ARCHIVING THE GAMES: COLLECTING, STORING AND DISSEMINATING THE LONDON 2012 KNOWLEDGE LEGACY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Central Lancashire
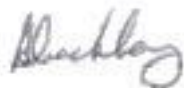
June 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that while registered as a candidate for the research degree, I have not been a registered candidate or enrolled student for another award of the University or other academic or professional institution.

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Type of award   PhD

School   Sport and Wellbeing

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines attempts made by the British Library (BL) and other memory institutions in the UK to archive the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. It has a specific focus on the intersections between collecting, storing and disseminating the Games' knowledge legacy. The thesis makes an original contribution to the sparse body of research into archiving sport and Olympic content. It adopts a distinctive theoretical framework and offers a critical interpretation of qualitative data gathered from interviews with key actors and memory institution agencies about their approach to sport and London 2012 in particular.

The awarding of the Olympic and Paralympic Games to London in 2005 represented a significant moment for the UK, as the city became the first to host three Games. The origins of the bid to host the Games stretch back to the late 1990s representing over 12 years worth of content generated in relation to this event. The stark contrast between the wealth of information this represented and the disparate, fragmentary record that remained from the 1908 and 1948 Games highlighted a concern that a significant opportunity to capture and document important sports mega-event content might be missed.

The findings of the thesis demonstrate that the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012's knowledge legacy rely upon several factors. These include: the availability of sufficient funding; attitudes of individuals within memory institutions towards sport and archives; an abundance of 'digital immigrants' within memory institutions; and the value of content beyond sport. In addition, the evidence establishes that early intervention is essential to form a comprehensive archive of the Games and, furthermore, that obtaining custody of this content is crucial for memory institutions to provide a useful knowledge legacy for sports mega-events.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, whose organisation and support throughout this process has qualified her as much as it has myself, and my father, who will be glad to get his wife back.

Absque labore nihil.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

BL   The British Library

BMSD   The Municipal Supervisor Department, Beijing

BOA   British Olympic Association

BPA   British Paralympic Association

BOCOG   Beijing Organising Committee for the Olympic Games

CBS   Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

CILIP   Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals

CSR   Comprehensive Spending Review

DCMS   Department for Culture, Media and Sport

FOIA   Freedom of Information Act

HA   Hackney Archive

GHC   Greenwich Heritage Centre

IOC   International Olympic Committee

IPC   International Paralympic Committee

LD   Legal Deposit

LDLA   Legal Deposit Libraries Act

LGRA   Local Government Records Act

LMA   London Metropolitan Archives

LOCOG   London Organising Committee for the Olympic Games

MoL   Museum of London

NALS   Newham Archive and Local Studies

NCA   National Council on Archives

NLS   National Library of Scotland

NPLD	Non-Print Legal Deposit
OGKM	Olympic Games Knowledge Management
OSC	Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne
PRA	Public Records Act
SOCOG	Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games
THA	Tower Hamlets Archive
TNA	The National Archives
TOK	Transfer of Knowledge
UEL	University of East London
UKWA	United Kingdom Web Archive

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the management and dissemination of materials associated with large cultural and sporting events, with a specific focus on the London Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012 (hereafter London 2012). The establishment of website resources by The British Library (BL) and the collection remit for London 2012 has provided a basis upon which to examine the collection and management of the research and information legacies of a mega-event. The dispersed and obscure nature of many sports archives raises a multitude of issues for information managers, not least among them is the dilemma of community inclusivity: ensuring all kinds of communities are aware of, and have access to, all of the collected materials.

The title of this thesis is 'Archiving the Games: collecting, storing and disseminating the London 2012 knowledge legacy' and a key focus of the research examines the understandings of key actors and agencies within archives, libraries and museums, or 'memory institutions', with respect to the role and function of sport within them. This involved a comparison between the BL's experience of archiving London 2012, and that of other 'memory institutions'. This research project is based on an Arts and Humanities Research Council Collaborative Doctoral Award (AHRC CDA). As one of the co-supervisors was the Head of Social Sciences at the BL and is now Head of Research Engagement[1], the research was embedded firmly within this context, the researcher being based within the former Social Science department.

A central research aim of this thesis was to investigate how the BL manages sport archives, specifically using those of London 2012 as a case study. It questions precisely

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[1] The department was reorganised as part of an internal restructure of the BL during the period of time the researcher was based there.

how sport and Olympic related content can be collected, archived and disseminated by a memory institution such as the BL. Although the key research question was centred specifically on one institution, within this there were various related issues that needed to be explored in the wider context of archives beyond the BL before such a question could be answered. In order to achieve its aim, the thesis has three objectives: (1) to describe how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms are being approached; (2) to assess how sport and Olympic related data can be sustained as a resource after London 2012; and (3) to identify how best such content can be disseminated, with an emphasis on widening community engagement. In doing this, the thesis makes important contributions to both understanding contemporary memory institutions and the knowledge legacy of the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

It is important to recognise, however, that the tripartite objectives outlined above are not all equal. Owing to the timing of this thesis, situated towards the end of London 2012's Olympic cycle, it is difficult to draw many conclusions in relation to the third objective of dissemination. This is related to what Halbwirth and Toohey (2015: 254) refer to as the 'time continuum', asserting that 'knowledge generated may not be accessed or used until sometime in the future'. This assertion was well exemplified by the experience of Barçelona 1992, the archive of which did not receive the final transfer of material until 2007 (Sola, 2009). Furthermore, legislation surrounding archival content, and restrictions placed upon documents by their owners can often restrict access and hinder efforts to disseminate content. Consequently, a comprehensive investigation into the dissemination of London 2012's knowledge legacy is a subject worthy of its own project, well beyond the scope of this study.

Over the past 20 years there has been an increasing awareness of the significance of sports data within memory institutions which have engaged in the collection and archiving of such material. This phenomenon has coincided with the emergence of sport as an important area of study and research in several domains of the arts and humanities, and social sciences, including communication, cultural and media studies, cultural geography, history, and sociology (Crow and Edwards, 2012). Concurrently, the staging of sports 'mega-events' has become a regular occurrence in many countries.

When discussing the definition of a mega-event, Horne cites Roche's conclusion that they are 'large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance' (Horne, 2007: 83). One such mega-event, the Olympic and Paralympic Games (the Games), particularly demonstrates this international significance through the globalisation of the event and its contemporary syndication by many international media networks which, in turn, can evoke 'a sense of collective memory and history, the intertwining of national and global narratives' (Roche, 2006: 34).

That the Games may demonstrate the concept of a 'global village' points to its cultural significance, not only for the host nation, but also nations worldwide. Indeed, such import can be seen in the attention devoted to Olympic research by the multi-disciplinary efforts of the international research community (Veal, 2012). That such an amount of attention should be devoted to the study of a sports mega-event is testament to their ability to provide a context within which identity and memory can be explored and thus, as Roche contends, instantiate 'sociologically distinctive and significant intergenerational cultural markers and reference points' (Roche, 2003: 118).

This chapter introduces the major contextual elements central to the thesis, it is divided into four principal sections. The first section outlines the basic processes of archiving and introduces the notion of a 'memory institution', a concept which is addressed in more detail in the next chapter. This is followed by a brief overview of the Games and the many research streams with which Olympic scholars engage. Attention then turns to the concept of a knowledge legacy. As such, this section considers how legacy has developed to become an integral feature of contemporary mega-events. The final section of the chapter describes the organisation of the thesis and the content of the forthcoming chapters.

THE ARCHIVE

Archives are the past, the present and future records, produced by people and organisations in their day-to-day activities. In the course of business, many organizations and people create and accumulate archives. This includes governments, universities, hospitals, charities, professional bodies, families and individuals. An archive may be composed of books, papers, maps or plans, photographs or prints, films or videos and even computer-generated records that are 'born-digital'. These records are intended to be kept permanently, so the purpose of an archive is to both preserve the past and allow others to (re-)discover it.

An archive operates around the three basic principles of collection, storage and dissemination. When collecting content an archive maintains a collection policy that delineates precisely the terms by which records are deposited. For example, collection may be restricted by geographical or administrative boundaries (as with Borough Council records) or by specialist subject area (as with a university). The next hurdle to overcome is that of storing material. Staffing resources are required to assess the

condition of content, weed out duplicates, and catalogue collections. Without effective cataloguing, there is a very high risk of a collection remaining housed but hidden. Finally, dissemination is a question of access as a collection must be visible if it is to be used and it must be available for people to discover. For example, a collection made available online via a highly visible searchable portal is more accessible than a collection which has received only basic cataloguing onto index cards.

Archives, libraries and museums (among other 'memory institutions') are oriented around maintaining the delicate balance of access versus preservation. As technology advances, these organisations are increasingly turning to digitisation as both a means of ensuring content is better preserved, but also that it is made more readily accessible. However, as material is increasingly being published and produced solely in a digital format ('born-digital'), notably including the switch to e-publishing by Government departments, there are certain implications for the records of London 2012, many of which exist solely in a digital format. Accordingly, digital archiving is perhaps the biggest challenge confronting modern archives.

The BL estimates that 75% of all material will be published digitally by 2020 (BL, 2010), and as such, strategies are being developed to address such material on both national and regional levels. For example, policies issued by both the BL (BL, 2008; 2013) and The National Archives (TNA, 2015d), a project run by Gloucestershire Archives (Cothey, 2010), and the efforts made by Vancouver City Archives when addressing the 'born-digital' records of the 2010 Winter Games (Mumma, et al., 2011) clearly demonstrate a collective professional determination to address issues concerning digital material. These include the diversity of the material, its obsolescence and short

shelf-life, user-generated content, intellectual control, and the question of how people use new technology.

The flux of 'born-digital' material has led many archives to re-assess their accession policies and saw the Legal Deposit Libraries Act (2003) in the UK extended to include online publications, although this was not implemented until April 2013, after London 2012 had taken place (England and Bacchini, 2012). The popularity and success of digital records has led to what has been described as a 'data deluge' (Crow and Edwards, 2012), yet it is not a novel occurrence. The challenge of 'information overload' has been recognized for many years (Bailey, 2007). This contentious point was highlighted by Pymm and Wallis (2009) whilst elaborating upon the virtues of selective or domain archiving – the process, very basically, of collecting records specifically, or in general.

Obsolescence of media platforms is a particular concern to the archival profession, as the National Council on Archives (NCA) recognised, 'there are no easy technological solutions to obsolescence' (NCA, 2005: 6). Viita (2009) traced the emergence of obsolescence as the most prescient threat to digital archives to 1999, and posits that it retained the same position a decade on. Terms including 'digital black hole' (NCA, 2005) and a 'digital dark age' (Deegan and Taylor cited in Harvey, 2012: 33) have been used to describe the current position. Indeed Viita concludes we should maintain paper copies of all electronic records destined for permanent preservation (Viita, 2009). There are those who argue against such alarmist conclusions, however, with Harvey asserting that it is not data loss confronting the profession, but an issue of data recovery (Harvey, 2007) and Cothey suggesting that technology itself will continue to improve and assist in retrieving 'lost' data (Cothey, 2010). One significant element permeating all these

authors' work, something particularly relevant when considering the 2012 Olympic Archive, was intervention (The Municipal Supervisor department, Beijing [BMSD], 2009; Sola, 2009). As with archival involvement in documenting the Olympic documentary heritage, 'Preserving digital assets cannot happen as an afterthought' (Ross, 2000: 6).

THE GAMES

The Games are a unique phenomenon: 'the world's biggest peace-time event' (Toohey and Veal, 2007: 1) and 'the greatest show on earth' (Lawton, 2012). Instigated by the vision of Pierre de Coubertin in the late-19th Century, the Olympic Games were conceived as a vehicle that could utilise sport for the benefit of society, and were founded upon ideals expressed in terms of Olympism laid out by de Coubertin in the Olympic Charter (Frawley et al., 2013). The Paralympics were similarly born from the activism of one individual. In the wake of the Second World War, Dr. Ludwig Guttmann sought a means by which to assist the recovery and rehabilitation of servicemen who had suffered debilitating injuries. Although distinctly separate events, the Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games have been celebrated in the same host city approximately two weeks apart since Seoul 1988, the Winter Games aligning the two events after Albertville 1992 (Brittain et al., 2013; Miah and Garcia, 2012).

The expansion through sponsorship and broadcast media has transformed the Games into a mega-event, imbued by the complexities of politics and nationalism, susceptible to issues of race and gender, accusations of dishonesty, and scandals involving doping (Horne and Whannel, 2016). The overt politicisation of recent Games is evident in several high profile calls for the Games to be boycotted, the Human Rights protests that accompanied Beijing 2008, and the more passive opposition displayed at Sochi 2014.

