also often being called on to mediate expectations and tensions. This methodology aims to gain benefit from my insider perspective while managing the challenges it brings. This paper discusses the nature of the tramping club's "community of records" (Bastian 2003) and its relevance for shedding light on the use of records for collective-memory maintenance, and then goes on to describe the methodology being developed to explore this community of records.

The need for community participation

Since at least the 1980s, archival researchers have discussed the difficulty of dealing with the scale and complexity of digital information and the value of having the creators of records describe and possibly also manage their own digital records (Bearman 1986; 1989; Yeo 2013; Millar 2014). Meanwhile, the power of interpretation inherent in the right to describe archives has also been discussed, both internationally (Duff and Harris 2002; Jimerson 2009; Ketelaar 2005) and in New Zealand (Davidson 2015; Jacobs and Falconer 2004; Tikao and Frean 2013). Isto Huvila (2008) discussed the concept of a participatory archive, suggesting it should involve decentralised curation, radical user orientation, and contextualisation of both records and the entire archival process. These aims can only be achieved by involving the community itself in designing and developing the archive. Gilliland and McKemmish (2015) set out rights and principles for participatory archiving, which included the principles that archives will acknowledge both the creators and co-creators or subjects of records when appraising, describing and making accessible those records; that archives will work towards making the archives of historically underrepresented or inequitably represented people more discoverable and usable, and also that archives will acknowledge and respect the belief systems and traditional cultural expressions of those people when developing archival description. Shilton and Srinivasan (2007) described the value to a community of the power to represent itself, and described a project involving communities in participatory appraisal and arrangement of multicultural collections. A more radical user orientation would suggest moving control of the description outside institutional walls, allowing the community to represent itself within its own context.

In recent years, studies of communities claiming the power to represent themselves in their own archives have begun to appear: for example, in Australia, Kirsten Thorpe (2016) discussed the establishment of an Aboriginal community archive where the community could exercise control of the management of their own cultural heritage. In New Zealand, Rachael Te Āwhina Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) wrote of the role of waiata and haka (traditional songs and dances) as archives of Māori tribal history, and discussed a project for Māori people to preserve them digitally together with an analysis of their meanings; Bastian and Alexander (2009), in their introduction to a collection of essays offering a range of perspectives on the interrelations between archives and communities, wrote of the symbiotic relationship between the two. In that same volume, Flinn and Stevens wrote of the way independent and community archives in the UK could both challenge and subvert the mainstream by making their own histories; Punzalan described a community in the Philippines taking ownership of

colonial medical archives through incorporating them within centennial events; Riedlmayer and Naron wrote of Armenian survivors of the 1915-1916 genocide telling their stories to fight back against the attempt to efface their people, and subsequent efforts to document communities destroyed by genocide in the 20th century, from books to video testimonies to weblogs; and Barriault wrote of the development of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives. Tale and Alefaio wrote of oral and embodied community archives in Fiji, where culture is passed on dynamically and collaboratively through song and dance, interaction with the environment and carefully constructed narratives to expand and reinforce insights and pass on ancestral knowledge, evolving through phases of transmission between generations. This concept of an embodied archive of community memory in symbiotic relationship with the community is one which can enrich professional and academic concepts of "archives".

The past two decades have seen a growing focus on the social justice impact of archives, as evidenced by the aforementioned special issue of *Archival Science* in 2002 on archives, records and power and one in 2014 on archives and human rights. Archival literature and conferences feature calls for change to archival practice, particularly with regard to increasing community participation, to better meet community needs and to support the cause of social justice (Caldera and Neal 2014; Caswell 2014; Cook 2013; Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm and Wallace 2013; Reed 2014; Schwartz and Cook, 2002; Wakimoto, Bruce and Partridge, 2013; Wood, Carbone, Cifor, Gilliland and Punzalan, 2014). Changes to archival practice must be informed by research which is grounded in the understanding of the communities to which the archives relate. Duff et al (2013) note, quoting King (2006, pp. 883-885) that "a key feature of social justice as a research space is that it is critical to be attuned to the specific context under examination". Therefore, a methodology is needed which will allow this understanding to develop.

As this research has participation as its focus, it is essential that the research methodology is participatory. Anna Sexton (2015), in her research into the process of creating the Archive of Mental Health Recovery Stories as a participatory project with people with lived experience of mental health issues, highlighted the significance of questions of control and trust in an endeavour that intends to be participatory, particularly when some of the participants come from a traditionally marginalised group while others belong to relatively powerful institutions. She found that self-reflexivity throughout the process of constructing the Archive enabled issues around control, legitimacy and archival activism towards social justice to be raised and considered. She also found that working with an ethic of friendship and hospitality enhanced the trust between the participants and the researcher, improving communication and allowing for better understanding of needs and interests, and so greater participation.

Considering the communities: different perspectives, related questions

The Auckland University Tramping Club (AUTC) is an 80-year-old club to which my family has belonged for three generations. Communities such as the AUTC form part of our cultural heritage often missing from official histories and archives. Membership of a club such as this reinforces values and teaches skills that can then be passed on both within the club and to wider society. AUTC members often have an interest in environmental concerns, and learn skills such as leadership, navigation, environmental analysis and outdoor survival. From the AUTC community's perspective, it is important to make sure that their records are maintained for the long term, on their own terms. From the archival practitioners' and academics' perspective, the significance relates to the pressing need to find a way to manage the increasingly distributed records of many widely-scattered and constantly-renewing communities, as well as the need for a methodology to enable communities to participate in the description of their own records.

A community can take many forms. Most simply, it's a group of people with certain attitudes, values, or interests in common, but the communities involved in this study have more in common than this. The AUTC is a social club, but it is also a "community of practice", described by Wenger (1998) as "groups of people who share a concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly". This is also true for the archival academic community and the archival practice community. At the same time, each is a "community of memory" (Ketelaar 2005): a group which "recognises itself through its memory of a common past."

As a member of all three communities, I have access to some of the collective memory of each, and something distinct in my memory from the AUTC perspective is the concept of a three-wire bridge over a stream or river. This is a rough kind of bridge, made of three wires, with a few supports to hold them together – and can be regarded as a metaphor for the involvement of the three communities. Three-wire bridges are scary. They wobble unpredictably, and the less confident you are, they more they seem to wobble. People use different approaches to crossing these bridges. Some race over as fast as possible, risking damaging the bridge, or falling off. Some think about it too long until they are too nervous to cross. I've found the best way is to start out slowly and carefully, stay calm and pay attention to each of the wires to cross safely. What really helps is prior experience and the support of your companions on the journey. This research involves the combined knowledge and skills of three very different communities, and to get over – or through – the research successfully, I need to pay attention to all of them, mediating between their different interests, and acknowledging that we all have prior experience and knowledge that will be of great help.

Maintaining collective memory in a time of constant change

The AUTC is just one of a myriad of communities with records that are central to maintaining their collective memories. As Jeanette Bastian (2003, p.5) argues "Records, both oral and written, become both the creators as well as the products of the societal memory of a community." This community, based at the University of Auckland, is constantly renewing as new students join and others graduate and leave, and yet many aspects of club culture are maintained for the long term, while adapting to changes in society. The resilience of this community in the face of constant change is notable, and its ability to maintain its culture over time would seem to suggest it has exemplary recordkeeping systems. However, on first examination I found that the physical and digital records held by the club are very patchy, so some other method of recordkeeping must be at play. This means it was necessary to first discover how the AUTC define "record", as distinct from a more traditional archival understanding.

Preliminary research suggests traditions and knowledge are passed on in a variety of ways, largely involving learning through doing alongside experts (Lave and Wenger 1991), and including shared activities, community places, repeated events, office-holders who pass knowledge on to their successors, links with elders, stories and direct teaching as well as more traditional physical records. Former club members retain links with their contemporaries from the club, and to a lesser extent with the club itself, through mechanisms such as reunions and through personal relationships with current members, providing a backup for the club's collective memory. The club's apparent information system seems to relate to Bastian's (2013) description of a living cultural archive embracing dynamic events and other community-based representations, and reflects Ketelaar's (2005, p.46) concept of a "memory continuum". Many of the "memory texts" (Ketelaar 2005, p.45) are inscribed in the memories of individuals and passed on through shared experiences, an annual programme of events, and storytelling. But physical and digital records are also significant, and knowledge of the location of these often relies on friendship networks.

The physical and virtual records are distributed widely in a whole range of different formats and locations. Many of these records are kept and described by organisations with little or no knowledge of the club's culture, including the University Library, Archives New Zealand, the National Library, other government departments and outdoor clubs, and social media such as Facebook. Meanwhile, individuals in the club also hold many records. The record-holding organisations have a whole lot of pieces of the puzzle, but only the Club knows how they fit together, and the stories of which they form a part. Looking in depth at how this one community can be empowered to participate in the archival process to help maintain their own stories, and their own collective memory, could shed light on how these issues might be faced by many other communities with similar issues.

Records and archives are not the focus of tramping club members, so archival researchers are providing insights into theoretical aspects of addressing power imbalances of control over archival description, while archival practitioners are looking after some of the records of the club, putting theory into practice. In some ways this distinction is artificial, as there is much overlap between these archival groups, but each has distinct needs.

The research problem, aims and questions

As the research has progressed I have been challenged by the participating communities and through reflection to question my initial assumptions regarding the research questions and aims as well as the design and techniques. Just as the research design has evolved, so have the research questions. Originally, I was focused on testing how well the Australian Series System would work for the AUTC community. Initial research discussions with the AUTC community showed me the distance between the lived experience of recordkeeping in the tramping club and the idea of consciously describing records, so I decided it would be better to go back to first principles and understand just how records and collective memory worked together within the community. I also realised how much I needed to learn about participatory research, as my first official research encounter with AUTC members revealed through their laughter that my use of a formal explanatory statement and request for a signature on a permission check-sheet did not fit AUTC culture. The research questions became:

- A. What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's construction, maintenance and use of its collective memory?
- B. Can the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory construction be represented using existing archival and recordkeeping models?
- C. How can the archival and recordkeeping community be enablers of community collective memory maintenance?
- D. How is it possible to reflect a participatory ethos within the bounds of an academic research project?

Paradigm and framework

My research takes a critical theory-based approach, taking a step past the interpretive approach of simply describing what happens in a process. Williamson (2013, p.15) describes critical theory in archival research as addressing the "power imbalance between traditional archives and communities outside the mainstream": between people to whom the records relate and the institutions with the records, and the power to impose interpretations. Myers and Klein (2011) set out principles for critical research, describing 3 essential elements: insight, through interpretation of what exists; but also critique: critical analysis of what is happening; and must lead to transformation, empowering communities and suggesting improvements. Myers and Klein note (p. 24) "the ultimate arbiters of the desirability of changes are those affected by them". Because this research is a collaborative process, the transformation isn't just for the AUTC community, who will develop skills and knowledge to

manage their own archives, but also for the archival communities, through developments in descriptive models and techniques.

A records continuum approach (Upward 1996) frames this research. Described as an approach which views recordkeeping as "a continually interacting and evolving set of contingent activities with individual, institutional and societal aspects" (McKemmish and Gilliland 2013, p. 93), it is associated with participatory models of archival practice, and community partnership research. Upward, McKemmish and Reed (2011) suggested "continuum concepts of co-creatorship, multiple simultaneous and parallel provenance, and participatory models of the archive" may allow for the repositioning of indigenous (and presumably other) communities as "active participatory agents in archival and recordkeeping processes" (p. 201). Evans, Reed and McKemmish (2008) describe the approach as "supporting the development of complex, integrated systems and processes to manage records and archives in and through time, and across space". These qualities make it a suitable framework for participatory models of archival practice, and community partnership research.

Finding a way to allow people with relationships to the archives to make the connections they need supports communities to maintain their rights and entitlements, and their collective memories. It also enhances the contextualisation of information by adding alternative viewpoints, to improve understanding of the broader place of the records in society. This research seeks to empower the AUTC community to take control of the records of its own collective memory, while working with the archival community to further develop tools for community participation with archives. The research methods and desired outcomes are being further developed and negotiated with the participating communities

Methodology

The research uses an inclusive research design methodology (McKemmish et al. 2012) which I term mediated community partnership research. It respects the multiple points of view of all participating communities, combining their unique values, needs, skills, and knowledge to benefit the project, providing a richer picture than available from a single point of view.

The research problems and methods are developed in partnership, to better meet all the communities' needs. Wherever compromises need to be made, these have to be documented. Communication, negotiation and reflection are essential, because the model development and analysis requires capturing the interpretations of the participating communities as well as possible. Although there is overlap between the three communities, there are many differences. From my position at the intersection of all the communities, my role is to mediate.

Working with three separate communities as an insider can lead to some tricky issues. These include the disparate views and understandings between and within communities; my own changing position as I switch roles between researcher and participant; the pressure of meeting expectations regarding extra projects that result; and sometimes-conflicting ethical requirements, including the risk of inappropriate disclosure: I want to enable people to tell their own stories, to build an understanding of what's going on. My close relationship with community members brings more issues: the need to balance the risk of coercion of people I am close to with their desire to be involved for their own interest; and the need to make explicit my own and others' pre-existing assumptions, as they may cloud the results or mean we miss some essential elements. Finally, as we are creating this research project together, we won't know where we're going till we get there.

It was essential for the success of this project that we find a transparent and rigorous path through these issues. As the research has progressed, we have together developed a combination of techniques, used as and when required to negotiate the needs of the different communities. These include open communication and "friendship as method" (Tillman-Healey 2003), second generation grounded theory techniques, where concepts for our model emerge from within the communities; and reflexivity, which is essential for this type of collaborative, insider research which must by definition be strongly coloured by my own perceptions. Urquhart and Fernandez (2013) emphasize the need for researchers using grounded theory techniques to acknowledge the perspectives they bring to the research. In addition, Evans et al. (2012) highlight the value of autoethnography for reducing the risks of conflict and balancing insider perspectives by surfacing values, commonalities and differences so they can be discussed.

Communicating with the communities with an ethic of friendship

These communities have significant differences, requiring some differences in communication methods, though in each there are people I know well enough to contact casually via email, a phone call, or at a chance meeting. In this interpretive, qualitative research, people's opinions are essential, so I need to be approachable. In face-to-face meetings, food is often involved. It helps break down boundaries and seems to reinforce a sense of community connection.

Differences in community culture sometimes come into play when I'm communicating with larger groups, though again there are similarities. For the Tramping Club, I've sent emails via existing lists, messages to the Facebook page, and provided a website they can choose to look at, as well as relying on the informal web of friendship networks that exist within the club. I've also discussed the project at community events.

Some of the methods of communication with the archival academic community have been giving talks, getting involved in face to face and online discussions and, most regularly, blogging the progress of the project and receiving feedback.

For the broader archival practitioner community, I have been using conferences and publications as well as the more informal networks within New Zealand as a way of gaining insights and understanding about archival points of view, communicating my research and encouraging feedback. I have also visited or spoken with archivists at the institutions where the club records are held or could be held, and observed and discussed the possibilities and restrictions provided by their systems, sounding out potential methods for increasing AUTC agency in the management of their records. For example, many institutions welcome community-provided description, but some other current institutional practices and resources limit communities' opportunities to interact with their records as they normally would. Some possibilities include digital opportunities, lending of archives for particular occasions, the holding of community events and / or creating a place for the community within archival places through developing ongoing relationships and configuration of physical spaces. Some reference archivists have noted the difference people experience between interacting with a digital copy of a physical item, and interacting with the item itself (for a discussion of the links between affect and materiality in archives, see Lee 2016). The value of digitisation for convenient access and preventing the physical destruction of fragile items needs to be balanced against being unable to physically interact with the record in a community place, thus destroying much of the context.

Friendship is central to the research in all of the communities. As a member of each, I am a participant as well as an observer. Owton and Allen-Collinson (2014, p.283) suggest "friendship as method" reduces the hierarchical separation between researcher and participant, and the emotional involvement and reflexivity it promotes can provide a rich resource for research and analysis, supporting Douglas and Carless' (2012) view that the "insider" status can lead to valuable and possibly unique insights.

I began this research with friendships within the communities, but others have also found developing friendships a valuable aspect of research in communities in which they begin as strangers. Sexton (2015, p.249) describes the benefit of friendship with participants as "the profound impact it had on my subjectivity" as well as the trust it built up between the participants. When friendship and trust can develop between participants in research projects such as this, understanding can begin to grow between people historically excluded from western-style archival processes, and archivists can begin to recognise the often hidden systems those communities already have in place. The AUTC might not seem a marginalised community, as members usually come from positions of relative privilege, with access to educational and other resources, However, AUTC members pride themselves on their difference from "the mainstream", with regard to their knowledge, skills, activities, clothing, food, language and other cultural practices when operating in club contexts. Although happy to share knowledge and skills with others, they prefer this to be in Club contexts, so understanding of community culture remains mainly within the community. It has also become clear throughout this research how far AUTC recordkeeping and collective memory maintenance diverges from traditional archival practice and theory, so in these terms the AUTC is marginalised as a community. Similarly, for Club members the archival community is almost invisible: they move mostly in different circles, and speak in different jargons. . For example, most Club members, including committee members, were completely unaware that some AUTC archives are held as a collection in a special library on their home campus. Thus, AUTC members share with other communities the requirement for a deep understanding of their unique collective-memory maintenance processes in order to develop archival processes that will meet their needs.

Lisa Tillman-Healy, who first defined "Friendship as method" (2001), found new bonds developed within the community and between the community and herself as all learned more about one another through the co-productive process of research. Tillman-Healy said (2003, p. 734) "Researching with the practices of friendship means that although we employ traditional forms of data gathering ... our primary procedures are those we use to build and sustain friendship: conversation, everyday involvement, compassion, giving, and vulnerability". She describes the method as a move from studying "them" to studying "us".

I have ongoing relationships with these communities that are important to me, which gives me even more of an incentive to act ethically, but also means that the most appropriate and authentic way for me to interact with them is as a friend. Interacting in this way means the resulting data is authentic. Acting more naturally means others act more naturally in response, and gives a much richer, more nuanced picture of the current situation for the communities involved.

This ties in with all of the processes of the research. For example, I used email lists and the Club Facebook page to invite AUTC people to contact me. However, interviewees began to refer others and my research unexpectedly benefited from snowball sampling (Dudovskiy n.d.) Friendship and trust are a huge part of the way the club operates, so once people knew I was part of the community, they were willing to support me generously with their time and ideas.

Most of the interviews have been in cafes or people's homes and people tend to open up and give long, thoughtful answers to my questions in these settings. They start to tell stories, which are often rich with insights and ideas. On two occasions I interviewed people in library meeting rooms, and in this more formal setting the conversations were much more stilted, and had little or no storytelling. We have also held group discussions where the conversations are very much led by the other participants. All of my questions tend to be answered, as well as new ones I hadn't considered.

One evening, I hosted a pot-luck dinner for a group of research participants who were old friends of mine. Again, the natural setting seemed to help everyone relax, and speak openly. During the discussion after dinner I received some robust feedback, both about the subject of the research and the process: for example, the need to improve my explanatory statement and consent form to fit in better with club members' perspectives. We discussed how we currently maintain collective memory, as well as possible improvements, and how these might be implemented. Later one of the participants emailed to say I was acting as a catalyst in the community, and that spending an evening discussing what binds us together made him reflect on the value of our community to one another. This metaphor of a catalyst fed into the collective memory model we were developing.

Analytical autoethnography: reflexive blogging

Anne Cunliffe (2004, p.407) describes critically reflexive practice as embracing "subjective understandings of reality as a basis for thinking more critically about the impact of our assumptions, values, and actions on others". Critically reflexive analysis helps expose the reciprocal influences between the three communities in my research and me, and helps me respond to those exposures. Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2011, p.1) describe autoethnography as "an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand cultural experience." They suggest autoethnography supports alternative "ways of knowing", and "acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist" (p.2).

Autoethnography uses participant observation combined with observing and reflecting on one's own behaviour in order to bring to the surface aspects of processes or behaviours that are taken for granted, as well as cognitive processes, emotions and motives (Chang 2008; O'Riordan 2014; Rodriguez and Ryave 2002). Ethnography, and in particular autoethnography, has only relatively recently been taken up in the fields of information studies and information systems (for example see Myers 1999; Evans et al. 2012; Lang et al. 2012; Lomas 2013; O'Riordan 2014).

Leon Anderson (2006) further developed the method into analytical autoethnography. He described the key features:

- 1. The researcher is a complete member in the social world under study
- 2. Analytical reflexivity
- 3. Narrative visibility of the researcher's self
- 4. Dialogue with informants beyond the self
- 5. Commitment to theoretical analysis

My analytical autoethnography takes the form of a blog, which allows me to incorporate all kinds of experiences and knowledge as they happen, and consider how they relate to the research. It can take in all the complexity of the process, which is really vital when working within a records continuum framework. In these communities there are so many different world views and ideas the project could easily spiral out of control, but having the blog at the centre helps me tie them all together and it's easier to see emerging patterns. Olive (2013, p. 71) describes blogging as a way of locating her own subjectivity within the research space, and a way to "keep field notes and ideas alive, engaged and in exchange throughout the project"

A risk I run as a friend and insider is that we have so much shared knowledge and understanding, we might fail to surface it, because we assume it's already known. This is another benefit of blogging, as

it helps to make those assumptions visible to others outside the community, so they can question me and force me to examine them.

Sara Delamont (2009, p.58) says that though reflexive writing is important for insight, it can risk becoming self-obsession with little analytical value. So when I'm blogging, it's important to focus on the effect on the project of what I've been reading, or doing, or seeing, or thinking about.

A further and essential value of a blog in this project relates to the topic of research. Collective-memory maintenance is a process, a performance (Ketelaar 2005; Connerton 1989), and it is not possible to document a process with a snapshot. The ongoing blog records the development of an understanding of the process and is also an instance of part of the process itself.

Footprints through space and time

"Footprints through space and time" (Battley 2016) is the blog I've been writing since the research project began. Although access to the blog is not restricted, it is not visible to search engines as I am still undecided about how widely to share my reflections. This questioning of privacy settings must also be considered when making decisions on how and where the AUTC records are shared.

Making ethical decisions on matters such as privacy is especially problematic when working across multiple communities, where private information leaves the safety of shared values and understandings. When balancing the ethics of the different communities, ideally all will be met, but if things become tricky I choose to favour the community that has most to lose. Carolyn Ellis (2009) talks about the tensions felt between telling the truth and acting honourably and sensitively toward informants. Blogging is also a way of acknowledging the vulnerability of research participants by making myself as the researcher open to as much, or more, scrutiny. The blog is a public space, which is something I always have to bear in mind when writing it or adding photographs. Privacy is protected but published sources are referenced.

The blog forms a central element of data analysis for this project. Each fortnight, I write up what I've been doing, reading, and thinking about, how this relates to the project, the themes and conclusions I'm reaching, and what my next steps will be. I discuss my experiences within the three communities, and reflect on how these aspects connect. Currently the blog centres on the evolving model, and the process of analysis itself. The discipline of regular public writing forces me to crystallise my ideas, helps reveal patterns, and is also a way of communicating with others interested in the project about the progress of the research. I send a link to it via email a few days before our meetings and it forms the basis of our discussion which feeds back into my research, particularly with regard to archival and recordkeeping theory. For example, I was trying to model all the elements feeding into the AUTC collective memory, and in my blog I described the result as a confusing mess. In response, Joanne Evans reminded me of the process-orientation of the Records Continuum Model, which reminded me of a phrase used by one of the AUTC members in describing the way a new member becomes part of the club, developing AUTC knowledge and skills: the "Tramping Club Process". Next, I worked with graphic designer Debi Pyle, a past AUTC member, to develop a visual model of the Tramping Club process using the concepts constructed from the research so far. This led to a breakthrough and provided an appropriate diagram to discuss the process of maintaining collective memory with AUTC members.

The blog is a record of the research process from beginning to end. It is useful as a store-place of information, whether for writing a paper or for doing the research itself. Finally, writing the blog is itself a key research process, keeping together all three wires of that bridge.

Preliminary results: the AUTC "community of records" and collective memory maintenance

Discussion with the club members and co-analysis of the way members have used records in these discussions to recall past events, people and places suggests that the AUTC community of records incorporates multiple formats of record entities, including physical (written on paper, published in annual journals, photographic, or 3-dimensional such as huts, tramping gear, tracks, meeting-places), digital, and virtual: records embodied in repeated actions, rituals, foods, events, stories, songs, catchphrases and individual memories belonging to club-members past and present. The records are most readily located and experienced in club places and contexts, with those contexts having strong affective impacts on those experiencing them. They are linked through the structural design of the club itself, with office-holders responsible for teaching newcomers about club culture and tramping skills, and newcomers able to try out new ideas with a safety-net of knowledgeable older members. The records are also linked more informally through friendship networks. There are strong links between people of the same era, with fewer but still important links between eras by means of lifemembers, reunions, family relationships and friendships. Club records are used for a range of needs including maintaining and discovering links between club members past and present, preserving essential knowledge and skills, defining the club itself, preserving entitlements to club property, verifying club membership, maintaining cultural elements such as stories, songs, and information about running events, espousing and encouraging the maintenance of club values and maintaining a sense of camaraderie in club members past and present.

These records and needs all contribute to the club's collective-memory maintenance. There is a web of nodes and links between records, people, events, places, times, and other aspects of club culture, memory, concepts, knowledge and skills. Together they form a model linking the virtual and physical, the imagined and concrete, and the embodied in human and the present in the wider world that combine to form the collective memory of the community. This model of collective-memory maintenance reflects the records continuum (Upward 2008) in its acknowledgement of the multiple influences on and from the "always-becoming" records that form part of its structure, moulding to fit the changing understandings and needs of wider society to ensure the club remains relevant to its new members while still maintaining the values, knowledge and skills seen as essential to the club. The model we are constructing has relevance for an understanding of the way a community can be resilient in the face of societal change and dispersal of its members and its records, maintaining its essential collective memory while allowing for flexibility and change.

As for any community, those records not in the control of club members risk being lost to the club's collective memory. Although many of these records might not have been highly valued by club members, it is essential that their loss is considered rather than inadvertent. Since the club already has a structure in place for maintaining collective memory, with office-holders responsible for particular aspects of memory-maintenance, it should be possible to work within this structure to ensure the community's links to these distributed records held by other organisations, such as archival institutions, are not broken, and that digital information as well as significant records of individual club-members is consciously maintained by the club if wanted for the long term. A purpose-built digital platform for sharing and maintaining photographs and videos within the club is currently being developed, while possibilities for creating connections between the club and archival institutions maintaining some club records are being explored. With increasing understanding and knowledge about archival needs and records within the club developing as the project continues, there is more potential for maintaining the records for the long term.

Crossing the three-wire bridge: communication, friendship and reflexivity

In order to develop new, participatory archival methods, research is needed into the requirements and understandings of the communities that use archives to maintain their collective memories. This paper described the ongoing development of a methodology to investigate a community's use of records for maintaining collective memory and to investigate how a community could take control of the record of its collective memory. It also discussed the nature of the AUTC's "community of records" and its relevance for shedding light on collective-memory maintenance.

The methodology we are developing centres on a strong commitment to participation by all of the communities involved to result in the co-production both of the research itself and the outcomes. The process of the research has led not only to the development of a model of collective-memory maintenance but also to developing skills and knowledge in members of the community with regard to archival processes and possibilities. The survival of the club for more than 80 years with its essential nature intact suggests that its structure has the resilience required to continue to maintain its collective memory provided that club-members' shared interests cause them to keep the links between themselves strong, and that the skills and knowledge developed within the community in the course of this project are passed on. An ongoing good relationship with the archival practitioner community will also support the preservation and retention of links with records that need professional storage. Communication, reflexivity and friendship appear to be as essential to the maintenance of collective memory as they are to the process of this research, while community participation and co-production provide the means by which both the research and the community continue to progress.

Combining open communication with grounded techniques and reflexive blogging while researching with an ethic of friendship in community places form an effective way of bringing together the different perspectives of the three communities. These techniques allow for the point of view of all participants to be surfaced and taken into consideration when designing and carrying out the research. They facilitate the transfer of ideas and understanding between the communities. They also allow me as a researcher to maintain control of a complex and many-faceted project, record the process of the research in detail, and contribute to the rigour of the findings. The combination of techniques enable the co-construction of the model of the place of records in the AUTC community's collective memory system, with ongoing feedback for verification while enabling and recording ongoing discussion of the process of the research and co-analysis. This supports the credibility, dependability, confirmability and assessment of transferability of the model, described by Guba (1981) as requirements for rigorous research in the interpretivist paradigm, and it also ensures that the resulting model is well-grounded.

A commitment to community participation in all aspects of this research, from ongoing design to data collection to analysis enriches both the experience of the research and the results. The model of the community use of records for collective-memory maintenance which we are co-constructing in this study can be well-rounded and well-grounded thanks to the generous participation of members of the AUTC, archival research and archival practice communities. The regular blogging and discussion of every aspect of this research means that its design, analysis and conclusions can be scrutinised and adjusted as it is produced to better meet the needs of all participants. This methodology involving reflexive, co-produced research which acknowledges and respects the different values, skills, needs and interests of all participant communities will lead to a co-produced archival system that is truly representative of the community it is designed to serve.

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5.3 Conclusion

In its development and exploration of a purpose-built methodology for participatory research as an insider in three communities, this chapter addresses RQ5:

How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar / practitioner / community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

The article described a methodology which can help researchers navigate the difficult and sometimes dangerous three-wire bridge of insider research in multiple communities, supporting and enabling the communities involved to participate meaningfully in research which relates to and has potential impact on them. I found that using an inclusive, reflexive process as an insider, researching with an ethics of friendship and ensuring communication is clear, open, honest, and appropriate to the community enables the development of purpose-built, community-appropriate aims, methods, techniques and outcomes. As an insider, the development and maintenance of the necessary relationships was much more straightforward than if coming in from another community, which made this research possible in the short time available for a PhD. The transparency of these methods, with a blog written throughout the course of the research, had the added benefit of providing a clear record of my taking responsibility for the substantive analysis and outcomes, which was necessary to meet academic requirements.

In the next chapter, I describe the development of one of the outcomes of using these methods: a model of the process of maintaining collective memory in the Tramping Club, using the themes and concepts described above and in Chapter 4. In line with the recursive, reflexive and iterative nature of the processes I was using, and the double-hermeneutic nature of my positioning in this research, the development of the model also incorporated observing that development, in turn feeding into the model itself. Both the process of development and the resulting model are described in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6. Co-creating a model "of a" and "as a" process



Fig. 6.1 Learning to cut steps. Snowschool, Mt Ruapehu, c.1985

6.1 Introduction

The photograph above shows new members of Tramping Club learning to cut steps using an ice axe, by doing so alongside experts in a mountain environment. This learning is thoroughly grounded in a Club context, the experience is authentic and the learning deep and rich. The Freshers are learning to be Club members and developing snow skills simultaneously. They are experiencing, watching, doing, feeling, hearing and absorbing knowledge that is embodied, intrinsic to the place and experience.

In Chapter 4, I described the main themes which I constructed from the with the AUTC members, together with reflections on my own deep, rich experience within the Tramping Club and as a researcher / archivist. Chapter 5 described the methodology of working within the three communities to develop grounded concepts relating to the Club's collective-memory processes. It also foreshadowed some of the analysis and preliminary findings described in this chapter. The next step, to turn the constructed themes into a coherent model, required a great deal more reflection in terms both of my understanding as a Tramping Clubber and as a records continuum researcher and archivist.

This chapter describes the development of a model to represent the collective memory process of the Tramping Club, to further address the first research question:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

The model was constructed using grounded methods, as discussed in Section 3.9 and in 6.2 below, which ensured it reflects an understanding of Club processes that were as well-grounded and rigorous as the snow skills developed by the Club members shown above. My insider knowledge, commitment to open communication and ongoing friendships with Club members provided insights into the Club's methods, needs and understandings to develop the model.

In this chapter I first discuss continuum modelling and explain my decision to develop a visual model. Next, I reflect on the main themes developed in Chapter 4, the processes of co-production of research with the Tramping Club I analysed in Chapter 5, and what they reveal about the processes of collective-memory maintenance in the AUTC. After this, I identify the entities involved in those processes, and some of the relationships between them. Finally, after briefly noting a cul-de-sac I wandered into through initially attempting to develop the visual model without enough discussion with the community, I describe the outcome of applying a records continuum perspective to the problems I was finding. This, combined with a reanalysis and reflexive response to the community conversations, led to a robustly-grounded, context-appropriate and community-approved model. The model will be used for comparison, in subsequent chapters, to address the second research question:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

6.2 Modelling in the continuum

Gilliland and McKemmish (2013, p. 101) describe archival theory and model building as:

Systematic building and exposition of new theory, drawing on existing theories, concepts and models, observation, scholarly communication, data derived from other methods, and characterised by deep thought and a process of gestation of ideas.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a large and growing body of literature on the development of Records Continuum Modelling. Upward (1994; 1996; 2005), McKemmish (1994; 1997; 2005; 2011) and Piggott (1994) provide extensive discussions of the context, history and development. The Records Continuum Model enables the analysis of records and recordkeeping processes through four described dimensions. These extend away from the moment of creation of an evidential trace of an activity by an actor, to capture a record with relevant metadata so it can be accessible to those with a close relationship with the creator and the activity, to organisation so it can be accessed and interpreted by the wider group (for example, the Club as a whole) and, sometimes, to pluralisation, or sharing with wider society. Each dimension further from creation requires more detailed contextual information, or explanation, if the record is to be understood by people without the insider-knowledge of people nearest the point of creation in terms of shared experience and culture.