Figure 1.1 *Germany's uniform at the Sochi 2014 Winter Games*
(http://cdn3.spiegel.de/images/image-551672-galleryV9-kgmm.jpg)

The alleged silent protest by the German team against the treatment of homosexuals in Russian culture was a highly visible statement in support of gay rights (see Figure 1.1; Spiegel Online, 2013). In this way the Games can be seen to represent a 'political football' (Cronin, 2014: 69).

The Olympics have developed to become an unrivalled socio-cultural spectacle attracting over 10, 000 athletes from more than 200 countries who come together to compete in an event organised to take place over the course of two weeks which is broadcast globally to billions of spectators (Toohey and Veal, 2007). Though younger and subsequently still developing, 'The Paralympics are an integral part of the contemporary Olympic movement and they have most definitely generated a significant sporting legacy' (Brittain et al., 2013a: 122). Yet this does not reveal a complete picture of the Games as they demand the attention, resources and commitment of the hosts for the best part of a decade and beyond – London 2012's origins are commonly recalled as

the moment Jacques Rogge announced the winning bid, though the story typically begins long before this moment (Horne, 2013; Williams, 2012a). Different aspects of this Olympic cycle are prevalent throughout the literature. Not exclusively historical, research investigates the preparation of bids (Masterman, 2013), the seven-year pre-Games preparation, the intense fortnight of activities, through to the less clearly defined period of post-Games activities (Gold and Gold, 2013). Whilst this research is situated firmly within the latter period of post-Games retrospective study the implications of knowledge legacy extend broadly, incorporating the full spectrum of research into the Games.

Although the study of the Games was originally viewed through a historical, anthropological and philosophical lens, Olympic scholarship is now engaging in the multi-disciplinary areas of sport science, tourism, and sport business management. It encompasses the wider social scientific fields of social history, human geography, media and communications, and sociology, and has enjoyed considerable growth over the preceding century incorporating diverse areas such as physiology, nutrition, and psychology 'that has made increasingly diverse range of contributions across the intellectual sphere' (Miah and Garcia, 2012: 165).

The Olympic Games today provides material for research and study in areas far beyond sport and athletics. In particular, the Paralympic Games, often overshadowed by their Olympic counterpart, has made a major, if unexpected, contribution to wider society. Setting aside the less tangible impacts of more positive societal perceptions of disability, disabled people and personal perceptions of self-worth, which, nevertheless are subjects of value to psychologists, the growth of the Paralympic Games as a sporting spectacle has led to increased research funding. With the aim of raising medal

potential money has been invested into better equipment, lightweight wheelchairs and better prosthetic designs. Improvements have also been made to infrastructure as innovations in disabled access have unintentionally assisted the mobility of families with small children, and the elderly (Brittain et al., 2013). In turn these advances have added to the research potential demonstrated.

Sport is a relative newcomer to the field of heritage studies and the fact that it can incorporate relatively recent pasts has clear implications for the Paralympics (Osmond and Phillips, 2015). A valuable recent addition to the Paralympic heritage story is the military-disability sport link where sport is used as an integral part of the rehabilitation of injured soldiers, 'Paralympians go into rehabilitation centres to talk through with newly injured soldiers and try to explain what their lives will be like over the coming months and years' (Brittain et al., 2013: 177). But despite a significant growth in academic studies of the Games, 'there remains a dearth of scholarly writing on the Paralympic Games' (Cashman, 2006: 243).

This political platform, set alongside the globalisation of the event and the increased exposure by developing media streams has transformed the Games into a highly desirable event to host, bringing with it hopes of economic benefits, the chance for urban regeneration and the opportunity to leave behind a legacy. The 1984 Los Angeles Games were a transformative moment for the Olympic Games as the residents of LA voted not to fund the Games from the public purse, making it the first privately financed Olympic venture. Its unprecedented success in generating enough income to actually bequeath a surplus to the city instilled the notion of legacy more firmly as an outcome of the Games, and marked the evolution of the corporate sponsorship model that continues to underscore funding today. This very tangible financial legacy is visible in

the form of the LA84 Foundation which maintains a large research library holding a collection of historical and sporting artefacts (Cronin, 2014). 'The LA84 Foundation maintains a traditional paper-based library as well as a growing digital library. Together, these collections cover all aspects of sport, with a particular emphasis on Olympic information' (LA84 Foundation, n.d.a: n.p.).

LA84 is a success story; it celebrated its 30th anniversary in 2014 and perhaps the key to this is finance, the Foundation being endowed with surplus funds from the 1984 Games (LA84 Foundation, n.d.b: n.p.). The 1980s saw research involving the Games flourish and Olympic Studies Centres were established in several countries, now numbering 40 across the world. A list of these centres was compiled following a survey completed in 2014 and all included have been able to demonstrate an on-going commitment to Olympic scholarship (IOC, 2015). The exponential growth of the Games coupled with the boom in Olympic Studies throughout the 1980s and beyond, coupled with the explicit commercialism displayed by contemporary events suggests what Girginov (2013: 157) terms an 'economy of ideas'. The implication that the age of the Internet is shifting emphasis from tangible outcomes (be they stadia, information or documentation) to intangible processes and relationships generated by future use has implications for London 2012 (Girginov, 2013). Therefore increasing weight has been placed on recordkeeping and knowledge management in recent Games (BMSD, 2009; Mumma et al., 2011; Sola, 2009; Williams, 2012a).

The Sydney Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (SOCOG) developed the Transfer of Knowledge programme (TOK) in cooperation with the IOC which 'firmly established Olympic knowledge as a corporate asset' (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2013: 38). TOK became a building block for the Olympic Games Knowledge Management

programme (OGKM), created in 2005 with a vision of 'transferring knowledge and expertise from one edition of the Games to the next' (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2013: 38). It thus established the IOC's 'understanding of how IKM [Information and Knowledge Management] is fundamental to improving the management of an Olympic Games' (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2013: 39). The use of IKM 'allows information and knowledge to be organised, disseminated and protected for immediate and future use' (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2013: 40).

Providing stark contrast to the longevity of the LA84 Foundation, the University of New South Wales closed its Centre for Olympic Studies after only eight years in 2004. Opened in 1996 it had achieved international prominence through research, publications, teaching and documentation. It is fortunate that the University of Technology, Sydney, has taken the library and archive and placed it with the School of Leisure, Sport and Tourism. Cashman (2006) speculated that its demise could have been a product of a decline in interest after 2000, although ironically "hits" to the website more than doubled in 2001-2002. The closure of this site suggested the possibility that founding an Olympic Study Centre had been cynical move to benefit via association, rather than being premised upon any long-term academic endeavour (Cashman, 2006).

The UK's Centre for Olympic Studies and Research was founded in 2004, and is based at Loughborough University, operating as one of a network of five other centres across the globe (Loughborough University, n.d.). It hosted the first International Colloquium of Olympic Studies and Research Centres in 2012 which worked to bring together centres to discuss their roles and relationships in a wider Olympic and academic context. Initiatives such as this demonstrate the value of a knowledge legacy to follow London 2012, a value evident in plans to establish an Olympic museum as part of the

Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. Intended to embellish London's long-standing connection to the Games with heritage aspects drawn out of the recent event, the museum would have housed interactive exhibits that compiled London 2012 memories and revealed the construction process for the venues, with the intention to inspire future generations (Gibson, 2012a). However plans for this venture were scrapped in a decision that barely avoided dovetailing with the one year anniversary of the Games (Owen, 2013). It is possible that this was the result of a perceived saturation of heritage organisations (Gammon et al., 2013b).

As the Games are quadrennial, occurring once every four years, and peripatetic, occupying a different host city for each new iteration, it can be challenging to sustain momentum after the Closing Ceremony. Indeed, both Barcelona and Sydney reported a distinct loss of interest in the immediate aftermath of the Games (Cashman, 2006). In this manner they have been charged as threatened by instant eclipse as the extravaganza moves from city to city. The expansion from competition to spectacle, ever bigger, ever better than the one before, might have led cities to identify being an Olympic city as losing some of its appeal, particularly with the number of cities now able to lay claim to an Olympic heritage. Where once being an Olympic city was unique, the title has become diluted, a fact well evidenced by London 2012's pride at being the first city to host three Games.

In common with the 'economy of ideas' alluded to earlier, perceived value in Olympic venues also appears to be diminishing, with many being re-appropriated and recycled for new uses after the Games. This has arguably contributed to Gammon et al.'s (2013b: 112-113 conclusion that, 'Perhaps, then, the future of Olympic heritage is less about tangible heritage assets, and much more about providing a platform for human

achievement'. The collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012 content is one example of how such a platform for human achievement could be obtained. This is no more evident than in Smith's observation that 'without information, without documents, without photographs or moving images, without physical objects and virtual memories, there will be no 'legacy'' (cited in Halbwirth and Toohey, 2013: 47). There is considerably more to the Games than sport and Olympism as typically represented in Olympic Studies Centres. This is clearly demonstrated by the efforts to collect, store and disseminate London 2012 content to the wider public, facilitating access to the 'unofficial' record as it were. Through doing this memory institutions have sought to compile a comprehensive knowledge legacy that situates the Games within the wider social context in which they occurred.

THE KNOWLEDGE LEGACY

The relevance and appropriate timing of this investigation is enhanced not only by the relative proximity of London 2012 and the transition into a new Olympiad, but also a concern among researchers in the field of sport studies, especially history and sociology, that a significant opportunity to capture and document important sporting content might be missed. In 2011 Polley argued that there was no meaningful legacy from either the 1908 or 1948 London Olympic Games and that the national stock of Olympic related content was fragmented. Access to these disparate collections was not always straightforward for the general public, and he concluded that 'these concerns need to be addressed in order to ensure that the study of Britain's Olympic history will continue to attract the attention of scholars and academics beyond 2012' (Polley, 2011). This concern was mirrored and supported by professionals within the archive sector who have considered how collections are often privately owned and are thinly spread, both geographically across many institutions, and in terms of the content being mainly

ephemeral. This generally consisted of posters, flyers and tickets, for example, but contained little in the way of documenting the planning, operating and public experiences of such a mega-event (Hood, 2006; Reilly, 2012).

More importantly, London 2012 has been called the first 'digital Games' as between Beijing 2008 and London 2012 the world witnessed the arrival of tablet computers, the growing ubiquity of smartphones and the birth of Twitter. Moreover, there was a 400% increase in digital coverage of the Games with the BBC expanding from covering six live streams in Beijing to 24 for London (BBC, n.d.). The challenge of collecting, preserving and providing access to such incorporeal content further enhanced the significance of properly archiving the Games.

Despite raised levels of interest, however, sport is still an area that remains under-represented within public archives with collections often being maintained by official bodies in locations that are geographically dispersed. A report commissioned by the Sports Heritage Network demonstrated that whilst the major sports in the UK – football, cricket and rugby especially – received generally good coverage, there were still certain sports – most notably athletics and boxing – that had no dedicated museum. Even so, it is telling that the report concluded that 'Much material relates to historical sports and little thought is given to contemporary collecting. This is despite the obvious importance of sport in the lives of most people' (Hood, 2006: 11).

The idea of leaving a lasting legacy beyond an Olympic Games has become an increasingly persistent concept in recent Olympiads, gaining prominence as a central feature of host city bids and in assessing the extent of its 'success'. Certainly, a lasting legacy was embedded into the bid for London 2012 with the Department for Culture,

Media and Sport (DCMS) issuing five legacy promises in their action plan *Before, During and After: Making the Most of the London 2012 Games* (DCMS, 2008) and subsequently extended to six promises when improvements in the lives of disabled people was included. One year following the completion of the mega-event, there was a significant focus on the legacy of London 2012, which involved the publication of *Inspired by 2012: the legacy from the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games* (HM Government and Mayor of London, 2013) and *The Independent* running a week-long retrospective on the extent to which an Olympic legacy had been realised (Peck, 2013). The furore that has surrounded the so-called 'Singapore promise' to leave a fitter, healthier nation and a regenerated area of East London once again occupied the British media more recently, further demonstrating the significance of the concept of legacy in contemporary society (BBC, 2015a; Varley, 2015).

Legacy as an outcome of the Games developed alongside the event, particularly over the last thirty years. This evolved from nation-building in the 1980s, through economic prosperity and urban regeneration, to more recent concerns of the environment and sustainable development (Leopkey, 2009). Indeed, legacy is often considered in these terms. Horne identifies two broad categories in which legacy is discussed, material development and ideological. The former concerns tangible outcomes favoured by economists and urban planners including economic, technological and urban infrastructure. The latter is the domain of sociologists, political scientists and social geographers, and incorporates, for example, media representations and relationships to national identities (Horne, 2010a). Therefore legacy has become deployed as a symbol of progress and benefits drawn upon by Olympic advocates, or 'boosters', and derided as burdening economies with expensive 'white elephants' by their opponents, termed 'sceptics', during legacy debates. Yet too often, little attention is paid to the

documentary residue, or knowledge legacy, left by such an occasion. Despite their relevance to a multitude of fields and inquirers as demonstrated both by Sola (2009), and Bolton and Carter (2009), the knowledge legacy of sports mega events remains largely on the periphery of current research.

Olympic and Paralympic legacy is most frequently considered in terms of the hard and soft, tangible (e.g. infrastructure and stadia) and intangible (e.g. memories and analysis of the event) impacts upon host cities and societies. However, these considerations are not necessarily interchangeable. As Holt and Ruta (2015: 5) argue, 'People – their skills, expectations and attitudes – all have a role in 'soft' legacy but they are not 'intangible' in the same sense as the 'reputation' of a city or the influence of 'soft power' through the hosting of Formula One or a Football World Cup'. Indeed, 'people' play a prominent role within the concept of knowledge legacy through developing, maintaining and transferring knowledge critical to hosting the Games. However, such knowledge often remains tacit and implicit, particular to individuals' unique experiences, and requires being made explicit to be of maximum benefit (Halbwirth and Toohey, 2015: 247).

Halbwirth and Toohey (2015: 253) present a valuable insight into the processes of knowledge management during the Games, concluding that, '[Knowledge management] is now firmly embedded in Olympic management and has provided a Games legacy to the IOC'. Such a contention is significant, however, in that it omits any and all knowledge that falls outside of the purview of the IOC. Subsequently, and in the tradition of binary oppositions, knowledge legacy can be considered to have two strands: official and independent. The official knowledge legacy is principally a discourse which includes the operational knowledge (or the 'know how') and legacy

claims (generated in OCOG documentation and made by boosters). Alternatively, the independent knowledge legacy includes a discourse focussed on new research insights developed by academics and the 'unofficial' documentation generated by the public (for example captured through the internet). In this sense, knowledge legacy can be considered to embody Polley's (2015) notion of accidental and incidental legacies.

The significance of a knowledge legacy can be seen through the prism of another mega-event, the 2014 FIFA World Cup, hosted in Rio de Janeiro. The location of this mega-event was cause for particular scrutiny owing to Rio also playing host to the Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2016. Subsequently, considerable attention was paid to the city's preparation, facilities and general preparedness to host an event of this magnitude. In the wake of the World Cup, however, a question remained: did the spectacle overshadow the event? Rio proved an interesting phenomenon as widespread dissent and clashes between protesters and police punctuated the preparations. Question marks remained over the readiness of the stadia, infrastructure and ticketing. Yet once the football was flowing these concerns seemed to melt away with Brazilian support demonstrated in colour and volume when almost 75,000 voices inside the Maracanã continued the national anthem well beyond FIFA's curtailing of the musical accompaniment. This stood in stark contrast to the expositions of patriotism usually experienced when England play, for example. Contrary to the potential dystopia forecast by some commentators, reminiscent of Terry Gilliam's imagining in the film *Brazil* (Selman, 2014), there was a 'Carnival' atmosphere, and even the Americans forwent their traditional mistrust of 'soccer' to get involved in the fun (Murphy, 2014).

A recent BBC article pondered the legacy of the World Cup and the lessons Rio could take forward to the 2016 Games (BBC, 2014). For an event widely considered to have

been a success, public opinion in Brazil seems to have been drowned out by the pure spectacle of the beautiful game, the popular consensus being 'there is no legacy'. This is an excellent example of an, albeit international, 'collective' memory at work, whereby many of the less salubrious memories of protest and dissent that marked the preparations, and almost certainly continued throughout the tournament, seem to have been airbrushed out (Elgot, 2014; Phillips, 2014; Pontes and Brandimart, 2014). However, a bitter taste seemed to prevail following the tournament's conclusion, with the mayor of Rio quoted as remarking 'Brazilians have not benefited from the tournament. There has been no legacy for them. The World Cup still makes them angry. There is regret that we even staged it' (Chaudhary, 2015). Indeed, the sceptics have been vocal in decrying the 'white elephant' stadia and contrasting fortunes of FIFA, for whom the tournament was the most lucrative to date, and the local economy (Douglas, 2015). It is interesting to consider whether these negative sentiments were framed by Brazil's lacklustre performance, which culminated in the resounding 7-1 defeat by Germany. This raises a similar question as to whether it might have been the same following London 2012 had Team GB not put in the stellar performance that they did?

London 2012 was not without its issues which included G4S and the security scandal, Olympic priority lanes and the cost to the nation amongst others. However such inconveniences did not seem to compete with the national euphoria that accompanied the generally good weather, positive London attitude and sporting success experienced during the event (BBC, 2012; Topping, 2012). This is where memory institutions come to the fore and is an example of the important role they can play in documenting the knowledge legacy of such events as acknowledged by Horne's consideration that 'legacy has mutated from a concern with more material outcomes into a quest for more representational and sustainable results' (Horne, 2010a: 855). Through collecting,

storing and disseminating the knowledge legacy of London 2012, memory institutions are able to reveal a more nuanced picture of the Games.

THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. In this introduction, the organisation and content of the thesis has been explained. Chapter Two explores memory studies and the concept of what constitutes a 'memory institution'. While the sociological concept of memory is fairly well established (Misztal, 2003; Nora, 1989), literature surrounding sport and memory is a developing area of study (Brabazon, 2006). Subsequently, the central question permeating the chapter is: what do we know about memory institutions in modern society? In answering this question it sets the scene in terms of establishing the background to the BL and the context in which it operates, including how its content and collecting activities vary greatly according to societal values and the academic interests of a given period. In this way, we are able to better understand the context in which sport content is collected, stored and disseminated by a national 'memory institution' in relation to the themes identified above.

Chapter Three reviews the existing literature in the field of archival science. It asks: what do we know about the archival profession in modern society? In order to properly consider the documentary heritage created by a mega-event such as the Olympic Games, it is necessary to understand the context in which it is maintained. Therefore this chapter utilises a framework drawn from the tripartite archival processes of collection, storage and dissemination. The first part considers the subject of appraisal, more generally known as 'selection'. Tracing the development of the principle of appraisal from 19th Century ideals of neutrality to more complex contemporary iterations reveals the professional problem of how to decide what content to acquire. It

covers the hotly contested notion of impartiality and the extent to which the archival record is 'created' utilising Cook's (2013) identification of a 'paradigm shift' within the sector to frame the discussion.

The second part of the chapter describes the arrangement and description of content within the archive. The modern archive is faced by a diversity of material in terms of both typology and format. For the London Olympic Archive, this situation was compounded by the transitory nature of sports mega-events, the physical disparity of such records and the variety of material they necessarily generate. As such, the concept of provenance is discussed revealing the issues associated with managing content acquired from complex, large-scale, impermanent organisations such as the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG). Arrangement and description also considers problems associated with transient, dispersed and multi-format collections consisting of analogous paper documents, through audio-visual material, to intangible digital records. An important concern is how to ensure that such content does not find itself housed but hidden.

The final part of Chapter Three is concerned with dissemination and investigates the twin notions of pro- and post-custodial archives. The rise of digital technologies is discussed, especially how they have enabled greater interaction with diverse communities through remote access. The proliferation of a vast and diverse typology of transient material has raised new preservation concerns particularly surrounding obsolescence (Viita, 2009: 29). By exploring existing literature, this chapter uncovers the history and development of archival theory and the context in which content is collected, stored and disseminated by memory institutions.

Chapter Four presents both an account of 'what happened' in undertaking this research, alongside a discussion of the particular issues surrounding method that confront scholars involved in research into archives. Owing to the embedded nature of the research, unparalleled access to staff in the former Social Sciences department at the BL was afforded to the researcher, spending one year working in this environment. Such a reflective and interpretive approach to gathering primary data means that it is important to recognise the personal and professional values brought into this research. The researcher has a background working within memory institutions as a qualified archivist, but also approached this research with a personal interest in sport. Indeed, first-hand experience of London 2012 was acquired through attending both the Olympic and Paralympic archery events. This demonstrates a familiarity not only with existing concerns within memory institutions, but it can also be considered that the researcher maintains an interest in seeing sporting content retained within them.

As London 2012 was a mega-event, and interest in it extended well beyond the host-city, several organisations other than the BL were also collecting content, many of which were similarly situated in the capital city. The chapter outlines and justifies the two-phase qualitative approach adopted. Research Phase One incorporated desk-based research combined with elements of an ethnographic approach through recording field notes of the researcher's overall experience of visiting the participating memory institutions and observing the professional practices in the BL. Research Phase Two was the investigation of views and experiences of a cross-sector sample of memory institution professionals obtained through conducting semi-structured interviews. Finally, the process of thematic analysis undertaken to provide a critical interpretation of the views expressed by participants is discussed.

Chapter Five presents the results of secondary data analysis obtained through Phase One of the research process. Data was collected through desk-based research into content held by the BL, official legislation, field notes recorded during site visits, and websites. It discusses the differing contexts within which memory institutions operate and illustrates how this can have a significant impact upon what they do and the manner in which they do it. Therefore the chapter is divided into three sections, the first of which describes the background to the organisations studied briefly considering how their distinct histories, locations and premises shape their services. The second section considers the legislative contexts governing memory institutions and then outlines the appropriate legislation that controls and guides their activities. In the final section, how such memory institutions must closely interact is analysed, especially in attempting to document the knowledge legacy of London 2012.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight present a critical discussion of the findings of the primary data collected from interviews conducted with staff at the BL and other memory institutions. More specifically, these chapters offer an interpretation of the views elicited from participants in the study of the various issues encountered by memory institutions impacting upon the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy. These issues, much like the themes themselves, are distinct yet retain close connections with levels of overlap throughout.

Chapter Six is characterised by the theme '"Money is the thing; always": human and organisational resources'. Sustainability was a key concern of the 2012 Olympiad, one that is mirrored by memory institutions tasked with maintaining their documentary heritage. The thematic prominence of fiduciary concern is characterful of the competing demands of hosting an Olympic spectacle and meeting government 'austerity' measures

that promised reductions in public spending throughout much of the London 2012 Olympic cycle (Fussey et al., 2012). Such a challenge is arguably visible in the reduction of funds available to memory institutions and the dissolution of the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA), itself a casualty of 'austerity' for which DCMS found 'no persuasive reason for the Government's decision to abolish it' (DCMS, 2011: 40). A further drive towards localism (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011) has seen decision-making devolved, whilst libraries and archives are being pressured to create bigger, more sustainable services (TNA, 2012b). The chapter contends that the human and organisational resources available to memory institutions played a significant, if largely invisible, role in facilitating the collection, storage and dissemination of a knowledge legacy for London 2012.

The key concern of Chapter Seven is the theme '"A very, very large bucket of stuff": information overload'. It involves exploring participants' views on managing seemingly ever increasing and diversifying amounts of documentation. Information overload bears implications for memory institutions seeking to document a knowledge legacy for London 2012, particularly considering the designation of London as the first 'Digital Games'. Not only this, but TNA has recognised their attempt to document 'The Record' as being their first truly digital collection (Owens, 2013). Despite considerable scholarship relating to digital recordkeeping, there are few instances of research into archiving an occasion on the scale of an Olympic and Paralympic Games. Furthermore the reported experiences of 'digital immigrants' suggests the need for a critical mass of 'digital natives' within the workforce for memory institutions to properly address some of these issues.

Chapter Eight addresses the place of sport, and specifically London 2012, within memory institutions, describing the theme '"Just another genre in a vast collection of a huge organisation": sport and London 2012'. Participants' described a complex relationship between the perceptions of sport as a discipline and the roles of both memory institutions and sporting agencies. The dissemination of a repository's holdings hinges on the delicate balance of access and preservation, a balance intrinsically linking the processes of collection, storage and dissemination. It is imperative to build and preserve new content, yet unless this content is made accessible, alongside resources available to many diverse and distinct communities to support discovery and usage, the archival record will become stagnant and obsolete. This chapter posits that within memory institutions, sport, including mega-events such as London 2012, is still in danger of being undervalued as not 'mainstream'; a consideration that is compounded by a lack of awareness within sporting organisations as to the value of their records beyond their 'primary' business purpose.