Examples of modelling and theory-building which draw on the concepts of the Records Continuum Model and theory include the development of SPIRT recordkeeping metadata model, noted above (McKemmish et al 1999); the development of the new field of recordkeeping informatics (Upward, Reed, Oliver and Evans 2018); new approaches to recordkeeping and archiving in online cultures (Upward, McKemmish & Reed 2011) and Leisa Gibbons' (2015) research, which added a "curate" dimension to Upward's (2005b) cultural heritage continuum model; Heather Soyka's (2015) use of the Records Continuum Model as a framework to analyse records in a military online community; Greg Rolan's (2016) development of a participatory recordkeeping continuum model which I discussed in Chapter 3, and Frings-Hessami's (2017) appropriated archive continuum model.

McKemmish (1997) has written:

A continuum-based approach suggests integrated time- space dimensions. Records are 'fixed' in time and space from the moment of their creation, but recordkeeping regimes carry them forward and enable their use for multiple purposes by delivering them to people living in different times and spaces.

As a space-time model, the Records Continuum Model encourages views of records and their contexts in terms of distanciation from the point of creation. Ripples of influence eddy outwards and inwards, and within each dimension as well, and each creation, use and recreation of records, or every recordkeeping

action, is a spark affecting and affected by a continuum of influences – conveying a sense of movement and a continuum of overlapping, intersecting and inter-influencing forces.

My next step, as noted in Chapter 4, was to develop a visual model as a way of summarising and presenting the developing theory, and to enable further analysis. My first attempts at this are described in Appendix D. They proved to be a cul-de-sac in the journey, but on my way along this path I learnt some valuable lessons about how to ensure the model fits community understandings, by keeping in close touch with the Club during the iterative development of the visual model. The modelling process itself highlighted the importance of reflecting the complexity of the interrelationships between records, memory, and other aspects of the way the Tramping Club was maintaining itself: these relationships could not be expressed with simple one-to-one arrows. Everything was related to everything else.

A reflection from my blog of April 2016, in relation to my first (unsuccessful) attempt at creating a visual model:

Working on a model of the way records fit into the collective memory has made me think very carefully about the elements and how they fit together. I find it interesting how it both fits and doesn't fit with the Records Continuum Model as I was first introduced to it, and how it also has echoes of the SPIRT models. I am sure much of the reason for that [i.e. that it echoes the models in many ways] is my own immersion in those models in both my work and study, so what is perhaps more interesting is the way it doesn't quite fit those models.

Although the community's processes didn't quite fit the Records Continuum Model as I had first understood it, its concepts provided valuable insights into recordkeeping processes. This process-centred basis for analysis was what I needed to understand how the AUTC processes were creating, managing and using records through time and space. In turn, this analysis would provide insights into the relevance and fit of the continuum lens for understanding the AUTC process, illustrating again the recursive, reflexive nature of this research.

6.3 Analysing the Tramping Club collective memory: breaking down the process into its elements



Fig. 6.2 Club trip, Wilkin Valley, 1980s

Collective memory maintenance in the Tramping Club involves the interplay of many elements, and within those elements there is much complexity, with very blurred boundaries between the intersecting parts. As observed in Chapters 4 and 5, Club records incorporate multiple formats, including:

- physical written on paper, published in annual journals, photographic, drawn, or 3-dimensional such as huts, tramping gear, tracks;
- digital written, spoken, photographic, movie; on disk, shared drives, social media, film; and
- virtual records embodied in repeated actions, rituals, celebrations, foods, annual events, meetingplaces, often-walked tracks, stories, songs, catch-phrases and individual memories belonging to club-members past and present.

The records are linked through the structural design of the Club itself, with office-holders responsible for teaching newcomers about aspects of the Club culture and tramping skills, and passing on essential knowledge through apprenticeship and a programme of repeated events. Older members act as mentors and allow newcomers to try out new ideas with a safety-net of experience and knowledge available. The records are also linked more informally through friendship networks. Trust is an essential part of the process, with some control by a core group of experienced members over access to information and events to ensure safety and protect privacy. Club stories and shared language and humour help to maintain the essential camaraderie, as do the shared aims of Club members. The Club's ability to adapt in the face of external challenges enables its sustainability. Its ongoing perceived positive significance in the lives of members and the wider community together helps provide impetus to keep the Club alive and maintain its collective memory.

The strength of the friendship networks was remarked upon in many of the conversations and discussions, and this was often attributed to the intensity of shared experiences. We reflected together on the impact of overcoming shared difficulties, and experiencing beautiful places together. Perhaps much of the camaraderie can also be attributed to the effect of simply walking together. This reflection echoes Doughty's (2013, p.1) observation that "shared movement can produce supportive social spaces that are experienced as restorative". Another striking feature of the conversations was the frequency with which the significance of places – for meeting, and for their affective impact on experiences.

I needed to find a way to address the complex interrelationships in the processes of the Club, and I found that writing and rewriting about the concepts and themes I was developing was a very helpful technique. In her much-cited text *Constructing Grounded Theory*, Kathy Charmaz (2006, p.154) describes the analysis that happens in the process of writing up a Grounded Theory study:

You'll gain further insights and create more ideas about your data while you're writing. You'll see clearer connections between categories and draw implications from them. Thus writing and rewriting become crucial phases of the analytic process.

I observed this to be true in every piece of writing I did relating to this project: my blog, conference presentations, the website I created as part of communication with the Tramping Club, and papers I wrote. For example, from my blog of May 2016:

[After being told by my manager at work I had to use up some leave] I had the luxury of 4 days to concentrate with no need to try to pull my mind back from work issues. It was an incredibly productive time, with two days of wrestling a random chapter of bits into something I hope is a bit more focused. This process led to my mapping out a preliminary plan for the chapters in my entire thesis (though I must go and have another look at the requirements...). The second of the pairs of days was spent designing a poster for AERI, which was a lot of fun and also a very valuable exercise in summarising the outcomes so far.

When I was making briefer presentations or designing a poster, I had to be succinct so needed to think carefully about how concepts could be categorised together, and this helped further develop the focused codes discussed in Section 4.7. This production of focused codes (Charmaz, 2006) enabled the process of developing visualisations to begin. The need to create a coherent model led to the most intense analysis of all, as different possible designs, components and relationships were considered, tested and contested against the data, the coding, the literature, and with ongoing feedback from the Tramping Club community.

A step towards developing a model of the Tramping Club's collective memory maintenance was to identify the key entities within that larger process, along with how they relate to one another. The broad themes of the process within the collective memory maintenance are described in chapter 4. To recap, these are:

- the central importance of personal relationships;
- the constant interplay and negotiation between continuity and change;
- the significance of storytelling, club language and humour and camaraderie;
- shared views and aims, trust and membership and pride;
- the programme of repeated events; apprenticeship;
- club places;
- the structure of the club as a basis for an information system, maintaining information and controlling its flow;
- a core group of experienced, knowledgeable people, and
- the ongoing significance of the sharing, use and re-use of Club knowledge, skills and records in members' lives.

Within those themes, particular entities were identified: these I named Club Members, Records, Events, Places, External Experts, and Mandates and Trust. At this point, I did not identify recordkeeping as an entity in its own right, but rather as a process in which all of these entities were involved. Next, I considered how these entities relate, and what smaller processes are involved in those relationships.

6.4 Modelling elements

Club member relationships

The Committee is a subset of Club members, a core group which receives the mandate to manage Club business. They are elected by all members, and manage access to events, places, and some records. Members may eventually become life members, or alternatively, external experts. Members of the core group maintain specific parts of the collective memory. Club members manage, attend, do, learn from and are united by events and activities. They create, embody, manage and share records, including stories and embodied knowledge and skills. They select, gather in, manage, create and are influenced by places.

External expert relationships

External experts or agents may teach, inspire or support Club members. Members may work for or become external experts or agents. They may provide training for members, or external verification of their expertise. External experts may also provide evidence of the knowledge or expertise of others outside the Club. They may create, co-create, embody (through their knowledge and skills), manage and / or provide or deny access to records for Club members. They may run, observe, or provide the inspiration for or expertise towards events, and they may manage places.

Mandates and Trust

Mandates from a records continuum perspective are more than documented legal mandates, encompassing broader social agreements, bringing related expectations and accountabilities. The SPIRT recordkeeping metadata project (McKemmish, Acland, Ward & Reed 1999) described both external and internal mandates. Using this division, for the Club external mandates would include social mores and conditioning, standards,

laws, University regulations and best practice, while internal mandates would include aspects such as Club culture, Club policies and rules, delegations, authorities and other Club-defined customary practice.

I have chosen to combine the entities of mandates and trust as for Tramping Club members, they are inextricably bound up in one another. Some of the identity of individual Club members, and the Club itself, is bound up in the mandates and trust received from and given to other members. The Club committee receives the mandate to manage Club business from other Club members, while the Club members receive the mandate to take part in Club business from the Committee and other Club members. Club members give outside experts the mandate to look after some Club records. Mandates are recorded in some records, and provide authority for events and activities. Successful participation in, or running of, events and activities demonstrates the ability to meet mandates, and builds trust. Mandates and Trust are also required to access and manage places.

Events

Events provide opportunities to express and learn knowledge and skills, and to test trust and mandates. Club members manage, attend, and take part in events and activities, and in so doing, learn from the experience, develop shared trust and so are further united. Alternatively, they may decide an attendee was not trustworthy, and therefore either work towards increasing their trustworthiness or choose to protect the Club by controlling their influence in some way. They also reflect on events and build a sense of individual and collective identity. External experts may provide expertise in running events or activities, either through physical records or in person, and may also observe and be influenced in turn by their experience. Events, managed with the support of records, inspire the creation of and promote sharing of records. Repeated events are an expression of records embodied in the Club itself, with the events providing part of the structure within which records are created, captured, organised and shared. Events occur in and are inspired by places, and those places influence the expression of those events.



Fig. 6.3 Fishing in the Crater Lake, Mt Ruapehu. Summit Luncheon, c.1985

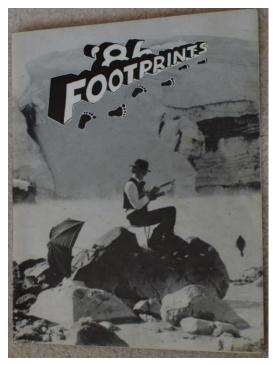


Fig. 6.4 Footprints Magazine, 1986

Records

Records provide information to Club members, reinforce their identity, help unite them, and assist them in carrying out all of the activities of the Club. Records help identify external experts and allow access to their expertise, and they may also be used by external experts and agents. They record mandates, and show how they are being met. Records provide information to run events and do activities, and provide reminders of events in the past. They aid in the creation, maintenance, access, interpretation, use and sharing of other records, and provide information about and enable access to places.

Places

Places influence Club members in many ways, including through inspiration for trips, tests of skills, knowledge and fortitude, a sense of unity through having been to the same place. Places may be managed by external agents, sometimes in collaboration with Club members. Places may be physical or virtual (for example, social media sites). Places are the locus of events and activities, and influence their expression. They provide a venue for the exercise and testing of mandates and trust. They influence the creation of records, as well as their management, access, use and sharing. Finally, places themselves are located within the wider environment, which in turn influences the way they are experienced.

6.5 The Tramping Club Process / Journey, experienced as an individual and as a community

The role of records is completely embedded in the life and culture of this community. Continuum thinking about the processes of collective-memory maintenance in the club, and the complex interrelationships within and between all of the elements, led me to understand that the community itself is a recordkeeping and information system – a literal "community of records" (Bastian 2003), where members enable, maintain, drive and individually and collectively embody the elements, processes and interrelationships of the records and the collective memory.



Fig 6.5 Keeping in touch: walking with Debi and Lynley, Waitakere Ranges, July 2016

Analysis of the conversations (see Section 4.7) showed the AUTC collective memory is tied up with:

- the practice and shared experience of tramping
- the shared values and interests of individual club members
- the regular repeated events held
- the special club places
- the stories and songs and language shared
- the informal apprenticeship each member goes through, learning by doing alongside experts
- the sharing of the work of memory between people within the structure of the club

- the ability to adapt to change while maintaining a safety-net through the presence of elders with a long view; and
- the trust or membership which keeps us all together.

Together, they form an interconnected collection of processes which could be characterised as a complex, adaptive system (Mitleton-Kelly 2003) for maintaining collective memory. Ideas about complex systems are further explored in Chapter 8.

Reflecting on the conversations and analysis of categories in terms of process and interrelationships, and remembering Jim's comment: "I guess I went through the whole Tramping Club process" led me, in turn, to develop this concept of "The Tramping Club Process". His words inspired me to write a description of the process as I could now understand it, using the entities that I had derived.

I defined the Tramping Club Process as a system of apprenticeship that each member goes through. It begins with signing up at Orientation because of an interest in tramping and/or being in the outdoors, a recognition of like-minded people, and perhaps also through knowing a member or former member. It progresses through participation in the programme of events, building relationships by working together for a common goal, sharing stories and experiences and understandings and meeting at regular places (physical or virtual). Throughout the process, members are adding skills, knowledge, reinforcing values, gaining access to, adding to and passing on to others more and more of the collective memory. Through time, members tend to become closer to and may eventually join the core group as a trip leader and/or committee member. By this stage they have access to much of the collective memory in its state at that time, and tend to be significant contributors to it, and take on much of the responsibility for passing it on. Each committee member is responsible for learning and passing on a specific part of the collective memory, while the Vice-Presidents and President have a more holistic view, often having had several different committee positions, and continue to watch over the functioning of the whole system and ensure vital information continues to be passed on. This structure of the Club seems to have an important role to play in ensuring the continuity of all the many different parts of Club practice and knowledge.

The Club's constitution, set up at its beginning and passed on to succeeding generations as part of the ritual at the Annual General Meeting sets out aims for the club that support ongoing records maintenance by emphasis on the importance of fulfilling the main functions of the Club. These aims are to support and encourage tramping in the Auckland University community and to foster a spirit of camaraderie between those interested in tramping.

The core group (mainly the committee) drives the Tramping Club process, though it also needs the contributions and enthusiasm of other members, and the back-up support of the President and sometimes the life members. External societal forces challenge the Process, providing barriers but also adding new aspects to the Process as well as the memory elements and methods of its communication. At any time an individual can choose to leave the Club, perhaps after one tramp, or perhaps after completing a 3-year degree, or perhaps staying on for many years and eventually becoming President. Groups often choose to stay connected after leaving the main body of the Club, and their parts of the collective memory which have been detached from the current Club can be reconnected to the constantly morphing main body through reunions, relationships with current members and through club social media pages, publications and reunions.

Over time, through being a current member, an individual can increase the strength of their relationships with fellow members, and gain an increase in trust from the core group, as although it changes every year, there is enough overlap for understandings to be passed on. There also tends to be an increase in access to

the collective memory of that era, and in parallel, personal growth as the individual increases in knowledge and skill, and understands more about their own strengths and weaknesses.

Trust is an essential part of the process. People with long experience in the club understand which of the club records are trustworthy. They also know how to find more information to support records which are only partially trustworthy: For example, they know who to ask about the details of trips when the *Footprints* articles about them were written as comedy. Similarly, new members of the Club need to earn the trust of others as they are relying on one another for their safety. Normally trustworthiness is assessed through tramping trips with people in the core group. However, there seems to be a fast track into being trusted. For example, a new person may have a known relationship already with another trusted person who recommends them, or a family history with the club and can show that they have an understanding of some aspects of the club's collective memory already. Perhaps they can talk about known places, or people, or events, or songs, techniques, phrases, equipment or foods. You don't get a certificate at the end of the Tramping Club process; instead, you get to be known and trusted for your abilities and values, and you learn who and what records can be trusted, and where to find the information you need.

Each individual goes through the process in the company of others who are at every different stage. Continuity is supported as each of the strands overlaps, the older people passing on what they have learnt from the people who were elders when they joined.

6.6 Reuniting the elements into a holistic model: Drawing the process

I went to visit one of my friends from the club, Debi Pyle, who is a graphic designer, with these concepts and relationships, and this blog entry describes our discussion. I had come to Debi with the idea of the Tramping Club Process as a kind of spiral that people pass through. (March 2016):

I was interested to hear Debi saying it sounded a bit like a fairy-tale, not the first time this word has been mentioned by Club members. Fairy-tales have standard, accepted elements, and the character begins as a naïve, perhaps flawed person, passes through tribulations, makes friends and together they overcome the odds, achieve their goals and grow as people. This can be seen at the small scale of a single trip, or at the larger scale of the entire Process. Interesting that the story-telling motif arises once again [...] until Debi was reminded by the Wizard of Oz of a tornado, and this took me back again to the spiral I had begun with. We visualised an individual as a single strand in the tornado, surrounded by all of the other people, the events, places, physical records and so on that together are available to contribute to the collective memory.

I thought a tornado model could also work as a metaphor for the entire club collective memory, travelling through time and space, with people, events, places and records joining and pinging off the tornado at different points, some seen as thinner, weaker lines, with little influence on and influenced little by the Club, others stronger, providing more input or energy, and the entire tornado surrounded by the ambience of wider society, buffeted occasionally by strong influences, but maintained by the energy provided by its individual strands. Some people or events, catalysts of one kind or another, would add a particular boost of energy and draw many people back into the tornado until their influence faded. Some particularly strong groups would ping off and regroup as a mini-tornado of their era or generation, sometimes swirling back into the whole, temporarily.

Through our discussion we developed the idea of the collective process taking the form of a (non-destructive) tornado, with each new member, attracted by the nature of the activity, being swept up and adding their own influence while being influenced by all aspects of the club surrounding them, such as other members with similar values, events attended, structure of the club, places gone, records seen and used and created. These shared experiences would continue to build a spirit of trust and camaraderie

amongst club members, and would foster personal growth for individual members, while sustaining club relationships and continuity. Those most involved would have the strongest influence, and as time went on people, records, places, ideas and things would leave the tornado and cease to have an influence or be influenced, but could sometimes re-join, be re-discovered or just visit or be visited at a later date. People, records and other elements that were in the club's "tornado" as contemporaries would tend to have a stronger influence on one another.

This concept of a tornado then developed into the model below, which I called the Tramping Club Process, drawn by Debi after our discussion and sketching together. It shows our construction of the way the Club sustains itself through time with the interplay of its elements, all within the influence of the aims described in the Club's constitution. The records of the Tramping Club community are created, captured, managed and shared within the collective memory processes of the community. The Club's recordkeeping system, embodied in the Club itself, was built organically through the culture of the Club and the knowledge, understandings, needs and actions of its members. Records stay within the Club while they are kept by people with relationships with others in the Club, or kept in Club places, and shared at Club events. When records are no longer within this process – for example, when they are placed in an archival institution for "preservation" – their Club context is likely to be lost, unless someone in the Club is aware of where they are, and a way is found to consciously bring them back— maybe by incorporating them in an event, or an online space, or making that archival space a Club space too, and making sure the context and stories around those records are not lost.



Fig. 6.6 Model of the Tramping Club process. Design: Belinda Battley and Debi Pyle

6.7 Discussion

I needed to confirm both what should be represented in the model, and how it should be represented, and these were complex questions about issues that many of the participants said they had rarely consciously considered before. At times this discussion was personally challenging, not so much because I needed to listen and respond to robust criticism of my own modelling, but more because I was forced by what I was

hearing to understand how strongly my own perspective on models of Club recordkeeping had been influenced by my professional knowledge as an archivist. It was increasingly and uncomfortably apparent that some aspects of these AUTC and archivist perspectives were incommensurate.

The process of analysis and its contestation which eventually resulted in the model above required a great deal of reflection and reflexive response, which I wrote about extensively in my blog at the time. The feedback itself challenged my assumptions as a researcher and as an archivist. For example, this extended reflection from my blog of April 2016, shows how I had to step back from my expectations of detailed written feedback on my assumptions, and instead analyse the way I was getting comments and what it might mean about my tentative conclusions:

The feedback process has been a fascinating one so far. At first I was throwing up my hands in hopelessness at it all, thinking I wasn't getting any useful feedback. When I started to talk about this to someone, I realised I was getting plenty of feedback, I just wasn't recognising it. Very few people wanted to engage with the details of the project. I received plenty of positive comments about how the whole thing looked, and the method I was using, and the value of unpicking collective memory maintenance. People expressed trust in me in doing the project on their behalf, and this ties in very well with the finding that once people are given the trust of other club members in a particular area in which they are believed to have expertise, people are happy for those trusted people to manage those aspects of the club on their behalf. I discussed this with a few people, and they said that they didn't have any comments in particular because it all looked fine. One example: "Just had a quick squiz. Looks good. It looks complicated to put together....Probably time we had a girls get together anyway now..." The most common response to receiving [an email I sent] providing preliminary findings and asking for feedback was people contacting me to organise future gettogethers and to ask for contact details for other people, reinforcing the finding that the relationships between people were both what sustains the club's collective memory and perhaps also what people value most in it. The most immediate result has been another pot-luck dinner being organised by a group who so enjoyed discussing it that way before, they are keen to do so again.

Development of the model required a great deal of discussion about the meaning of each element. This led to valuable insights into Club members' perspectives: in particular, the question "what is a record", which is discussed further in Chapter 8. Another significant insight that arose during this time was the place of place. This will be discussed extensively in Chapter 9. My blog entry (again, April 2016) shows the beginnings of this concept, as an outcome of my reflection on the data and concepts from the Tramping Club conversations together with the other things going on in my life. The influence on the research of events, activities, people and places external to the immediate research context is a feature of this reflective, reflexive research method. The result is that the outcomes are grounded not only in the Club's immediate context, but also take into account the influence of the wider contexts in which the research and the Club exists. External influences are made more transparent by the autoethnographic method I used:

Thinking about the elements of the tramping club's collective memory, place loomed large as an entity in itself. Place as the locus of creation of records, as the locus of events, influencing people and their experiences and decisions.

The significance of place has come strongly to my attention in the past few weeks, and I am having fun working through what that might mean. It pulls me back in time to looking at those records in the lighthouse at Tiritiri Matangi⁷ and thinking how much the way I was interpreting them was informed by their immediate context. It brings me forward as well to our recent trip to the Pop Up Globe⁸ to see Antony and Cleopatra, which we enjoyed so much we're going to see Twelfth Night next week. Shakespeare performed in a modern theatre is a totally

⁸ Pop Up Globe: a recreation of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre as a temporary structure in Auckland. See https://popupglobe.co.nz/

⁷ Tiritiri Matangi: A wildlife sanctuary island near Auckland, New Zealand, where I joined other Club members in the 1980s in planting trees to restore the original forest. I revisited the island in 2016

different experience than when performed in an arena where the audience completely surrounds the players, above, below, behind and in front, just as they were in the original Globe Theatre. This brings a much closer connection between the players and the audience, and they respond to one another accordingly.

This intensive, recursive period of analysis and response led eventually to a richly-grounded model. Feedback from the Club gave me confidence that the process had been sufficiently rigorous to provide a robustly-grounded conceptual model of collective-memory maintenance for the Club, which would be interesting to take into other contexts to explore whether it might provide useful insights. For example, one Life Member showed how well she viewed the model in terms of its accuracy and value that she asked if she could take it to another outdoor Club of which she was President, as she believed it could also be transferrable to their situation. Another outcome of the research to this point was one requested by several of the participants. Many of the recorded research conversations contained stories of the Club, and there were requests for these to be preserved in writing for Club members to read in the future.

In developing the model together with the community, many aspects of the Club's collective memory and recordkeeping processes were demonstrated by participating Club members. I could see the recordkeeping processes, information flow, physical records, people, places, events, stories, the continuing development of trust and camaraderie, the Club's structure, shared experience, shared values and aims, individual development and group continuity all working together, playing out in the construction of the model. As well as providing revealing insights about the processes of collective memory sharing and negotiation in the community, this helped to further develop my understanding of the use and impact of an insider-based participatory methodology in this context, and its benefit in surfacing community understandings.

6.8 Modelling a living process

Australian mammologist and environmentalist Tim Flannery wrote (2010) "At the most elemental level, we living beings are not even properly things, but rather processes": for me, this sentence neatly identifies the difficulty inherent in attempting to model the maintenance of collective memory within a living community. There is no one thing, created by the community, which could be called its collective memory. Instead, collective memory maintenance is a set of processes of sharing constantly evolving memories, reinforced through networks of friendship, shared values and aims, shared activities, including repeated social or adventurous events in significant, wild or familiar places, written records and photographs, actions, deliberate passing-on of knowledge and skills, preservation of a much-valued hut, and so on. Individuals are motivated to support the collective memory maintenance for the benefits it brings to them, including personal growth, development of personal identity, friendship, adventure, safety, fun, and so on. For each era of Club members, there are different aspects to these memories, and yet at the core are some slowly evolving almost-constants.

There is no simple, easily-described single relationship between the records, the people, and the memories. The people can embody the records, the memories are recorded in their minds, and the collective is not a single thing, fixed, but is made up of processes, constantly changing and multiple. And, as Tim Flannery writes, the people are also processes - together with the records and the memories. Flannery goes on to say (p.40) "A dead creature is in every respect identical to a live one, except that the electrochemical processes that motivate it have ceased." Similarly, it is the processes that the Club continue to practice that keep it alive, together with its collective memories. And Flannery (p.44) has more to say that seems to have direct relevance to the Club:

A living planet uses its energy budget to kick the chemistry of its organs out of balance with each other... The chemical composition of the organs of dead planets, in contrast, exists in a state of equilibrium.

The concept of entropy states that everything tends towards a state of maximum entropy - equilibrium - unless energy is added to the system. Living things actively fight against entropy. In the same way, the Club continues as a living entity by constantly renewing and reinventing itself, never reaching equilibrium. Built

into its processes is the ability to constantly bring in new energy and ideas while still providing access to those ideas which are still of value.

It seems from our conversations that the Club is managing its current memory fine with its existing systems. Some want to keep records for the longer term after the people whose stories they were originally have gone. This is the part we need to deal with, which some club members think is not well enough addressed by the Club's existing systems. What some Club members want is safe, permanent storage for records that are not being captured and maintained by the Club now. People in the Club are happy to take expert advice, and use external spaces which suit Club members' needs. What is essential is to be able to continue to incorporate the records within club stories, events, and places.

The records and other entities and the needs of Club members all contribute to the Club's collective-memory maintenance. There is a web of nodes and links between records, people, events, places, times, and other aspects of club culture, memory, concepts, knowledge and skills which forms an imagined model linking all of the elements that combine to form the collective memory of the community: the virtual and the physical, the imagined and the concrete, and the embodied in human and the present in the wider world. This model of collective-memory maintenance resonates with the records continuum in its acknowledgement of the multiple influences on and from the "always-becoming" records that form part of its structure. The Process and its elements mould to fit the changing understandings and needs of wider society to ensure the club remains relevant to its new members while still maintaining the values, knowledge and skills seen as essential to the club. The developing model could also aid in understanding how a community can be resilient in the face of societal change and dispersal of its members and its records, maintaining its essential collective memory while allowing for flexibility and change.



Fig. 6.7 Visual evidence of embodied knowledge and skills: AUTC trip to the Olivine Ice Plateau, Fiordland, New Zealand

The new model illustrated an initial understanding of the general process of collective-memory maintenance for the Tramping Club. The next step was to further clarify the model by more fully analysing the roles and interplay between the different elements in the Club's collective memory maintenance. I needed to consider the place and uses of records within the processes, together with the significance of storytelling, place, events, the system of apprenticeship, the structure of the club, the development of trust and social capital, individual and group identity and all of the other interlocking aspects of the Club's collective memory.

6.9 Conclusion

The process of developing this model of the Club's use of records for collective memory maintenance further addressed RQ1, the part played by records in the Club's maintenance of its collective memory. It has also raised fundamental questions about how well some of the central elements of archival practice meet the needs and understandings of the Tramping Club. This includes asking how Club records, and club members' creation, maintenance and use of them, map to existing definitions of records? To the Records Continuum Model(s)? To the elements of the Series System? To existing implementations of metadata models? A further significant question raised is what are the places of "stories" and of "place"? These questions will be considered in the following chapters.

In Chapter 7, I continue to look at the place of records, and begin to address these questions, which are central to RQ2. I use storytelling techniques in the form of narrative analysis, similar to the autoethnographic narrative analysis I used in my blog, to explore the relationships between the Club's collective memory processes and records continuum theory. This analysis addresses both how the Records Continuum Model can provide insights into the Club's recordkeeping processes, and whether there are elements of the Club's processes identified through this research that cannot be mapped to the theory, challenging the model itself.

Part III

Implications for archival practice and theory

Chapter 7. Narrative modelling, and the journey of a record

7.1 Introduction

Members of the Tramping Club share stories whenever they meet. Storytelling is central to the way the Club expresses and maintains its records and its identity, and maintains and shares its knowledge and collective memory. In this chapter, I reflect on the Club's recordkeeping system, as modelled through the range of research data collection and analysis described in Chapters 4 to 6, and consider how it relates to the construct of such systems from an archival community perspective, in order to address RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models.

In this chapter, to weave together the different perspectives of the Tramping Club community and the archival community for the purposes of contrast and analysis, I use storytelling techniques to analyse Tramping Club recordkeeping processes using records continuum concepts. I then analyse the structure of the Club's recordkeeping system, bringing in ideas from literature in a range of areas, including archival theory and standards, collective memory and other related disciplines. I also look in more detail at specific elements in terms of their role in the recordkeeping system, and consider how they relate to the Records Continuum Model. Finally, I discuss what this research has revealed about the Records Continuum Model itself.

7.2 Storytelling

As I noted in Chapter 1, a continuum perspective provided the framework for this research, and inspired the research questions. However, up to this point my focus had been on developing a model from the AUTC perspective. Now I began to look at mapping the processes in the newly-constructed model to records continuum concepts. In 6.2, I cited McKemmish (1997), who observed that recordkeeping regimes carry records forward to people in different spaces and times, enabling their use for multiple purposes. I wondered what a continuum lens could reveal about the Tramping Club's recordkeeping regimes, and what this, in turn, could reveal about the continuum lens.

As discussed in Chapter 6, records continuum terminology was not useful for sense-making from the Tramping Club perspective. I needed a method to reconcile these two very different points of view. The iterative, reflexive nature of the research methodology meant that I could find a context-appropriate technique for analysis now that I had a better understanding of the AUTC processes. I reflected on Tramping Club methods for sharing and integrating complex information, considered related methods in academia, and realised that a form of storytelling called narrative modelling would be a useful and appropriate analytical technique.

Just as Tramping Club members use storytelling as a method for sharing ideas and maintaining identity and culture, academics and practitioners, too, use stories to share ideas and maintain cultural ideals, often formally structured as "presentations" or "articles". Psychologist Jerome Bruner (1992) said:

Stories are so compelling and useful a way of representing deviations from expectancy in the world that cultures typically include a good stock of them in their tool kit of ready mades. This tool kit is . . . used incessantly. Studies of white, working-class families in Baltimore show, for example, that children who hang around adult conversations are exposed to real-life narratives at the rate of about six per hour. . . .

More recently, Marsh et al (2016) argue storytelling and narratives are effective methods for developing an understanding of the impact of archives. Narrative modelling has also been used in the fields of anthropology (Anderson 2004 – specifically, analytical autoethnography); history of science (Richards 1992, Dimech 2017); and law (Sherwin 2009). Although explicitly named only recently as "narrative modelling",

Dimech (2017) argues that narrative modelling, or verbal models, "should be included in a philosophical account of the scientific practice of modelling", citing in support examples from Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species (1859), where he modelled his theory of evolution through natural selection using verbally constructed narratives. Dimech describes Darwin's process of modelling: "a particular scenario is described that involves at least some fictitious elements but represents the salient causal components of natural selection."

Throughout this thesis, I have woven stories about the interaction between records, recordkeeping and the other aspects of the Club's collective-memory maintenance using analytical autoethnographic techniques. As discussed in Chapter 5, this narrative method of analysis resonates with this type of participatory research, and provides a way of dealing with the complexities of the data gathered. These stories were woven from the words of participants, my own auto-ethnographic blogs, my observations, my experience of being a member of the Club community, my knowledge as an archival practitioner, and my study of archival and other literature. With the grounded model showing the place of records and recordkeeping in collective memory-maintenance in this community constructed, the next step was to see how it related to archival community models. This narrative modelling, inspired by the way the Tramping Club uses storytelling to share, negotiate and transfer knowledge, provides an effective way to deal with the multiplicities and complexities of analysing the connections and disconnections between the AUTC's recordkeeping practice and Records Continuum Modelling.

As one of the main activities of Tramping Club is going on journeys, I began with the journey of a record, in an imaginary scenario drawing on my own experience and the stories I had heard in the course of this research. As I wrote the story, I attempted to identify and map the things of significance for recordkeeping to the Records Continuum Model.