In light of the previous chapters, Chapter Nine concludes the thesis by drawing together the findings of the research in relation to the three objectives. It (1) describes how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms are being approached, (2) assesses how sport and Olympic related data can be sustained as a resource after London 2012, and (3) identifies how best such content can be disseminated, with an emphasis on widening community engagement, whilst identifying future avenues of relevant research. This includes revealing how the archives of a sports mega-event are collected, stored and disseminated by a national institution such as the BL. It argues that the experiences of professionals within the sector need to be compared in order to reveal the role and function of sport archives after London 2012. The thesis provides original research-based conclusions concerning the processes, problems and opportunities

present when documenting and archiving a large-scale cultural phenomenon such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

CHAPTER TWO – MEMORY STUDIES AND MEMORY INSTITUTIONS

This chapter sets the scene for the rest of the thesis by defining the links between sport and mega-events, their place in societal/cultural memory, and how this is represented in 'memory institutions', centring on the BL. To do this, the chapter is divided into three sections dealing with: (collective) memory studies; memory institutions; and the British Library. While the sociological concept of memory is fairly well established (Misztal, 2003; Nora, 1989), literature surrounding sport and memory is a developing area of study (Hughson, 2004). Equally, sport is generally under represented in archival institutions, despite a recent 'heartening change' within the sector (Hood, 2006: 11). Therefore, the central question permeating this chapter is: what do we know about memory and memory institutions in modern society?

In pursuing such a line of enquiry, it is necessary to lay bare the foundations upon which the sociological study of memory is built. Accordingly, initial discussion will surround the development of discourse in the field, concentrating principally upon the four theories of remembering identified by Misztal:

- Durkheimian (including Halbwach's theory of collective memory)

- the Presentist tradition

- Popular memory, and

- Dynamics of memory (Misztal, 2003: 50).

Equally, however, theories of remembering should not be considered in isolation of their binary opposite, forgetting, as these processes work paradoxically in tandem within contemporary memory (Connerton, 2009). Certainly archival literature has been increasingly concerned with aspects of memory, their professional role in its maintenance and production and the desire to not be left behind by current interdisciplinary activities (Ketelaar, 2002: 232).

'Modern memory is, above all, archival' declared Pierre Nora (Nora, 1989: 13), an assertion that requires some discussion. Following from the debates surrounding the notion of collective memory, the second section in this chapter formally addresses the identification of libraries, archives and museums as 'memory institutions'. In doing so this term is defined by situating its contemporary origins within the field of information science and revealing the bridging link between memory and society. The section concludes by demonstrating the importance of understanding memory institutions within their social context and how they are capable of supporting the multiple narratives found in collective memory.

The final section provides the background to the BL and the social context in which it operates. An organisation such as the BL evolved over many years, both institutionally and operationally, and its content and collecting activities have varied according to contemporary societal values and academic interests. In this way, the context in which sport content is collected, stored and disseminated by a national 'memory institution' can be better understood.

(COLLECTIVE) MEMORY STUDIES

The study of memory is almost as nuanced as the subject matter at hand. Questions of who, how, when, where and why all intermingle and this often makes the pursuit of this subject as fissured and elusive as the very memories or, more often, acts of memory-making, that they seek to trace and elucidate. Memory is, by its very nature, intangible and subjective, personal and unique to the individual(s) undertaking the act of remembering. Or should that be forgetting, as this aspect of memory studies is one which is often overshadowed, pushed to the peripheries of the field, marginalized and

even 'forgotten' in favour of its positive binary opposite? Indeed such sentiment is forcefully conveyed by Connerton who aligns the concept of forgetting with that of failure when he asserts that 'I may say that I "forget someone" or that I "forget something"…these usages have one feature in common: they imply an obligation on my part to remember something and my failure to discharge that obligation' (Connerton, 2009: 59).

Remembering and forgetting do not occur in isolation, however. Memories are usually created in the presence of other people who each have a unique perspective on an event, a memory unique unto themselves yet shared between those others who experienced the same event: it is more than a purely personal act. This Misztal identifies as the intersubjectivist argument, with memory forming the gap left between the act of experiencing and remembering (Misztal, 2003: 6). London 2012 is an excellent example of such an occurrence. Spectators travelled to London from all over the world to partake in the experience of the Olympics, the memories which they took away from the event they attended will reflect their own personal experience of what they witnessed and their emotional response; but the Olympic Games are more than just one event. Millions of people shared similar emotions whilst watching from the comfort of their living rooms – their personal memories of the events will be different, but they will share a common memory of the Olympic experience. This aspect of memory, as a social construction, as collective, is what fragments it, subjects it to the situational and leaves it 'controversial and contested' (Manzenreiter and Horne, 2011: 544).

Despite this contestation, there is a cohesive element to memory upon which many scholars agree, and that is the formative role memory plays in creating and maintaining identity (Kammen, 1991; Misztal, 2003; Sturken, 1997). As such, there are several

questions that memory studies seek to address, chief among which are who do we remember; to a lesser extent, who do we forget; and the most widely debated issue of who decides what constitutes collective memory? These questions raise tensions such as those illustrated by Hobsbawm and Ranger in *The Invention of Tradition* surrounding 'official' state, and institutional, histories as opposed to social 'people's' history as it is lived and experienced (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992). This tension is often compounded and has discovered a new level of complexity when considered in relation to memory institutions, as the actors and agencies involved in documenting and preserving cultural, or collective, memory are increasingly considered to play a more vital role than that of a passive guardian, becoming more of a mediator, 'self-consciously shaping society's collective memory' (Cook, 2011a: 631). While the position of archives, archivists and the issue of archival memory is more fully considered in the next chapter, it is necessary here to delineate the theories and concepts of memory and memory-making that inform contemporary discourses.

It is possible to identify several different types of memory. Misztal places the figure at five including *procedural* (activities such as riding a bicycle), *declarative/semantic* (facts such as bicycles have two wheels), *autobiographical/personal* (how we tell our life stories and create a congruent sense of self), *cognitive* (recalling meanings of words or lines of verse) and finally, *habit* (our ability to perform certain acts such as reading, writing or playing a game or sport). Misztal differentiates habit memories from those others as being the sole form to bring the past into the present, rather than retrieving it from the past *as* the past. Yet Misztal continues to identify a sixth type of memory, collective memory, distinguishing it not as a product of other types of memory, but as itself an act of remembering and, thus, an agent of memory-making (Misztal, 2003: 10). In order to better elucidate the specifics of collective memory, Misztal retraces four

chronological theories of remembering from the initial Durkheimian perspective; through the 'top-down' presentist approach, most commonly associated with the invention of tradition, and 'bottom-up' ideals of popular memory; to dynamics of memory, reflecting contemporary notions of complex interrelationships between society, memory and remembering (Misztal, 2003: 50).

Early forays into memory research followed from the work of Emile Durkheim, but it was Maurice Halbwachs who expounded the concept of collective memory more fully. Making a connection between social groups and collective memory, Halbwachs established the notion that social groups – be they familial, supporters of a sports team or a parochial community – develop memories highlighting their unique identity, determining what is memorable, how to remember it and, by extension, what can be forgotten (Misztal, 2003: 51). For example, the prominence given to 'the' Civil War in British memory notwithstanding the events of the 'Anarchy' of 1135-1154 and the War of the Roses, which, despite representing occasions where the country was divided between two competitors for the realm, are not recognized as civil wars. Perhaps it is that the iconic struggle between crown and state that ultimately resulted in greater power and authority for Parliament fits much better into a national collective memory of a continuous movement towards the modern nation. Equally, Connerton demonstrates this through the extreme example of how, when intoning the imperative 'lest we forget' in remembering the tragedy of death and destruction caused by the two World Wars, we are implicitly excluding those who survived. Concluding that 'Memorials conceal the past as much as they cause us to remember it' appears particularly true as the collective memory pauses to recall the dead but not the living - not the mutilated, mis-figured and war-widows whose existence society would rather deny and forget than uphold in the collective memory (Connerton, 2009: 29). Indeed, it would appear that there may be

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some truth to Wilfred Owen's famous old lie 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori': it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country.

By determining what is socially codified as memorable and forgettable, collective memory provides for individuals to connect to their national identity, but while this national perspective is often too remote for the individual to consider their history as anything but a framework within which they exist, certain events can act as a force for cohesion, altering the lives of every group member (Misztal, 2003: 52). The bitter-sweet events of 7/7, the attack on London in 2005, act as a very pertinent example of this to British memory as, hours after the announcement that London would host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the city itself was to suffer from a terrorist attack. The collective memories of events like this, and the 9/11 attack on Manhattan, can solidify or act as part of the 'glue' that holds society together. At the other end of this scale, the fruition of the announcement on that fateful London night, London 2012 delivered another such experience. Where, with typical British cynicism, many feared the outcome of the Games – that they could not follow the spectacle of Beijing 2008, that the capital would grind to a halt and that, fulfilling the stereotype, the weather would be terrible – only to see a different side to the capital and British character at large (Gibson and Topham, 2012).

Halbwachs held, however, that collective memory was a 'record of resemblance' and, therefore, was not in dialogue with living memories. This, Misztal points out, would determine a frozen social identity occupying a one-dimensional past-present relationship, which cannot account for new social conditions and subsequent changes in past-present perceptions (Misztal, 2003: 55). A similar point is made by Kammen discussing revisions of history in West Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union. His

argument suggests that history is not simply recorded into a faithful document of the past, but is reconstructed to suit the needs of contemporary society, that we are 'manipulating the past in order to mould the present' (Kammen, 1991: 3). This practice can be seen at work during the London 2012 opening ceremony that provided great spectacle mixed with a touch of eccentricity explicitly designed to alter perceptions of Britain and the British. Indeed, as former Olympic Minister Tessa Jowell indicated during a video-recorded interview on display at the British Library in 2013 in an exhibition on Propaganda,

> *One of the very early reasons for deciding to bid was that an Olympic Games with its associated cultural festival, and Paralympics, provides an unparalleled global platform to redefine and reshape the definition of Britain to the rest of the world. And I think that at the time – and remember this is now 10 years ago – there was a sense that our international image was rather old fashioned, out of tune with the Britain that we are, and seen very much in terms of our heritage rather than the edgy, creative, diversity iconoclastic, challenging Britain that we are, and I think will be more recognised by people who are British today* (BL, Propaganda: Power and Persuasion exhibition, 2013).

A manipulation of the past by state institutions is what underpins the second theory of memory.

The presentist approach adopts a position that considers memory to have been used as a vehicle to justify and support the master-narratives of the social elite and national governments and thus represents a top-down approach. This theory of memory is also often referred to as the 'invention of tradition', after the most influential work to adopt this approach (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992). This theory asserts the position that many

traditions understood to be long-standing and historic may actually have a much more recent origin. Hobsbawn distinguishes two types of 'tradition': those actually invented, as exemplified by the royal Christmas message, first broadcast in 1932; and those whose origins are less evident, but find themselves as an established institution within a few years, such as the Football Association Cup Final (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992).

Parallels may also be drawn with the establishment of the Olympic Games at the end of the 19th Century. From less obviously 'invented' traditions Pierre de Coubertain drew upon such as the Ancient Olympics and the inspiration of Dr. William Penny Brookes and others, to actual invented traditions such as the symbols, rituals and myths associated with the Games (Miah and Garcia, 2012). Indeed one such ceremony, the torch relay, originated at the Berlin Games in 1936 (Cronin, 2014). As such it provided a powerful propaganda tool which hinted at a progression from the Ancient Greek Empire, through the subsequent Roman and Holy Roman Empires, to the German Reich (Large, 2007). Furthermore, this tradition has been latterly co-opted by corporate sponsors to maximize the promotion of official sponsor messages through highly visible and heavily branded vehicles and controlled 'celebration stages' throughout the relay (Garcia, 2013).

The 'invention of tradition' perspective has come under criticism, particularly as not being applicable to democratic societies. Confino in particular compared the situations of East and West Germany from the presentist perspective concluding that it relied upon an undemocratic state for the collective memory to remain frozen and stable to such an extent as to allow its manipulation. In the democratic West there remained a fluidity of memory owing much to the public's freedom to engage in 'pluralistic debates' concerning history (in Misztal, 2003: 59). The extent to which collective memory and

traditions can be considered state fabrications, as opposed to imaginings or creations, has also been challenged. The presentist approach holds that the traditions of modern societies are recent in origin, implying the existence of 'real' traditions which pre-date those that are 'invented', it requires intent upon behalf of the state, or 'inventor', to conjure a 'false' tradition justifying or consolidating its master-narrative, or mandate to govern.

The explicit intentionality behind a state defined memory in presentist theory fails to acknowledge any possible external or passive influence upon it. Indeed any such intentionality would actively deny the possibility of the past enduring in forms other than those co-opted by the state, effectively diminishing concepts of collective memory to simple ideology. Yet Schudson points to the continuation of self-conscious commemoration and the subconscious 'psychological, social, linguistic and political processes that keep the past alive without necessarily intending to do so' (cited in Misztal, 2003: 60). These concerns are manifested in the development of the theory of 'popular memory'. In direct contrast to presentist notions, the popular memory approach called for a more historically and socially rooted analysis of collective memory.