7.3 The Journey of a Record

Fig. 7.1 Lake Constance, Nelson Lakes, Easter break 2015

A Club member (actor) goes on a club tramp (activity / event) in a beautiful place, and decides to record it with a photograph. The photographic record is evidence of, amongst other things, the club member's

presence in the place, and of their activity, and of their appreciation of the beauty of the place, and of the weather at the time, and so on. The creation of the record is influenced by aspects of the transactionality axis of the continuum in all dimensions: the immediate transaction (taking a photograph), the activity within which it is taken (a tramping trip), the function of the Club that has organised the tramp (encouraging and enabling tramping in New Zealand) and the wider societal purpose in which the record of this trip exists: celebrating spending time in the wilderness, appreciating natural beauty and challenging oneself in the outdoors.

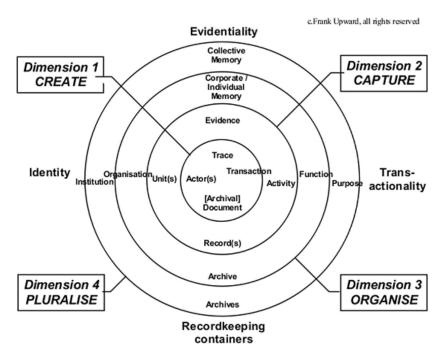


Fig 7.2 The Records Continuum Model (Upward 2005 p.203)

Similarly, the taking of the photograph is influenced from all dimensions in the "identity" axis: the identity of the photographer determines that they have chosen to go tramping in this place, and have decided that the scene merits a photograph. Their fellow trampers have worked together to create the circumstances in which the photograph could be taken. The culture of the organisation (Tramping Club) is one in which both tramping and photography of wilderness subjects are encouraged, and the institution of outdoor clubs in New Zealand is the societal environment in which the club's culture is fostered.

At first, the record is captured (2nd dimension) in the records of the individual tramper only, linked to the event, place, time and people present in the photographer's memory and perhaps also, if a digital camera was used, with digital date, time and location metadata. The club member is likely to have taken other photographs, which in their own mind will link together with maps used for the trip and memories and stories about the trip. Thus, although the creation of the record has been influenced by all dimensions of the records continuum, as well as by place, it is so far only captured in the second dimension.

The next day, on the same tramp, the weather is terrible. No-one takes out their cameras so no photographs are taken. Thus, the lack of creation of a record – the trace of an activity (first dimension) is also strongly influenced by the local environment. Once more, the influence of place as an element in the creation of records is demonstrated. There is no obvious way to locate this on the Records Continuum Model.

Later at a post-event gathering at the Club weekly lunch in Albert Park (place, event / activity), the Club member shares the photograph (record) with other members, making it available in the third dimension (organisation / Club memory) by adding verbal metadata and by using a Club-wide meeting-place to share

it, and it also triggers memories of the event for people who were there, inspiring storytelling. The place pictured in the photograph (record) looks beautiful and they admire it. Together the Club members who were on the trip (and therefore with the mandate to describe it) co-create a story (record) about the event from this trigger and share it and the photograph with others inside (Club members) and outside the current Club (former members, non-members). This new record – of which the story and the photograph each form a part – is captured and organised within the Club's corporate memory by means of this story-telling, and shared or pluralised from this context, both through storytelling and by uploading the photograph and part of the associated story to the Club Facebook page. It has again been influenced by all dimensions of the continuum, and is now also having an influence further outward as it is shared, adding new layers of context as it travels outwards from its source. Those who were not on the trip need more explanation of the activities, places and people relating to the photograph, and each time the story is shared in a new place at a different event amongst different people it is experienced and understood differently, according to the hearers, the tellers and the circumstances.

They then decide to write the story in *Footprints* magazine together with the photograph (another new record created) and this new record is shared more widely, both inside and outside the club with club members, former members and perhaps with non-members. *Footprints* magazine is a formalised method of capturing, organising and pluralising records of club trips, events and other important cultural elements to support the Club's collective memory and share it more widely. *Footprints* magazine is an expression of the individuals involved, the organisational culture and of broader societal influences, and printing the story and photograph in the magazine provides an opportunity for this new record to have an influence outwards in all dimensions, as it is read by current members and former members, kept by the Club long-term, digitised and made available on the Club website, and distributed to other outdoor clubs, back-country huts and several public libraries.

Several years later, a new Club member reads the article in *Footprints* (record), likes the idea of visiting the place partly because the photograph looks so beautiful, according to accepted (fourth-dimension) societal ideals of beauty as well as their own (first-dimension) experience and identity, looks at the article (record), sees the names of the Club members who wrote it, and asks older current members for advice about the trip, using the Club's structure / organisation to access their embodied knowledge – essentially, people as recordkeeping containers, and the Club as a recordkeeping system. This relates to Bastian's (2003) findings in her study of archival practice in the US Virgin Islands, where she observed the community functions "both as a record-creating entity and as a memory frame that contextualises the records it creates". The concept of embodiment of records is discussed further in Section 7.4. The older Club members haven't been on the trip but are still in contact through personal networks with former members, so they put the person in touch with those who went on the trip (event). The Club member then organises another trip (event) to the same place with the help of advice and records provided by these former members.

I see the photograph (record) because of my family relationship with the new Club member, ask to hear his story, and decide to use it to illustrate this concept in a forum completely removed from its origin, creating a new record for a new purpose: one with its origins in academic rather than tramping institutions. Instead of the record being evidence of a tramping trip, this record is evidence of the use of records in the Tramping Club: although the image is still the same, the purpose and context is completely different, and I have removed it from the Tramping Club context of its parent records. I pluralised the original record in the fourth dimension, in terms of itself, by acting in the first dimension, and creating a new record which I then captured, and so on. In order to understand the origin of the photograph I was describing in this new record, I had to add a great deal of descriptive metadata, because members of the academic community who are not also Tramping Club members do not have the associated collective memory to draw on to interpret it.

This narrative shows how strongly records are embedded with, influencing and influenced by other entities of the Club's collective-memory process, and reinforces McKemmish's often-cited phrase "always in a process of becoming", a key element of Records Continuum understanding. A word that appears repeatedly and significantly in this narrative is "place", but this word does not appear within the Records Continuum Model. This absence will be further discussed in section 7.8, and more extensively in Chapter 9.

7.4 The Tramping Club as a structure for maintaining memory and evidence through time and space

The narrative above illustrates the importance of interpersonal links in the Club's collective memory, as well as the way the Club embodies its own recordkeeping system. As discussed in Chapter 6, in the AUTC there are strong links between people of the same era, forged through sharing challenging and learning experiences. There are fewer but important links between eras, by means of Presidents and Vice-Presidents, life-members, formal handover between committee positions, reunions, family relationships and friendships, and these enable the passing on of records and information between eras, where it has not happened gradually and organically through the system of apprenticeship. The model of decision-making for the Club, with most decisions taken by the current committee and a level of oversight for safety from the President and to a lesser degree the life members, means that adaptation can occur in response to societal change. If the committee changes its mind later and wants to revert to earlier practice, information on this will be available in records and knowledge held by older members.

This distribution of memory works for the club as there are too many areas of expertise required for one actor to successfully manage them all. Having the Club's memory distributed amongst multiple people as well as embodied in records, places and events is an efficient way to deal with complexity. It is an example of a "transactive memory system" (Wenger, 1995), where people in a close-knit group divide "cognitive labour" to operate more effectively. Individuals don't need to know everything so long as someone in their group does, and they know how to access that knowledge. Wenger said "A transactive memory system consists of the knowledge stored in each individual's memory combined with 'metamemory' containing information regarding the different teammates' domain of expertise".

Jim Frater: (I asked him if he knew where the Gurkha knife and goblets came from) No, it predates me. [I.e. the story was not passed on to him, as he had not felt the need to find out and he did not happen upon the knowledge during his time in the Club]. To find out those things, you would have to ask an AUCTCer from the '50s. Brian Davis, or Peter Aimer, or Helen Lyons – they would be great repositories of knowledge, about those things.

At the same time, the Club is using a "LOCKSS" - Lots of copies keep stuff safe - (Rosenthal et al, 2005, sec. 4.5.3) model. Club members ensure multiple people have the essential knowledge to keep the club going. Methods include running regular events where knowledge is passed on to new members and reinforced for older members, as well as publishing and distributing multiple copies of an annual magazine and other publications which contain elements of the club's memory.

Jim Frater on how he was indoctrinated into the culture of the club: I guess I went through all the Tramping Club process: [traditions] ...in the early '60s, there were things like... I mentioned Freshers' Hut Weekend; there was Hut Birthday; there was Hut Christmas Party; there was After-Degree Camp, which was often somewhere other than the Waitakeres, and I do remember one at Waiwera, and one at Raglan.

Me: So how did you pick up the skills? Did people tell you what to do, or did you do it by observing, or? Jim: No, I think that people did tell you what to do, because we had River Schools, and I remember them held down at Karangahake Gorge, how to cross a river properly, with a rope, or crossing with linking arms. I think there may

have been bushcraft weekends, in the Waitakeres, and of course there was Snowschool. So no, it was quite structured, really, quite structured. It wasn't just left to chance.

So the Club's structure and processes act as a recordkeeping system embodied in the Club itself, including the bodies of Club members, Club events and activities, physical records, and Club places. Ideas of embodiment of knowledge, skills and records have been explored in the literature of several disciplines in addition to those noted above. For example, in a reflection on literary autobiography, Pugliese (2011, p.2) speaks of the self as a "corporeal shadow archive in the context of the discursive effects of knowledge/power on the body of the subject". In the field of Information Studies, Cox et al (2017) discuss the embodiment of knowledge in "serious leisure" and observe there has been a lack of attention to the role of the body in studies of information behaviour, though it has been the subject of study for some time in other disciplines, including sociology, geography and history, citing Nettleton & Watson (1998) and Pink (2015). Ideas of embodied archives are beginning to be discussed in archival studies. For example, Bastian (2009) discussed the Caribbean carnivals of specific islands as a cultural archive; Jones, Abbot and Ross (2009) analysed representations of performance and the role of the archive, while Lee (2016) reversed the perspective and considered the archive itself as a body in motion, and the affective impact of accessing it. The concept of embodied knowledge in relation to the AUTC recordkeeping system is further discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.4.

7.5 Storytelling in and as community context, content, structure and evidence

Storytelling and story-making as a form of remembering/forgetting, witnessing and knowledge-sharing form an essential part of the Club's collective memory maintenance. Stories are created in the course of events and activities, and negotiated and re-negotiated between Club members and audience with each telling. They are used to pass on tramping knowledge and skills, as cautionary tales to promote safety, to support and maintain values, to promote Club unity through humour, shared pride in achievements of Club members and an emphasis on shared memory, to provide evidence of trustworthiness and authority, and to promote the aims of the Club both within and outside its prior and current membership. They provide recordkeeping metadata, layers of contextualisation, and act as records themselves. Different stories are told around the same physical records in different circumstances. Stories are used to educate, bind together, pull people in line, and reinforce group and individual identity. Information disclosed in stories depends on the audience, such as when names of people doing naughty or embarrassing things are withheld. In archivists' terms, this can be viewed as a form of access control and redaction.

Some stories, with accompanying photographs, are recorded in *Footprints*. These magazines are treasured by club members, as evidenced by the majority of people contacted still having copies from their time in the Club.

Some stories take the form of songs. Some of these were written for performance at May Camp, and may be framed around particular trips and events, with teasing stories about people and the things that happened to them. More often, they relate to individual Club members, and might be written for special occasions such as weddings or significant birthdays. Sometimes they are just written when someone feels like writing a song, and then they are remembered and sung again at those special occasions, or at get-togethers when the person is present. Occasionally they will be sung in part when the person's name comes up in conversation, particularly when people are collectively reminiscing many years later.

Stories are told when people return from trips as photos are shared with trip-members, close family and friends interested in tramping. Often at this time maps are also used in the sharing of stories. Stories are told again many times, for example when people are asked about trips for advice; at reunion events; at

birthday parties, Christmas parties, weddings, anniversaries and funerals; when meeting others who were on trips and therefore involved in stories, or who have been on similar trips; when teaching others about techniques and risks and the possibilities and benefits of tramping; when advising on the use of different types of gear; and as a way of reinforcing bonds with friends.

In terms of the Records Continuum Model, the stories and songs are active expressions of records embodied in the storyteller or singer, sparks created in the first dimension as they are performed. Simultaneously with the performance they are recaptured and organised within the Club's embodied recordkeeping system, and also pluralised to a wider group. At the same time, they are influenced by elements from all four dimensions of space-time distancing, from the widest societal structures and culture to the closest elements of the storyteller's identity and personal circumstances at the moment of the retelling. Something as outwardly simple as the telling of a story can be seen, by imagining it in terms of the Records Continuum Model, as having highly complex, multiple influences spiralling outwards and inwards, and echoing through time and space.

The story as an imagined entity is a record embodied in the person who "knows" the story, but each retelling can become another record, with its own context, as it is received by the listeners. The record is both fixed and fluid, reinforcing the continuum perspective of records and archives as logical constructs, traces of acts or events maintained for the purposes of evidence or memory and linked to their context through recordkeeping processes (McKemmish 2005). For members of the AUTC, their contextual knowledge of the storyteller and of the background to the story itself and the events it describes provides understanding of the content, context and structure of the record that is the story.

Similarly, the Club's recordkeeping can be assessed in terms of the continuum-influenced international records management standard commonly used by archival practitioners (ISO 15489-1 2016). Again, their contextual knowledge allows them to judge how well the information they are receiving, and possibly also recording in their own memories, acts as trustworthy evidence of the "transactions" of the "business" of tramping (or of being an AUTC member), and they can fit it into the context of their own AUTC-informed identities and understandings. The recordkeeping standard requires authenticity, reliability, usability and integrity. For AUTC members listening to stories from their fellow Club-members, these characteristics are provided through the Tramping Club Process, which provides context and authenticity for the stories and the storyteller. It makes the story and its purposes accessible and usable in its appropriate context, and verifies its integrity as part of the community's systems and processes. The story may be largely a fairy-tale, but within the Club context the intended meaning can be understood, and the story can achieve its purposes.

7.6 Events as elements of recordkeeping

Events are another central aspect of the club's memory-maintaining processes, often highlighted in the conversations discussed in Chapter 4. The programme of annual events is an opportunity for club members to pass on knowledge, skills, culture and language to a new generation. They also serve to bind people together as they share experiences and stories, and are an opportunity for apprenticing emerging leaders through running events alongside experts. They produce many records which are shared between Club members and their families and friends, and draw in new members as well. Events allow for the performance, creation, inscription, contextualisation, and sharing of records, as well as their re-creation and re-contextualising as people interact. Events themselves can be seen as embodied records regularly enacted, performed or re-created by participating Club members. Events are often held in the same places each year, but even when held in new places, the event forms a "Club place" in that new location, through the presence of fellow members and the Club activities being transacted. This persists for the duration of the event and in memories of it afterwards.

For example, a table in a rented hall takes on a club aspect as new Club members play "clumps" or learn to "table traverse" or play "sock-wrestling", or other games which change over the years but retain the elements of competitive and physical silliness enjoyed by members. These games are not written down but pass on down the generations for as long as Club members continue to enjoy them. The rules and techniques are embodied both mentally and physically by the participants. Similarly, techniques for navigation, traversing a scree slope and river-crossing are learnt during club events through learning by doing alongside experts who embody the knowledge. Additional information is provided by guides written by experts in the outdoors including groups such as the NZ Mountain Safety Council and the New Zealand Alpine Club.

Events usually make use of physical records as well as records embodied in people and places. These records act as enablers of activities, and as providers of specific information about aspects of taking part in or running them. Just as for stories, in terms of the Records Continuum Model, events are active expressions of many different kinds of records. They work together, sparking new records into life (in the "create" dimension) as they are performed and thus spiralling out in influence to the more distant dimensions of recordkeeping transactions, identity, evidentiality and Archives. Each creation of event or activity is in turn influenced by elements in those wider contextual dimensions.

7.7 Apprenticeship and the practice of tramping

While we were working together on the "Tramping Club Process" model, Debi commented on the centrality of the practice of tramping to the whole club. It is why people join, and tramping together in the wilderness has a huge impact on our identity as a club and on our connections with one another. Tramping is an essential part of the AUTC's recordkeeping and collective memory processes. Thinking about that as I write it, I would say it is one of the two most essential parts, together with and tied up in the interpersonal relationships we all have as Club members. Given the name of the Club, this perhaps should be apparent. Tramping is an active term, taking on the roles both of verb and adjective in my own mind. In its noun form, "Trampers", it defines an attitude to life more than just a simple descriptor of people who do an activity. While a particular type of person chooses to go tramping, the tramping also shapes the people who do it, leaving traces in their minds – knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs, memories - as well as on their bodies. For Club members, tramping is recordkeeping, multiple acts of remembering and enacting and expressing embodied records. Together, trampers experience and witness through their exertions in the often-challenging wilderness places as records and as active participants in recordkeeping. Places embody and affect the actions of actors both human and non-human (cultural, geological, geographical, climatic, botanical, and so on) in a constantly-evolving, recursive process of influence.

Jon Anderson (2004) discusses using the method of "walking whilst talking" to "harness place as an active trigger to prompt knowledge recollection and production". Anderson says his method builds on the idea of "constitutive co-ingredience" of place and human identity. The co-ingredience of place and identity is something that will be considered specifically in Chapter 9, but it is clear from the Tramping Club conversations that something about the practice of tramping itself has a significant effect. My experience of walking and running before sitting down to write my blog supports his suggestion that walking promotes reflection, and that walking through familiar places triggers recollection. The process of the conversations with Club members have shown that this is not a one-way process. Looking at photographs of places walked has also inspired recollections of precise details of those trips, and talking about walks taken has triggered in people's memories images of those places. The process of walking in those places with other Club members has seemed to bind together whole stories of events, people and the physical experience of the places themselves into powerful and lasting memories.

Tramping is often an uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous activity, and sharing it with other people means you rely on those people for support and safety. This builds and maintains a sense of shared understanding and camaraderie which in turn supports ongoing relationships between Club members. Tramping trips usually take multiple days, and trip members are thrown into close proximity for long periods of time in often trying circumstances. People's reactions to these circumstances can be readily viewed and assessed by other trip members, meaning that they come to know who has particular types of skill and knowledge, and who can be trusted and relied upon in different ways.

The Club is both a community of records (Bastian 2003; Ketelaar 2005) and a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). Members can become more active and embedded, gaining the necessary knowledge and skills for successful tramping and successful membership by doing the practices of the Club alongside experts. Lave & Wenger (1991) have named this "legitimate peripheral participation" (LPP), and it includes learning by doing, making mistakes, reflecting and doing again. In LPP, as in the AUTC, people gradually become members of the community as they participate in activities, increasing their expertise and becoming more trusted and respected for their skills, and at the same time becoming more central to the life of the community. As members become more central to the Club, eventually perhaps becoming committee members, they embody more of the Club's collective memory. They become an increasingly significant part of the Club's recordkeeping systems and processes as they pass on the knowledge and skills they have taken in as members of the Club. Some of the members who are most valued for their knowledge and skills are elected Life Members, ensuring the Club maintains long-term access to their memories and records.

In terms of the Records Continuum Model, then, individual members are recordkeeping containers in whose minds and bodies are inscribed the traces of activities they take part in as Club members. Interactions between people, particularly in Club places and at Club events, facilitated by the structure and culture of the Club, allows for the sharing and re-creation of these inscribed records to other Club members and to wider society.

7.8 Mapping to the Records Continuum Model

The narrative modelling and reflection in this chapter has highlighted many parallels between the AUTC collective memory / recordkeeping process and the Records Continuum Model, but it has also made apparent that there is a significant gap. For most aspects of the Tramping Club Process model it is quite easy to map across to the Records Continuum Model. The aims, the nature of the activity, and the experience constructs all map to the transactional axis, while the values, trust, spirit of camaraderie and group continuity map to the identity axis. The structure and records are a good fit for the recordkeeping axis, though structure would also fit with identity. Each in their own way could be also mapped to the evidential axis as they form part of the community's collective memory. However, as noted in Section 7.2, one aspect that is fundamental to the Tramping Club Process model is missing, and that is place.

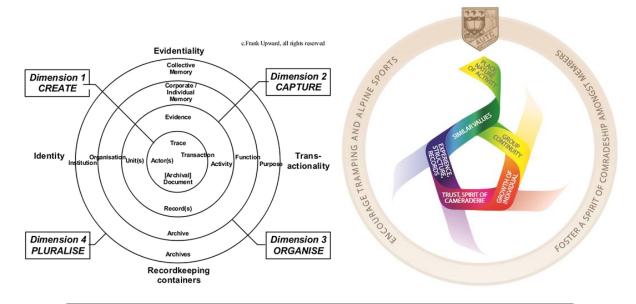


Fig. 7.3 Mapping the Tramping Club process to the Records Continuum model

The Records Continuum Model is conceived as a space-time model, where place is perhaps seen as a fleeting aspect of context, if at all. However, we have seen that places have a strong impact on identity, evidence, records and actions for people in the AUTC community. Incorporating "place" in the Records Continuum Model would acknowledge this impact. There is no obvious place for "place" in the two-dimensional version of the typical Records Continuum Model shown above, which suggests it is time to develop a new visual representation. This is not within the scope of the current research, but would be a valuable exercise to be followed up afterwards.

7.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have used storytelling as a technique to discuss the Club's recordkeeping system, embodied in the structure and elements of the Club itself. This has enabled me to consider the significance of storytelling as content, context, structure and evidence in the community and its collective memory and recordkeeping processes. I also discussed the importance of events and apprenticeship as elements of the Club's processes, and the dynamic nature of those processes. I then brought together the grounded model of the Club's processes and the Records Continuum Model in order to consider how well they related to one another. I found that although the Records Continuum Model was for the most part useful from my archival scholar perspective in analysing recordkeeping processes in the Club, it was missing the essential element of "place". This gave rise to an emergent research question:

RQ4: How do records and place impact on each other, and how is this represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

In Chapter 9, I address RQ4, reflecting on the impact of place on archival experiences and its significance for archival processes. Before this, however, I needed to better understand the way Tramping Club Process functioned as a whole, so in Chapter 8 I reflect on the significance and complexity of the constant movement and interaction in the Tramping Club Process, in an analysis of the Club's collective memory / recordkeeping processes in terms of complex systems theory.

Chapter 8. Community of records, community of action: records as part of a complex adaptive system

8.1 Introduction

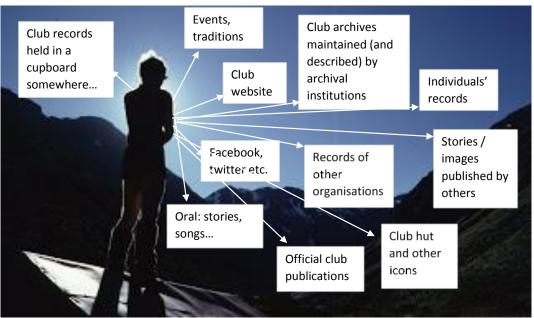


Fig. 8.1 Rob on the roof of a mountain hut, December 1988, now being re-purposed to illustrate distributed records of AUTC

At the beginning of this thesis, I used this photo as an illustration of the perceived problem of dealing with the many forms of distributed records of the AUTC. The solution to my perceived problem was hidden in plain sight, in the photograph. Rob himself, the tramper on the roof of the hut, is one of the essential nodes in the Club's recordkeeping and memory making system, helping maintain connections between the disparate records sources described around him. So long as links are maintained, the records can play an essential role in forming and sustaining the Club's identity, providing vital information and evidence to support its activities, and a crucial role in its memory creation, maintenance and transmission system as explored below.

In Chapters 6 and 7 I described the development and some of the implications of the Tramping Club Process model. In this chapter, I analyse these findings in relation to wider theories which resonated with them. I first discuss the definitions and functions of records from the perspective of Tramping Club members, and then focus on addressing the first research question:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

I analyse the role the Tramping Club's recordkeeping plays as part of a complex, adaptive system that maintains the Club's collective memory and sustains the Club itself. I then consider the answers I developed to RQ2 and RQ3:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

and explore the implications for archival and recordkeeping approaches for the Club specifically, and further implications for community archives and recordkeeping in general.

8.2 Tramping Club records – what they are, and what they do

Returning again to McKemmish's definition cited in Chapter 1, records are "traces of acts or events created, captured and set aside by a person, institution or community". They are managed using a community's recordkeeping or archiving processes which link them to their "transactions, acts, decisions or communications they document, the people, and related documents, and placing them in their immediate business and social context, as well as maintaining an audit trail of their management and use." They are then "transformed into a corporate or personal archive by recordkeeping and archiving processes that 'place' records-as-evidence in the broader context of the social and business activities and functions of the organization, group or individual, and manage them in frameworks that enable them to function as individual, group, or corporate memory".

The Club's collective memory maintenance can be understood as a system of recordkeeping and archiving processes that place the community's records-as-evidence as well as records-as-information within the activities and functions of the Club, and manage them in community-appropriate frameworks. This enables the Club to continue to function successfully on a self-sustaining basis for the long term. Therefore, McKemmish's continuum conceptualisation of archives, records and recordkeeping continues to be appropriate in terms of the Club. However, the language of the definition, in emphasising business terms over community terms, using words such as "business", "audit trail" and "corporate" in place of terms relating to community aims and activities, "trust" and "community", perhaps obscure its relevance in this different setting. As well as obscuring its relevance, the language barrier conceals significant implications suggested by the community-specific terms. Another difficulty with this definition in terms of the Club's model is that although the context of the activities and functions are identified as central to the creation of the archive, the importance of place is not revealed. It could be read into the definition as an aspect of the context and the "frameworks that enable them to function" but is not explicit, and thus it is easy for it to be overlooked.

The business of the Tramping Club is defined in its constitution as encouraging tramping and alpine sports, and fostering a spirit of comradeship amongst members. The records of the club capture information, evidence and memories to enable the continuing pursuit of those aims, and evidence of these aims being met, or not met. Club members create, receive and maintain those records, as we have seen, in multiple forms, including paper; digital; physical objects including tramping equipment, buildings, and tracks; stories, songs, and skills embodied in people, events and places; and as a "nebulous spirit" pervading the club itself. In the reductionist terms of international records management standards, the records of the Tramping Club are ISO 15489 compliant: they are authentic, reliable, usable records with integrity, they provide reliable evidence of Club business for accountability purposes, and information to carry out Club functions. However, in terms of the Club, they do far more than just that.

It is not possible or desirable to achieve consensus amongst members as to what constitutes a record for the Club, given their multiple interests and experiences. Some members believed records were only things that were written down, while others saw records as all of those things listed above, and more. For some current and former members, anything associated in their mind with the Club which gave them access to information to help achieve the aims of the club served as a record of the Club. Thus, a record for the Tramping Club can be defined, somewhat recursively, as anything that provides a record of, and maintains

and makes available information for Club purposes, and is perceived by a Club member as a record of the Club. There is no hard boundary around Club records - it is an entirely contingent measure, determined by individual Club members, the purpose to which the record is put and its relationship with Club events, Club places, Club aims and so on. This echoes Rolan's (2017, p.264) assertion that "the 'record-ness' of an entity exists by virtue of its relationship with other entities". Ketelaar writes, citing Halbwachs, that "Every interaction, intervention, interrogation, and interpretation by creator, user, and archivist [activates] the record... [and] any activation is distributed between texts and other agents in a network."



Fig. 8.2 Records of membership: my AUTC t-shirt and membership card, which date from the 1980s

Research data gathering and analysing discussions suggested that the records support the Club's collective memory in many different ways. The emphasis for current Club members is on records that help achieve things – to learn skills, and for valuable knowledge for tramping and for running the Club. Another significant aspect of purpose of records for maintaining collective memory is for relationship-building and maintenance, and this is an aspect that was emphasised for former members. Records are used for multiple, interrelated purposes, often simultaneously, and the purposes are supported by multiple forms of record which interact with interconnected parts of the system.

This functional, purposeful memory use was much stronger in nearly all of the people interviewed than was the element of nostalgia. One of only two people who specifically referenced a feeling of nostalgia regretted most that her former large group of friends who frequently met for parties and tramped together had dwindled to a much smaller group. She was still consciously maintaining links to a network of Club members from her era, for the purpose of keeping contact with a social group of like-minded people with whom it was possible to continue to practice activities that they all enjoyed. Rather than nostalgia being a passive emotion, it was an impetus to maintain relationships by continuing to do activities together, to actively preserve records of a shared past, to maintain lists of contact details and to create new events in the future to perhaps bring more people back into the group, or at least to maintain its cohesiveness. So perhaps all types of memory are utilitarian in different ways, according to different needs.

The interconnectedness of records and other elements in the system, and their multiple simultaneous functions highlighted the important concept of interrelationships, and the role played by recordkeeping as

an integral part of the evidence, memory and information system of the Club, many acting simultaneously both as structure and as constituents. For example, the storytelling described in Chapter 7 contains, provides context for, and ensures the passing on of structured information about Club matters. Records play significant roles in the Tramping Club Process, performing many functions, and this is explored further in the next section.

8.3 Club recordkeeping and identity – woven from many strands

"Time is the substance I am made of. Time is a river which sweeps me along, but I am the river..." (Borges, 2000, p.269)

Analysis of the roles that Club members played was a starting point for building a rich picture of the role of recordkeeping. The concepts of social capital (Arthurson 2014; Putnam 2000), or connections to community networks for access to resources and influence, were useful for this analysis, particularly Putnam's concepts of "bridging" and "bonding", which look at social connections between heterogeneous and homogeneous groups, respectively. Social capital has been discussed in archival and recordkeeping contexts by Johnson & Duff (2005) and Oliver (2014). As a beginning, I identified a range of significant roles for people:

- Elders, or remembrancers, to whom people look for advice and long-term knowledge and skills for example, the President, life members and Vice-President, as well as instructors at training events;
- legends, on whom stories are based;
- cultivators, who run events, plan publications and so on;
- **keepers**, who look after lots of physical and digital records;
- **storytellers and songwriters**, who communicate the stories which bond people together and spread club knowledge;
- participators, who take part in events;
- two categories of **catalysts**: **networkers**, **or bridgers**, who bring in and send out ideas between different communities, and **provokers**, who point out problems though may not suggest solutions (they may be divisive but also may inspire creative responses); and
- party animals, who just make everything a lot more fun.

Committee members are given specific areas of responsibility, such as "safety officer", "trips organiser" and so on which fall under several of these generic roles. Individuals would play any number of these different roles at different times, depending on the circumstances. I then began to think about the related roles carried out by other parts of the system, including places, records, and events. I give an example of the role of records with reference to the above concepts, below, and note the parallels between the roles of records and the roles of people. There is no time or space to explore these ideas further within this project, but it would be a fruitful avenue of further research.

The roles of different members contribute to multiple purposes in the Club, and each of the purposes is supported by multiple roles. For example, identity formation, fostering unity and communications are supported by all of the roles: even the Provokers, who challenge the status quo and cause others to either support it against challenge, reinforcing identity, or to make changes to promote unity. The records likewise play particular roles, depending on the circumstances. So, for example, *Footprints* magazine can function as a remembrancer, a keeper, a storyteller, a bridger, a provoker, and a party animal, depending on its context at the time.

Overall, roles played by records of any form within the Club could be divided into two major categories, the first of which was identified by club members as most important: "Whatever helps Club members carry

on tramping", whether by passing on skills and knowledge or by ensuring the Club's aims, identity, rights and assets, membership and cohesiveness are maintained. The second category relates to the historical, commemorative impulse to look back on our past and remember what we have done.

How does all of this complexity form a cohesive club? All of these related strands: people, roles, records, place, aims, values, events, and purposes interrelate to form the club's unique recordkeeping system, its collective memory and its identity. There are multiple layers to this complexity. Events and people can be records, place can be an archive, records can perform roles, and so on. Reflecting on these interrelationships of different strands reminded me of an image from another community to which I belonged in the past: the Playcentre community, an early childhood education organisation where parents are the teachers. Playcentres are required to follow the New Zealand education curriculum, Te Whāriki (literally translated, a woven mat) which consists of interwoven strands and principles which together can be used to create a curriculum that can be customised to the unique needs of each child.

This concept of interwoven strands reveals the influence of each in forming the collective memory and also the identity of the club. Each of these strands in turn would be made up of many individual strands, joining and weaving over time. The identity, character and resilience of the club, its collective memory and its recordkeeping system are a result of the interrelationships of all of the co-ingredients.

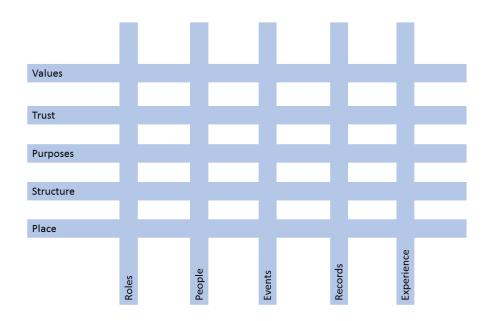


Fig. 8.3 Alternative view of the recordkeeping system: A weaving together of the strands of the club's identity

However, this image still does not adequately capture the way the strands influence one another, and can be co-ingredient in one another. People and records play roles, records are structures and structures are records, places are records and records, place, and so on. The problem is with the word "individual"-focusing on individual strands conceals their fundamental interdependence in developing the identity of each. In the life of the Club, the strands flow into one another, altering identities of each as they flow, and changed by the addition or removal of any ingredient. Here, the Records Continuum Model can be brought into play, to highlight the interconnectedness of all the strands as they take part in the performance of "recordkeeping", as they influence and embody, impact and receive impact from, organise and experience, create and share the evidence and information of their identities, manifestations, transactions and evidence.

Once more, I return to the tornado symbolism of the Tramping Club Process, the community a coherent whole in constant flux.

A perspective on this from nature, where smaller streams join a larger stream and leave, perhaps changing the course or essence, or perhaps leaving little trace, is captured in the quote at the head of this section. To paraphrase Borges, time is the river that sweeps us along, but we and all of the ingredients of our community are the river, and its environment, and their interpreters, simultaneously.



Fig. 8.4 Landsborough River, January 1956

8.4 Embodied knowledge and organisational culture

Reflections on the co-ingredience of the elements of the Tramping Club Process, including records, people, events and places, led to ideas about embodiment of knowledge. Embodied knowledge is a central aspect of this recordkeeping and information system, as new members learn by carrying out the practices of the Club alongside others, observing and emulating their actions as well as absorbing and learning from a multitude of sensory experiences. Cox, Griffin & Hartel (2017) note the centrality of embodied information to the sports and hobbies of running and music, observing that this centrality has been largely neglected in studies of information behaviour. They cite Pollak's (2015) preliminary definition of "experiential information", where skills are grounded in practice and learnt directly from other people, and which depends both on intellect and on responding to sensations and affect, valuing both explicit and tacit knowledge.

Cox et al also cite Lloyd's (2010) concept of "corporeal information", which "can be understood as information that is experienced through the situated and sensory body as it interacts with material objects, artefacts and other people that inhabit the same landscape." This complex interaction observed in her study of emergency workers has a clear parallel in the Tramping Club's complex adaptive recordkeeping and collective memory system, as members go tramping together over rugged terrain, navigating by map and compass and by knowledge gleaned from stories of others who had been there before, carrying packs filled with "tramping gear", eating "tramping food", wearing "tramping clothes" including parkas (raincoats), shorts, boots, gaiters and club t-shirts. The parallel is further seen in her description of the way "corporeal" (embodied) information is "possessed" by bodies, "produced" by the senses and "disseminated" to others by their reading our bodies, or our actions. As new Tramping Club members attend Fresher's Tramp,

Snowschool, Riverschool or Bushschool, committee meetings and May Camp, they observe and begin to emulate the actions of more knowledgeable club members, experience the bodily sensations of doing the activities in certain environments and learn the associated skills and knowledge, which they can then pass on to others in turn.



Fig 8.5 Club members at Whatipu, 2015

Cox et al also cite the work of Hockey and Allen-Collinson (2007), who discuss the body as an information source about the world, and Howes and Classen (2013), who observe that the interpretation of sensory signals is influenced by cultural beliefs. This can be recognised in Tramping Club members' interpretation of an exhausting climb in severe weather as an exciting challenge to be met, and a uniting experience to be later celebrated and relived in stories, as described by Jim (quoted in Section 9.5).

This concept of embodiment can be extended to the co-ingredience of place and record, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. Co-ingredience is also seen with place and identity, and stories, records and identity. Specific huts, tracks, rock shelters, rivers and mountain ranges form an essential part of stories. Visiting, seeing, or hearing the names of those places bring those stories to mind for people who were involved in them, and the stories are told again and again. People embody memories of stories and songs, while stories and songs contain records of places, activities and events in which people took part, and which are expressed and shared, re-invigorated, even re-invented and slightly altered again and again to renew relationships and maintain memories.

The idea of embodiment can be extended to the community as a whole – the Club's collective knowledge / memory / recordkeeping system is embodied in the Club itself. The Tramping Club recordkeeping system has developed within the club over the years in line with its cultural context: the context in which its organisational culture (discussed by Oliver, 2011 in terms of recordkeeping cultures) has been developed. The Tramping Club organisational and recordkeeping cultures come from its environment, influenced by its location within a New Zealand university, the characteristics of trampers and the unique aspects of the Club built up over the years. Friendship, trust and fun, challenge and safety in the outdoors are essential

parts of the aims and culture of the Club, and are therefore also strong influences on the way the Club's recordkeeping systems have organically developed. Interpersonal trust and friendship along with the committee structure together form the backbone of the Club, and also of its recordkeeping system. Just as tramping knowledge and skills are recorded and embodied in experienced members, particularly in committee members, so is the Club's recordkeeping system embodied in the Club itself.

The likelihood of success for the Club's existing recordkeeping system can be tested by looking at the Club's information culture, using Oliver's (2011) information culture framework model. (See figure 8.6). The base layer of the Club's information culture can be seen to be strong, as respect for records as evidence and for accountability can be seen in members' acceptance and understanding of the formalised assessment and training of leaders, the formal transfer of records at the annual committee handover dinner, and the committee positions themselves, a structure set up around responsibility for certain areas of knowledge. Willingness to share information is also evident, and Club members have clearly identified preferred information sources, which are often not traditionally recognised paper records but instead trusted individuals.

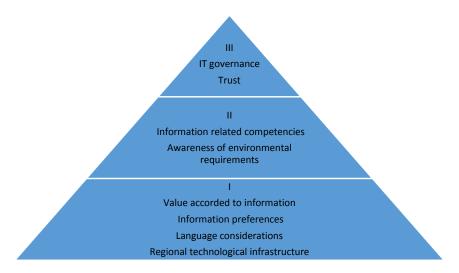


Fig. 8.6 Information Culture Framework (Oliver 2011)

Level two of this model looks at information management skills acquired or extended in the organisation, and again the Club has many systems and structures in place to ensure knowledge and skills for managing the system are passed on. As before, these are usually not in the form of learning to manage written records, though the new *Footprints* magazine editor receives training in this area each year, and deposits copies of the magazine in designated places. Finally, level 3 relates to the trust in organisational systems that have been established to manage the information, and again, current members demonstrate an ongoing trust in those systems, and in the committee and longer-serving members to keep them going. Although former members have a lower level of trust that the records relating to their time in the Club will be maintained for the long term, those motivated to remain in touch with their fellow former members and/or the current Club themselves continue to maintain records that remain a trusted part of the Club's wider recordkeeping system, which are reconnected when reunions are held. Thus, the Club's records continue, maintained through networks of ongoing friendships and connections back to the current Club's base at the University of Auckland.

8.5 Insights from theories of ecosystems

At the outset of this research, I found a quote from a former President of the AUTC which illustrated the resilience of the Club's collective memory in the face of constant change of membership: "These are the

constants, elements of what gets referred to as club spirit, that nebulous creature that lingers and grows through the years as individual faces change." (Erb, 2007). Our co-constructed model, an illustration of the processes sustaining "that nebulous creature", implies movement in its form, based on the idea of a cyclone seen from above, with elements constantly joining and leaving, and all constantly adding to and influencing one another, through the networks of friendships, shared places and events, and other connections. Reflections on the idea of a "nebulous creature" made up of and sustained by the Tramping Club process, together with the idea of embodiment and the Club's focus on exploring the wilderness, brought me to consider theories relating to ecosystems for useful insights.



Fig. 8.7 The Tramping Club Process

Costanza and Mageau (1999) defined a healthy ecosystem as one that is sustainable: "it has the ability to maintain its structure (organisation) and function (vigour) over time in the face of external stress (resilience)." Conceptualising the Club's collective-memory creation and maintenance, effectively inseparable from its recordkeeping, in terms of an ecosystem provides an intellectual framework that is easily grasped by members of an outdoor club and also has the advantages set out by Naughton (2014, pp.86-87) in the context of examining the online media environment:

- It obliges us to treat it as a system distinguished by strong interrelationships and dependencies between its constituent components
- It sensitizes us to the importance of diversity[...]different species take advantage of different niches, which provide them with opportunities for specialized growth and success
- It emphasizes the importance of coevolution[...] Their adaptations lead to further change as one species changes the environment so that it becomes favourable for another[...] "the dynamic balance found in healthy ecologies a balance found in motion, not stillness" (Nardi & O'Day 1999)
- [it shows] the importance of keystone species whose presence is critical to the survival of the ecosystem.

Another term which relates to ecosystem sustainability is "symbiosis", an ecological relationship between two or more organisms. There are three main symbiotic relationships generally defined: Mutualism, where both benefit; commensalism, where one benefits and the other is not affected; and parasitism, where one benefits while causing harm to the other. An ethical aim for archival organisations holding records of communities would be mutualism, but through lack of awareness or attention they risk instead heading towards the parasitism end of the spectrum. Sometimes, the experience for communities is more one of clear-felling, when the records disappear completely from the community's shared places into institutions which make access difficult or impossible, through restrictive policies or inadequate description. This research suggests that archival institutions should not remove records from their community contexts unless analysis shows that meaningful links between the records and community will be sustained, and that there will be a long-term benefit to the community from transfer of the records, given that records form an integral part of the community, its collective memory and its sustainability.

Considering the club's recordkeeping system in terms of ecosystems led in turn to the area of complex systems. Cilliers (1998) notes some of the most important characteristics of complex systems are:

- The number of elements is sufficiently large that conventional descriptions are not only impractical, but cease to assist in understanding the system. Moreover, the elements interact dynamically, and the interactions can be physical or involve the exchange of information
- Such interactions are rich, i.e. any element or sub-system in the system is affected by and affects several other elements or sub-systems
- The interactions are non-linear: small changes in inputs, physical interactions or stimuli can cause large effects or very significant changes in outputs
- Interactions are primarily but not exclusively with immediate neighbours and the nature of the influence is modulated
- Any interaction can feed back onto itself directly or after a number of intervening stages. Such feedback can
 vary in quality. This is known as recurrency
- Such systems may be open and it may be difficult or impossible to define system boundaries
- Complex systems operate under far from equilibrium conditions. There has to be a constant flow of energy to maintain the organization of the system
- Complex systems have a history. They evolve and their past is co-responsible for their present behaviour
- Elements in the system may be ignorant of the behaviour of the system as a whole, responding only to the information or physical stimuli available to them locally

These characteristics of complex systems can be observed in the club's day to day practice and in its gradual evolution, as we have found in together co-constructing our model of the club's collective memory maintenance. New energy is constantly being supplied by the influx of students, and a new committee, each year. Each new member brings new ideas to be integrated or rejected. Groups can coalesce, split, and reform, as members go tramping together, attend or organise events or work on projects. Specific events or changes to places may have a short-term or ongoing impact, and each member of the club has access to different parts and quantities of the collective memory. The inherent complexity leads to difficulty when trying to accurately model individual elements and relationships, as is required for the development of traditional archival finding aids. For example, the co-ingredience of records and place (discussed in Chapter 9), as well as identity, mean that any modelling of those elements as separate entities will be an artificial construct. Similarly, the constant movement inherent in any complex system, adapting as it does to constant changes in its environment, is difficult to portray in a static model. This adaptation to change is an essential part of the continuity of the Tramping Club Process.

8.6 The Tramping Club Process as a complex adaptive system

This system of maintaining the club's collective memory shows the generic characteristics of complex adaptive systems, as set out by Mitleton-Kelly (2003) as they were defined by theorists from the natural and social sciences, developing from the idea of complex systems as described above. These are: self-organisation, emergence, connectivity, interdependence, feedback, far from equilibrium, space of possibilities, co-evolution, historicity & time, path-dependence and creation of new order.

Self-organisation: Club members decide what the club will do, deciding individually to come together to do activities, create, use and maintain records, and so on.

Emergence: Defined by Mitleton-Kelly (p.19) as "the process that creates new order together with self-organisation", changes to the club arise from the interaction between all of the elements of the club, with feedback from all of the related entities: new actions, records, cultural elements and so on emerge through the interaction of the whole of the club, including all of the external forces influencing each internal element.

Connectivity and interdependence: This relates to all elements of the system: humans, records, places, events, aims, values and so on. Decisions or actions of individuals, or characteristics of places, or records, or events can affect others in the club – for example, individuals decide to run trips or training in particular places, help maintain the hut, take on the safety officer role, digitise club photographs and make them available online, and so on. The impact of decisions of individuals, or characteristics of other elements, on any other individual element depends on the state of the individual receiving the impact, so it can be greater or lesser. For example, the individual may have already been on that training course, or might not have time to go, or conversely, perhaps the trip is the turning point in their life and they decide to devote their life to conservation of the environment. Another example: The digital system chosen for maintaining the photographs may or may not be effective, and the person creating the images and maintaining the system may or may not be skilled and knowledgeable about digital preservation.

Feedback: Feedback is an intrinsic part of the club's Process, built into the system through committee meetings, including for example decisions on who is qualified to lead or go on a trip; conversations; individuals' decisions about whether or not, and how, to run and attend events as a result of previous experiences; and informed by input from the external environment.

Far from equilibrium: The Tramping Club is in a state of constant flux as the membership and committee is renewed each year. This constant change of membership and decision-makers allows for constant experimentation and exploration of possibilities as society changes around the club. The recent development of Kauri dieback disease in the vicinity of the Club hut has led to the closing of the forest and limited access to the hut. This is likely to have an ongoing detrimental effect on Club activities, memory and recordkeeping system unless the Club can develop strategies to deal with this new, significant challenge. They have already begun, for example by volunteering to improve tracks in the Waitakeres so to reduce the risk of soil movement around Kauri trees.

Space of possibilities: As Mitleton-Kelly notes (p.14)," any strategy can only be optimal under certain conditions, and when those conditions change, the strategy may no longer be optimal". The constant renewal of Club leadership and membership allows for the exploration of an expansive "space of possibilities", new possible strategies to try, within the safety-net of longer-serving committee members who can provide a buffer against any change they believe is detrimental to broader Club aims.

Co-evolution: Elements of the Club's system evolve together over time, through feedback due to connectivity. When the club introduced a Facebook page, for example, it was at first only the current student members who were aware of it and used it, but when older, former members became aware of it through their club-member Facebook friends making posts or "liking" photos posted there, many began to follow, post images and comments on the Facebook page as well.

Historicity and time: Subsequent evolution of the Club depends on decisions made within the system: the state of the Club at any time is dependent on what has happened to all of the elements in its history. For example, the decision to have a Club hut has had a powerful and ongoing influence on the Club, its members, its events and its records, as has the decision to have an annual magazine, and the decision of an individual Club member to lead a trip to a particular valley on a particular date, when the mountainside unexpectedly collapsed.

Path-dependence: As above, the specific paths a system may follow depends on its past history. In one of the examples above, the loss of four club members in a tragic tramping accident, within the same year as several climbing accidents, led to a greater emphasis on safety in the mountains, encouraged by influential individuals such as the President. Some individuals believed that as many of these accidents had a large element of chance, they did not see a need to modify behaviour. However, for the Club as a whole, the powerful negative feedback of the loss of close friends led to an impulse to improve training in alpine skills, which in turn led to the introduction of new training courses and requirements. These in their turn led to new trips, new skills for individuals, and more new possibilities, all of which provided positive feedback for the new path. It was noted by some that awareness of the need for safety in the mountains tended to move in cycles as people with direct knowledge of people who had died left the Club, but measures were put in place to try to keep awareness current, including requirements relating to the duties of Club safety officer and alpine officer.

Creation of new order: Mitleton-Kelly describes self-organisation, emergence and the creation of a new order as three of the key elements of complex systems. New order is created through the interrelationship of all elements of the system, working together. In a complex, adaptive system in constant flux, as in the Tramping Club, every new order is a temporary creation, but due to the background of unchanged shared aims, an effective structure, and the continuing interconnection of the elements of the system and process, it forms a coherent and cohesive organisation.

8.7 Maintaining relationships in the complex, adaptive Tramping Club Process

Within the Tramping Club process, relationships between records and the people that create, maintain, share and use them happen organically, within the activities, events, personal relationships and places within the club. There are multiple simultaneous relationships of various types between the different categories of entity within the process. The process itself creates records and their descriptions automatically. A parallel can be seen in the concepts of "Clever Recordkeeping Metadata" (Evans, McKemmish & Bhoday 2005), where recordkeeping systems are designed in a way that metadata about records is created as part of the creation of the records, and designed to enable sharing between systems. In the Tramping Club, metadata is often shared through storytelling and human relationship building for example, and is then available to be used in different parts of the Club's processes performing different functions, as needed.

However, this research has shown that when records are removed from the system and placed into an archival institution, or are otherwise separated from the current club, connections with the records, knowledge of their context and awareness of their existence and related knowledge tend to be lost to Club members. Maintaining the awareness of these artificially separated records would be most effectively done by making sure the records and the people looking after them are kept within the Club's existing recordkeeping system, part of events and in Club places, as well as assigning a committee member the responsibility for maintaining the memory of their location, as a Club-appropriate "finding aid" within the community. In addition, though, the contextual connections would be further maintained by developing a registry system managed through the Club's website, identifying Club-appropriate metadata which could also be incorporated in the systems of the archival or other institutions that hold the physical and digital documents.

A complex, adaptive system of collective memory maintenance requires a complex, adaptive network to describe it. As discussed above and in Chapter 6, any modelling of the relationships between the different elements of the system would be a mere skeleton of the actual complex relationships, in which everything is related to everything else, and there is constant change. The system is naturally and vitally participatory, and when participation is denied, the connection into the system withers away and the related memories begin to be lost, as has been seen with the records in Special Collections.

Rolan (2017a, pp.304ff) described three levels of developmental maturity of recordkeeping systems models, in terms of requirements for participatory recordkeeping. The first stage simply described records as artefacts, while the third, most highly-developed stage, which he named "activity modelling", "explicitly recognises records as ... representations of human activity", "recognises that all participants in records need to be represented and potentially participate in recordkeeping activity" and "facilitates interoperability at all levels from the technical to the semantic". Rolan's (2017b) conceptual Meta-model for Recordkeeping Metadata recognises that the "record-ness" of records "exists by virtue of its relationship with other entities" (2017a, p. 307), and allows for multiple perspectives and multiple types of agency and other relationships for individual and multiple records, and therefore has potential as the basis for developing a system to describe Tramping Club records in writing where this is required. However, this has not yet been tested, and a system for registration for the Club records in a written form is yet to be designed. For the Committee, there are many other more pressing issues to deal with, since their current system is functioning very well for their perceived needs.

I did, however, spend some time speculating on what the elements of such a registry system might be. Metadata entities were categorised in chapter 6 as people, places, events / activities, records, and mandate / trust. The entity types can be added to, or removed, dependent on what the club finds most useful for classifying the types of record registered. Era could be another useful entity, as people of a particular era tend to cluster in relationship groups and continue to share memories and run events together over time. Role in the club might be another useful entity, as the Club Captain, Treasurer and Trips Officer, for example, each has a specific role tied to particular types of records, events and activities. This trust or mandate in most cases is assigned by members and usually assumed rather than documented, so perhaps would be unnecessary for a register within the club. For events and activities, a "type" would be useful to ensure all "May Camps" could be viewed collectively, as well as all tramps in particular areas, "Christmas Parties", "River Schools", "Reunions", and so on. A vignette illustrating some current examples of Clubcreated classification of physical records is in Appendix E.

In developing a diagram of entities or nodes and relationships as a basis for a registry system for the distributed records and other resources of the club, types of relationship would be complex, with multiple relationships between entities. Physical records such as photographs might have a "created during" (or similar) type of relationship to an event such as a tramping trip, but also perhaps a relationship such as "used in" a trips launch, a photo competition, a Facebook post and a Footprints article. The complexity of the relationships would suggest that relationship itself should be an entity, which could then be described however the person registering it felt was appropriate, and multiple different relationships could be described between elements. This then leads on to questions relating to practicality: how does this work in practice? How would it be visualised / presented to users? Here, Rolan's (2017b) model may prove a useful starting point.

The definition of "records" would include embodied records such as "Skills and knowledge", if people were willing to share their knowledge of particular skills with people they didn't know. Relating people with their committee positions for particular date ranges would show fellow members of the Committee for each year, while relating people with particular events, including trips, would illuminate the likely presence of shared memories, and enable the sharing of photographs, stories and other records. Club members have

also expressed an interest in registering offers to provide accommodation or transport for current members en route to trips, and this is something else that could be usefully added to this registration system.

As an opt-in registration system, people would be free to provide as much or as little information about themselves and their records as they wish, and free to add or remove any information they had provided at any time. In line with existing Club practice for decision-making, the committee would also be free to decide to add new entities whenever they thought it necessary. This freedom to change allows the finding aid to continue to adapt with the community over time, and retain its relevance while still maintaining the elements of the collective recordkeeping system that community members want to retain. This far more participatory model of a "finding aid system" than is traditionally used would be a much more effective fit with the Club's organisational culture and processes for maintaining collective memory than anything curated by an external provider, or even by a single expert within the Club.

8.8 Implications for archival and recordkeeping practice

When a community is maintaining its records of its collective memory as part of a complex, adaptive system, with the elements of the system co-ingredient in one another, the removal of those records from inside the system must have an influence on the system and processes as a whole. I observed in the course of this research the impact of placing Club records into "Special Collections" at the University without developing a process within the Club's systems to ensure the current members retained access to their associated stories, or even just knowledge of their existence. Fortunately there were still enough linkages within the system to allow some reconnections to be made, but their place within the active, storytelling heart of the Club was greatly diminished. There was a strong risk that the Club would lose sight of the records entirely, as well as the likelihood that much of the significant context of the records would have been lost.

Maintaining records within community systems keeps power to manage the records within the community. The records can be created, captured, managed and pluralised on community terms, and within community understandings and values. For example, the Tramping Club chooses to share some aspects of their records and culture publicly, most often through *Footprints* magazine, the Club website and Facebook page, as well as by performing some embodied records in public. This gives the Club the right to decide what should be shared, with how wide an audience, and under what circumstances, and also provides the opportunity to include the types of metadata and accompanying records that ensure the records and their expression can be interpreted in ways that make sense in Club terms as well as whatever other terms the observers might understand.

Examining from a critical perspective the action of archivists in "preserving" records by taking them into archival custody, in light of this new understanding of the interconnectedness of records, people, activities, places, and other elements within a complex adaptive system, suggests that this action does not take into account the significance of the records' community context, valuing archival processes and concepts of preservation over a community's own methods of preservation within context. The power of the archival message within Western culture has led this view of preservation to become widely accepted. However, this research suggests that removing records from their community contexts without ensuring community connections are preserved is an act akin to colonisation, in effect destroying much of the context of the records the archivists are intending to preserve.

Evelyn Wareham (2002) has discussed this issue in relation to the introduction of Western European recordkeeping traditions to the Pacific. She observed (p.187) the "entanglement of colonial power relations in local recordkeeping practices", discussing the relationship between records and processes of political and economic disempowerment, and the subsequent reclamation of rights and identities as the island states reassert their pre-colonial power, leading to an increased understanding of the need for archives and recordkeeping processes to "better integrate into their cultural and political contexts" in the unique environments of the Pacific micro-states. This integration can only occur if the contexts are well understood

by the developers of those archives and recordkeeping processes, which can only be achieved if the communities are full participants in their development.

This new understanding of the holistic nature of the Tramping Club's recordkeeping system challenges the tenet of much archival literature to date that preservation of records is best done "across the archival threshold" [SAA, 1997-2017] by professional archival practitioners. In 1996, Duranti wrote that the defence of the "inactive" record relies on transparency of records preservation, security and stability, and that leaving records in the hands of those who are accountable through them puts them in a situation of conflict of interest. Leaving aside for now the question of the implied neutrality of archivists, which has been canvassed at length elsewhere (for example, Derrida 1996; Schwartz & Cook 2002; Ketelaar 2005a; Carter 2006; Jimerson 2009; Davidson 2015), Duranti wrote "Security means certainty that the records cannot be consciously altered". In refutation to the authenticity-preservation of the archival threshold, Cunningham (2017) observed that in many jurisdictions, including France (Duchein 1992), the location of records in archival institutions does not guarantee their authenticity in the minds of observers, and that records may be adequately controlled for authenticity outside the walls of an archival institution. More recently, Duranti and Rogers (2012) re-addressed the concept of trust in records, in relation to the impact on the concept of the proliferation of digital records maintained in the Cloud, and concluded "trust in records rests on four types of knowledge about the records' custodian - namely reputation, performance, competence, and confidence". For members of the AUTC, through the Tramping Club process, this knowledge is implicit in the Tramping Club's own systems, but the AUTC systems do not readily provide the same knowledge to members about archival institutions.

As an alternative to the custodial model of archiving, Cunningham discussed the new post-custodial realities of digital records and "virtual" archives, where the "archival bond" (Duranti 1997, p.215) could be maintained from the point of creation of the records by means of recordkeeping metadata. Perhaps with government organisations in mind, Cunningham then suggested that the long-term preservation of records with broader societal or historical value is not the core business of agencies, but is better done by "transferring archival value digital records into archival custody at the earliest possible convenience" as long-term preservation of these records is "the core business of archives".

Unfortunately, removing records from a community does not prevent alteration – rather, it guarantees it, as many of the contextual relationships providing the "record-ness" of the record are lost. The SAA's more recent definition of archival threshold includes records retained in an agency "electronic recordkeeping system" in accordance with an agreement with an archives, but this leeway has not been extended to the records of other communities. Unfortunately, once the record has left the community's context and been captured in an archival repository, what is being retained is no longer the same record. Instead, it is a relic shorn of much of its meaning, arranged and described to retain its authenticity from the point of view of its captors.

The records continuum also grapples with concepts of archival thresholds, relying, as Cunningham discussed, on intellectual controls – metadata systems - rather than physical custody to preserve the evidential qualities of records. Upward suggests that without conscious organisation, one of the Records Continuum Model's "fuzzy" and "permeable" recordkeeping thresholds (Reed, 2005), "[the archive will form] but its spreading in spacetime will be extremely erratic and ad hoc (Upward, 2005). Rolan (2017, p.270) suggests the archival threshold should recognise the recordkeeping needs of multiple participants – it "becomes the point beyond which an independent agent introduces the record into a participatory

⁹ Archival bond: "the network of relationships that each record has with the records belonging in the same aggregation". Duranti 1997, p.215

recordkeeping framework – thus ensuring its pluralistic moral defence" – without the need for removal into custody.

Instead of removing archives from communities and severing the links between them, archival institutions could help maintain and build relationships between communities and the records that sustain them. For this to happen, archivists would need to learn to understand and appreciate existing community recordkeeping systems, and find out how to maintain and build on those existing relationships instead of breaking them. The best way to achieve this might be to retain the records within the community, with the support of specialist archival knowledge when needed. Alternatively, records might be transferred, but with much thought and effort, from both partners, put into maintaining relationships between the community and the institution. It is essential in either case that the implications, including both risks and benefits, to the community and the institution are considered in depth and with transparency and honesty.

Archival institutions must be able to be held to account for the effects of their actions on the communities whose records they hold, and clear agreements must be made at the outset of any relationship. In the past, agreements to transfer records have often been made from positions of unequal power, particularly in the case of vulnerable communities, and part of this power imbalance comes from a lack of awareness of the implications of applying professional archival systems and processes to community records. This power imbalance must be addressed when considering any archival intervention in community recordkeeping systems. In Chapter 9, I further consider the implications of imposing processes and concepts from professional archival culture on community recordkeeping systems, and possibilities for archival institutions to instead become enablers for maintaining community recordkeeping systems and processes.

8.9 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the Tramping Club collective memory maintenance process in terms of its recordkeeping aspects, and defined it as a complex, adaptive system which integrates Club members, records, places, events and activities, trust or mandate, shared aims, individual growth and the structure of the Club in a holistic process which enables the functioning and continuity of the club. The Club is its own embodied recordkeeping system, with individual records found in many forms, including physical, virtual and embodied in individual people, places, events and other elements of the system.



Fig. 8.8 Creating, managing, using and sharing physical and embodied records in a community context. Whanganui Trip, 1980s. I am holding map in centre.

It is perhaps unusual to include a photograph in a concluding paragraph, but this photo is a visual summary of the Club's complex, adaptive system in action, as I examine a map while out on my first tramp as leader,

with the support of some more experienced members giving me advice, while others create and share stories, and develop new relationships, around me.

The removal of community records into archival institutions can be a severing of connections, destruction of context, and with it, authenticity, and a risk to community memory. The traditional archival privileging of professional understandings of recordkeeping has its basis in a colonising world-view, where experts from other contexts arrive and "fix" aspects of other cultures that they perceive as being done incorrectly, without an insider's understanding of the workings of the culture they are attempting to fix. The next chapter will further analyse the implications of dis-embedding records from community systems, by examining the "place" element of the club's recordkeeping system.

Chapter 9: Archives as Places, Places as Archives: Doors to privilege, places of connection, or haunted sarcophagi of crumbling skeletons?

9.1 Introduction

Tramping Club has taken me to some wild, wonderful, beautiful and terrifying places. Some of those places are rarely visited. They often contain surprises, and reveal new insights about myself and my companions. Visiting new places is sometimes uncomfortable and scary, but always a source of new ideas.

This chapter, a further development of the ideas explored in Chapter 8, addresses an emergent research question which was surfaced by the grounded theory methods:

RQ4 How do place and records impact on one another, and how is this represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

My research has led me to reflect on the resonance between records or archives and place: the importance of place in supporting and asserting archival authenticity, but also the other impacts that archives (both repositories and records) and place have on one another.

Here, I first return to the literature, to discover what others have written on the significance of place to communities and their records. Next, I reflect on the contrast and connections between Archives as places, and places as archives (or Archives), where place acts as a co-constituent and contextual element for a multiplicity of records, which may be embodied in the place or contained by it. I also note another sense of place as archive / Archives, where evidence of events and activities are left as traces on a place and become records, though deeper consideration of this second definition is out of scope for this research. I reflect on differences between institutional archival places and community places, and the implications for disconnection or empowerment of people, and preservation or destruction of the context of records. Finally, I consider how archivists might enable the co-construction of archival "places of belonging" for communities.

9.2 Considering place as archive

When I started writing this chapter, it revealed a confusion of ideas in my own mind about the link between archives, and archival institutions, and place. I realised this was because I am approaching the idea of archives as places from two perspectives simultaneously. I have been an archivist in the New Zealand National Archives for more than 25 years, so that was at first the dominant perspective I was bringing to my research: the idea of archives as physical places of custody; professional keeping-places that protect the key elements of archive-ness for the benefit of society at large. The post-modern shift in archival circles has led to a growing understanding of the influence of archivists and archival institutions on the way archives are understood and interpreted: for example, writing on Archives as a Place, Adrian Cunningham notes (p.55) "all archival programs and institutions are the contingent products of their time and place". He concludes: "To really understand the place of archive and archives as a place, one has to start by understanding the social, cultural, and political context in which archives operate at any given time and in any given place."

However my research is leading me to see archives from a completely different point of view, influenced by concepts of the archival multiverse (PACG 2011; Gilliland, McKemmish & Lau 2016): a community-focused, records continuum point of view, exploring place **as** archive. This view recognises that communities themselves maintain archives in situ, made up not just of records objects and their metadata describing their physical and intellectual dimensions and relationships, as recognised in traditional archival theory, but formed organically as the community's integrated and multi-faceted collective memory

maintenance process, embedded within community places and functioning as a vital part of the life of the community. At first I was trying to combine my archivist and tramping club community member perspectives in this chapter, but then I began to wonder if they were incommensurable. Maintaining the multi-faceted narratives (Battley, Daniels & Rolan 2014) for which records can be the remembrancers and the seeds, the active participants and the recorders, the gathering places and the witnesses, the touchstones and the sites of intellectual and emotional and spiritual resonance, requires the maintenance of community connections. Archival institutional custody can build boundary walls that communities find opaque or even impenetrable.

Place as archives or Archives, as noted in Section 9.1, can have several senses. One, relating to place as a context for records, is the sense I am mainly focusing on here. However, place as archives / Archives also refers to place as a record: the natural environment, the tracks left by many years of trampers, the songlines of the first Australians, the Māori concept of a river or mountain as an ancestor, connecting place to whakapapa or genealogy. This idea of place as a record was brought strongly to my mind when reflecting on the Christchurch earthquakes of 2011, when the destruction of an entire cityscape led to traumatic dislocation for its inhabitants: Blundell (2016 p.37) wrote of the city as formerly a "storehouse... for personal and collective memory" where the residents now "...stare at the gaping fractures in the place we called home, searching within the stark functionality of rescue, recovery and demolition for the serendipitous locales of personal and collective identity". In this chapter, I touch on this sense of place as a record or archives / Archives, for example in relation to the Club Hut, but my main focus is on the resonance between place and records.