There are two strands to this approach. One was pioneered at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies by the 'Popular Memory Group' in the 1980s, which posits that memory creation rests upon a dialectic of resistance, with voices contesting to create versions of the past. The second approach utilises Michel Foucault's conception of 'counter-memory'. Not seeking to deny the presentist approach in its entirety, these approaches accept the existence of a dominant discourse premised upon a societal norm of conflict. However, rather than assuming a purely deterministic memory, popular memory adopted a 'bottom-up' approach

embracing a model which builds from local instances towards a comprehensive collective memory. It contests that marginalised voices excluded from the dominant memory can challenge the hegemony of the elite. Such contestations between a prevailing and peripheral memory can be observed through the prism of London 2012.

The previous chapter introduced the notion of 'boosters' and 'sceptics' within Olympic literature with the former acting as advocates for an Olympic ideal, whilst the latter challenge such interpretations. The interplay between these bodies demonstrates an active site of contestation and resistance in which the first strand of popular memory can be observed. The example of a study of the experiences of homeless and street-living youths across two Olympic host cities expresses such a challenge to the dominant hegemony. Kennelly and Watt (2011) question the established Olympic rhetoric that the Games will 'benefit the young' by examining this claim in light of the lived experience of homeless youth in Vancouver and drawing comparisons to London. The second strand of popular memory, counter-memory, can also be identified in Olympic sites.

An attempt to capture 'a unique present' of the transformation of London's waterways surrounding the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park revealed specific forms of dominant and counter-memory (Anton et al., 2013: 129). The investigation found a '*terrain vague*' (Anton et al., 2013: 132) in which the study challenges the value of London 2012's legacy for displaced and displeased local people,

> *As we moved around the construction site we found evidence of un-spoken voices: graffiti, security cameras, barricades, homemade signs and massive bill-boards. These communiqués provided a palpable sense of voiced non-presences within the city and we filmed populations that subtly made their marks around the periphery of the site* (Anton et al., 2013: 135).

In this manner, Anton et al. draw attention to the contest between the local population and the ODA. However, Bender's recognition that the landscape is 'never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it' (cited in Anton et al., 2013: 136) is also pertinent to Misztal's final development in the field of memory: the dynamics of memory.

This approach represents another attempt to model memory from the 'bottom up' and casts collective memory as an enduring negotiation between the past and the present, the dominant and the marginalised. An attempt to bridge the differences between preceding theories, the dynamics of memory accepts that memory can be distorted for various reasons, including by a political elite, but attests that this cannot account for the predominance of a particular collective memory. Indeed manipulation is considered to be purely circumstantial, of benefit for social cohesion and in particular instances of trauma. As such it contends that memory is transformative, for example 'not only to honor history's victims but in the hope that memory can prevent repetition of tragic events' (Misztal, 2003: 68). The emphasis placed upon the interplay of permanence and change, between past and present in this approach permits incoherence within group identities that shift and change in accordance with their world-view. By denying a collective memory that is uniquely malleable or enduring, the dynamics of memory acknowledges the agency of participation and time; of society and history.

This transformative aspect is the defining characteristic of the dynamics of memory. In determining that memory is a social and political product that is itself the foundation for further adjustment and revision, this approach illuminates the iterative, collaborative and multiple nature of memory. That old beliefs may coexist with new understandings demonstrates the generational nature of collective memory and how it adapts to

changing social affinities and attitudes. As such Misztal cites Olick and Levy's conclusion that collective memory constitutes 'an active process of sense making through time' (Misztal, 2003: 68), an observation that resonates with contemporary archival theory as discussed in the following chapter.

As the scholarly conversation has developed a complex form of memory that reflects the complexity of contemporary society, one in which society acts upon memory as memory in turn acts upon it, so the debate has turned to consider social archivalisation and the professional role of the archivist. 'Modern memory is, above all, archival' declared Nora (1989: 13) when formulating a conception of 'lieux de mémoire' or places of memory. This, Nora attests, is subject to an 'acceleration of history', a break with the past insofar as change is replacing continuity as a cornerstone of contemporary society (Nora, 2002). Such a consideration is also evident in Connerton's projection of a modernity that forgets (Connerton, 2009). Whilst Nora asserts that a will to remember is an essential element of 'lieux de mémoire', Connerton aligns an apparent contemporary proclivity to memorialise as precipitated by a fear of cultural amnesia, and points to the foundation of public museums as a response to an increased societal production of content (Connerton, 2009). Therein lies the heart of Nora's conception of modern memory and this necessitates a closer consideration of these 'lieux de mémoire', specifically focusing on the concept of memory institutions.

MEMORY INSTITUTIONS

The evolution of the phrase 'memory institutions' is, in itself, an interesting delineation and some attention must be given to its definition and use within this study. Hjørland (2000) identifies Hjerppe as first outlining the notion of memory institutions. This early definition was rather nebulous, 'libraries, archives, museums, heritage (monuments and

sites) institutions, and aquaria and arboreta, zoological and botanical gardens' (Hjerppe, 1994: 1). This extremely wide and varied denomination owes as much to Hjerppe's attempts to formulate a definition for a 'generalised document' (by establishing this as something which carries a text and shifting focus away from the object, the 'carrier', to the content of the text, thus extending the boundaries of what can be considered as a 'document') as it does to the lack of consensus surrounding the designation of such institutions.

The umbrella term of memory institutions is more narrowly defined for the purposes of this study, referring to any repository of public knowledge, be it a library, museum, archive or even an electronic database. When defining memory institutions, Hjerppe applied his background as an Information Scientist to subjugate the typological distinctions that typically defined libraries, archives and museums as repositories of, respectively, books, records and objects, distinctions which seemed increasingly superfluous in a digital environment (Robinson, 2012). Indeed, the arbitrary division of content across memory institutions is widely considered to be primarily the result of historical accident. That these public bodies may well be categorised as 'collecting institutions', 'cultural repositories' or even 'cultural heritage' points to an identity crisis within the sector, and much is still made of apparent divisions and the need for convergence and collaboration (Caron, 2010).

The phrase 'memory institutions' has gained popularity in recent years in relation to the theme of convergence, indicative of the innate compatibility often assumed between libraries, archives and museums. Such an assumption is exemplified by Martin (2003: 2-3) when discussing how contemporary distinctions are due to 'convention and tradition' and that historically institutions were reasonably interchangeable: 'libraries'

holdings were comprised of 'archives', while the Great Library of Alexandria was originally called the 'Museon'. The apparent need for distinct identities characterizing the functions of these memory institutions developed alongside the proliferation of diverse typologies of material in the early modern period. Such an explosion of material required categorising and so physical objects were separated from written texts, into museums and libraries, whilst the intense bureaucratization of government saw official records of state distinguished as archives. As Tanackovic and Badurina (2009: 299) observed, the 'fragmentation of total world memory into distinct institutionalised forms of care for heritage is based on the nature and formal characteristics of material for which these different but cognate institutions assumed primary responsibility'.

Clearly the lack of a generally accepted referent alludes to a community whose identity remains somewhat fluid and unsettled. Furthermore Dempsey and Hjørland consider that the digital revolution gripping contemporary society is impacting upon institutional definitions, suggesting the need for such a term (Dempsey, 1999; Hjørland, 2000). Caron emphasizes this point, claiming that the manner in which we create, safeguard and retrieve information has been fundamentally altered by advances in communication technology (Caron, 2010). This perspective is not universally accepted, however, and Robinson contests that the alignment of the collective term 'memory institutions' with the digital environment implies a misunderstanding of purpose,

> *as if the commonalities that these institutions share around the concepts of collective, national and social memory (rather than, say, their broad cultural role in facilitating learning and research, creating an active public sphere or supporting cultural engagement) constitute their pre-eminent value in contemporary times* (Robinson, 2012: 415).

As such, Robinson depicts 'memory institution' as a restrictive and potentially dangerous term. She posits that the term only creates a semblance of compatibility whilst obscuring their essential differences.

However, the identification of libraries, archives and museums via the collective term 'memory institutions' need not venerate memory at the expense of the nuance inherent in their individual functions. Indeed as indicated in the previous chapter, and further discussed in Chapter Three, a central objective for memory institutions is achieving a balance between access and preservation, in other words between enabling interpretation and sustaining memory. In fact, Robinson's misgivings towards the term 'memory institution' stem from the notion of convergence, a concept 'commonly accompanied by a conventional wisdom that collapses libraries, archives and museums together under [that] blanket definition' (Robinson, 2012: 413). This consideration is plainly evident in Martin's conclusion that individual professional identities are restricting the efficiency of memory institutions as a whole in achieving their purpose. He alludes to the merger of the National Archives and National Library services of Canada into Libraries and Archives Canada, whilst equally recognising that any such alignment may simply be the result of structural reorganisation or efficiency savings as much as it may be due to convergence (Martin, 2007). Similarly several commentators have identified a point of convergence upon which to found their conception of memory institutions. This point was particularly well constructed by Martin when he stated that 'libraries, museums and archives all collect precisely the same things. They all collect documents.' (Martin, 2003: 3).

Having reached a point of convergence, or common ground for the sector, it may be asked why 'memory institution' should be the accepted denomination over, for

example, 'collecting institutions'? Indeed, the point of convergence recognised that the act of collecting was the common ground that these institutions share. However, it is not only this function that is shared, but the articles subject to that function that also embody these repositories. Through considering the nature of the documents they collect it is possible to elicit the social role played by these organisations, and better elaborate their position as 'memory institutions'.

When considering the shared venture of memory institutions as that of collecting documents, it is useful to reconsider Hjerppe's identification of a 'generalised document'. Through deconstructing its form, a 'document' can be redefined as something carrying a 'text' and, subsequently, a 'text' as something that can be 'read' according to a set of acquired skills (Hjerppe, 1994: 1-2). In this manner, Hjerppe demonstrates that the term need not refer solely to traditional conceptions of a 'document' as a piece of written, printed or digital material, but can logically be extended to include what may otherwise be categorised as objects: tangibles such as photographs, paintings and artefacts, and even intangibles such as sound recordings or film. The meaning of such documents is, however, reliant on how the document is 'read', a process that disembodies the 'text' from the 'document' and thus subjugates it to the reader. Such a process naturally allows every document to have unlimited, multiple meanings as they are 'read' and 'written' anew for each individual (Hjerppe, 1994: 3).

Considering that a document can have multiple creators and meanings draws parallels with contemporary research from within the sphere of memory institutions (cf. Chapter Three). Notions of complex interrelationships between content and users found their genesis in postmodernism which has become prevalent in the sector, certainly over the

last decade. Interpretation of content held by archives, for example, has been considered from a continuum perspective where a document can never be static, but is continuously created anew by each individual user, its meaning re-written according to the new use it is put to. Put another way it is 'always in a process of becoming' (McKemmish in Reed, 2005: 128). Such concepts find their basis in notions of postcustodialism and virtual archives or 'archives without walls' (Bearman in Cook, 2000: 23). The seemingly inexorable arrival of a digital age has led to a proliferation of electronic records which, as Levy attests, have challenged very basic assumptions that bind the delineation of a 'document' to the act of writing on paper (Levy in Martin, 2003: 3). Martin shows that through drawing on the work of documentalists including Otlet, Briet and Buckland, Levy demonstrated that it is possible to redefine traditional conventions of what a 'document' is: be it clay, stone, animal skin, plant fibre, sand; text, audio or image files and even web pages. 'When viewed from this perspective,' Martin contends, 'the boundaries between library, museum and archives disappear' (Martin, 2003: 3).

Progressing his argument to the extreme, Hjerppe concludes that the world in which we live can also be considered a 'document', 'learning the *reading*[2] of which, as a social activity, enables us to learn reading', leading to the logical conclusion, therefore, that the meaning of 'texts' are a social construct (Hjerppe, 1994: 5). The implications of this for memory institutions are clear: that they contain and preserve the constructs of society. What is also striking about this implication is how closely it resembles conceptions of collective memory, a factor it is significant to remark upon the nature of when constructing the meaning of, and social context for, memory institutions.

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[2] In this paper, Hjerppe uses asterisks to denote the use of the term 'generalised' preceding a word. Thus a (generalized) *document* is subject to a (generalized) *reading*.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, collective memory is generally considered to be a view of the past shared by a group of people that reflects the identity of the social group that frames it. In other words, each individual remembers individually and independently, however, only those memories that are shared and supported by other members of a social group contend to form a collective memory. Similarly, Hjerppe (1994: 5)constructs documents as having a public meaning, verifiable among several 'readers' and a private meaning that 'relates the *text* to the *reader*, to other *texts*, and to the world'. Therefore it is clear that memory institutions perform a crucial role in both collecting the 'documents' that construct the collective memory of society and preserving this for future generations.

In light of this, Robinson's position – that classifying libraries, archives and museums as memory institutions instils their value as being containers of memory, rather than facilitators of learning and research – is unsustainable (Robinson, 2012). This could only be true if memories acted as avenues to discover the past. However, as established by the dynamics of memory, the past is not stable and discoverable, it acts upon the present just as the present acts upon it in turn. Memories are malleable and memories are social (Misztal, 2003).