Verne Harris spoke at the 2015 ARANZ conference in Auckland, NZ of the hauntedness of archives: haunted by spectral authors, mediations, content, context, and places of consignation. As I listened, I thought about the power given to formal archival repositories and the expectations placed on them in bringing together so many different contexts. Ketelaar (2005, p296) wrote of the power given to archivists when "the records of the state cross the boundaries of the records continuum's fourth dimension, [entailing] a re-appropriation of the citizens' memories". This power and appropriation of memory puts, as Ketelaar states, a special responsibility on the "guardians of those memories: the archivists." I wondered how well the archival places substituted for the places they came from, not just for records of the state, but still more for records of communities. And how much archivists and our archival institutional spaces and places would need to change to effectively achieve this aim. I needed to turn to a new area of literature to consider these ideas.

9.3 Archives as a place to stand: Surveying a new area of literature

Re-reading Caswell's 2014 paper on "symbolic annihilation" in light of my subsequent research, I found myself focusing on her "place to stand" idea, in terms of the fostering of a place of belonging, of asserting a particular identity and of having a point from which to grow a future. I grew up in Auckland, New Zealand in the 1970s, a time when Māori people were beginning to become more vocal in their call for Māori sovereignty and "Tūrangawaewae" – a place to stand in Aotearoa New Zealand. Joan Metge, a New Zealand anthropologist whose book "Talking Past Each Other" (1978) became a classic in discussions of cultural mis-communication, has written more recently (2010) on "The trick of standing upright here" – the need for people to learn three bodies of knowledge to be able to find a place to stand, or in an English phrase, to "find one's feet". She says the three strands that will support us are (p.2) self-knowledge: "who we are, what we believe and value, and who and what has shaped us"; knowledge of the land: "the deeper knowledge and attachment that comes from living in or making repeated visits to places and spending time to search out their natural and human history"; and "the people of the land – the many different ethnic groups... especially the people who have had their roots deep in the land for centuries." This weaving together of these strands of knowledge gives a person a place to stand, a sense of being grounded, and a basis for identity. This understanding relies on a knowledge of the past, which is stored in many forms and

places, circling back once more to ideas about the place and types of archive, how and where they are grounded and how they might help to ground us.

Adrian Cunningham (2017) wrote recently on "Archives as a Place". He states:

...a large body of academic literature in philosophy and the humanities positions "the archive" as a metaphor for the accumulated and distributed knowledge of communities and subject disciplines. In these discourses, archives may or may not have tangible form, and in any case, there is usually no expectation that they have to be collected in a particular place – be it a public building or otherwise. In these cases, the archive is a cultural, intellectual, and psychological ecosystem with no fixed boundaries. This metaphorical view of archives may be extended to non-western societies and their oral traditions, where the storage, preservation, and transmission of cultural memory are achieved by huge variety of means, only some of which may be rooted to physical places of preservation.

Cunningham notes (p.55) "all archival programs and institutions are the contingent products of their time and place" and concludes: "To really understand the place of archive and archives as a place, one has to start by understanding the social, cultural, and political context in which archives operate at any given time and in any given place." However, apart from his discussion of oral histories, the protection of authenticity of archives is only discussed in terms of the protection of being within the archival threshold, and to some extent to the institution where they were created, and in terms of the value of digital access. The physical places of creation and use, with all of their influence, affective power and links to community members and community collective memory are not mentioned as aspects of the records to be preserved or recorded.

Cunningham also cites Upward (1996) "The externalities of place are becoming less significant day-by-day... the location of the resources and services will be of no concern to those using them..." Upward's argument for a post-custodial model has become still more relevant in today's proliferation of cloud computing services. However, Upward is not suggesting that provenance has ceased to be important, as is clarified in Upward, Reed, Oliver & Evans (2018), which includes a call for the reinvention of traditional practices for storage, appraisal and provenance for the moral defence of the record within the complexity of the "cascading inscriptions" of the digital era. Perhaps Upward has since that time modified his view that the location of resources and services are of no concern to those using them – certainly his Records Continuum Model (p.192) shows recordkeeping containers, the physical or virtual containers in which records exist and out of which they are viewed, are constituents of the records themselves, one of the externalities which does according to his own model have significance to those using them.

Others have written of the co-ingredience of place and identity, as each change over time. Annabel Cooper, in her essay "Childhood Haunts", says (p.107) "... you take place with you as you go on." She goes on to describe the influence of different places on specific well-known New Zealanders, and concludes (p.119) "In all of these lives, places were 'passings that haunted', leaving their imprints in the adults who were once children there...although places are in so many ways impermanent, always in the process of becoming something else, what they were at a certain time nevertheless continues to anchor how you go on to become."

Tony Ballantyne, a historian who "advocate[s] the primacy of archives", writes in the same anthology (2016) about Fairways takeaways in Caversham, south Dunedin (where he grew up). He says (p.57) "My own sense of attachment to Caversham has undoubtedly shaped my work in a variety of ways and has been a key driver of my dissatisfaction with histories that dwell on the imagined national community without grappling with the specificities of individual places". He cites (p.60) British geographer Doreen Massey's essay "A Global Sense of Place", where she "used Kilburn High Road in London to emphasise the centrality of connections in shaping places, pressing against readings of places as self-sufficient, enclosed, clearly bounded". Ballantyne says "places are unique not only as a result of their topography but also because they are in process", points of convergence for pathways, people and social connections, constantly remaking communities.

From an anthropological perspective, John Gray (2003, p.16) wrote of the intersections of identity, local landscape and history in poetry of the Scottish borders. In another essay in the same volume, Angéle Smith (2003) described the 19th century mapping of Ireland by the British Ordinance Survey as another aspect of colonisation. She wrote (p.71) "The act of colonising... is also a matter of the politics of perception, experience and representation." The significance of map-making as a form of recordkeeping with powerful administrative implications was also discussed by Andrew Janes (2011) in his analysis of the implications of cartographic technologies on recordkeeping. Thus, archives and recordkeeping, place, identity and power are all bound up in one another in complex webs of influence.

9.4 Returning to the model, and considering archives as places

The model constructed in this research shows how the Tramping Club collective memory is a complex, adaptive system involving many elements, all within the original aims of the club. The role of records is completely embedded in the life of this community, and collective memory is tied up with the practice of tramping, the shared values and interests of individual club members, the regular repeated events held, the special club places, the stories and songs shared, the informal apprenticeship each member goes through, the sharing of the work of memory between people within the structure of the Club, the presence of elders with a long view, and the trust or membership which keeps us all together. Records, whether physical or virtual, are embedded in this process which helps the Club remain resilient in the face of all the changes and challenges it faces. Of the many aspects integral to this complex system, place is fundamental as it forms part of the reason for the Club's existence and remains a strong element keeping the Club going.

There are several quite basic reasons for place to be fundamental to the Club's existence. One is of course that its members all meet together at the University of Auckland, and another is a geographical one. Why do we go tramping, or hiking, in New Zealand? Many reasons, but a big one is because some of it is beautiful. And there aren't any deadly animals, and the climate isn't too bad, mostly. By and large, it's a wonderful place to be outside in, with just enough challenge to keep it exciting, and to unite you with the people you are tramping with. International students who like being in the outdoors come to New Zealand to study and also join the Club, building up its membership, bringing new perspectives and keeping its finances healthy.



Fig. 9.1 Near Lake Sylvester, North-West Nelson

Archives as places have their own identities. Luciana Duranti (1996) has written about Archives as physical or intellectual places of custody, and their perceived significance for the authenticity of records over time. Duranti suggests for maintaining legal and moral accountability and societal collective memory

... it is necessary to build again powerful, imposing archival buildings and place them in the centre of the city... so that they return to be the pulsating heart of civic life, active participants in the everyday vicissitudes of the common people.

Societal accountability is an essential part of the reason we keep archives, and something I have been working towards all my years at Archives New Zealand. But my research was niggling at me with an uncomfortable question. Is it possible for records held in these palatial buildings, symbols of centuries of privilege, to be everyday active participants for common people? While it is very important for societal accountability that records are "placed" in a repository where society in general will trust their evidentiality, different groups may have different requirements for authenticity and evidentiality depending on their experience of the trustworthiness of the dominant culture. They might also find the cultural baggage of a western archival institution too foreign or frightening to approach at all, or too far outside their usual community places that they don't imagine anything relating to them could be there. When I first talked with the then President of the Tramping Club about my research I asked if he knew there were Club records in the Special Collections of the University Library. He said "I was vaguely aware of that." He was a University lecturer, very used to libraries and archives, but not used to thinking of archives as a Tramping Club place.

As noted in Chapter 7, Jeanette Bastian (2006, p.3-4), in discussing the concept of a community of records, says community functions "both as a record-creating entity and as a memory frame that contextualises the records it creates". Jennifer Douglas (2017, p.36) says "The notion of a 'community of records' highlights also the significance of collective memory and the influence of place on record creation." She cites Bastian's (2003) article on the archives of the MacDowell Colony, where (p.15-16) "the physical space of the artists' colony becomes an important aspect of record provenance, as it is within the space of the MacDowell colony that its collective memory is embodied".



Fig. 9.2 Acid-free boxes in the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Archives

I took this photo when we visited the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame archives in Cleveland in 2016, as part of a tour provided by the Archival Education and Research Institute organising committee. Of course, we got to go there, we got privileged access, because we had gathered in Ohio for our community event, and of course we like to find out about other archives because of who we are. We share interests and aims and a professional language, despite some regional differences. We trust one another, and we enjoy sharing our places with fellow-community members. We got privileged access because we belong to the same community. I used this photo in a class I taught recently when we talked about storing paper records.

It is of course very good that these records are preserved and people can get access, and it's really great that this archive has such a high profile, so people interested in these records are quite likely to just happen upon the fact they exist. They might not feel comfortable accessing them in a formal environment, of course, and that's something I need to consider in my own work as an archivist.

One very cold wintry day I was out for a run when I started thinking about human cryogenics, where people are kept in suspended animation until they reach a pre-determined time (or galaxy). I thought about how records in archives also live in a kind of suspended animation. Our descriptions are their lifeline to the communities they relate to. If those lifelines don't reach the community, the records wither away until they are husks, or bare bones in little acid-free sarcophagi. As archivists we need to ask ourselves who are we keeping these archives for, and why. In New Zealand, Māori writers have for many years been expressing concerns with the way archival and museum institutions create a barrier between Māori communities and the physical artefacts which contain some of their historical knowledge by maintaining them within Western (Pakeha) cultural norms, in institutions which require Māori communities to follow western custom to visit their own records. Jeanette Wikaira (2004, p.49) wrote of a Māori elder who told her he had "visited an archival institution recently and likened it to visiting a relative in prison." Keeping the records outside their community cuts off the physical records from the oral traditions, the activities, the places and the people to which they relate; it puts up a barrier between the record and those who are best able to maintain and pass on its meaning; it is a violent sundering of the record from its contextual life, into the sterile and hushed environs of a "preservation facility", where it can only flourish by means of determined effort to maintain those now-external links.

Accessibility is a significant issue. Records need to be available in the places people need them, so they know they exist and can access them. We place records and their descriptions in locations easily bumped into by archivists, and to a lesser degree by people such as genealogists, historians and other scholars, but often not by many of the communities to which they relate. We describe them in unfamiliar words and structures. When people from those communities do happen upon them in a Google search, they might not recognise them as their own, or they might be so far down the list of search results they are not spotted at all. When people visit their records in an institutional venue, they experience them in the midst of unfamiliar surroundings, sights, sounds, smells and feelings unrelated to the origin of the records, all of which have some degree of impact on the way the records are experienced and understood.

In Section 4.7 I noted a story told to me by a long-time custodian of club records. He told me he had visited special collections to look at a photo album he used to take to events for people to look at. He said, with a quiet laugh "I had to put on white gloves to be able to look at them, but I appreciate this was policy for archives, so I guess we've..." and then he trailed off in thought. This was a retired University lecturer, very used to archives, but he had to visit his own community records in a place that felt foreign, and follow the culture of the community he was visiting. He went by himself, it wasn't easy to bring others there to experience them together and share stories. Keeping the Tramping Club records in this traditional archival keeping-place privileges the archival point of view but cuts the records off from the community stories they relate to; they lose much of their richness. "Oral histories" and written records are not separate parts of the club's history: They are vital parts of one another, and creating this false separation silences the voices of the people who are most central to the life of the records.

9.5 Preservation in community places

Archives can be made more hospitable places for communities. But what happens if we instead consider archival places in a new way? We need a way of thinking about archival places which supports community connections.



Fig. 9.3 A photograph in my album from the 1980s: Debi trims Adrian's beard

This is a photo from my album from the 1980s – horrible sticky pages, no written metadata. As a professional archivist, I would be very disapproving. In a professional archival sense, it appears that this photo isn't being preserved for the future.

But then again, I can take this photo to a club reunion and tell people many things about it: it's Debi, trimming Adrian's beard at the club hut, Ongaruanuku, in the Waitakere ranges, which is a 40 minute walk along a muddy track called Ridge Road. There are balloons there because it's Hut Birthday. My sister is sitting there on the steps, sharing a joke with Linda, who has her back to the camera. Mike is sitting next to her, Craig is at the top left, and Quentin next to him. Those parking signs were stolen by ... no, I won't say that. That is a lot of context and description, and I could choose whether to add more. At any point, I could choose to share this with anyone, and I often have, with fellow members, at Club events, and with my children, who went on to become Club members. When they did, they already knew a lot about the Hut, and about Hut Birthday – partly because I had shown them this photo and talked about it. They already knew a whole lot about Club traditions, and carried them on, with their own, modernised spin. They still celebrate Hut Birthday but advertise it through the Club's Facebook page and email instead of a physical noticeboard.

The photo was created because a group of us had gathered for an event at this community place, which we have decorated with a hand-painted shield as well as the random signs. Club members regularly get together there, use it as a base for training new members in tramping skills, share traditions, games, stories and songs, paint it, and replace walls and parts of the roof, so it is a Club-created place in every sense of the word.

This photo symbolises just some ways the Club uses the nexus of records and place to maintain its collective memory. Individual physical records in the Club don't necessarily have to survive for the long term to continue to have an influence, but they do need to be shared in Club places for as long as they have significance to Club members. At a Recordkeeping Roundtable discussion in 2014, Anne Gilliland asked the question "What do records do in people's lives that nothing else does?" (Quoted in Battley 2014) and this research has found an answer to that question in the case of the tramping club community. The use of records has been seen to be vitally incorporated in all of the activities central to the life and sustainability of the community, including but not limited to remembering, forgetting, witnessing, accounting for, connecting to place and people and culture, belonging, transmitting knowledge, communicating and informing, and spiritual and emotional well-being. For the records to continue their function as an active part of the life of the club, they must remain within the complex, adaptive system of the club's collective memory maintaining process. Vital to that process are the places in which the club carries out its activities: the wilderness areas, the Club noticeboard, the Facebook page, the Hut; the other non-physical records

which link to the physical ones: the stories and songs, the embodied skills and knowledge; and the relationships and shared understanding that all in combination give meaning and context to the records.

This photo might not outlast me. A copy of it, a new record, has been published in black and white in the Club magazine, so in some ways it will survive. It doesn't really matter if mine doesn't, in terms of the Club's collective memory. It has already passed on much of its significance to the Club through my children, and other people I have shared it with, so its influence echoes on.

I also included an image of the photograph in a presentation I gave at AERI which formed the basis of this chapter, in a specific archival research community space: an AERI place. I define it as an AERI place because it was an AERI event, and there we were, community members doing AERI things.

I chose to pluralise this photo, which for me as it sits in my photo album at home is a record. I can recontextualise it, here and in the AERI place for my own purposes because I span both communities, and that is my privilege as a member of both, with access to both community places. Of course, to share it in a meaningful way in the different context and place, within the new record that is my presentation, I had to provide a whole lot of metadata, to capture its context verbally and explain how it is organised into the AUTC recordkeeping system, in the Tramping Club Process.

9.6 Places of belonging; Places as archives

A significant aspect of membership is places that we belong. In all of my Tramping Club research, the best places to communicate with the people I need to talk to are in community places, where people are comfortable and open, and where we are surrounded by all the cues that spark ideas relating to the community. In the Tramping Club, records are created and experienced as part of social interactions in club places.

Me: So how did you hear about the Tramping Club?

J: Noticeboard, probably? The noticeboard was the focus of the whole world, in those days [laughing]... you met other people coming there, and going, and telling you about trips that they were planning, ... if someone was planning a trip, they'd put a list up on the noticeboard, and you could add your name...

The photos below contrast interacting with records in a club place and an archival repository.



Fig. 9.4 Experiencing records in a tramping community place Fig. 9.5 Experiencing records in an archival community place

On the left, Stephen and Karen are at a hut on the Dart River in New Zealand. Stephen's checking the map for the next day's tramping and Karen's reading the Hut Book to find out who has been there before and what they had to say about the track we are walking. To the right are some people in the reading room at Archives NZ, where a lot of old hut books are stored now. The atmosphere in the reading room is cleaner, quieter. There isn't the sound and smell of someone cooking dinner, the readers are probably not wet and tired and feeling that sense of relief and discovery you get when you reach a new hut. In the reading room, the archives have taken on an aura of preciousness, outside everyday life. It's a totally different experience,

and this context helps to create and re-create the records. The difference is the impact of place, which we need to consider when deciding whether putting community records in an archival institution which isn't a community place is really preserving them for the community. Yes, hut books are physically better protected in an archival repository, but as archivists we always say we are all about the context.

This leads to the question: are we really maintaining the context of the records people are experiencing in our repositories, when we place them in this new archival context? As well as this question about context, we need, as noted above, to think about who we are keeping them for, and why. We can't just assume that by putting records in professional institutions we are preserving them. Bernard Makaore (2006) writes of Māori taonga¹⁰ kept in institutions:

Therefore "taonga" are often condemned to a dormant, passive existence secured inside the walls ofthe recognised and respected cultural institution....But this information if accessed without the entire dimensions – environmental, social, physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual – that were present at its creation is all but useless.

We should consider not just the needs and interpretations of historians, scholars and genealogist but also the communities who are co-creators and subjects of records, and consider what we are destroying by removing them from community places.

Richard Lehane (2015) has noted that sites of creation of records are potentially loaded with information about them, and about the creators of records, and suggested archivists could emulate archaeologists by selectively documenting these sites, creating virtual sites of creation using online interfaces. Documenting sites of creation would add significantly to the understanding of records context, and aid many users in locating the records they need. Duff and Johnson (2003) noted the significance of place in the information-seeking behaviour of genealogists, and the value of making maps available. Archives are beginning to harness the power of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to provide new ways into records (Boyer, Cheetham & Johnson 2011). However, these virtual sites would still miss much of the essence of the original. The physicality and proximity of being in the midst of the community context would be lost, with its links with community memory, tacit knowledge, experience and affect that provides.

The draft Records in Contexts (RIC) Contextual Model (ICA-EGAD 2016) includes place as an entity, which to a degree would allow for the documentation of sites of creation. However, documenting sites of creation is not enough. Just knowing about the geographical source of a record is not the same as experiencing it in place, in the midst of the community and events and affective impact in which it originated. The RIC model suggests properties of place to be type, geographic coordinates and address. This concept of "place", however, does not allow for alternative understandings, such as place as ancestor, as in the Māori world view. Recent legislation in New Zealand has acknowledged the legal personhood of the Urewera region and the Whanganui River in the Te Urewera Act 2014 and Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017. These places are clearly far more than their geographical location to the Māori people who view them as ancestors, or more accurately, in the words of the Whanganui tribes (cited in Young 2017): 'Ko au te awa. Ko te awa ko au', translated as 'I am the river. The river is me'.

ES Casey, an American geographer and philosopher, has said (2001, p.684, quoted in Anderson 2004 p.255): The relationship between self and place is not just one of reciprocal influence, but also, more radically, of constitutive co-ingredience: each is essential to the being of the other. In effect, there is no place without self and no self without place.

My research shows that records and place also have a constitutive co-ingredience: the places of creation, storage and use or re-animation all have significant contextual influence. Records Continuum theory suggests records are constituted through the co-ingredience of recordkeeping objects and people and activities and functions and identity and broader organisational and societal elements. Place should be added

¹⁰ Taonga: Treasures handed down

to that list. Place in the Tramping Club community is more than just an instantaneously-passing aspect of space-time. Discussion with the Club members has shown it has a strong and often enduring contextual influence on experience, affect, and on records creation, preservation, access, use and interpretation, as well as club identity and the identity of individual club members.

Significant places for the Club have been assigned (by members) an identity that is more than their geographical location. These significant places where events occur and records are kept range from entire national parks, such as Tongariro National Park, to the Club Hut, to small locations such as the Club noticeboard (which no longer exists, except in memory and record) and the Club Facebook page, which has in many ways replaced it. Having tramped in places helped individuals build their own identity:

Andrew B (1980s): ... belonging to the Tramping Club pushed me into parts of New Zealand that I would never have probably got to, otherwise. Partly because people inspired me, and I think it's given me this ability to claim a certain kind of national identity as a result.

Club members talked about how they built stories through sharing experiences together in places but also how richly they could share stories with others who had been to the same places at different times, and how it fed into the Club's identity:

Dave (1980s): part of the culture is not only the shared experience, but you could say "Oh, I did a Waikaremoana trip that year", but someone else did one the next year. So you know about the bay, or the Bluff, or whatever ... you can then discuss your stories about [it with] people who went there at a different time.

Club members also use records of people visiting specific places to help plan new trips, finding people who could give advice through the records and through the places where they could connect.

Dave: [in the trips book] there would be advice on what to expect, in different places; [you could] find out who was going there, you'd talk to them: do you know these people? Do you know anyone who's been there?

Places are a focus and a jumping-off point, a repository of physical and virtual records and stories and a place and enabler for sharing or pluralisation of those records and stories. Shared stories about places help maintain bonds between people:

Jim (1960s): Yes, and we came out down Bevan Col... and I remember that being a very epic day too... we ended up at Aspiring Hut after dark.... I think that was the most memorable trip I ever did.... I see Mark [surname] and David [surname] a lot now, Tony a little bit, and they are always reminding me of that trip....

Club places are always within contexts of other communities as well: the noticeboard was in the University student quad, the Facebook page is, of course, on Facebook, and Tongariro National Park is a public space used and understood in different ways by many different communities, but the Club makes them into a Club place by the events we hold or record or advertise there, by the way we can bring our own cultural objects and behaviours and language there, and by meeting there and sharing experiences there together.



Fig. 9.6 O'nuku (Club Hut), December 1960

As we share these spaces, we add layers of shared meaning and understanding. We create shared stories linked to those places, and the places are a touchstone for memory, a context for our physical, virtual, oral and embodied records and activities, and a place we can express and pass on our embodied knowledge, sparked and influenced by the nature of the places themselves. Place as archive can be understood as it is embodied in the Club Hut pictured here, with all of the records physically inscribed on its walls, but Tongariro National Park also acts as an archive for the Club, containing the Alpine Club Hut where we go each year to run Snow School to pass on our embodied knowledge about mountaineering and avalanche safety, and the many tracks each generation tramps along, adding stories to the many already existing. Places and records are embedded in one another, and as such become part of community and individual identity. Acknowledging the co-ingredience of records and place supports the maintenance of community collective memory in allowing us to surface the significance of place as archive, and also to recognise recordkeeping places that don't fit our professional understanding. This recognition and understanding should inspire us as archivists or community members to advocate for the preservation of connections between place, community and records of any form.

Community members, their relationships with one another and their stories keep the context of records alive by understanding the relevance of the records in the life of the community. This context is not fixed; as with the records, it is "always in a process of becoming" (McKemmish 1994) as the community continues to change over time, as any living community will. When the records retain their link with the community, their context develops too, organically maintaining their relevance, with the community itself as the archival keeping-place.

Acknowledging the place of place means that you understand when you move a record into a new place, such as an archival institution, it's no longer in the midst of its life in the community. As its context has changed, it is no longer exactly the same record. This doesn't suggest that physical community records should never be transferred to archival institutions. The community might decide that preservation of the physical record object is more important than keeping it within the rough and tumble of everyday life. The decision to place records in an archival institution must take into account the resulting contextual damage or loss, and steps need to be taken to mitigate this damage. Also, records are often co-created by multiple

communities, including government departments or academic or religious organisations, so there will be multiple different needs when it comes time to decide where and how they should be preserved and described and accessible.

9.7 Implications for theory

As a records continuum researcher, I wondered how to model the significance of place in the continuum. When analysing the Tramping Club process in terms of the Records Continuum Model, in most aspects it is quite straightforward. The aims, the nature of the activity, and the experience constructs all relate to the transactional axis, while the values, trust, spirit of camaraderie and group continuity relate to the identity axis. The structure and records elements are a good fit for the recordkeeping axis, though structure would also fit under the heading of identity. Each in their own way could be also analysed in terms of the evidential axis as they form part of the community's collective memory. However, one aspect that is fundamental to the Tramping Club Process model will not fit easily under any of the existing concepts, and that is place. The Records Continuum Model is a spacetime model, designed to "encapsulate... recordkeeping-based activity theory" (Upward 2005, p.202). It is also a product of its time and place, Australia in the mid-1990s when the implications of electronic recordkeeping were only beginning to be explored by archival theorists, and ideas of post-custodialism were becoming popular, particularly in Australia (Millar, 2017). At that time, Upward (1996, p.282) said, as noted above, "the externalities of place are becoming less significant day by day... the location of the resources and services will be of no concern to those using them." This context of time and place could have been a factor in the absence of an overt "Place" element in the continuum. Although space is itself an essential element in this space-time continuum model, it is as a nebulous element of fleeting existence rather than an element forming an essential aspect of the record.

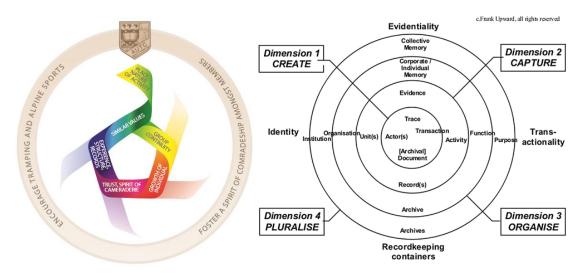


Fig 9.7 The Tramping Club process & The Records Continuum spacetime model

My research shows there is a need to give "place" a visible presence in a model of recordkeeping through space and time. In the Records Continuum Model, records flicker through contexts as they intersect with people and activities and so on. Research with the club has shown that places also have a strong impact on identity, evidence, records and actions for people in the tramping club community. Place forms the context for recordkeeping, and also, as noted in Section 9.2, constitutes an archive itself. This idea of place as a record itself is not something I have covered in detail in this research, but it goes to the heart of the decolonisation of the concepts of archives, Archives and records, and will be an important area to follow up afterwards, as discussed in Section 10.5. To paraphrase Casey, who spoke of identity and place, with regard to archives and place each is essential to the being of the other. We need to find a way to illustrate the constitutive co-ingredience of place and archives / records.

Considering place as a constitutive element permeating the entire records continuum allows us to consider, as archivists, the impact of place on people's experiences with records. Where were they created? Where are they captured, organised and pluralised? Is it in a place where the community they relate to belongs? Might happen upon them? It acknowledges the significance of place for membership of a community – it could be a physical place, or it could be a virtual place for an online community, but it is a place where people meet, practise their culture, and create, keep and experience their records. The concept of place as archive is scalable, from a single paper or digital recordkeeping object as a centre about which people, stories, events and individual or collective memory can gather, expanding in concept outwards to an community building, a city, or geographical area: a river, a mountain, an entire country – or why not even a universal scale, when you consider the stories and navigational understanding attached by different cultures to the stars. Bringing "Place" explicitly into a continuum model requires archivists and recordkeepers to consider the impact of Place on people's experiences of records.

9.8 Implications for practice: Co-constructing archival places of belonging

If community records are transferred to archival institutions, for whatever reason, how can we ensure those archival places are places of connection? Certainly documenting sites of creation is important, but it is not enough. Perhaps our archival ethics should include the requirement "First, do no harm." Once you intervene in a recordkeeping system, it is inevitable that some harm will be done in terms of the contextual linkages. Removing records from community contexts is a trade-off between preservation of physical objects and preservation of context, and it is a trade-off that needs to be considered. The view of "records" traditional to most archival institutions does not take into account or even recognise many other records in the community's own archive that are a vital part of the context of records transferred, such as oral histories, embodied knowledge and most aspects of physical context, so they are not referred to in the institution's metadata, and the links are lost.

Similarly, many records have strong spiritual and emotional dimensions, but this is not something that can be captured in institutional metadata. Spiritual and emotional dimensions are very often strongly connected with place, and place as archive, as can be experienced by anyone with a religious background entering a place of worship, or by someone who loves to tramp who starts down a track towards the mountains. Place here is not only context for the records but also archive, maintaining those emotional, spiritual and community memory elements that help maintain the community and its collective memory. Boast et al (2007) wrote of the "richly situated life of objects in their communities and places of origin", and spoke of the cultural knowledge lost when an Inuit artefact is removed from its place of origin, placed in a museum and interpreted by a curator. Sustainability of a community's "living cultural archive" (Bastian 2013) requires ongoing connection between the community and its memory objects. Separating the physical records from their place in the community literally dislocates part of the archive; the displacement or disembodiment of vital community records could be seen as an attack on the community itself. For Indigenous, colonised and/or post-conflict communities this appropriation of part of the community's collective memory system is likely experienced as another of many acts of colonisation or invasion to which they have been subjected over many years. However well-meaning and paternalistic the intentions may be, in "preserving community memory" on behalf of those we see with our archival community eyes as not capable of preserving it for themselves, without first finding out how the community might be preserving their own memory, we are perpetuating the colonising work of our forebears.

Perhaps it is not necessary to preserve the object itself. Preservation might also include leaving some archival records outside the archive, so they can continue to be passed on in situ. They may eventually disintegrate, but their essence can be passed on into a new form. If the physical object is only part of the carrier of the information the community needs over time, by the time the object has disintegrated the community may have found another way to retain the aspects of its information that they still need. This might seem somewhat heretical in terms of archival preservation, but a parallel can be seen with digital

preservation. Duranti (2001, p.46), in speaking of the preservation of authenticity for digital records, says "...electronic records are kept authentic by continuous refreshment and periodic migration". In a related concept, Whatarangi Winiata (2005) writes, regarding Māori culture, where human memory and oral history formed much of the basis for community recordkeeping:

Kaupapa and tikanga tuku iho [foundational customs, traditional knowledge and behaviours handed down] that are *constantly being refined and enriched* [my emphasis] are of the past, they make up the present and they take us into the future. The accumulating memory is the Māori archive...

In communities, records could be refreshed or migrated from one human or other carrier to another over time, whenever necessary, within the context of the community.

Conversely, if the preservation of the physical object is important to the community, perhaps this can be done in a community place. Archivists could use their knowledge about physical preservation to help the community set up its own physical keeping place. If this is not possible, perhaps the community needs only a copy of the object and is happy to send the original for archival preservation. Recent research in New Zealand on the impact of digitised access to collections of Māori language (te reo) records (Crookston et al 2016) showed that users' relationships with the institutional providers was enhanced and that "greater access via digitisation fosters relationships and connections via acts of sharing collections within whānau, hapū, iwi [i.e. family, wider family and tribe] and other networks", although respondents to the survey also indicated that much of the spiritual element of the records was missing in the digital copies. If there is a good relationship between the community and the repository, the context can be better maintained, although the immediate physicality is lost. The community might be happy to visit the object in the repository, or bring it home when needed, as long as the memory of where it is, is retained within active community memory. In some cases, the community will feel relatively "at home" in the world of archival institutions as well as their own community contexts. The important thing is to think about the implications of its removal both for the community and the meaning or interpretation of the record. Perhaps there is instead a place for the institution to maintain a certified copy while the community maintains the original for as long as it is wanted.

Seeing the constitutive co-ingredience of archives as places and places as archives, both supporting and supported by community continuity, means we have to consider the impact of archival keeping-places, both within and outside the community. The question practising archivists need to consider is how to make external archival keeping-places places of belonging for the communities whose records they hold, because this is essential both for the communities and for the ongoing life of the records themselves.

Archival preservation and authenticity is very much a point of view dependent upon the community in which you are embedded. As an archivist I can see that arranging and describing archives in the traditional way defends and preserves them in the legal and professional sense. As a Tramping Club community member, I can see that putting a photo album in an archive which doesn't allow it to be taken to parties and laughed over cuts off the life-blood of the record, leaving it as an interesting relic without much of the context of the stories that gave it meaning.

Our archival institutions could be more open to new ways of interacting with archives. Some are already doing this, creating events together with communities, and creating new ways of bringing people into traditional archival institutions (Carbone 2015; MLA 2010; Theimer 2014). But also getting out into the communities, interacting in community spaces so people can bump into archives instead of them waiting quietly to be discovered, is really important. The International Council on Archives describes archivists (2016) as "custodians of society's memory". If we are taking those memory objects from their community contexts, preventing them from maintaining day-to-day connections with their places of origin and their community relationships, perhaps instead of custodians we are, as Wikaira (2004) suggested, prison guards.

Professional archival repositories continue to be vital for preserving the aspects of archives that western society deems to be essential, but as archivists we need to be aware that other communities might value and need different aspects of record-ness to be preserved, and we need to think about how we can support this to happen, allowing communities to keep their connections with their records alive. We can offer to support communities by passing on our skills to them, increasing recordkeeping literacy in the community in general and providing basic training in physical preservation of records. Recent research into community archiving is calling for and developing new models of community engagement in the archival world (Bastian & Alexander 2009; Stevens, Flinn & Shepherd 2010; McKemmish, Faulkhead & Russell 2011; Thorpe 2016).

My research has shown that introducing concepts relating to recordkeeping and community collective memory to a community in which I am a member has had a catalytic effect, leading to the development of within-community recordkeeping projects including the digitisation for preservation of fading photographic slides, and community conversations about passing on of physical records after their current custodians have died. Bringing these ideas into the community's own place allowed the whole community to be involved in the discussion in a space of community belonging, enabling the discussions to become part of community processes. Reflecting on this catalytic impact in a conference paper in 2015, I wrote of the transformation this research interaction has brought about for the Club, raising awareness and skills in the preservation of Club records, reconnecting Club members with distributed records only a few were aware of, and causing us all to reflect on our Club experiences and how much we value our relationships, inspiring more collective-memory building events and activities. However, even without my intervention, the Club had already successfully maintained its collective memory and sustained its culture for more than 80 years.

9.9 Archival palaces



Fig 9.8 Victoria Tower, Palace of Westminster: Home of the Parliamentary Archives, UK



Fig 9.9 Ongaruanuku (AUTC club hut), 1969, new veranda

A community member visiting their archives in an archival palace such as the one on the left has to follow the institution's cultural requirements, and experience all the affective and practical impacts of that new context.

To the right is another archival palace. The Tramping Club Hut, Ongaruanuku, in the Waitakere Ranges, is a very important and constantly renewed element in the Club's recordkeeping system, where many events are held and within which is also recorded a whole lot of physical evidence. The Hut is an illustration of

the way the Club preserves its records, and here the principle of entropy is relevant. The principle states that without the input of energy, everything gradually declines into disorder. This constant renewal of the Hut points to a significant aspect of maintaining records that is not generally acknowledged in current archival theory and practice – preservation of the physical and intellectual aspects of archives requires maintenance by people who understand the records and their significance.

Records kept within a community can be constantly renewed with the energy of the community while they are still needed. This community input is largely unavailable once the records are transferred to archives in the traditional model of transfer. My research supports the contention that the collecting of archives from communities to place them into archival institutions has an impact akin to colonisation. Critical research into community archives has called for a new decolonised approach to return power over community archives and their interpretation to the community. The assumption that archivists know better than the communities who are the source of the records how best to maintain and preserve them has been shown to be flawed, as it does not take into account the many different systems and processes within the community which maintain the authenticity, relevance, integrity, meaning, authority and other multiple qualities of the records, and does not enable them to continue to play their roles in the community processes to which they are integral. Instead of acting as agents of colonisation, archivists taking a participatory approach should act as enablers of collective-memory maintenance.

9.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I considered place as a constitutive co-ingredient of records, of community recordkeeping systems and of community collective memory. The significance of place in all of these highlights the importance of incorporating "place" as an element in archival and recordkeeping models, to make sure that it is taken into account when developing systems and carrying out processes. It also highlights the importance of ensuring that community records continue to be maintained in places of belonging for the community.

In Chapter 10, I look back for a final time over the tracks taken by this research, and summarise the outcomes and the implications for each of the communities involved. Then, I look ahead, suggesting future research for which this research has identified a need. Finally, I reflect on my experience of doing research within three of my communities of the archival multiverse.

Chapter 10: Conclusion - Co-creating places of belonging in the archival multiverse

10.1 Introduction

The process of carrying out this research has been transformative for my perspective as an archival practitioner. I set out with a basic understanding of the concept of the archival multiverse. However, it is only through deep reflection on the place of records in the Tramping Club's collective memory that I have come to fully realise that the multitude of perspectives on archives incorporates different understandings of every aspect, including context, authenticity and preservation. Huvila (2008) called for a "radical user orientation" in participatory archives. A still more radical user orientation would accept that communities may already be successfully maintaining their own archives using culturally-relevant methods which are not necessarily visible from an archival community point of view. Sometimes the best approach is to recognise that professional archival intervention should be avoided. Where records are embedded in communities and community places, preservation is something organic that needs to be nurtured, and not something an outsider can impose. This research has highlighted the need for a significant change to archival and recordkeeping practice, to ensure we develop a deep understanding of community collective memory processes before carrying out any actions on the records of those communities. It has also demonstrated the impact on community collective memory of the removal of records to other places.

As an essential part of this research, I developed a methodology for enabling archival and recordkeeping researchers to work together with their own communities to develop models of their use of records in collective-memory construction. Using the resulting models, any archival and recordkeeping interventions can be purpose-built for actual community needs and community understandings, and harm to existing systems can be minimised. Open communication, an ethics of friendship, grounded techniques, a reflexive, auto-analytical approach, continual questioning of research processes, and a commitment to participation were essential elements in achieving its inclusive aims and achieving its outcomes. As the research progressed, the questions were changed and refined as I came to realise the Tramping Club community's collective memory was being successfully preserved using a type of recordkeeping I hadn't recognised, differing from my original, internalised model of recordkeeping from my archival professional training and experience.

My insider positioning and the participatory ethos helped drive the process and enrich the outcomes, providing a rich, nuanced view of the needs and possibilities across the communities. It also provided a supportive and transformative experience for me as a researcher. My insider status in all of the communities from the beginning made this approach possible within such a short timeframe, as I already had relationships of trust with many community members that I could build on. It also ensures that the research and other processes for which this project has been a catalyst can continue.

Below, I revisit the research questions, and then expand on the specific outcomes of the research, and the significance of these outcomes in terms of the research questions. Next, I discuss the implications of the outcomes for the communities involved, together with future areas of research and development suggested by this analysis. Finally, I conclude with some reflections on my rich, transformative experiences as an insider researcher in this complex project. But first, I interpose a final vignette illustrating many of the features of the Tramping Club's complex, adaptive system for simultaneously maintaining collective memory, recordkeeping and information management.

Vignette

In the course of this research, I visited a former President, David Gauld, at his home several times. During the first visit he showed me a large pile of records in his basement, and together we worked out a strategy for ensuring they stayed within the Club after he was no longer able to look after them. One of the groups of records in the pile was a very large quantity of duplicates of Footprints magazines, dating back many years. He didn't want to throw them away, and neither did I.

For the short term, to get them out of his basement, I took them home, and then I contacted the current Committee to ask what they would like to do with them. After their next meeting the Committee told me their decision. Each trip that went out would take some copies to leave at huts en route, so that others could read them.

This small story exemplifies many of the features of Tramping Club's recordkeeping processes. The former President had chosen to take responsibility for the magazines and other records because he valued them and the Club. Because of his trust in me, and because I happened to visit him, I was chosen as his agent to reunite them with the current Club. The current Committee members were keen to share the Club magazines with the wider tramping world, and chose to do so through the typical Club activity of tramping in the wilderness.

10.2 The research questions

The questions listed in Chapter 1 were the result of a process of iterative research and reflection throughout the entire research process, as I came to better understand the needs, interests and perspectives of the communities I was working with. However, the underlying question had been there from the beginning. Once I developed a better understanding of the interconnections between memory, identity and the performance of culture, this first question became:

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

Once I had clarified RQ1 I established the final versions of RQ2 and RQ3:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

It was not until my analysis of the research data was well underway that the fourth research question emerged:

RQ4: How do records and place impact on each other, and how is this represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

And finally, although from the beginning I was exploring how a participatory ethos could be applied in this research context, through reflection on the research process and my position in it the fifth question became:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

These questions led me to a deeper understanding of the impacts of the many elements and processes which together sustain the AUTC community, help its members create, maintain, allow access to, and help disseminate their collective memory, form their community identity, meet their aims and practice their culture. It also provoked a critique of existing archival models and theories grounded in a deep understanding of the systems and processes of this community, and a more nuanced awareness of the impact of archival models and practices on outcomes for the community. The reflexive methods also led to a better understanding of the requirements and implications of participatory research as a methodology.

10.3 Grounded, reflexive participatory insider research in the setting of a PhD

In Chapter 5, I discussed the development of a methodology which used an inclusive, reflexive process to help me navigate the difficult and sometimes dangerous three-wire bridge of insider research in multiple communities. My positioning as a triple insider, as archival researcher, practitioner and research community member helped support and enable the communities involved to participate meaningfully in research which relates to and has potential impact on them. My insider status meant the development and maintenance of the relationships required were far more readily achieved than if coming in from another community. This new critical, grounded, reflexive methodology constructed in the course of the research was the foundation on which I could engage with the perspectives of the three different communities. As all of the outcomes flow from this, I have chosen to place my response to the final research question first:

RQ5: How can participatory research methodologies be adapted and applied when the research is undertaken by a triple insider scholar/practitioner/community member and within the constraints of a PhD project?

This research was situated within a critical research paradigm, and sought to meet the three principles for critical research in information systems set out by Myers and Klein (2011): insight, critique, and transformation. Through my positioning as insider and the participatory ethos, the insight and critique arose naturally through my constant interaction with the depth of combined experience and knowledge of the participating community members, and the constant reflection and reflexive response to the grounded data I was collecting. The transformation was intrinsic to the process, developing naturally through our interactions. Engagement in the research was and continues to be transformative for the AUTC, leading to the development of new understandings, skills and methods for maintaining control of their own records. Outcomes from this research may also be transformative for the archival research and practice communities through developments in theory and insights into the need for changes in practice.

Throughout the research, the methodology developed in response to the reflexive techniques used in the context of the participatory ethos. Ultimately the methodology came to incorporate a complex combination of critical, grounded, reflexive methodologies, methods and techniques. The juxtaposition of contrasting understandings and three different sets of collective knowledge and skills within the three communities, made available through the reflexive, auto-ethnographic approach, has led to many new insights, demonstrating the advantages and affordances of multi-community insider research. In designing the methodology, I was strongly influenced by the concepts of "Inclusive Research Design" (McKemmish et al, 2012). From the beginning I could see that this type of research had potential for addressing the AUTC community's collective needs with regard to preserving its memory of a common past through actively engaging the community members in understanding how that memory could be sustained and preserved in a manner and context that meets their (our) needs and values. As a member of the three communities involved in the research, I developed an approach I called "Inclusive, emergent multiple-community research with an auto-ethnographic catalyst", placing myself as negotiator and interpreter between the three communities. Using this method I was able to work to achieve the aims and meet the needs of all of them as far as possible. The significance of my long-term relationship with the AUTC and my ongoing

relationships with the archival practitioner and research communities gave me a strong motivation to work as hard as possible to achieve this aim.

The methodology and my triple-insider positioning meant from the beginning a deep and nuanced understanding of the different needs and perspectives of the three communities could be developed, so these differences could be negotiated and the needs met effectively. Many of the insights described in this chapter developed through my reflection and analysis of the initial research conversations with the Tramping Club community, which were described in Chapter 4. The participatory approach helped drive the process, enrich and customise the outcomes and validate the model developed. As noted in the introduction, such an approach was only possible within the bounds of PhD research because I was already an insider in each of the communities, and these existing relationships of trust could be built on. My ongoing relationships with my fellow community-members provide a strong impetus to ensure the processes for which this project was a catalyst will continue after this initial phase of the research is complete.

The methodology developed through this research could enable other archival and recordkeeping researchers working in their own communities to develop their own model of the use of records in collective-memory construction, but the application of the methodology could be wider than this field. The ability it provides to engage with the perspectives of multiple communities enables the development of rich, deep understanding of needs. Here, the research outcome becomes an outcome applicable to practice. Using this methodology, archival and recordkeeping interventions, and potentially interventions in other community-focused fields, can be purpose-built for actual community needs and community understandings, and will reduce the risk of harm to existing systems and processes. For future research, it would also be useful to further analyse the role of research in reflexive archival practice.

10.4 Community collective memory as a holistic complex adaptive system

RQ1: What part is played by records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of their culture?

In Chapter 4, I described the conversations and discussions with the AUTC community which led to the development of themes and an understanding of interrelationships from which the Tramping Club Process model (see Figure 10.1) was constructed. The collaborative development of this model was described in Chapter 6. While I initially identified it as a model of the Club's collective memory maintenance, I later came to see it also incorporated identity formation and enabled the performance of culture. It visually captures the AUTC's collective-memory and identity maintenance, cultural, recordkeeping and information management processes.



Fig. 10.1 Model of the Tramping Club process. Design: Belinda Battley and Debi Pyle

. As discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, the model illustrates how the AUTC maintains its collective memory in a complex, adaptive system embodying recordkeeping processes, information flow, physical records, people, places, events, stories, the continuing development of trust and camaraderie, structural features, shared experience, shared values and aims, individual development and group continuity. As with any complex system, all of the elements depend on one another, and the relationships between them are kept alive through the processes of being a Club, performing its activities and maintaining friendships. The system was built organically through the culture of the Club and the knowledge, understandings, needs and actions of its members.

Records act to support multiple functions in the Club's processes, as discussed in Chapter 8. These include developing and maintaining identity, uniting and communicating; teaching and enabling actions and functions; acting as evidence of authority, trustworthiness or rights; maintaining stories; and providing a public face. Many of the records act both as structure and constituents of the recordkeeping and information system, and their overall function works towards helping Club members to meet the main aims of the Club: to carry on tramping together and to maintain a spirit of camaraderie. A secondary category for the functions of the records is to remind Club members of what they have done.

In Chapter 8 I also identified roles played by the records towards these functions. These roles are also played by other elements of the system, especially Club members. These roles included elders or remembrancers, legends, cultivators, keepers, storytellers, participators, catalysts (networkers or bridgers and provokers), and party animals.

Characteristics of complex, adaptive systems were described by Mitleton-Kelly (2003) as self-organisation, emergence, connectivity, interdependence, feedback, far from equilibrium, space of possibilities, co-evolution, historicity & time, path-dependence and creation of new order, and the Club's systems demonstrate all of these characteristics, as discussed in Section 8.2. This interdependent, self-maintaining and adaptive system ensures that the records can maintain their contextual integrity, usability, trustworthiness and authenticity for Club members for as long as they are needed and wanted, and Club members retain their power to create, manage, use and share the records in ways that meet Club values, needs and understandings. In contrast, once the records are separated from Club people, places and events,

the community loses control over the management of the records, and the records are also are no longer available for Club purposes: their context, availability and stories are lost unless the links can be renewed.

This new understanding of recordkeeping systems, collective memory, community identity and cultural practice as a complex, adaptive system forms a significant contribution to archival and recordkeeping theory as well as having major implications for practice, which is discussed further below. In highlighting the essential co-ingredience of all of the aspects and processes of the complex system, what is revealed is the impact on the community memory, recordkeeping system and community culture and identity of changing or removing any part.

Conceptualising the club's recordkeeping in this way leads to a rich variety of concepts for further analysis. These include:

- Considering the implications of the complex, adaptive system model of the Tramping Club process for analysis of recordkeeping systems and processes in other communities, or for distributed digital records
- Developing new methods and techniques to sustain and build relationships between archival institutions and communities
- Investigating the roles of individuals, including that of catalyst, in community collective memory creation, maintenance, sharing and use
- Further analysis of the roles of events and storytelling in recordkeeping systems
- Analysing the transferability of the roles of records to other communities
- Developing a model of relationships within a complex system in constant flux

10.5 Implications for recordkeeping models and theories – the place of "place"

Having reached this understanding of the community's collective memory as a complex adaptive system, in Chapters 7 and 8 I also addressed the second research question:

RQ2: How is the place of records and recordkeeping in a community's collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

In Chapters 7 and 8 I reflected on the Club's dynamic recordkeeping processes, embodied in the structure and elements of the Club itself. In Chapter 7 I used the technique of narrative modelling, which had emerged as a technique valued by the AUTC for information sharing and analysis, and compared the grounded model of the Club's processes with the Records Continuum Model and with definitions and standards based on records continuum theory. The research highlighted the need for a more nuanced understanding of what constitutes a record, even for a University-based community which appears to be strongly based in a European / Antipodean academic tradition. In Chapter 8, I looked back to the definition of documents, records and recordkeeping systems I cited in Chapter 1 (McKemmish 2005) and concluded that the terms used in current archival and recordkeeping models need expansion to encompass the many different processes and understandings relating to recordkeeping that exist in the archival multiverse.

The Records Continuum Model (Upward 2005a) already demonstrates that the physical or virtual part of record exists within the context of the many other elements of a continuum, incorporating identity / agency, memory / evidentiality, and activity / purpose. There is an increasing body of theory extending from the original concept, as discussed in Chapter 6, including recently the new field of recordkeeping informatics (Upward, Reed, Oliver & Evans 2018), new models of curated cultural heritage (Gibbons 2015), participatory recordkeeping (Rolan 2017) and appropriated archives (Frings-Hessami 2017), and many other areas (Records Continuum Research Group 2018). Comparing the grounded model of the Club's processes with the Records Continuum Model in Chapter 7 revealed that although the Records Continuum

Model was useful in analysing recordkeeping processes in the Club, it required broad interpretation of the terms used, and the essential element "place" was missing.

A contextualised understanding of records, archives and recordkeeping, based on the Records Continuum Model, can incorporate the Tramping Club community's experience and methods of recordkeeping, if the interpreter of the definition and the observer of the community's use of records recognises the many different ways that information is "documented" in the club. This includes passing on skills and knowledge from one club member to another at repeated events and training courses; the attachment of club stories to particular places or events; and the development of club places over time as tracks are walked, experiences are shared, huts are mended or decorated and campfires are shared. As observed in Section 8.2, the club's collective memory maintenance can be understood as a system of recordkeeping and archiving processes that place the community's records-as-evidence as well as records-as-information within the activities and functions of the club, and manage them in community-appropriate frameworks enabling the club to continue to function successfully on a self-sustaining basis for the long term. However, these bureaucratic terms used by the archival and recordkeeping communities do not adequately capture the richness, complexity and scope of the Tramping Club community's recordkeeping processes, and fail to address the significance of place. The Tramping Club community preserves its records and their contexts and maintains their authenticity, reliability, usability and trustworthiness through unique culturallyappropriate processes developed within the community. By expanding these concepts to make room for community interpretations and processes, archival and recordkeeping theory can also expand, as it must if it is to adequately meet the needs of diverse communities with a multitude of richly varying and valuable world views.

The significance of place was further explored in Chapter 9 in response to the emergent **RQ4**: **RQ4**: How do records and place impact on each other, and how is this represented in existing archival and recordkeeping theory and models?

"Place" is not just a location for records, but frequently an essential part of their creation, meanings, expression, discovery, access, use and re-use. At times, "place" constitutes a major physical part of the record, as for example when Tramping Club records are re-created, shared and experienced by tramping to the Club Hut, or climbing to the summit of Mt Ruapehu. This co-ingredience of place and records can also be seen in other communities, as discussed in Chapter 9, such as the waiata and whakapapa¹¹ which are Māori oral records, connecting genealogy to the landscape both for memory and to reflect belonging and stewardship (Taonui 2015); the songlines of Indigenous Australians, travelling through country as a method for maintaining and sharing the community's records of collective memory (Bradley & Yanyuwa Families 2010); and in the many thousands of war memorials placed on former battlefields throughout the world and visited on anniversaries for wreaths to be laid. Analysis of the AUTC community's model for maintaining collective memory in terms of the Records Continuum Model showed that "place" was not adequately represented in the existing model in terms of its direct, situated and affective impact and coingredience.

The co-creation of and experience of places of belonging were vital aspects of membership in the Club, and an essential element of the community's recordkeeping system. These were places that people felt at home; that they could recognise and interpret; where they could interact naturally; where they could practice their culture; where they might bump into friends; and where they might create, keep, find and recognise their records. In terms of practice, the significance of "place" highlighted the importance of maintaining records within community places for as long as they are needed, wherever possible. Where this is not

¹¹ Traditional songs and spoken genealogies

possible, this research clearly shows it is important to find other ways to maintain a living relationship between the community and the records in their new place, so that the records continue as part of the living collective memory of the community. This will allow their relationship with the community to continue to adapt, and the records can continue to be part of the community's growth and development for as long as they are needed.

This new understanding of the complex interrelationships between place and records reveals that place must be included in models of archives, records and recordkeeping, as place is a co-ingredient of records, and sometimes more than that: a record itself. Specifically modelling the place of "place" in the records continuum would bring its significance to the attention of theorists and practitioners, and encourage more analysis of its impact. Much further research is needed in this area in terms of practice, theory and modelling.

The grounded theories developed through this research relating to concepts of co-creating places of belonging and concepts of co-ingredience were significant outcomes in terms of archival and recordkeeping theory, and these can contribute to future modelling, and to more research into the archival multiverse. For example, potential areas of future research include:

- To further consider fundamental archival and recordkeeping concepts and processes in terms of community-specific interpretations
- To explore and enhance the representation of place in continuum models
- Further analysis of the co-ingredience of records and place, and the impact of their separation
- To consider place as a record
- To further explore the concept of recordkeeping in a community as a complex, adaptive system, and the implications for designing recordkeeping processes, for example:
 - o Appraisal
 - o Description
 - o Preservation



Fig. 10.2 What is this?

To close this section on the significance of place, another brief reflection. The photograph above potentially documents many different significances. A beautiful place to tramp, with many stories attached which bring

us closer together and help us share tramping knowledge; an ancestor with many oral histories associated with it; a conservation estate for preserving flora and fauna; an economic opportunity (for tourism, or mining, or a ski-field); a photographic opportunity; a reminder of a holiday with friends and family; a geology lesson, a botany lesson, a study of weather or insects or birds or reptiles; a beautiful backdrop for a PowerPoint slide. I used this photo at AERI in 2015 for a workshop on the Records Continuum. Multiple stories overlap in this place, each one potentially as significant and meaningful to each person or community as the others. We should be able to choose whether or not to share our stories, and when, and with whom; all add richness to the multiverse of significances. Records and places both have layers of meaning for individuals and for communities, and there are also multiple meanings for single records, and multiple ways to share records in the archival multiverse.

Our paths cross with many others. Records are some of our footprints through space and time. These different layers, and different paths bring richness and interest, and allow us to learn from one another while still maintaining our own collective knowledge and memory and stories and meaning and records. Archival repositories are just one type of keeping-places of records – very important, for example, as independent bodies to keep governments accountable; bastions of democracy, providing access to citizens on our terms as archivists. Multiple communities also have between them a multiverse of archival keeping-places, physical, embodied and virtual, acknowledged or subconscious, but vitally important to their survival.

10.6 Implications for practitioners

In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 I also addressed the third research question:

RQ3: How does existing archival and recordkeeping practice facilitate community collective memory, identity formation, and performance of culture?

I needed to consider whether existing practice can meet the newly-understood needs of the community for continuing close links between the community, its events, places, activities, structures, people and other elements, and the records still needed for its collective memory maintenance. The inclusive approach taken in this research echoes the inclusive manner in which records in the Club's systems are currently managed. In contrast, the records transferred to an archival repository did not remain well connected with the Club's systems, instead being absorbed by the traditional practices of institutional archival culture, and becoming for the most part cut off from the Club's collective memory processes. To improve outcomes for the Club's collective memory, archival practice needs to move towards a decolonised model where the archivists and archival institution can more readily become part of the Club's complex, adaptive system of maintaining collective memory.

When the AUTC maintains its own records within its own archival places, they are preserved and constantly renewed through their integration in community systems and processes, and experienced with all of the affective and practical impacts of immersion within the community. They are maintained by people who understand the records and their significance. In contrast, records maintained in separate archival institutions are imbued with the culture of that institution, and visitors from the AUTC community must experience the affective and practical impacts of the archival cultural context and requirements. The colonising impact of imposing archival cultural expectations on community records not only provides a barrier to access but also has a destructive impact on context and therefore also on the records themselves.

The significance of the holistic context of records, including place, shows that archivists should better tailor archival practice to specific community needs and ensure they do not cause damage to existing processes connecting the records with the community. They should also prioritise sharing their skills and knowledge, as required, over taking the records into an institutional repository wherever possible. If the community does decide it prefers to transfer records into a professional institution, perhaps for physical safekeeping, it is important to ensure the community can maintain the relationships they need to with their records.

Community members need to be able to interact with them in community appropriate ways, incorporate them in community events and activities, and maintain relationships between the people holding the records and the people with lived knowledge of their community contexts and significance. Preservation of the physical and intellectual aspects of archives requires ongoing maintenance by community members who understand the records and their significance, and preserve and renew them for as long as they are needed.

Many records relate to multiple communities, particularly but not only those held in public archives. For these records it is important that all communities who have relationships with the records can maintain those relationships in a manner appropriate to each of them, provided that this does not deny the rights of the other communities. This may require considerable time and effort to negotiate, but will have the added benefit of enabling the contextual richness and complexity of the records to be maintained.

This research suggests that a decolonised approach to community archives should accept that the community itself knows best the many different systems and processes within the community which maintains the authenticity, relevance, integrity, meaning, authority and other multiple qualities of the records. The records must be able to continue to play their roles in the community processes to which they are integral. A recordkeeping professional or institution intending to work with the records of a community must accept the validity of the community's model of recordkeeping. They must put effort into developing an understanding of the existing recordkeeping structures and processes, nurture ongoing relationships and build in community-appropriate elements that enable ongoing effective interaction between the systems of the community and the archivists. Both communities have skills, knowledge and understandings that are valuable and worthy of respect. When recordkeeping professionals listen to, observe and respect the recordkeeping culture of the community of the records, trust can develop in both directions, leading to a positive relationship between the recordkeeping professionals and community. Development and management of relationships with external holders of community records will need to be designed anew for each community, custom-built to match the context and circumstances of each partner. This in turn will lead to better outcomes for the communities, the professionals and their institutions, the records and the recordkeeping systems to which they belong.

This finding can be extended to inform participatory approaches to community archives in general. Understanding of this community's needs not only demonstrates the inherent colonial nature of collecting archives, but also highlights the potential impact of their actions on vulnerable communities. Removing records from within the collective memory-maintaining processes and systems of all communities, but particularly vulnerable communities, may make them more readily available to researchers outside the community, but they will be diminished relics of their former contextualised richness. In addition, many records relating to vulnerable communities are created and managed outside those communities, never having been under their control, but still have powerful impacts on their lives. The findings and outcomes from this research could be explored further in the context of the growing contemporary discourse on the social justice impact of archives (Duff, Flinn, Suurtamm & Wallace 2013; Gilliland & McKemmish 2014; Dong, Blanco-Rivera, Caswell & Steele 2017). A more nuanced understanding of the role of records and recordkeeping in specific vulnerable communities would shed light on their impacts and could suggest possible interventions where those impacts are negative and when rights in records are denied.

Much more research is needed in this area. Some areas suggested by this research include:

- Developing new methods and techniques to sustain and build relationships between archival institutions and communities
- Developing methods to ensure records transferred to archival institutions remain within the system
- Further development of archival descriptive practice to facilitate the retention of connections
- Further investigation of methods to develop relationships between communities and archival institutions

 Development of archival practice that supports maintenance of records within communities to enable archival autonomy

My work on this research in the community acted as a catalyst for community action and also gave me a much better insight into community processes. It would be a valuable exercise for archivists or other recordkeeping professionals to carry out similar analysis in other communities before providing advice aimed at improving their recordkeeping systems or the preservation of their archives.

10.7 Implications for the AUTC and related clubs

For the Tramping Club, in developing an understanding that the community's collective memory is a complex, adaptive system incorporating interrelationships between recordkeeping, identity, culture, events and activities, place, and people has provided reassurance to Club members of the current sustainability of their recordkeeping practices. The research also identified points at which recordkeeping can be improved, and gave community members new access, when needed, to archival and recordkeeping knowledge from the archival practice community. Significantly, it also provided a catalysing effect which led AUTC members to develop new projects to enhance the Club's recordkeeping processes, to share community records more widely within and outside the Club and to provide input into new initiatives to encourage more effective recordkeeping in the wider outdoor club community. Another unexpected outcome was that the Club was able to act as a positive role model for other tramping clubs, which is of benefit to the Club's reputation.

My role as a researcher in the Tramping Club community was identified by one of the community members as a catalyst. As a result of this research, my fellow community members have developed skills and knowledge about the preservation of physical and digital records, and have also reflected on the significance of their relationships within the community, leading to more shared events and enhanced camaraderie in some groups. One immediate result was that the enhanced networks enabled Club members to provide a more representative view of the Club when the AUTC was asked to provide items and stories for a recent exhibition on tramping in the Waitakere Ranges curated and hosted by the local visitors centre. Specific projects have been begun by some Tramping Clubbers, including a project by life member Peter Jenkins to digitise, share and maintain for the long term photographic slides kept by individual Club members from the 1950s onwards. These had begun to degrade and were also at risk of loss due to the death of the photographers and the lack of connection with the Club of some of their children.

This scanning project and others like it were set in motion by my starting conversations about preservation of records within the community. Throughout my research I have often been asked for practical advice about keeping archives and managing records, something that had not happened before the research began. I have been asked to take on the role of Tramping Club archivist, which will enable this sharing of my practical knowledge and skills relating to archives to continue within the traditional culture and structure of the Club, and enable the continuing development of methods to reconnect the Club with records held in other repositories where this is wanted. At the same time, my membership of the Tramping Club has given me insights that have allowed me to start conversations in the archival researcher and practitioner communities which are also leading to new projects, not least those relating to rights in records as discussed above.

The Club is currently considering whether to transfer more physical records to Special Collections, and perhaps also to begin a shared custody model with some of the digital records. This could be successfully achieved within the Club's systems so long as a good relationship is developed and maintained with the archivists of Special Collections, and a shared management plan can be agreed. The location of the physical repository is convenient, within the central University campus, and provided the archivists are open to hosting location-appropriate Club events and enabling shared management of the records, the outcome could be beneficial to both communities. My appointment as Club archivist will allow me to work with my existing relationships with archivists from Special Collections on a new model of management for the

Tramping Club records held there, and to encourage the Committee to develop an annual event relating to the archives held in Special Collections, as well as to ensure systems are set up to preserve the digital records needed for the long term.

For the wider tramping community, this research has also provided useful outcomes. For example, the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand (FMC) had employed someone who was not an archivist to develop advice to their affiliated clubs on how to manage their archives. As part of his research, he contacted the AUTC to find out what types of archives it had, and how it currently managed them. Given their knowledge of my research, the Committee suggested I talk with him, and I was able to provide him with advice and links to many sources on archives management and preservation. He has developed these into an online resource now available from the FMC webpage. I discussed my research with him, and as well as incorporating some of the findings into the web resource, he asked me to write an article about my research for the FMC's journal, Backcountry. My article incorporated photographs from the AUTC photo archive mentioned above, developed by Peter Jenkins as a result of his reflections on my research, and it will be published later in 2018 as Archives in the Wilderness. Next, the editor of Backcountry contacted me, commenting that my article reminded him of his own time in a different University Tramping Club, and asking if I would also write about maintaining visual heritage collections, as his own experience struggling to find photographs to illustrate a history he was writing suggested that outdoor clubs weren't doing enough to ensure their photographs were preserved and accessible for the long term. I have promised him this second article for a later edition of Backcountry.

10.8 Final reflections: More footprints through space and time

A phrase I learned from my parents came to mind frequently throughout the course of this research. It was an instruction from the environmental movement of my childhood, still quoted on the *Aoraki Mt Cook alpine guides* (n.d.) website today: "Take only photographs, leave only footprints". This philosophy of appreciating the wilderness for its natural beauty and ensuring it is preserved intact is one I believe could be instructive for professional archivists dealing with records of communities. The conservation movement has gradually learned how vital it is for ecosystems to continue as they are, while observing and perhaps assisting in line with the existing natural processes when absolutely necessary, and only after much time has been spent learning about those processes, as otherwise unintended negative consequences are likely. Through the course of this research I came to understand that the Auckland University Tramping Club has, since 1932, grown into a self-sustaining community with purpose-built processes – a complex, adaptive system – for managing the records of its collective memory, and for maintaining itself while simultaneously developing the people who belong to it. As with most communities, there are some areas where physical and digital records could be better preserved, and this can only be done successfully by first ensuring any intervention by professional archivists is necessary, and then that the records retain their links with the existing systems of people, places, records, events, activities, and trust.

This thesis is the track of my footprints as I tramped from my earliest, tentative proposal, through some swamps of perplexity, up a few cliff-faces of tiredness and over the occasional magnificent peaks of excitement about new understanding. As I look out my study window now, to the hills of the Waitakere Ranges where the Club Hut still sits, I remember most of all the excellent people I have been privileged to spend time with throughout the research, old friends and new. Some are Tramping Club members, past and present, providing me with a place of belonging for the past 53 years. Some are professional archivists, some fellow students, and some are members of the archival academic community. All contributed to my growing understanding and sense of belonging in all three communities as we shared ideas (and, importantly, food) in community places as I continued my apprenticeship as a researcher.