The establishment of organisations such as the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (UK) and the Institute of Museum and Library Services (USA), for example, as formal government structures to oversee and support so-called 'memory institutions', further promotes use of the term. The very nomenclature of these governmental bodies recognises distinctions through independently identifying the services, or even excluding them altogether. However, despite not deliberately employing the term 'memory institutions', libraries, archives and museums remain grouped together based

upon their commonality as repositories of public knowledge. These aforementioned Non Governmental Organisations (NGO) function to enhance collaboration across the different institutions, yet implicitly undermine the process through recognition of divisions between services. Furthermore the MLA was abolished in 2010 (DCMS, 2011) and its functions mostly subsumed into those of Arts Council England, support for the archives sector falling into the purview of The National Archives (DCMS and Vaizey, 2012), serving to disrupt any notion of commonality and collaboration previously in place.

Yet the term 'memory institutions' need not be so facile as to collapse these distinct operations into one succinct meaning. Robinson's conclusion contested that differences in function should not be obscured, 'The pre-supposition of compatibility between museums, libraries and archives, as implied within the 'memory institution' concept, is problematic because it is an over-simplification' (Robinson, 2012: 425). However this in turn obscures the very commonalities shared by these memory institutions. Rather than focusing on the differences and reinforcing an apparent identity crisis, identifying as memory institutions can champion the commonalities, whilst sustaining and embracing the differences between organisations. Much like collective memory and the content contained within them, the term 'memory institutions' can support multiple narratives and seeks not a convergence in which services are merged, but to foster synergy and collaboration wherein services work together for the benefit of society.

Rapid technological developments and a crisis of identity have exemplified the need for a term reconciling some of the perceived differences and reinforcing the similarities of museums, libraries and archives. The term 'memory institutions' does just that: it recognises the underlying mission of these repositories of public knowledge to collect

and preserve the memory of societies, be they national or local, prominent or peripheral. Yet these activities are not done in isolation from society. Just as the documents they maintain are 'read' and 'written' anew for each reader, just as the memories they contain relate individuals to their localities, their nation, and their history; memory institutions are in turn influenced and shaped by the society they seek to represent.

The BL occupies a unique position sitting at a juncture of memory institutions: acting as both a library and an archive. This duality provides for some fascinating insights into the societal role played by a national memory institution and can demonstrate some of the issues created by the competing forces that can affect any public body trying to document a society which in turn is shaping its collections and practices.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

The BL is the national library of the UK and is principally situated on Euston Road, conveniently located between three of the capital's main railway stations in the heart of London's burgeoning 'Knowledge Quarter'. As it exists today, the BL was created by the British Library Act (1972), coming into formal existence on the 1st July 1973, however, the origins of this national memory institution are considerably older, reaching back to the formation of the British Museum (BM) in 1753, of which it was a part. It opened in its present location in 1997 following years of political and economic wrangling regarding the site, as it was originally planned to be in Bloomsbury, opposite the BM (Harris, 1998).

Many memory institutions owe their origins to the Enlightenment period as a result of princes, nobles and scholars collecting books and works of art, amongst other items, as a way of keeping the past alive (Sloan, 2003). Furthermore, advances in literacy and the

sciences had an impact upon (collective) memory as the mass production of information, multiplication of literature, and ever more specialised academic disciplines necessitated more sufficient repositories of knowledge than memory alone could sustain (Misztal, 2003). Subsequently there was a societal demand to condense and preserve information enhanced by a burgeoning sense of civic responsibility promulgated the creation of libraries, archives and museums.

The collections which formed the library of the Museum were donated by Sir Hans Sloane (antiquary and collector 1660-1753), Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) and the first and second Earls of Oxford, Robert (1661-1724) and Edward (1689-1741) Harley (Harris, 1998: 2). The Cottonian collection, which included the Lindisfarne Gospels and two of the surviving copies of the Magna Carta, clearly demonstrated the national value of such benefaction. The three "Foundation" collections were originally stored in Montagu House in Bloomsbury and were subsequently augmented by the Royal collection, presented by King George II in 1759. Thus a tradition became established whereby the aristocracy and other notable figures bequeathed their collections to Britain's first public library.

As George II's bequest had considerably reduced the Royal library, leaving only sparse collections dispersed between royal residences, George III determined to compile his own library. This collection, now known as the King's Library, was developed very systematically, especially between 1774-1830 during the tenure of the Royal librarian, Fredrick Augusta Barnard, and with the support and advice of Dr. Samuel Johnson (Harris, 2009). The collection came to number in excess of 60, 000 volumes owing to George III's desire to assiduously collect from major book sales in London and on the continent, and had benefitted significantly from the closure of Jesuit libraries across

southern Europe. Furthermore the library was opened to individuals pursuing scholarly purposes. Though significantly excluding the general populace, it is notable that individuals such as Joseph Priestley, whose political and religious views opposed those of George III, were permitted access to the collection (Harris, 2009; Jefcoate, 2003).

It is interesting to note that his son, George IV, subsequently donated this collection to the BM after the death of George III. This, Goldfinch contends, was likely an attempt to avoid the expense of its upkeep, estimated at over £2,000 per year (Goldfinch, 2009: 285). Therefore it is clear that the origins of the BL were inseparable from their social context characterised by a move away from private collections towards a civic pride in the past expressed through the endowment and construction of museums. The foundation collections established that the 'library' reflected their contemporary situation: that public institutions of memory were created and patronised by prominent figures. Unlike the collection practices of the previous century, the 'intellectual rationale was rooted in the wealthy middle-class belief in progress, knowledge, and 'the idea of the present as a product of the past'' (Misztal citing Pearce, 2003: 40).

A significant appointment in the history of the BL was that of Antonio Panizzi as 'Keeper of the Printed Books' in 1837. It fell to him to take charge of the relocation of 235,000 volumes from Montagu House, the original location of the BM, to the new building in Bloomsbury which opened in 1852. Panizzi was responsible for developing a cataloguing system for the library and persuaded Parliament to write a specific law detailing that it was a legal requirement for a copy of every item published in Britain to be donated to the British Museum library. This was the formal beginning of what became known as 'Legal Deposit', the development of which is more comprehensively discussed in Chapter Five. Panizzi worked alongside Frederick Madden who was

responsible for the manuscripts collection and many rare and valuable items were collected, including manuscripts from composers, such as Britten and Bach. Those two appointments, Panizzi and Madden, proved to be a 'watershed' moment for the development of the BL as the next half-century was shaped by them (Harris, 1998: 109).

Panizzi wasted no time in delivering his purchasing policy and, in October 1837, three months after becoming Keeper, he stated that priority should be given to British works and anything regarding the British Empire. Old and rare or critical editions of the classics alongside good commentaries and translations, foreign literature, arts and sciences, aiming for best editions of standard works as well as periodicals, transactions, large collections and complete newspaper series and collections of laws. In 1845 Panizzi, presenting an early collection policy, reported on 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' duties and presented a case to increase the size of the library arguing that gifts, which had previously been a source of material, were no longer likely to deliver the material that was needed. The purchase of large collections was similarly considered unfeasible, though these had previously strengthened existing collections they would now most likely duplicate them. Lastly he claimed that proper development depended on regular unrestrained Parliamentary grants to purchase desiderata, published or antiquarian (Harris, 1998).

By 1852, however, Panizzi had restricted acquisition to continuations, gifts and Legal Deposit items due to a severe lack of space leading Panizzi to plan the Round Reading Room which opened in 1857. Despite the fact that the library was collecting on behalf of the nation, anyone who wished to use the library was required to apply in writing to the principal librarian for a 'reader's ticket'. This is particularly significant owing to the

exclusion of certain social classes. Notwithstanding that 'The Reading Room had been thrown open to all for a short period at the time of its opening in May 1857, thereafter admission was by pass only, giving access to its collections an aura of selectivity and exclusiveness' (BL, n.d.b). Such a conclusion further demonstrates the importance of the social context in defining the practice of memory institutions and that they were widely considered to be more the domain of the social elite.

The expansion of the Empire coupled with the enforcement of the Copyright Act resulted in printed material from all over the world being collected by the library in concurrence with an increasing societal production of content throughout the later 19th Century. In a bid to ease demands upon space created by the expanding collections, the newspapers were moved to a storage facility in Colindale, north London, in 1905. However space remained a major problem during the inter-war years and between 1915 and 1939 the intake of the Copyright Receipt Office increased by 47% (Harris, 1998: 520).

The bombing of London in World War II saw the destruction of 225,000 books and 6,000 provincial newspapers from Colindale. The loss of material in this manner demonstrates another societal impact upon memory institutions through the explicit deprivation of content external to their control. Furthermore, the war also highlighted a need for a science and technology network in the UK and especially a national library of science and technology. In response the national Library of Science and Invention was established in 1962 and administered as part of the BM. Consequently social circumstances can be seen to determine the direction of collection development. Another change to originate from the war was the initial proposal for an independent library building owing to the damage sustained to the storage infrastructure which

served to increase the pressures of space already observed. Thus a site was identified immediately to the south of the BM, a decision that would physically divorce the library from the confines and the BM and paved the way for the intellectual separation of services ultimately resolved by the creation of the BL.

The pressures of space were overtly recognised by a Government White Paper in 1971 that identified the rehousing of the library collections as a priority. However such considerations were notably overlooked in The British Library Act 1972, which merged the library with the National Science Library, formally separated the BL from the BM, and established it as a new and separate institution (Harris, 1998). The significance of this omission was evident as the Government withdrew its agreement for a new building opposite the BM after local opposition to such a sizable construction in the heart of London the following year. Instead a derelict goods yard, opposite St. Pancras Station, was purchased. Unsurprisingly for any large project, the building of the new BL was victim to spiralling expenses and delays during an economic downturn, leading the architect Colin St John Wilson to describe the process as his '30-year war with the government' (Vallely, 2011). The new library was officially opened by H.M Queen Elizabeth II in 1998, though the Reading Rooms had been opened to the public since autumn 1997.

The BL now operates from this site adjacent to St Pancras station and has moved less frequently used material to its Boston Spa site, including the relocation of its newspaper collection after the closure of Colindale in November 2013. The total collection now includes around 170 million items in various formats – books, newspapers, journals, music and sound recordings, maps, patents, drawings, prints and manuscripts dating back to 300 B.C. As a Legal Deposit Library the BL receives all material published in

the UK and Ireland (about 3 million items each year). The Legal Deposit collections have not been chosen and inevitably include items ranging from the excellent to the trivial, for example outstanding research material to "cheesy biographies of Wayne Rooney" as one of my interviewees remarked (ATG02: 142). But those who ran the BM library always adhered to the principle that, in respect of the national printed archive, selecting and discarding were not appropriate procedures. This position clearly demonstrates an approach to collecting premised upon the passive accumulation of content, an approach that accepted the uncertainty of future research interests (Harris, 1998). As discussed in the following chapter, such an approach to collecting has implications for the content development, particularly in terms of how societal interests can influence what material is acquired.

The move to St. Pancras was good for storage in terms of the preservation of content as it provided more space and greater control over temperature and humidity. However the move into new premises also necessitated a re-think of previous working practice in certain areas. For instance, financial pressures forced a revision of acquisitions policies, as Harris (1998: xv) observed, 'it is argued by some that if money is short the library must concentrate on acquiring publications relevant to this country, with the regrettable result that acquisitions of foreign language material may have to be cut'. Such sentiment demonstrates another social aspect of the context within which the BL operates. Namely that, as the national library, there is a certain expectation that it should prioritise the collection of content deemed appropriate to its remit. Consequently the origins of the BL as a repository of 'high' culture premised upon the ideals of Enlightenment philanthropists, raises concerns in some sectors regarding the relevance of content identified as 'low' culture, including, for example, sport and London 2012.

An interesting aspect of the social context of memory institutions influencing the passive accumulation of content can be drawn to a so-called 'commemorative fever' during the 1980s and 1990s (Misztal, 2003: 2). This movement saw a broadening of scholarly horizons and societal interests as 'bottom-up' history began to flourish. Reilly (2014) indicated that this trend was due to an influx of staff educated in the 1970s and influenced by academics such as E. P. Thompson, who contended that the working classes not only consumed history, but also were involved in its active creation. This reflects the position of the Popular Memory Group as discussed earlier in this chapter and is significant in regards to London 2012.

Moore (2012) argued that there is a perception that sport is often considered separate, and sometimes in opposition to culture. This inherent division is clear in the observation that 'a Martian social anthropologist would be excused for wondering if the British, or at any rate their elected representatives, have any idea what culture is. If they did, [DCMS] would have been called Culture (Media and Sport)' (Greer, 2008: n.p.). However, the popularisation of 'everyday', 'low' or 'working-class' memory/culture has begun to alter perceptions towards sport as a cultural subject. Indeed, Greer's (2008) contention that 'Football counts as culture just as much as opera does' was visible in the inclusion of sport as an independent element of the BL's content strategy.