Camaraderie and reciprocity are central to the Club's success as a community, and they have also been central to my experience of this research. Myers and Klein require that IS research in the critical paradigm

leads to insight, critique and transformation. This research has provided steps or pointers towards all of these requirements for each of the communities involved in this research, and through the analytical autoethnographic techniques of the process, it has done the same for me as the researcher. Despite my positioning as an external, part-time student, my experience of the research was of warmth and empowerment, as members of each community showed their generosity with ideas, friendship and trust. From each of the communities I have come to understand the multiple internalised perspectives I must face and resolve when working within the different communities to which I belong, and I have gradually learned, and am still learning, how to be a reflective, reflexive, inclusive researcher and archivist.

When archivists and communities work together in partnership, with an ethics of friendship, a commitment to open communication, an analytical, reflexive attitude and a willingness to respect and learn from one another's existing information systems, knowledge, skills, aims, understandings and needs, our communities, practices and theories and archives will be enriched. Together we can work towards co-creating places of belonging for multiple diverse communities in the archival multiverse. These places of belonging, in their turn, will maintain and enrich the many different collective memories they can support, sustaining an invaluable variety of community knowledge bases that can help us address our individual and collective needs.

Part IV

References, photo credits and appendices

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Appendix A: Questions and topics for AUTC interviews as proposed at beginning of research

Group 1: Questions for AUTC semi-structured interviews and focus groups

(These general questions will be asked, to be covered the specific topics shown on the next page). At first I will introduce the project, and explain that the aim of these interviews is to work out how club members use records to create and maintain the club's collective memory – and that the club's records aren't necessarily just on paper, or photographs, but might be enriched by people's stories, the places, events and traditions they relate to, and all kinds of other things, which is why the questions are quite general, so we can find where the records might be, how we categorise them, how we create, use and share them, and how we link them together to create our collective memory. Some records belonging to me will be present at the interviews and discussions, such as photographs, maps, and copies of the club magazine, *Footprints*, as prompts for discussion.

Questions

Introductory questions

Please tell me about when your interest in the AUTC began

Tell me what you think about, when you think about the AUTC

Intermediate questions

Tell me about what prompts you to think about the AUTC

What impact did joining the AUTC have on your life?

Does the AUTC have a culture of its own? (What would you say makes up that culture). What are your thoughts on the preservation of AUTC culture?

If someone in the club asked you how they could find out about the AUTC culture, what would you tell them? What about someone outside the club?

Thinking about the club's collective memory, does it have one? Or more? How do you think it is formed? How do you think it is maintained?

Thinking more specifically now about looking for information, how do you find out what's going on / let other people know what's going on in the AUTC?

How do you find out about club stuff? (How to do things, trips, resources available, events, who does what, traditions etc.)

Do you have trouble finding some kinds of club information you need? How do you track it down?

(For people on the club committee) how did you find out about your role? What advice would you give someone, who was going to take on your role in the committee, about finding out how to it?

What kinds of things do you want to share with people about the AUTC, or your time in the club? Who with? When? How? How long do you want these to be available to other people? (Thinking about your own records from your time in the club, do you share them with other people? How? When? With whom?)

Ending questions

What advice would you give someone, who was just joining the AUTC?

What has your membership of the AUTC meant to you?

Is there anything else you think we should talk about, which would give more of an insight into how we maintain the club's collective memory?

Topics

The AUTC

- Purpose of the AUTC
- Shared values, culture and knowledge of AUTC members, if any?

Sharing information, knowledge, skills and club culture

- How do people first hear about the AUTC, and from whom?
- What triggers memories of the AUTC and people's time in it?
- How do people find the AUTC-related information they need (e.g. how things should be done, what to take on a trip, information about people, something from the past) and when do they need it?
- What clues do they use to track it down?
- Are there any particular methods of creating or sharing information, with more impact than others?
- Are some people significant figures in some aspects of collective memory?
- What do you think is important for the club to pass on to future members?
- What kind of information, knowledge and skills do you share within the club?
 Outside the club? When? Why? How? Who with?

Club records

- What kinds of things are records of the club?
- Where and when do members create records?
- What kinds of club activities create records?
- What do they record?
- Where are they? Do members know? Do members need to know?
- What are club records used for? When?
- When members are organising records to do with the AUTC, or looking for them, what kinds of categories are used?
- Who creates club records? Are the records you create as an individual ever club records?
- Would you want to share any of the records you have created with other club members, or with other people? With whom? How?

Reflections on the future

- Does the AUTC have a collective memory? If yes, how is it constructed and carried forward through time?
- What (such as particular knowledge, skills, culture, values or records) do members think is essential for the club?
- What kind of records would members like to be able to access or share about the AUTC, from their time in the club or from any time in the club's history?
- Thinking of the longer term, which records need to be kept into the future, and for how long? Who should be responsible for them? Where should they be kept?
- How would members like to access or share them?

Appendix B: Explanatory Statement provided to AUTC members



EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

Current and former members of Auckland University Tramping Club

Project: Footprints through space and time: reimagining description in the archival multiverse through a rich community case study

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You are invited to take part in this study, which is a PhD research project. Please read this Explanatory Statement in full before deciding whether or not to participate in this research. If you would like further information regarding any aspect of this project, please contact the researchers via the phone numbers or email addresses listed above.

What does the research involve?

The purpose of this project is to look at the way a community builds its collective memory, and see how this can be supported by the way archives are described. First, the plan is to build a model of the way the AUTC builds its collective memory, in a collaborative process that could, if club members wish, lead to a new system of arranging and describing the club archives to make them more accessible and usable into the future. Next, that model will be tested against an existing model of description to see how it helps or hinders the maintenance of the AUTC's memory.

It is anticipated that this research project will lead to the empowerment of the AUTC to better manage its records and archives into the future, as well as an improved understanding of how archival description can meet the needs of individual communities to manage their own archives, supporting community values and survival, allowing knowledge to be passed on and protecting rights.

In this part of the study, you will take part in a group discussion or interview, relating to the general themes of sharing club and individual memories and records, in which we will begin to make a model of the way club members together construct the club's collective memory. The discussion could include topics such as your view of the AUTC's collective memory, the club's values and purpose, what and where you think the club records are, how you first heard about the club, what you think is important for the Club to pass on to future members or others, who you share memories with, when and why, or any other related topic introduced by yourself or your fellow participants. There are no right or wrong answers, you can choose to take part in as much of the discussion as you wish, and all views will be gratefully received, whether you've been in the club for 5 days or 70 years. This discussion should take between 1-2 hours, and after I have interpreted the resulting data I will check with you that you agree with my understanding.

After the discussions and interviews, I will develop a preliminary model of the club's collective memory-building, and then you can choose whether you want to participate in further discussions and feedback, until we have found a model that looks right. The duration of these feedback sessions will be determined by the participants, but are likely to take between half an hour and one hour each.

If you agree, an audio recording of the discussion or interview will be made. You will be able to request a copy of the recording by contacting Belinda Battley at belinda.battley@monash.edu

Why were you chosen for this research?

You have been asked to participate in this research because you volunteered to take part in response to an invitation, and because of your membership or former membership of the AUTC

Consenting to participate in the project and withdrawing from the research

By signing and returning the consent form, you are consenting to participate. Being in this study is voluntary, and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. If you do consent to participate, you may withdraw from further participation at any stage, and you can choose to have any comments you have made excluded from the reporting of the data before its publication.

Possible benefits and risks to participants

There are no direct benefits to individual participants who agree to take part in this study. However, the research may lead to a better understanding of the way people can connect with their records of collective memory, which could be of benefit both for users of the AUTC archives and for other, less-advantaged communities.

Confidentiality

Only the researchers in this project and any fellow participants in the same discussion groups as you will have access to the raw data / recording collected during the discussions or interviews. No individuals will be identified in the results unless they agree to be identified, and will be provided with a draft of the publication and given the option of having any reference made anonymous.

Storage of data

Data collected will be stored in accordance with Monash University regulations, kept in password-protected online storage or in a locked cabinet and destroyed after 7 years from the end of the project. However, if the participants decide the AUTC should retain a copy of any of the data for future use, the participants can decide how this should be done.

Results

There will be several stages of results. The first, the model of collective memory construction for the AUTC, will be provided to the Club through the medium preferred by participants, possibly via the Club website or Facebook page.

The results relating to analysis of archival descriptive methods will be published in a thesis, in academic journals and presented at conferences relating to archives. If you wish to have access to copies of these later results you can contact Belinda Battley at belinda.battley@monash.edu

Complaints

If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of the project, you are welcome to contact the Executive Officer, Monash University Human Research Ethics (MUHREC):

Executive Officer

Monash University Human Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)

Room 111, Building 3e

Research Office

Monash University VIC 3800

Tel: +61 3 9905 2052 Email: muhrec@monash.edu Fax: +61 3 9905 3831

Thank you,

Belinda Battley and Joanne Evans (my supervisor, officially the "Chief Investigator" as per Monash University requirements)

Appendix C: Extracts from interviews

Negotiating memories together

The 1950s group: (negotiating memories together)

Dorothy: We do see all the younger ones when we have a ... we had a 50 year anniversary at the hut, and a dance too, didn't we?

Brian: That's right, yes

Dorothy: I've got photos of a couple of occasions when we got together with all of the club, and...

Brian: That's right, the 60th, actually, it was, and Marin said "That's my last tramp"

Dorothy: Actually, he got very bogged in the mud. [All laughing]

Brian: Also, of course, the Club's had meetings, well, dinners, 25th, 50th, 60th, 75th and 80th

Dorothy: So yes, we do see something of the younger ones.

[Another male voice]: Yes, that's when the transfer, the cultural thing gets generated I think [general sounds of agreement].

Boyd: As long as they don't set up about this group talking about their time, and that lot talking about their time, and there's not cross-connection. [Other voices: Ah, yes] [Some quiet laughter]. Because it seems, being a bit boastful? Or nosy? Or whatever, I don't know, but there seems not to be the cross-generational discussions at those meetings. [Voice: You're right]. Unless you make a determined effort.

Megan: And it's ephemeral, it's almost like small talk for about ten minutes.

Peter: You fear telling the younger generation what they should do [laughter].

Arwen & Carol, 1990s [Excerpt 1 – reminding, building and reinforcing memories]:

Carol: The Club Captains and things had a book. At the end of your year, you had [Arwen: Oh right, I'd forgotten about that!] you wrote what you'd done, and what the year had been all about, and everything else in it. So you wrote your few pages in there as Club Captain

Arwen: I'd completely forgotten about that; that was a hard-cover exercise book [Carol: It was like a diary kind of thing, yes]. When I got it, I don't know, like a handful of previous Club Captains. So as you say, a few pages, and it was kind of key learnings, and key events, and what happened, and being able to pass that knowledge and experience on to the next Captain.

Carol: Yes, because people don't stay at University forever, necessarily, do they, so that knowledge, Club Captains are generally at sort of the pinnacle of their University degree, moving off fairly soon after that.

Arwen: Yes, I'd forgotten about that, you see, there you go, it's taken us a couple of hours to remember that. But we got there in the end [all laughing].

[Excerpt 2 – reconstructing memories together, sustaining relationships]:

Me: So you said you had regular meetings with other people from the '90s?

Carol: Still? [Me: Yeah]. Well, there's a bunch of, how many of us would there be? Eight? Families?

Arwen: So that makes, yeah, 16, AUTC members, and I'm just guessing 8 to 10...

Carol: Yeah, 8 to 10 families, or so. I mean, there's others... like there's Eric, was Eric actually AUTC? Did he belong?

Arwen: No, Eric wasn't AUTC

Carol: He came through with Richard, didn't he

Arwen: I'm just thinking, actually, you and Richard, Edwina and Craig, and Nick and Sophie are all actually from within the Tramping Club [both laughing]. [Carol: Yes, yes]. That's not an unusual story, as I'm sure you're aware [i.e. they had met and married in through Tramping Club]. And then Mark and Kathleen are not technically Tramping Club, but [Carol: Yes, Mark was in Tramping Club, yeah] and — Oh, Christine.

Carol: Did you get Matt and Lisa?

Arwen: Oh, Matt and Lisa, that's Tramping Club, yeah.

Sharing knowledge from experience, sustaining relationships

[Arwen & Carol, Excerpt 3]:

Arwen: ... [Speaking of her young son] He's insistent that we go and stay in Howden Hut, down on the Routeburn, and I'm just like 'What! That's 50 or 100 dollars a night, I'm not staying there! That's ridiculous!

Carol: How does he know about it?

Arwen: Well, because we did some of the Caples trip, and we've also been up Key Summit, which is quite close to Howden Hut

Carol: Right, right. You could go a bit further, and go to, um, Lake McKellar, like we did the other year. Yeah, past Howden Hut and to Lake McKellar, just continue on.

Reminders from photographs, notes, people's names and faces, storytelling

Ron (1940s): Now, what else. [Shuffling papers and looking at them]. Right, well, some other things here. Ah, now, this is something I did, it must have been back in 2007. A note to the club archivist [with stories about his time in the club]. And some photos: that's Marin Segedin, he's still alive... Ah, ok, and so I've mentioned there — I've mentioned Morrison Cassie [shuffling papers and photographs], there's Cass, this is the top of Mount Princess, which is a peak that overlooks Lake Tennyson. And this was taken on the first of the Christmas trips, down there [in the 1940s]. Geoff Westwood, Dennis Rudwall [spelling?], and Cass. [Shuffling more photographs]. And I mentioned that one: oh yes, Ruapehu, my first trip to the mountain, I think I was 19 — probably 1946. And where we stayed, in one of the huts behind the Chateau, there. And that was, you had to hoof it up the road to the mountain, and go skiing, we went skiing. Later on, of course, 'Varsity got a tenure at the Glacier Hut, which was ... there were only two huts, apart from the one at the end of the road, there were two huts. There was Ruapehu Ski Club, and then just down on the slopes below that was Glacier Hut, which was a very primitive one. [Me, laughing: Yes, it looks very basic]. It had nine bunks in it, and we had a tenure to be able to use those. So that was the sort of basis for our skiing.

Evidence from external, published source; reinforcing of / significance of Tramping Club relationships; like-minded people

Craig [1980s, now living in Canada]:

...I'd probably say that of the friends that I still have from being in New Zealand, I would say that basically most of them are the friends that I made through the Tramping Club. So, I'm not sure how true that is for everybody, certainly that would be my experience, that I'd kept in touch with very, very few people that I went to school with. But I'm certainly glad that I'm in touch with people that I went through the University Tramping Club with. It's interesting, I have a copy of the history of the Engineering School at Auckland that was published a few years ago, there is something in the back about the fact that if you didn't want to be a hard-core, hard-drinking right-wing engineer, you went and joined the Tramping Club. [Both laughing]. I'm not sure if that is the exact quote, if you like I'll dig it out and I can send it to you.

Recommending people as a source of memory; places as triggers of memory

Graham [1960s]: ... There was always quite a big gathering around the noticeboard too, but we tended to have lunch at the Sir George Grey statue, and of course you could always climb the statue as well. Someone's, [name given], I think, has still got a thumb or finger off it I think. [Both laughing]. He's someone else I've kept in touch with. He would be good to talk to, because he was in the Club for probably 20 years.

Reciprocal sharing of knowledge; possibility of reintroducing ideas to Club through personal relationships

Mel [late 1990s]: Well, I think when I was in the Club, we used to hire a bus at Christmastime and take, you know, forty people down to the South Island and everybody would tramp for... and then, you know, you'd link in. You'd go and do this tramp, and then link in with those people doing that one, there were tramps all over the South Island for three or four weeks....They did it for quite a few years. That led to a lot of tramping... But when I talked to members ten years later, they said "Oh no, we haven't had a bus going down."

Me: [I tell Mel my son is in club now]... but I think they just found their own way down, as far as I know. I mean, he flew down, a couple of times, on super cheap flights

Mel: Yeah, well, they didn't have all those super cheap flights twenty years ago. [Me: No, exactly]. But 40 people sharing a bus, what a lot of fun! Like, I kind of think they should bring that back.

Me: Yeah, that does sound fun.

Mel: They can get their own [cheap] flight home, but going down there [both laughing], I mean, it must be a hell of a long bus ride, trip, but it must have been a lot of fun.

Me: Yeah, we went down, six of us, in an old Valiant, in the '80s, one time, and that was really fun. Really dangerous, but really fun

Mel: Yeah! Mention it to [your son]. Suggest that he hire a bus, and take 40 people down, because... yeah, it was pretty cool.

Camaraderie or whanaungatanga and like-minded people (mentioned by the majority of people)

Chris (1950s, questionnaire): As for the cultural elements I observed during the 1950s-early 1960s period, I would note the following: ... (ii) a strong commitment to inclusion, especially of Freshers and new members, and making sure that everybody had a rewarding time, both on Club trips and at Club functions more generally

J (1960s): "[Going to University in a new town] would have been very lonely without Tramping Club. [...] I belonged to a few other groups around campus, but none of them had the sort of every day culture. I mean, it's what Maori call Whanaungatanga, very much that atmosphere. Very much like young Maori coming to University and going to the Marae, and having a, you know, having a whole group of people that they feel comfortable with, around them."

Anton (2010s): "I mean, the culture of the Club is certainly very different to, say, the University. They're generally like-minded people, so like to be active, generally quite sociable, can be a little bit sort of cheeky and mischievous"

Joe (1990s): "I left my cultural region at the age of 15, and I had basically floated everywhere, ever since. And AUTC was my first group of friends that I really sort of socialised and bonded with. So, and you know, what else could be better than sitting next to a glacier, or somewhere on a peak, and looking at it with a group of friends."

Eddy (1960s): I think that the collective memory of Tramping Club for me is as much with the social aspects as much as with the actual tramping. The tramping was interesting, but one could have had that in various ways. You know, the Auckland Tramping Club, or ASC, [for example]. The fact that it was a whole, if you wanted it to be, complete lifestyle, for the time you were there, a big group of people you could relate to and socialise with. And tramp with. So that was a big family...

Club members get to know each other well through overcoming adversity together.

Andrew B (1980s): All you actually need to do, to get to know people... you just need to go walking in the rain for four days, and eventually that'll tell you everything you ever wanted to know about them.

Graham (1960s): I always felt that you saw both the best and the worst of people on tramping trips. If you went on a ten-day trip with someone, you came out of that trip knowing what they were really like. Particularly if you had bad weather. You know? [Me: Yeah]. And I thought that was quite a good recipe for life.

Jane (1970s): It's a very collegial, supportive culture. And I think once you have spent five or ten days in the bush with a group of people, and totally relying on them for your own safety and wellbeing, if you like, you either end up sort of loving them or hating them [both laughing]. I think, mostly loving them. There's a bond, there is a strong bond there, and shared adventures. So I think that engenders a spirit that tends to keep you somewhat connected, even when you move beyond the club.

Brian (1950s): ...where people go away, live together in huts, tents, snow caves, things like that, and I guess also, put their lives into each other's hands, someone's on the other end of a rope, or crossing a stream, or something, it does build the strong bonds that I've talked about earlier.

Memories of the club / club culture are kept alive through maintaining personal relationships. Groups from specific eras maintain regular contact. Gaps in relationships lead to gaps in access to memory:

Boyd (1950s-1960s): [we act as a group] who recall things, who trigger each other's memories, of things, by looking at photographs and talking about subjects, and I think in that respect we act as a collection, which meets periodically, and refreshes that memory, and retains that information.

Anton (2010s): If you want to find out about the history of the club, there's Footprints and the Jubilee magazine. The collective, I guess the memory in terms of how things work, in terms of short term, is word of mouth, mostly.

Brian (1950s): It wasn't until reading your papers [he had asked to read some background to the project] that I focused on the idea of holding a collective memory, but... no, I think it's true, but...and I think that's been fostered by tramping club people getting together and reminiscing, and meeting up with current members, and going up to the Hut...

John (1990s, current President): I guess most of my friends are still friends through the Tramping Club. And, in fact, in my cohort, if you like, that group of friends still goes camping together, and still — you know, their children do stuff together, so there's maybe ten families that stick together, from that group.

And

John (1990s, current President): So at the moment, if somebody asks me something, and I don't know, I would go and talk to David [previous President] in the first instance, or Don [Club member from late 1950s, still at the University], or some of the Captains from bygone eras. But that's strictly informal, and that's because I know them personally. So there is no, or it feels like there's no structure to the memory. [...] I think there is a sort of a bit of a missing generation, in — well, I don't want to make any assumptions, but in the '70s and '80s, the late '70s and early '80s, there seems to be a bit of a gap. [This is interesting to me, as I know lots of people from this time, which overlaps with my sister, my brother, and me. So my gap is different to his].

Club unity is enhanced with shared esoteric knowledge relating to shared objects, taken seriously even if seen as a joke

John (1990s, current President): [speaking of the difference between core group members and transitory international students who are in the club for 6 months for the opportunity to safely explore NZ wilderness]: Yeah, I don't know how much of the Club lore they absorb. By the Club lore, I mean things like — well, the Club treasures — which are in a bag over there. [I ask if I can look inside, and he says sure, but to be careful because the bag is heavy. I look inside, and in there are three Tibetan goblets and a Tibetan knife in a leather sheath.] Three of them, and the Tibetan knife, which are presented at General Meetings. [When I get the knife out, I remember and mention to John my memory from 30 years ago the legend that if you remove it from the scabbard you must draw blood or bad luck will befall the Club]. Exactly! And do you know what, I make an announcement every year at the meetings, and three out of the four meetings, somebody has volunteered to cut themselves.

Membership changes rapidly but essence of club does not:

"Circumstances and technology do change but reading through old Footprints, I am struck by the sense of how our experiences have run in parallel through the years ... Our story is all the more remarkable given that this is a student club and that basic fact means most members are only active for around three to five years, scant time to pass on club knowledge and lore yet somehow each generation muddles through with the core of club culture more or less intact." Wayne Erb (2007). Introduction. In: Auckland University Tramping Club Jubilee History 1932-2007. Auckland: AUTC, pp.4-5

However, elements of club culture change with changes in society:

Chris (1950s-1960s, questionnaire): First, as the average TC membership time would be 3-4 years, the evolution of membership would ensure the accretion of alternative ideas over time. Second, I observe an immense change in New Zealand society since 1984, which has changed cultural attitudes and practices immeasurably....For reasons just given, I'm not sure there is such a thing as a static "Tramping Club culture". If one wants to preserve what it was or is at any one time, then I think that some written record – inspired by those then members – is probably all that

can be aspired to.... I'm not sure that anything formal beyond that would be warranted. Culture is mainly a matter of symbols and the participation of events surrounding them and absorbing their meaning. There were many symbols of TC in my time: club team in the winter netball tournament, the Club Dinner, lunches at Sir George and dinners at the Golden Dragon, having a float in Procesh, "Footprints", the trips themselves, slide evenings of trips, the call "Mogambo", O'nuku, songs around the campfire, and the taboos on drink and sex. (The moral code was instilled, half-jokingly, in the phrase "What would Marin say?" referring to Marin Segedin, one of the founders of the Club, life member, maths lecturer, and the person who promoted this approach.) [Chris's parentheses]

Eddy (1960s): the various trips the Club did were the essence of what the Club did. As well as the social events. Which were quite different in my time, I think, than yours.

I (Late 1960s): I could see, the last reunion we had, that there still seems to be quite a strong group around Tramping Club, I don't know that their culture is quite the culture that we had, though looking back on it, there were had aspects to our culture, you know, this rip-shit-or-bust type of tramping, especially around the boys, you know. There were some strong women in Tramping Club, but they had to really fight, they had to really basically fight the men to be like that, and that probably has changed, I imagine.

Contact lists / lists of members are essential for maintaining links with former club members to maintain relationships, enable functions to be done and support club rights:

David (1960s): And the lease on the Hut, certainly there was vulnerability ten years ago, maybe if we have some stability in the City Council then they will have the memory of how it's going, and that it's working well... we have to make sure that the City Council doesn't knock that out. And knowing that you can access a whole lot of people who have fond memories of the Hut is important, so we need somehow to maintain those lists.

Graham (1960s): I would be very surprised if the Club's got anything like good membership lists. Which is the core of an archive, really, in many ways.

One of the best ways to find out about routes is to ask someone who's already been there; word of mouth is excellent source of information and sometimes the only source

Anton (2010s): And I guess you often, when you go tramping, you meet other people, ex-club members. So as a club member, that's often a source of information

Dave (1980s): We used to say 'Oh, where have you been?' And people would say where they'd been, and you'd go 'Oh, maybe I'll go there!' And sometimes you'd go I don't actually know where that is', so you'd go and find a map, or ask someone else, to try and find out where it was. But there was almost like it was an expectation that it was a good place to go, even if it was a ridiculous place to go.

David (1960s): [in the summer trips book] there would be advice on what to expect, in different places, find out who was going there, you'd talk to them, do you know these people, do you know anyone who's been there...

Carl (current member): [Me: when you go on a tramp, do you keep a diary, or a record or anything of your trips, or...] Not really. I'm really bad at photos, and writing stuff down. I just think I don't write very good trip reports [both laughing]. So I don't — not really, no. I've probably done, like one or two, of fifteen-odd trips. [Me: Right. But after you've been on a trip, do you talk about it to other people?] Oh yeah, definitely. Some places are amazing!

Footprints is an important way information is passed on, but not the whole story; some trip accounts are *fairy tales* and if you really want to know the details you have to ask someone who was on the trip:

Craig (1980s): ...it's that idea of having a record beyond what is just simply recorded in Footprints for each year, which is a record of the happenings of the club, and those of us that were there can basically just look at those reports, and fill in the gaps, but it doesn't capture the whole story.

Robert (1980s-1990s): Actually, not that long ago, last year or the year before, [full name of fellow member] and I had quite an interesting little email conversation, trying to work out where we'd been for one of our trips, using photographs, and I thought this would probably be a very good illustration of what you are after. [Me: Yeah!] So we used photographs of where we'd been, and maps, and even the Footprints write-up, despite the fact that we wrote about this as a fairy-tale.

Club unity supported with use of humour, in-jokes, catch-phrases, funny stories and songs as well as frequent parties

1980s group: Ian: "Do you think the plastic horse is still on top of Climax?" Andrew B: "That's a good question." Dave: "We didn't see it, but we weren't very observant." Kate: "No, but there's still an orange road cone on top of the rocket in Rocket Park." Ian: "But from my recollection, there were three trips found the plastic horse on top of Climax." Peter: "I don't think it's there. There's been a lot of glacial movement." Ian: "It may well be gone now, but it's even slightly bizarre that, you know, it's one of the most remote places in New Zealand, and people could go back there, years later, and find the same horse." Dave: "But was it an archival horse?" Ian: "Possibly!" Dave: "You can trust your secrets to a horse." Ian: "Well, there's a concern about littering, and I didn't want to mention it, but I guess a horse leaves footprints too." [People laughing]

People are kept in line with club "standards" by use of humour as well (e.g. in the 1950s "What would Marin say?", and in the 1980s "PDAs!!!" (a joking warning against "Public Displays of Affection").

Storytelling as a way of binding people together

Andrew (1980s): [discussing why we are still together after 30 years when no longer see other people we were at University with] I think it's important when you're engaging with people in a way that creates stories, because if we had all been part of a film club, and all we'd ever done was go and watch films together, there wouldn't really have been many stories. But the nature of what we do tends to generate stories, and these stories are part of what glues us together. It's not the only thing, but it means that there can be a culture, because there's shared identity, shared events, shared interpretation of things. That isn't always true with other kinds of clubs and other kinds of activities. And these stories often live on in the way we define each other, in part. I still tell stories about people in the Club that I've done things with. Because they're amusing, or tragic, or embarrassing, or something [People laughing]

Storytelling is often used to pass on information

Brian (1950s): "People used to talk — only in the '40s, there used to be a launch from Huia, to go into Onehunga. That had disappeared by the time I came. These stories used to get — I remember, that would have been '52, '53, you know, hearing about the Huia launch to Onehunga. [...] I was thinking about this particular guy [gives full name], I might have said, well, last weekend, we went down to DG [Destruction Gully] and then to the coast to Huia, and got the bus, and he might have just said, oh, well, in the old days, there used to be a launch from Huia to Onehunga... These things just got passed on in a sort of — we never thought we were transmitting the club's collective memory, we were just talking about trips, I suppose. Oh, I suppose people always like to talk about their own trips, particularly if they have been pleasant ones, or big ones, or exciting ones, or novel ones, or something. Or occasionally if they're very bad" [laughing].

Triggers of memory: Photos, Footprints magazine, maps, places, people, the Club 'treasures' and equipment are used as reminders of trips, often trigger stories and provide verification and information for future activities:

Martin (1980s): ...pulling out the old fleece, and sleeping bag, or pack, and they carry stories, and stuff, and I'm feeling that a lot. So I'm kind of grieving for a past that I'm not able to go and re-enact. And so I'm really living through that strongly, at the moment.

1950s group: (Unidentified male voice): Footprints is a very useful collection. Partly because it records what was done, but also others look at it afterwards to see 'Oh, that looked like a good trip', or 'oh, I won't do that.' So it becomes a mechanism for advising others what can be done. Or what shouldn't be done.

Brian (1950s): I was up there recently [in the Waitakeres], and we passed a track just past the Hut, RGB, and I explained, this was cut by a club member in the late 1940s. [Me: Oh!]. Ron Bennett. [Me: Oh, I didn't know that.] Ronald Gibson Bennett, and he wanted to have a track so that people could get down to a swimming hole in the Anawhata, and other people expressed surprise - I suppose it is surprising now – that one could just go in with a slasher [smiling] and cut a track in the Waitakeres, at a place that sort of suits you to... [Me: Yeah, and then to have it named after you, as well]. Yeah, well, I suppose – it was RGB's by the time I had – well, I suppose he had led the cutting of it; he's still alive, you can ask him about it.

Significance of shared views and aims behind the Club: The written Constitution of the club, which is present at Annual General Meetings, is part of the reason memories and culture have been maintained: the stated aims are to foster tramping and a spirit of camaraderie amongst trampers. Members tend to be likeminded people, with similar interests (such as tramping, environmental interests and not being hung up on fashion). People who are not known are assessed for shared views, aims, interests, skills, and knowledge.

Mel (Late 1990s): It was a few weeks later that they had the Progressive Dinner, and I went to that, and just instantly, like, as soon as I got to the first venue, just went "Oh my gosh, these are my people"...And none of them were like the "cool crowd", the people I was kind of intimidated by at school, it was just the people I could resonate with.

David R (1960s): [Re Jubilee publications]. In these publications it's good to be able to look through the past committees, as well [Me: Yeah, the list at the back]. That's right, yes. That's how I was aware of your family connections, when you first approached me, for these interviews. [....] People were a good friendly sort, and they didn't go in for flashy appearances. They're often quite modest. But the friendships I formed, they were good friendships, and I still see quite a few of those people.

J (late 1960s): I mean, now, people have this image of the '60s looking back on people being sort of super-cool and wearing mini-skirts and the Beatles, and all that kind of thing, and it was very far from that. The kind of people who joined Tramping Club were, well, obviously they were outdoorsy sort of people, but they were also quite often not your average person who would join a sports team... they weren't into pop culture so much. They were, I don't know, they had a kind of, there was a definite atmosphere amongst the Club.

Eddy (1960s): [Had just told me about a trip he had done in the Nelson Lakes area] It was a nice trip. Where did you go, when you went? [Me: I haven't done a lot around Nelson Lakes, we just spent most of the time around Lake Rotoroa, Mt Robert area and so on] You've been on South Island trips? [sounding a bit dubious about me]. [Me, feeling the need to prove my experience: Oh, yeah, yeah, Young - Wilkin, and Rees - Dart, and oh, just things like Abel Tasman, Heaphy sort of area...] [Eddy sounds a bit more positive]: oh, interesting, oh yeah. [Me: Kepler – we did the Kepler a couple of years ago]. How was that, you did some climbing? [This seems to have rebuilt our rapport and he tells me numerous stories, particularly ones about the areas I have mentioned]

The annual programme of repeated events, such as BushSchool, SnowSchool, RiverSchool, May Camp, Christmas Party, Hut Birthday, O-Camp (Orientation Camp), and South Island trips are a major way culture, skills and knowledge are passed on; they continue because they still suit club members

Joe (1990s): [Me: Yeah, so just thinking about when you were in Tramping Club, originally, how do you think you learnt about what to do, and learning the skills you needed, if you didn't have them already? [No, I had nothing when I came in. There was BushSchool, which is what they ran for beginners, in the beginning, and then they had a leadership course, where they sort of picked people to go in, to go on a weekend course, by invitation, [...]. They also sent me to — there was a SnowSchool, where they introduced us to ice-axe, crampons, and some basic alpine type of stuff. And then, basically I started leading trips after about a year. And then I started teaching things. And basically being very keen, I was a very, very active member. I was out tramping every second weekend, with the Club. So, yeah,

I learned very fast. Because I was very, very keen. So they had formal courses. And then of course we'd go out, and for the first few trips that we'd lead, they'd put an experienced leader with us, so I would be leading the trip, but they would be there to make sure that we were ok. And then of course, you make some mistakes, and you go "I'm not doing that again." [Both laughing]. I mean, that's life, basically. And then, we'd just go ahead.

Carl (current club member): I think they do the same things because they suit. I mean, Trips Launch is kind of fun, it's been going on for years, it's kind of fun just to meet, eat some pizza, and hear what's going on.