The growing interest in culture/heritage is also reflected in archival theory, particularly in the notion that memory institutions should be more active in their collection and management so as to reflect broader societal interests (see Chapter Three). Such concerns demarcate a notable move towards current inclusive collecting practices as represented in the BL's content strategy – sport appears in 2006 and was prominent in the BL's *Growing Knowledge* strategy in the run-up to London 2012 (BL, 2006; 2011).

Therefore it is clear that contemporary social concerns are not only collected and reflected by BL content, but that the social circumstances of a given period influence the collecting policies and practices with which it engages – from the foundation collections that reflect its 'elite' beginnings to current concerns to document the margins/peripheries of society.

Another adjustment since the move to St. Pancras identified by Harris, is that where staff had traditionally consisted of 'lifers', whose careers were spent in sole pursuit of the benefit of the library, such as Panizzi, there is a contemporary tendency towards transience. Whilst there undoubtedly remain individuals dedicating their entire careers to the BL, staff increasingly come and go and move from section to section with the result that detailed knowledge is less common than years ago. As Harris (1998: xv) lamented, 'Members of staff have often come to me for information about matters with which nearly everyone was acquainted at one time'. Indeed, Harris indicated that the potential loss of organisational memory following the move from the BM to St. Pancras prompted his writing of *The History of the British Museum Library, 1753-1973*. The implications of this are remarkable in the context of London 2012 as a restructure amidst the government's Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) led to significant budget cuts and staff reductions.

The CSR in 2010 made it clear that more would have to be achieved with less money, a line of thought reflected in the notion promoted by TNA's *Archives in the 21st Century* that memory institutions should be 'built to last' (TNA, 2012b). The recommendation that memory institutions become more sustainable through the development of partnerships to achieve bigger and better services is also visible in the findings of the *'Funding the Archives' Research Report* (Ray et al., 2012). Published in the wake of the

CSR, this report recognised that income generation was increasingly important in order to reduce a dependence upon allocated funding from parent organisations. As such, a 'tripod' model of funding was proposed which aimed to maintain existing levels of parent funding whilst simultaneously growing external investment (Ray et al., 2012).

However Government support for local councils has decreased by 50% since 2010 and is projected to fall a further 23% in 2015/16, with further cuts expected until 2017/18 in line with the most recent CSR in 2015 (Daines and Morris, 2015). Indeed the irony of the incumbent Prime Minister, David Cameron, chastising a local council for enacting cuts to its library and museum services was not lost to the public (Mason, 2015), especially when memory institutions are supporting the government's digital agenda. The Sieghart Report emphasised the need for adequate funding to support efforts to increase digital access for approximately 20% of the UK population who do not have such facilities in their home (Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals [CILIP], 2015a).

The latest CSR has promised £7.4 million to provide Internet access and WIFI in library services across the country thus seeming to deliver on Sieghart's recommendation for a national digital resource for libraries (Daines and Morris, 2015), but as opening hours are cut and branches face closure with the loss of qualified staff, the overall effect may be somewhat diluted. Furthermore, a report from the Joseph Rowntree Foundation indicated that the severity of cuts and the value placed on libraries varies from one local authority to the next, prompting CILIP to remind councils that the 1964 Public Library and Museums Act makes provision of a comprehensive public library service a statutory requirement. Indeed, the CILIP President observed that, 'Despite the fact that a comprehensive library service is a legal requirement too many councils are running

roughshod over the needs and wishes of their communities in a short sighted attempt to save a small amount of money at devastating cost to the community both in the short and long term' (CILIP, 2013: n.p.). Although this has been countered by some councils who have argued that the requirement to provide such services is out of step with the localism bill which allows councils to shape services in response to community need, whilst simultaneously empowering community groups to take control of threatened services (Rogers, 2011).

Given this background it is evident that memory institutions must carefully re-evaluate their purposes and missions and work in partnership to evolve and survive. In the context of this financial climate the BL's main source of funding from the government was reduced to its lowest level since its creation in 1973. In response to this the *Growing Knowledge* (2011) strategy planned to maximise funding by using a range of service delivery models delivered by a highly-skilled, yet smaller, core workforce, by continuously seeking opportunities for efficiencies and taking up 'invest-to-save initiatives', by developing revenue streams and encouraging philanthropic giving (BL, 2011: 5). Building upon this previous strategic plan, the BL published *Living Knowledge: the British Library 2015-2023* (BL, 2015a). Looking ahead towards their 50th anniversary, this strategy identified five key trends as: 'data', 'openness', 'creativity and culture', 'physical spaces and experiences', and 'public libraries'.

The first issue, 'data', incorporated the vast amounts of information increasingly referred to as 'big data'. Big data is typically conceived as an aggregation of information so large and complex that it is difficult to interpret using standard approaches. Sharma et al. (2014: 139) define it as having 'five concerns: data volume, velocity, variety, veracity, and the value'. Memory institutions are becoming more

aware of the potential value that can be extracted from data they already collect from users as they interact with systems and services. A major new research centre, the Alan Turing Institute, has been sited at the British Library, which is itself part of London's Knowledge Quarter. The Institute's mission is to undertake research in the data sciences to focus on new ways of collecting, organising and analysing large sets of data in a rapidly moving and globally competitive area.

'Openness' was the second trend identified and the Open Data movement is working towards a shift to make publicly held information available for research. A particular driver behind this trend is a move towards inclusivity and access to the UK's entire social strata 'whatever their social background or geographic location' (BL, 2015a: 7). 'Openness' is also visible in the changing legislative framework within which memory institutions operate as discussed in Chapter Five and is related to the third trend, 'creativity and culture' which concentrates on exemplifying value in both social and economic terms (BL, 2015a).

The fourth emerging trend, 'physical space and experiences' indicated that people value the actual experience of visits to memory institutions, and that physical interaction with others and with artefacts appears to have retained significance in a world dominated by computer screens. As such each type of access generates interest in the other, thus the BL indicated the need for continued investment into both online and physical services (BL, 2015a). Finally, the trend identified as 'public libraries' highlighted that the resourcefulness required by the CSR invigorated partnership working and reinforced the supporting role the BL has traditionally held (BL, 2015a).

These trends identified by the BL closely reflect the current context in which it exists. As such it provides further evidence in support of the notion that memory institutions cannot be separated from their social context. Indeed, that London 2012 was recognised as part of *Growing Knowledge's* (BL, 2011) cultural priorities demonstrated a responsiveness to contemporary events that transcended any lingering perceptions that might remain about the place of sport in the cultural pantheon and the 'traditional' areas of collecting for memory institutions.

CONCLUSION

The chapter has considered literature concerning (collective) memory studies, the concept of a memory institution, and the social context of the BL in relation to the question 'what do we know about memory institutions in modern society?' By tracing the scholarly debates surrounding four theories of memory as defined by Misztal (2003), the chapter identified that memory is a social construct, one that shapes and is shaped by the society trying to remember, or indeed forget. Similarly memory institutions as supposed repositories of memory were observed to be 'always in the process of becoming' (McKemmish in Reed, 2005: 128), much like the memories and documents contained therein.

The chapter then turned to consider the case of the BL and discussed how its organisational development over two centuries has impacted upon its collection practices, storage concerns and principles of access. Consequently the discussion concluded that it is impossible to disassociate the activities undertaken by a memory institution such as the BL from the modern society in which they operate. Therefore this chapter demonstrated that the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012

content was reliant on memory institutions' abilities to adapt to existing societal values, academic and staff interests, and contemporary financial pressures.

This chapter has concluded that libraries, archives and museums operate in a shared sphere with the documentation of society as their underlying mission. However this thesis supports a dual focus upon the contexts in which these organisations operate and the professional activities exercised by their staff – alternatively identified as the structure and agency of such memory institutions. Having already considered the institutional background of this project, it is pertinent here to discuss the agency with which they operate. As such the next chapter turns to consider archival practice through a review of relevant archival literature.

CHAPTER THREE – ISSUES IN CONTEMPORARY ARCHIVAL PRACTICE

This chapter discusses contemporary debates in the theory and practice of 'archival science', a phrase often used to refer to the various interconnected aspects of archival administration, including theory, study and professional praxis, as well as the title of an internationally significant journal dedicated to its espousal. Having positioned the BL as a memory institution, an organisation dedicated to capturing and maintaining the 'knowledge legacy' of contemporary society, Chapter Three draws on the convergence between archives, libraries and museums and probes the nature of memory, considering its collectivity, how it is manifested, and its representation within memory institutions. The conclusions drawn indicate that collective memory is constructed from a complex interplay of independent social actors and agencies; indeed, it can be seen that archives, and particularly archivists themselves, undertake an active role in the construction and mediation of memory. Such conclusions are, perhaps, representative of a trend within archival literature that focuses on memory, a trend identified by Craig (2002), and one which Jacobsen, et al. (2013) have identified as having four distinct themes: embodying heritage and collective identity; rethinking, reframing and redefining archives; archives, social power, and ethics; and finding memory in archives. Despite compressing an extensive body of literature into a few neat thematic strands, care is taken to remind the reader that such pigeon-holing is purely heuristic and that the threads identified are actually 'intertwined and interrelated' (Jacobsen et al., 2013: 220).

Yet the subject of memory remains divisive within archival discourse, and no overriding consensus as to its meaning or relationship with practitioners, methodologies or materials has emerged. Notwithstanding this lack of consensus, Jacobsen et al. (2013) provide a

valuable overview of contemporary debates surrounding memory, elaborating several of the issues which have been raised in previous chapters, particularly surrounding the archival institution and archival memory. This chapter, however, locates itself firmly within the realm of the second theme, namely: rethinking, reframing and redefining archives.

This theme critically interrogates the role of records, archives and archivists, exploring the operational limitations imposed upon collective memory by the processes of recordkeeping, the nature of the archive and the work undertaken by archivists. It is very easy to conflate the distinct notions of archives and memory, particularly as a go-to term to facilitate the explanation of what archives are, the propensity to do which Brothman (2001: 50) wryly observed when declaring that 'Archivists variously use [memory] to convey to others that their work has something to do with the past'. Indeed, such a simplification belies the complexity of the relationship between memory and archives, a relationship which some contend remains far from being realised (Hedstrom, 2010). Nevertheless, theorists have continued their attempts to develop a more nuanced understanding of this relationship, particularly when considering the impact of archival functions on the 'creation, construction, and propagation of social memory' (Jacobsen et al., 2013: 219). This chapter, then, endeavours to identify the particular archival functions associated with 'creation, construction, and propagation' in order to elucidate several issues facing the BL.

In structuring the chapter, it is tempting to organise the content around the three concepts alluded to above. However, the politically charged connotations of such vocabulary insists upon a focus considering the *effect* that archival functions have upon the archive-memory relationship, rather than the *procedure* of these functions and the operational implications

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they pose for the BL. When discussing some of the 'Dilemmas in archiving contemporary material: the example of the British Library', England and Bacchini (2012) elicit several of these issues. Significantly their paper is divided into three parts: 'Selectivity vs. universality', 'Types of materials and the purpose of archiving' and 'Privacy v. Openness'; which parallel the three underpinning themes of this thesis, collection, storage and dissemination respectively. The organisation of the article in this way reflects the concerns surrounding creation, construction, and propagation highlighted above (Jacobsen et al., 2013), whilst retaining a focus on the procedural aspects of archival functions. As such, this chapter mirrors the structure adopted by England and Bacchini through addressing these tripartite themes. Each theme will consider a specific issue facing contemporary archival practice:

- Appraisal;

- Arrangement and description; and

- The pro- and post-custodial archive.

Through a consideration of these three areas, a more complete picture of the pragmatic archival landscape will emerge. This chapter illuminates the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms, how dispersed and transient content is managed, and how access is being facilitated, in order to better understand some of the practicalities confronting the documentation of a knowledge legacy for a mega-event.

The first section focuses on how content is collected. England and Bacchini frame this in the realms of the digital, discussing the predicament of 'domain' versus 'selective' archiving – the process, very basically, of collecting records specifically, or in general, otherwise known as appraisal (2012: 264). Tracing the development of the principle of

appraisal from 19th Century ideals of neutrality to more complex contemporary iterations reveals the professional problem of how to decide what content to acquire.

Arrangement and description, the second section of the chapter addresses the twin concepts of provenance and original order. The problems associated with transient, dispersed and multi-format collections consisting of analogous paper documents, audio-visual material, and intangible digital records mean that an important concern is how to ensure that such content does not find itself housed but hidden. In revealing the issues associated with managing content acquired from complex, large-scale, impermanent organisations such as LOCOG, this section reveals how traditional principles have had to adapt to better represent contemporary society.