John (1990s, President in 2000s): [Me: What do you think stays the same? If things change when the Committee changes, what sort of things stay the same?] Ah, so there is a sequence of regular events, stay the same. And from those, I guess some attitudes get passed on. So the first event of the year is O Week Camp, which 70 people get to go along to. To the Club Hut, so the tradition of going to the Club Hut regularly, and taking strange things there, and having a good time at the Hut [both laughing], that's passed on, from year to year. And there are Vice-Presidents who have a bit longer stay in the Club, usually, 4 or 5 years, so they help carry it on. There's May Camp [...]. There's the instructional schools...

Pride in specialist knowledge and skills and access to remote places: connection with New Zealand identity:

Andrew B (1980s) ... belonging to the Tramping Club pushed me into parts of New Zealand that I would never have probably got to, otherwise. Partly because people inspired me, and I think it's given me this ability to claim a certain kind of national identity as a result [...] I find it interesting that a really key part of the New Zealand culture is about the sense of being outdoors in the wilderness. And yet, bugger me, 90 percent of them never get there [Laughter]. And for most people, it's a myth.

People go through an apprenticeship process - starting at Orientation week with Freshers' Tramps, then going on more tramps with trip leaders who pass on knowledge and doing "schools", then maybe learning to be a leader with a side-kick to help, then leading independently. People cannot get access to more advanced tramps until at least some of the core people know and trust them.

Chris (1950s, questionnaire): Most of the skills required for tramping were learned by hands-on apprenticeship. If you showed interest over time, you could be invited to become a side-kick on official trips, and then come to lead them. I don't recall there ever being held an "instruction course" on how to tramp. There were however publications like "Safety in the Mountains" and Bill Bridge's book on Search and Rescue, which gave advice. The attitude in those days was, I believe, very much in terms of an amateur pursuit, and you found out what you needed to do by doing it. Some members of the TC just tagged along for trips without too much knowledge or wish to gain more, and that was welcome too....[As a committee member and Club Captain] Basically one learned from the previous person who did the job (see 'apprenticeship' above) [Chris's note]

Jim (1960s): I guess I went through all the Tramping Club process: [...] I mentioned Freshers' Hut Weekend, there was Hut Birthday, there was Hut Christmas Party, there was after-degree camp, which was often somewhere other than the Waitakeres, and I do remember one at Waiwera, and one at Raglan. And there was also Saturday night socials, at the University itself....

Rob S (1980s-1990s): "And so obviously the first thing to do was to go on the Fresher's Tramp, which — you signed up, and then you turned up and felt very awkward at the mushrooms [name for strangely shaped seats in quadrangle] on the morning, kind of thing. And you went off tramping [laughing], which was the good bit [...] the first year, I had quite a bit of difficulty getting on [South Island Christmas] trips. The ones that I put my name down, they wanted people who they knew the experience of. By the time they'd sorted that out, and decided I wasn't experienced enough, there wasn't any trip left, so I had a little bit of a hiccup over the first year. But the second year, things were fine, obviously people believed I was experienced by that point."

Jim (1960s): It was all incredibly well done, I think, because the Trips Organiser and the Club Captain together, they put people on the right trips, and the trips were graded, so that they didn't put people who weren't — you know, inexperienced people onto really hard trips, so it was very good from that point of view. I think you were looked after, the general member was looked after. There was a lot of thought went into who went on what trips.

Anton (Current Vice President, 2010s): And the Committee members themselves, part of it is about their own learning, and their own education and development as a person, so some of the stuff, they're happy to sort of figure out for themselves.... I've sort of realised that actually nothing's going to go wrong; I'll step in if I think somebody's going to do some damage to themselves, but at the same time, by telling them this, I'm possibly stopping them from developing.... We changed the way Advanced BushSchool went because of that... There was no "This is what you're going to do", it was more "Here's an objective, we want you to go out and make as many mistakes as you possibly can, in this safe environment." You know, go to a place that doesn't have too many cliffs for them to fall off, and that sort of thing.

David (1960s and life member): ...the Easter trips to Thames, in particular, were a good place to learn. [...] They would identify someone who looked as though he or she was potential tramping leadership material, and they'd nominate that person as the leader of a tramp. And then they'd have what they call the sidekick, who was a more senior person who knew all about this sort of stuff already, who'd go along... who could stand in as leader if necessary, if the other person wasn't as good as they'd thought. But otherwise, this person got a chance to experience leading, and perhaps was given a little bit of advice by the [other] leader, and so on.

Regular gathering places are really important. This used to be Sir George Grey's statue, then the noticeboard; now people only meet once a week in Albert Park for lunch, with the Club Facebook page and email list as more regular contact.

[Late 1960s]: The noticeboard was the focus of the whole world, in those days [laughing]

C (2000s): There was quite a strong presence, so if you kind of ever had an hour, and you wanted to hang out with people, or you wanted to have lunch, there would usually be people there you could go sit with. [Me: Right! (Surprised that it was the same as when I was there)]. [C laughs]. Yeah, because I was at the noticeboard, and while I was at the noticeboard, because I think I'd looked at it a couple of times, trying to decide if I should sign up for something or not, someone came up and approached me who was one of the members, sort of saying "oh, that's my trip, come along!"

Joe (1990s): during that time we'd hang out, every single day, in front of the notice board. That was a social gathering place. There was a core of us that basically just would meet there for lunch. And people come in, they come and look at the noticeboard, and [unclear] [laughs]. Yeah. But that was, for me, and for a core group of people, our social hangout.

Jubilees and other reunions are significant times when collective memory is renewed and passed on (both in renewing contact between people and passing information between eras, and with impetus to gather records including photos, stories, songs, recipes, lists of trips, lists of people with club positions, lists of contact details, and jokes)

Brian (1950s, former President, now Club Archivist): The story about the history of the hut began when Tramping Club had its 75th birthday, and questions were asked as to whether the hut was a possible historic building

Jim [1960s, life member]: At the Wanaka 1960s reunion in 2012, I was asked to speak about the early '60s, and so made some notes. I never wrote the speech out, I'm sort of thinking of doing it now. So I've got some notes to crib off. [...] I did enjoy the 2007 reunion [...] David A came from Canada to go to that, you know, so — oh, and Tony K came from the UK...

Ongaruanuku (O'nuku, the Club hut) is a significant part of the club's collective memory, linked to and triggering many individual memories, but members go there less often now as Auckland Council has increased its control and members have better access to transport to go tramping in more distant places

Ron (1940s): Later on when VJ came on, of course great big celebrations that really ended the war, I missed all that, because I was up at Ongaruanuku [laughing], with one other person who was Davy H..., who'd been a dispatch rider in the Western Desert, but anyway he came back [...] Anyway, we were up there, and one of the trips we did was to go down to the Waitakere dam — you know, the dam that's near Ongaruanuku - and the dam level was relatively low, so we decided 'We'll follow that up around the side of the lake" [...] .so we did that, and then we bush-crashed back. So that's how WE spend VJ day. Which was quite a contrast, all a contrast to the city.

Then, in that era, I think my first visit to Ongaruanuku was with Rod D...; that was Queens Birthday weekend in 1945.

John (1990s, current President): I would have said in my day that most members had been to the Hut, but I'm not sure about that any more, especially since now, we can't have more than — well — the number of people we can host at the Hut has been an ongoing issue. So the Regional Parks people want permits for any group over 15. [Me: Fifteen!!! (Thinking of numerous hut parties)] Yeah. And so we've got conditional permits on the new lease for three nights a year — which are basically [Hut] Birthday Party, Christmas Party, and O Week, to take 70 people to the Hut. But that's still not even most of the members. And I used to go there a lot more often when I was a student, I used to basically go out there every weekend.

Places themselves have a strong impact on people, experiences and records, and shared experience of places, even at different times, unites people and feeds into individual and group identity

Dave (1980s): Like, is there another thing where part of the culture is not only the shared experience, but you could say "Oh, I did a Waikaremoana trip that year", but someone else did one the next year. So you know about the bay, or the Bluff, or whatever. Or, you know, you went to the same gorge, or the same thing, so you've got this... it's not only your experience you shared with the people who were there, but you can then discuss your stories about it with people who went there at a different time.

Influence of keeping / experiencing records in places that are not Club places: outside the current awareness and ambience of the Club

Brian (1950s): And there were also two big photograph albums, which again had been wafting around. They'd come out at Club functions. They used to sit in this wardrobe for a while. When I wanted to look at them, recently, they're now at the Archives in the University, so I had to put white gloves on to be able to look at them [laughing], but I appreciate this was policy for Archives, so I guess we've...[trails off]

John (current President): [Me: Did you know that Special Collections at the University has a whole bunch of Tramping Club stuff in there as well?] I'm vaguely aware of that, I have never actually looked at it.

Mel [late 1990s]: I felt sad that the next Jubilee was just a dinner in town. It was like "What? No trip to the Hut?! No tramping?!" That just seemed a bit sad, and I ended up asking if I could have a list of all the previous members' email addresses, so that I could email them and say "Hey, let's just go on a trip to the Hut anyway!" ... you know, thinking "Oh, I should organise a Hut weekend for anyone who wants to come!" Because it just, you know — I mean, dinner in town, that's like a fancy occasion, and trampers aren't fancy! Like, how is that Tramping Club?

Structure of the Club maintains information but allows for change: There is a new Captain and some changes to the Committee each year, but Vice-Presidents, President and Life Members are around for the long term and can step in if they think it is necessary for safety or other reasons. Committee members can choose to make changes to the Club

John (1990s, current President): There's one role, which is defined by the Constitution of the Club, which says I chair general meetings of the Club [...] It's my job to do that, and to be a stable contact person, and so that means there's a "President@aute" email address, and people can send that, and get hold of me, and someone who knows some history about the Club. Also, I keep the list of Life Members, [and] people on the mailing list, and things like that, so it's a kind of focal contact point that's not going to change every year.

David (1960s, life member): There was a correspondence recently amongst the Committee relating to some organisation on campus which wants to take particularly international students, give them experiences of various outdoor activities, and they've been in touch with the Tramping Club about going tramping. And Matt had emailed the committee about this, and this was one time when I thought I would respond. And one of the things that I said to him was that I thought that the Tramping Club seemed to have a very responsible attitude towards safety, and

he'd already raised it in his email, but I said this seems to be a great thing that you're doing, and you don't want to let that go, so I support you in that.

C (2000s): We had someone in the Club who had been in the Club for a really long time. He was, I guess, working at the University [...]. Maybe he was only in his late 20s, but he seemed a lot older than us, and had been around for a lot longer. And so he was kind of a walking memory-bank for the Club, because he had quite a few years of "this is how things are done", and so a lot of times at Committee meetings — and I guess this is why you have VPs—you know, you'd be trying to solve what are essentially problems that every, or many, Committees would have tried to have dealt with over time, and a lot of solutions have been tried that just didn't work, so it's very helpful to have someone who can say "I can see where you're going with that, but I think it may not work, for this reason and that reason, and have you thought about that?" [...] If someone had wanted to write up best-practice notes of what they'd learnt, you're not going to use them at the time when you need them. You're not going to know you need to refer to them. So that was really valuable.

David (1960s, life member, former President): There was a little bit of a change when I became Captain because I was reluctant to do the job, I was about to do a Masters degree and I wanted to do reasonably well at that. So I was somewhat reluctant but there wasn't anyone else around putting their hand up, so in the end it was agreed that they'd establish a new Committee position which was called "Trips Organiser" [...] that took away some of the work of the Captain.

Anton (2010s, current VP, 7 minutes): At the time that I first joined the Club, someone had been, I think it was Jane, had been talking to an avalanche instructor, and the two of them had identified that avalanches were an issue with the Club. And the Mountain Safety Council gave the Club one free avalanche course [...] Over the past ten, or even five years, we had a real attitude shift with avalanches. Which is a good thing. [...] One of my goals was to continue people being aware of the avalanches, was to enforce the instructors of Snowschool to have done an avalanche awareness course. [...] People 90, "This is a good thing, the instructors are doing it, this is a good thing to do"

Some aspects of club culture have changed due to changes in society: for example, there used to be a no alcohol agreement; now more women as leaders; used to be more limited by transport difficulties; there are more international students now who only stay a short time; University semesters have changed. However, the core group can choose to reject change.

David (1960s, life member): ...one of the things that has changed, which I think to some extent is a bit sad, although I don't think it's abused, is the use of alcohol [....] People can get into trouble in the... A few years ago there was someone who returned who tried to encourage a bit of overindulgence in that respect, and I don't think that was very popular amongst the current committee members, and so it's probably working reasonably well. I haven't really observed any problems on the odd occasion I've been to something.

Anton (Vice President, 2010s): I guess the tradition of calling it May Camp was that it's ridiculous, so it kind of sticks [both laughing]. So it always used to be in May, I guess, when you were there? [Me: Yes, when I was there, it was in May, because we used to have three semesters, three terms]. And that particular Social Officer thought that it was ridiculous that it was called May Camp, and we all agreed with her, but liked it anyway. And so she tried to change it, she was the Social Officer, so she has the freedom to change the name, right. But the next year, we got onto the following Social Officer, and went "How about naming it May Camp again?" [both laughing]

Graham (1960s): Soon after that, there were a group of women that came through just as I was sort of getting out of the Club who took on much more leadership roles, and were Club Captains, and things like that. But they also led a lot more trips. So I think it was partly a generation. [...]. Because I was in the University club just before feminism hit the world in the early '70s.

Committee members and the Captain do pass on important files and written advice to their successors but much is passed on by word of mouth and learning by doing

John (President in 2016): So at the moment, if somebody asks me something, and I don't know, I would go and talk to David [previous President] in the first instance, or Don [Club member from 1950s who is still teaching at the University], or some of the Captains from bygone eras. But that's strictly informal, and that's because I know them personally.

David (1960s, life member, former President): [Me: So when you became Captain, were you told what you needed to do, or how did you find out what you had to do then?] Well, as I said, there was quite a lot of fairly well-defined activity, in those days, so we tended just to follow what had been done in previous years [...]. But was there a set of instructions? Not really. I think now they do it a bit more systematically, in a way each person is kind of buddied with their predecessor in the job. And I don't know how much you can rely on your buddy, especially if the buddy goes away somewhere. But there's a person you can call on, you can contact them by email now.

Privacy of club records; control of access to information:

David (1960s, and life member): [Me: Can you think of anything about the Club that you wouldn't want to share with people outside the Club?] No, not really... I think the Club has been an honourable club, over the years. It's had a few tragedies. People can learn from those things, and I think it's important to share what went wrong... I don't think the Club has anything — serious, anyway, that it should not be proud of, so sharing with anyone who's interested: It's been to a lot of interesting places, so telling others about these places [and mentions the safety issue again, giving example of members of a different club who didn't seem to have same level of skill]

C (2000s): They've seemed to be starting a project of scanning all of the old Footprints [...]. And I felt really uncomfortable about that, because... I'm someone who takes my privacy online quite seriously...when Footprints was created [...] there was never any expectation it would be a public thing. It was for a community of people, and it would be really only read by that community of people, and maybe their friends and family. The idea that it's potentially available to everyone, completely searchable — you know, it's got my photo in it, it's got my name in it, feels a real invasion of the spirit in which it was created. And because it's also a kind of a coming-of-age time, the way I wrote then isn't the way I would write now, publicly...I don't have any issue with past or current members looking back and seeing all that stuff, but the idea that an employer could be googling, and that's what they see of my writing [...] And you know, I guess previously it was in the University Library, but realistically, no-one's going to go and actually find that.

John (Current President): Some of the things that are said in Committee Meetings, about other people. You know, that's probably the kind of stuff that shouldn't be out in the public. [...] — The Safety subcommittee, we view the trips intentions forms that are submitted online. If someone wants to do a Club trip, they now submit an intentions form, and we'd have a discussion about that, and we might have a discussion that — well, this person is probably not competent to do this, or hasn't done enough of certain training, or well, they really screwed up last time, do we want this to go ahead [smiling].

Influence of individuals from committee:

Jim (1960s): [Me: when did you first get interested in Tramping Club?] 1962. When I was first at University. And that was because I had been in a school tramping club, which was quite unusual in those days. And several of my friends from that school tramping club, which was Rangitoto College, said, well, we're going to join the University Tramping Club [...]. And I think that was because one of the teachers at school, who'd taken us tramping, had been a former Club Captain of AUTC, and he told us to – that that was a good club to join, if we were keen on tramping. And a lot of us had got hooked on tramping before we even got to University. And that person was Peter Aimer, who was Club Captain in 1955. [I say "oh!" because he is a very good friend of my parents, and I have known him all my life, but had never to my knowledge met Jim before, and I had not known Peter taught at Rangitoto College.]

Jim [1960s]: We did have a sort of smaller, more specific '60s reunion three years ago in Wanaka, which Ruth L organised very well, and that went off very well.

Graham [1960s]: Boyd M [...] He would be good to talk to, because he was in with the Club for probably 20 years

Fast track for new generation from past members:

John (1990s, President in 2010s): I was aware of the Tramping Club long before I joined, because my father was in the Tramping Club in the late '60s. [...]. I knew about the Hut, because I'd been there, and I knew, well, I'd heard stories of epic tramps, basically. [Smiling]. And I knew of some people who I'd never met. But I did end up meeting their children. [...] I think we have, at the moment, several third-generation members in the Club. The current Captain, for example [laughs – he means my son], and a couple of others on the Committee, as well.

Many people say membership of club had a big impact on lives, and they valued their time in the club. Many people say they learnt significant skills which have used in later life, including leadership, organisational and outdoor skills.

C (2000s): I got to see a huge amount of my own country, whereas I met a lot of Kiwis overseas who haven't been to the South Island, and I think that's quite tragic...it's taught me a huge number of skills, like I became a more confident public speaker, I became a better organiser, I became better at working with ... and a lot of it's being on the Committee and taking leadership roles. I got better at working with... difficult people, or through challenging situations, and I think just better at being a nicer person — even if I was feeling tired, or grumpy, or cold, or hungry, or whatever [laughing] — and I guess I saw that there was a lot of role-modelling, as well. I saw people who behaved in a certain way, and I thought yeah, I really admire that, I'd like to be like that.

Joe (1990s): The time I spent in the Tramping Club was the best time I had in my life...It taught me a lot about the outdoors. I can survive in the outdoors, really. And that was something I was not able to do before. And I've since gone to many places...and I'm happy to stay in the outdoors. Whereas before AUTC, it was all very scary. And you know, I'm here in Nepal. And now, the people that I'm meeting here, have never been to their own mountains. I mean, they don't have that culture.....So the AUTC has given me a lifelong interest and a set of skills that I use. It's given me friends...

David (mid-1960s): I learned a lot of skills. In my first summer, how to walk on steep scree [...] and improve my confidence in that type of country [...] and I also in that first year took notice of how the club was structured, as far as the administration was concerned, and then admired the Club Captain, for example. [...] Learning about leadership was one of the valuable lessons that I learned in Tramping Club.

Graham (1960s): Yeah, well, it had a huge impact on me, both physically and also ... well, I met my wife through it [laughing] [...] but yeah, it had a huge impact on me, and I think helped me develop leadership skills, which served me well when I was teaching.

Many thought the most important thing to preserve was for club members to continue enjoying tramping in the wilderness with one another

David J [1960s, questionnaire]: I'm not sure that long term there is a need to maintain a collective memory. There is a need to continue to have a University Tramping Club to help people understand the beauty of the bush and tramping and to help conservation, but it has to be relevant to the modern day and have the ability to attract university students to it. That to me is the most important thing.

Michael [Late 1960s, questionnaire]: I think retaining whatever enables people to continue to share the experiences and friendships by going out tramping and climbing and socialising.

Club language / naming

Brian (1950s): "there was a whole collection of papers, that was another abbreviation, K squared, stood for Klub Kaptain [smiles] [Me: Klub Kaptain, yeah]. Or maybe that's still... [Me: Well, it was when I was there.]

Brian (1950s): [Me: When I visited the Archives at the University, I noticed that they'd been put under University of Auckland Tramping Club instead of Auckland University Tramping Club, which I thought was a little bit

odd.] [Brian sighs]. Ah. Yeah. Well, of course, I guess the official name, going back to the original legislation, the official name was "The University of Auckland". And they used to capitalise the "The", which I thought was a bit pretentious [smiling]. But no, we've always called it, just "Auckland University Tramping Club." Or, of course, AUCTC in the... [Me: I was thinking of having a word with the Archivists at the University, and asking if they would change it to our name instead of their name.] Oh yeah. Well, that's where people would look for it, I mean AUTC.

Appendix D: Early attempts to model the Tramping Club process

Creating a visual model: taking a wrong turning, and re-discovering the path

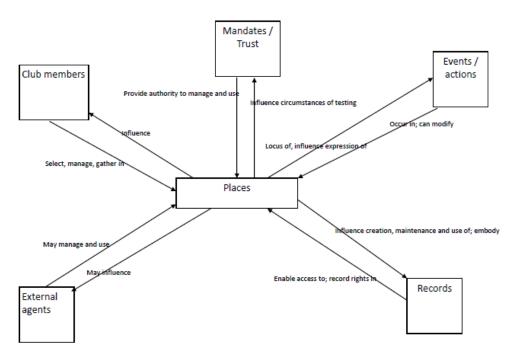
My first attempt to create a visual model of the Tramping Club process was a long and frustrating journey which was eventually unsuccessful, as it was too steeped in my understanding as an archivist, and did not meet the understanding of the community whose process I was attempting to model.

Given my background as an archivist, I decided to create a metadata model of the entities involved, considering that if I could capture all of the entities and the way they related to one another, the result would be the model I needed of the place of records in the collective memory maintenance of the AUTC. After identifying significant elements in the process, I created a table to attempt to map the relationships between them, below:

| | Club members | External agents / experts | Mandates / Trust | Events / activities | Records | Places |
|-------------------------|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Club members | Create, inspire, manage, teach, learn from, inspired by, have a sense of belonging with. Committee is subset. Cluster in eras but overlaps | May become, learn from | Embody; receive and provide from one another | Create, manage, attend, do, learn from, united by | Create, embody, manage specific parts of, share, united by | Select, gather in, create, manage, influence, have a sense of belonging in |
| External agents experts | Teach, support, inspire | Verify expertise of | Provide evidence / training to increase trust in expertise | Create, manage, provide support (e.g. expertise, venue) | Create or co- create, embody, manage, share | Manage |
| Mandates Trust | Provide some of identity of; provided by – e.g. club members vote for committee; committee decides who can lead trips | Provide authority to – e.g. manage some records, to run courses; provided by - e.g. for Club to run itself | Support new mandates / trust | Provide authority for running / attending | Recorded in; determines access to | Provide authority to manage and access |
| Events activities | / Teach through experience, unite, provide sense of identity | Observed by, may influence | Demonstrate ability and develop skills to meet | Contain, provide experience to run more | Create, structure / organise, embody and promote sharing of | Occur in and are influenced by /enabled by |
| Records | Provide information to, unite, reinforce identity | May be created, managed, accessed, used by | Verify, provide evidence towards, show how being met | Record and provide information to run | Aid in creation, maintenance, access, use, interpretation and sharing of other records | Enable access; record experiences in |
| Places | Influence - identity, memories, testing of character and skills, etc. | Managed by, assist in locating; may help develop expertise | Provide venue for exercise of mandate; venue for development / testing of rights to trust / mandate | Provide locus for; have affective and other impacts; and influence the expression | Influence creation, maintenance and use, and embody | Places are influenced by the wider environment / ambience in which they exist |

As is apparent from the table above, there were many different relationships to capture, and the detail of the inter-relationships is highly complex. I decided the table above didn't reveal enough of the nuance and interconnectedness of the relationships. To better demonstrate some of this complexity, I described some of the relationships shown above in narrative form, below.

For each entity, I tried to create a model of the relationships of that one entity to each of the others. An example is this model of the relationship between the "place" entity and the others, pictured here:



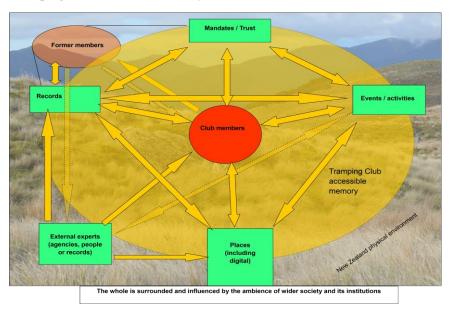
Relationships: Places with other entities

Unfortunately, although they showed the individual relationships to some extent, these individual models failed to capture the intersecting webs of relationships that would more accurately show the intersecting influences between all of the elements. This is a very one-dimensional view of a dynamic process where all aspects potentially interact with all others. These first attempts to model the relationships between records, events, places, club members and so on were ultimately frustrating and unsuccessful. I attempted to draw all of the relationships on one diagram with named arrows identifying each type of relationship, but it was not a success. I felt my first attempt to reflect the way they were all inextricably bound up with one another looked like a complex, tangled web that I compared in my blog to "an explosion in a spaghetti factory" – I was so disgusted with my efforts that I can no longer find an image of it, and can only conclude that I must have deleted all of the copies. The complex diagram still failed to adequately reflect the multiplicity of interacting elements within each entity as well as between them, such as the core group of club members, the former members who are still holders of much of the collective memory, the different roles within the membership and the many different roles carried out by all of the other elements of the collective memory, and there was too much complexity to understand the relationships.

I also created a simpler holistic model, removing the explicit description of the relationships between the entities to simplify the image. The resulting model is shown below. At the time I created this early model, I included an entity "Former Members". I struggled with whether to include this entity as in a sense many people never leave the club, as they maintain relationships with others, but this is a matter of degree and varies greatly between individuals, with some retaining only very occasional ties. My hesitation over this decision was confirmed in the later discussion with Club members, as noted below. However, at this point in the research I decided that it was useful to think about the distinct role of people not currently active in the club who nevertheless maintain some of the club's collective memory. From a continuum perspective, these people would of course simply be seen as members more distant in time from the current moment, but for the initial analysis I was looking at one moment in time.

This does not function effectively as a continuum model, given that this past relationship is explicitly separated out; rather, it is a two-dimensional snapshot of the possible processes and relationships between the entities in those processes at any particular time. However, it was influenced by the records continuum-inspired SPIRT recordkeeping metadata model (McKemmish, Ackland, Ward and Reed 1999) as I could see many parallels with the entities and relationships that I had named, while also noting some differences. I chose to bring the SPIRT model into my analysis because it is a rigorously tested, reputable metadata model in the records continuum researcher and practitioner community, and therefore valuable for comparison for analysing the metadata elements identified as entities in the Tramping Club's processes, and their relationships with one another. I was taking the grounded concepts from the Tramping Club conversations and bringing them into contact with this existing model as consulting this records-continuum based model while developing my own allowed me to begin to highlight "equivalences and correspondences, as well as identifying gaps and inconsistencies" (McKemmish & Gilliland 2013, p.98).

The diagram shows in summary some of the interrelationships between the entities that maintain the Tramping Club collective memory.



Tramping Club collective memory: A snapshot

In this model, the entire system is within the ambience of New Zealand society in general, with a particularly strong influence from the position of club-members within the larger University of Auckland community. Wider society both influences and observes the Club to the degree that it allows itself to be observed. The New Zealand physical environment also has a strong influence, with its rugged, potentially dangerous terrain, sometimes apparently little changed by humans and valued by many both within and outside the Club for its perceived beauty. In order for entities outside the apparent boundary of collective memory to have influence and be influenced by those inside, relationships need to be maintained.

When I showed former members the diagram above, with former members on the edge of the accessible memory cloud, many said that it didn't seem right. I reflected in my blog of April 2016:

One person (a former member) did post a reply in the discussion forum asking why former members seemed to be outside the circle of "collective memory", which was an interesting question in that he appears from this to consider that they might be inside that circle. I suggested in reply that I had assumed that the boundary related to direct access to the current club's collective memory, and that because the model continues through time, former members still have a degree of access to the cultering memory from when they were in the club, depending on its maintenance, and more limited access to the current club through relationships with existing members. However, perhaps the time element is not well expressed in the model, maybe this is something I need to look at further.

The relationship is far more fluid, much more of a continuum than that implied by the diagram above. Even the member / non-member distinction is problematic, as people come in and out of the club through their relationships with others, their decisions to go on tramps with friends, and other ways in which they interact with the club. For this reason, I decided it was more useful just to categorise people as "people" and define their relationship with the club exactly as that: through their relationship with elements of the club. I did receive positive feedback about seeing the Club's maintenance of collective memory as a holistic system incorporating these other interrelated elements.

This first attempt at a holistic model was a useful step on the path towards better understanding, but like my attempts to map the relationships of each element individually, this first attempt at a holistic model was unsuccessful. On reflection, I realised that it was too strongly influenced by my preconceptions from my background as an archivist and had stepped away from the grounded data from the community.

The SPIRT model is excellent for describing metadata, both entities and relationships, from the point of view of an archivist, and so I had thought that incorporating its ideas in a metadata model of my own would be useful, but a metadata model for describing records relationships was not needed at this point. Although processes, movement and relationships within entities were assumed in my model, for the AUTC members this wasn't apparent. It didn't adequately demonstrate many of the significant concepts constructed from the AUTC conversations, such as the intrinsic movement, change and renewal, and the importance of catalysts driving the process, and it did not convey to the Club members the essential nature of the system: collective memory as a process involving multiple complex relationships within and between all of the entities. I realised also that the process only really makes sense if you can see the whole in operation. The metadata modelling had been a very useful exercise in clarifying ideas and providing discussion points for feedback, but clearly more reflection and analysis was needed.

I tried to explain my thinking to my supervisors in a meeting, and gave up in despair, saying "But everything is related to everything else!" This, of course, is an essential aspect of recordkeeping continuum models: the interrelationship of the constituent entities, and the process-driven nature. I reflected on how continuum thinking might provide insights into my modelling quandary, and then went back to thinking about the conversations and the process of our discussions, as an experience and process in itself, as well as in regard to the things people had been telling me.

Appendix E: Some examples of existing Club-created classifications for physical records

In late 2017 I collected the second tranche of multiple boxes of records from the garage of a past President of the AUTC. I opened a box that said "Slide projector" and in it were also 3 containers of photographic slides, with a reference list of the individually numbered slides: a ready-prepared insight into how tramping clubbers like to categorise photographs. (Another startling discovery was a photograph of me, listed as "Mermaid BJ", from 1985. I know the photo well but didn't know it was being used in trips launch slide shows for years after I was a current member).

The index allows for cross-referencing. The first classifications are according to place (North Island areas: Auckland and Northland; Kaimais and Coromandel; TNP (Tongariro National Park); Kaimanawas; Kawekas; Ruahines; Tararuas; Taranaki; Urewera. South Island areas: Abel Tasman; North West Nelson; Nelson Lakes; Paparoas; Lewis Pass and Kaikouras; Arthurs Pass and Westland; South Westland and Mt Cook; Aspiring (Young-Wilkin, Dart-Rees); Fiordland; Stewart Island; Trans Alpine). There were two additional categories in this entity type: "Silly Buggers" and "Isn't That Nice" ("sunsets, cute nature shots and other warm fuzzy things"). Then, the photographers were identified with their initials used for classification of each slide, and finally, year the photograph was taken, sometimes with the month or season added. This serendipitous discovery reinforced the classification categories developed through this process.

These categories have been tested for another grouping of club photographs. A former club captain of my generation, Peter Jenkins, now a life member, has begun a project to digitise as many of the club slides as he can before they degrade any further, with a view to their ongoing preservation in digital form. He has set up a Google drive to organise the digitised images into, and is providing a link to anyone from the club who is interested. Peter has attached a "creative commons" licence to the drive. There will likely be a link from the club website, though the details of this are still to be worked through. So far, there are slides from the 1950s to the 1980s included, and already, word of mouth is spreading about their existence, with several glaciologists expressing interest in seeing images of glaciers from the past to assess the change. Several of us discussed how best to categorise the slides, in a way that would make them easily retrievable and usable. The slides are so far just listed in an excel spreadsheet stored with the images, so can be arranged by any of the chosen categories, and the headers are: index (a single running number), year, month, location (general area, e.g. Tongariro National Park), description (a few words to define the image, usually a place such as a mountain or river, sometimes an event or name of person / people); people (names of everyone identified in image); photographer (i.e. creator); collection index (indexing system used by photographer); text (detailed description made up of concatenation of previous columns); Footprints reference (if photo appeared in magazine). The photos themselves have been uploaded to the Drive in folders, most named by place but some by event (such as "Snowschool") or type (for example, "portraits").

The classification and use of the Drive is already beginning to change. The club was contacted in October 2017 by an exhibition planner working for the Waitakere park headquarters and asked to provide some photographs of trampers in the Waitakeres, so Peter created a new folder named "For Lucy" in the same Drive, for convenience. This idiosyncratic naming will no doubt be confusing for others accessing the Drive, so Peter and the rest of the club will need to decide how to manage this. However, this rapidly-growing project of digitising and providing metadata for slides has again shown the club's way of categorising its records, as well as once more demonstrating the organic way the management of records of the club's collective memory develops, through the working together of elements of the tramping club process.