The final section concerns the competing notions of the pro- and post-custodial archive. The rise of digital technologies is investigated. This has at once enabled greater interaction with diverse communities through remote access, and yet the proliferation of a vast and diverse typology of transient material has raised new preservation concerns, particularly surrounding obsolescence (Viita, 2009: 29). As such this section discusses how the concept of memory institutions as enduring physical spaces are being debated within archival discourse. This is then considered in the context of London 2012, a mega-event notable for its 'mass popular appeal and international significance' (Horne, 2007: 83).

APPRAISAL

The creation of the BL by the British Library Act (1972), separated it from the British Museum, and established it as the national library of the UK (Milne and Tuck, 2008).

Despite its nominal title, the BL operates as both a library and an archive; a duality which England and Bacchini allude to by quoting the different types of material the BL Act stipulates its holdings to consist of: 'a comprehensive collection of books, manuscripts, periodicals, films and other recorded matter, whether printed or otherwise' (England and Bacchini, 2012: 264). Notably this distinction takes into account audio-visual material, diversifying the collectible content of the BL beyond merely published and unpublished papers, but what is most significant when considering the content acquired by a memory institution such as the BL is the phrase *'printed or otherwise'*. In order to fully consider the collection activity of an archive, it is essential to consider the remit by which an institution undertakes this.

In the case of the BL, its remit is defined by the BL Act, which confirmed it as a place of legal deposit. The BL's *Code of practice for the voluntary deposit of non-print publications* identifies the purpose of legal deposit as being 'to ensure that the nation's published output (and thereby its intellectual record and future published heritage) is collected systematically and as comprehensively as possible' (Milne and Tuck, 2008). Having existed as law since 1662, and been practised since 1610, legal deposit established that the publisher of each new book, periodical, newspaper, and other printed publication was required to deliver a copy to one, or more, of the six[3] legal deposit institutions in the UK and Ireland (Gibby and Green, 2008: 56). However, with computers in their infancy, and the birth of the internet over two decades away, the BL Act did nothing beyond transferring the provisions of legal

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[3] The British Library; the National Library of Scotland; the National Library of Wales; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; Cambridge University Library, and the Library of Trinity College Dublin.

deposit as defined by section 15 of the Copyright Act 1911, concerned primarily with books and other printed material (British Library Act, 1972: 4.1).

An increasing propensity to publish and produce material solely in a digital format ('born-digital'), however, has seen methods of data transmission and storage evolve beyond published print media, notably including the switch to e-publishing by Government departments. No longer is the written record solely published in print: as technology has developed, new methods of storage have become available, such as microfilm and microfiche, before the advent of the personal computer has rendered even these formats almost obsolete as content is now increasingly produced and published electronically initially as ephemeral computer documents (such as with Word or Excel) followed by the fleeting and transient forms found on the internet, including websites and, subsequently, social media. The promulgation of the Legal Deposit Libraries Act (LDLA, 2003) has sought to redress this imbalance by extending the remit of legal deposit to include these non-print media (Gibby and Green, 2008: 56).

This flux of 'born-digital' material has led to many archives re-assessing their accession policies and although the LDLA (2003) increased the scope of material falling within the bounds of legal deposit, the actual implementation of the regulations proposed under it had yet to be fully realised ten years later, only coming into effect in April 2013. The popularity and success of digital records has led to what has been described as a 'data deluge' (Crow and Edwards, 2012: 260), yet this is not a novel occurrence. The challenge of addressing a surfeit of ingestible content, from early concerns of a 'paper avalanche' (Cook, 1997: 26), to the more format-neutral phrase 'information overload', has been recognised for many

years (Bailey, 2007: 122). This has certain implications for the records of London 2012, many of the records for which exist in a digital format. Indeed, when discussing the UK Web Archive (UKWA), England and Bacchini recognise that in an ideal world, 'an institution like the BL would set out to ingest all such content' unfortunately, however, this is not the case and they conclude 'ultimately, though, a choice will still have to be made' (England and Bacchini, 2012: 264). The contentious issue of choice, otherwise known in archival terms as appraisal, is not restricted to digital archives, but is well highlighted by Pymm and Wallis (2009) whilst elaborating upon the virtues of 'selective' or 'domain' archiving – the process, very basically, of collecting records specifically, or in general.

Selection of material, in the archival world, is a long debated topic. British archival theory has generally accepted a Jenkinsonian tradition of impartiality (named after British archival theorist, Hilary Jenkinson, although this is arguably a misnomer. Procter, 2008: 141; and Procter, 2012: 1). 'The archivist's role was to keep, not select archives' (Jenkinson in Cook, 1997: 23). This position is representative of the context within which Jenkinson was writing. Throughout the latter part of the 19th Century, and during the early years of the 20th Century, the professional disciplines of archives and history were almost interchangeable (Cook, 2013). Cook traces the emergence of archives as a public institution to the aftermath of the French Revolution, framing them as agents of the nation-state, keepers and guardians of an officially sanctioned history and concerned solely with the residue of government (Cook, 2013: 106). Cook's implied conclusion regarding the politicised nature of archives at this time – that they were active agents in the creation, construction and propagation of the nation-state – is compelling, but is perhaps slightly misleading and a touch anachronistic. Perceptions of a manipulative nation-state concerned with perpetuating

dominant power structures through hegemonic institutions and an 'invented-tradition', to borrow Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1992) famous phrase, are relatively recent historiographical considerations. Certainly the idea that archivists at that juncture in time consciously colluded in such a perpetuation of control and power structures, is one at which Jenkinson would surely baulk, especially as it would seem to undermine the very neutrality with which Jenkinson desired to exercise his duties.

Nevertheless, that the content of early archives was primarily based on the records of government is undeniable, and that these records would support the intentions and promotions of those creating them is implicit in their very nature – history, it is said, is written by the 'winners'. Rather than being complicit in such activity, however, archivists perhaps unwittingly supported the dominant social structures by adopting a methodology heavily influenced by contemporary standards. At this time the dominant methodology was that of Positivism – grounded in the belief that there was a discoverable, verifiable and evidentiary 'truth', one which could be preserved and discovered in the 'documentary residue' of the archive.

Here the archive represented and contained the historical 'trace', evidence of past actions that could be used to demonstrate, beyond all reasonable doubt, the events of history. Contemporaneously, work in the field of the natural sciences was having an undeniable impact upon society, notably through Charles Darwin's ground-breaking theory of evolution. Historical research sought to conduct itself in a similar fashion, by adopting a position of absolute neutrality, reporting only what information, what evidence, could be gleaned from those archives they worked with. Adopting a methodological position

mirroring that of the natural sciences, the archive was to passively accumulate neutral, impartial records that allowed historians to rigorously uncover their 'true' history. That the professional discipline within archives is referred to as 'Archival Science' is indicative of this.

However, the notion of archival 'science' is a somewhat contested ground; indeed the terminology itself has been repudiated, as postmodern ideals have led theorists to deconstruct the very language of the profession, seeking alternative phrasings devoid of positivistic undertones and subtle suggestions of an evidentiary 'truth' to be found in the work and collection of archives. Such considerations are highly evident in the 're-branding' of the discipline as 'Archivistics', a phrase used specifically to 'avoid confusion with the natural sciences in the Anglo-Saxon meaning' and developed by anglicising European equivalents from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy – archivistik, archivistiek, archivistique and archivistica respectively (Ketelaar, 2000: 324). Anglophonic research has a propensity towards identifying the discipline as that of archival science, yet Ketelaar feels this to be restrictive as its development is indelibly related to the historic movement of the late-19th and early-20th centuries and the inherent positivism embodied within it. It is no surprise to Ketelaar that archival science is often demonised as being 'much ado about shelving' (Ketelaar, 2000: 324). Indeed he believes that the earliest espousals of archival theory – the Dutch *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives* (Muller, Feith and Fruin, 1898/1968) and Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archival Administration* (Jenkinson, 1922/1937) – codified the discipline as methodological at the expense of theory, a position supported by Cook (2013: 106). In this way Ketelaar contends

that early professional concerns were steeped in the *what* and the *how* rather than the bigger question of *why* (Ketelaar, 2000: 324-325).

In proposing an alternative term to intellectually approach the principles of archival work, Ketelaar attempts to redress the balance between theory and practice. Archivistics becomes a new discipline for a new generation of practitioners: informed by contemporary research, grounded in contemporary theory and practised in the light of contemporary professional concerns. Despite lacking an outright admission, Ketelaar sees this redefinition of archival science as part of a wider professional 'paradigm shift', citing Taylor, Thomassen and Cook as proponents of such a dynamic change in the archival mind-set and referring the reader to Cook's seminal paper *What is Past is Prologue* (Ketelaar, 2000: 326). Cook's paper is an excellent place for any potential student, or practitioner, to gain an overview of the development of archival theory and how this has influenced the practicalities of recordkeeping. At 47 pages in length, the author manages to provide a useful, if at times brief, tour of archival thought from the publication of the Dutch *Manual* through to contemporary critiques of archival practice in the firm framework of post-modern thought (Cook, 1997).

Through constructing a chronological account, Cook neatly lends his conclusions gravitas as he charts the evolution of archival theory from its early statist justifications through to the more contemporary socio-cultural basis for archives which has since come into prominence. This linearity, however, should not be taken as being representative of a logical march towards the 'truth' of appraisal theory, as Cook himself notes:

The history of archival theory…is not a linear evolution, with exclusive schools of thinkers, neatly ascending in some cumulative process to the glorious Archival Theoretical Consensus of the present day. Archival history is instead a rich collage of overlapping layers…The pendulum of thought swings back and forth, as one generation solves its predecessor's problems, but thereby creates new problems for the next generation to address (1997: 46-7).

As the history of archival thought is not linear, neither are its component parts neat pieces of a jigsaw puzzle waiting to be assembled, but rather they form a conglomeration of interconnected and overlapping principles and processes. These can be characterised as Cook did in methodological terms (1997) or, more recently, as paradigms, frameworks, or mind-sets distinctly encompassing modes of archival thought (2013).

Thomas Kuhn's classic work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, first articulated the concept of a paradigm as a dominant strand, or pattern, of understanding that establishes the accepted problems and solutions within a particular field of expertise (Kuhn, 1970). If it is accepted that archival science was codified into a methodological framework whilst still in gestation, one that focused on the process, the *how*, of archiving at the turn of the 20th Century, rather than the principles, or the *why*, it can be understood that the problems and solutions found by the profession would be those that immediately concerned them. Perhaps, then, it is unsurprising that the classic espousal of archival theory in the English language, Jenkinson's *A Manual of Archival Administration*, would be so preoccupied with historical records, manuscripts and methodologies (Jenkinson, 1937). Contemporaneous historical enquiry operated under the relatively new tradition that associated evidence with truth and venerated the objectivity of the neutral historian, tracing the past through the

documentary residue. As such, the overriding mode of archival endeavour was to ensure this objectivity could be achieved and, therefore, Jenkinson asserted for the archivist that

His Creed [should be], the Sanctity of Evidence; his Task, the Conservation of every scrap of Evidence attaching to the Documents committed to his charge; his Aim, to provide, without prejudice or afterthought, for all who wish to know the Means of Knowledge ... the good Archivist is perhaps the most selfless devotee of Truth the modern world produces (Jenkinson, 1947/2000: 258-259).

This quotation is a favourite of Cook's in supporting his claims of a paradigm shift (Cook, 1997; 2000; 2011a; 2011c; 2013; Schwartz and Cook, 2002). It might be suggested that there is a hint of irony in scholars turning to the notion of a paradigm − a concept conceived to purvey the evolution of thought within the natural sciences − in order to disavow, dismantle and displace an archival 'science' that was considered to be too 'scientific' in its approach.

The impartiality of early archivists locates their collecting activities clearly within the sphere of 'universality'. No element of choice entered into the equation. Often, such archivists occupied the role of being both a historian and an archivist, indeed the work of archiving the content of many institutions was not always considered of primary import to the archivist, for whom research was their engagement (Procter, 2012: 201). Prior to the late-19th Century, documentary output was effectively limited to those individuals fortunate enough to be able to write, generally meaning that the archives received by memory institutions were records of the structures of government and the aristocracy. When combined with the research interests of practicing archivists, this resulted in a tendency towards historicism: both professional and academic interest was focused backwards on

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records of the past, rather than records of the present. However, as academic interests have diversified, and the output of material documentation has exponentially increased, notions of impartiality, neutrality and universality have been challenged, particularly in the 'new world'.

The most visible early opponent of the Jenkinsonian approach was T. R. Schellenberg, so called 'father' of American appraisal theory. Unlike Jenkinson, Schellenberg did not have a pre-existing archive of medieval muniments to administer, rather he found himself faced with a backlog of contemporary records for which the existing methodology's emphasis on impartiality and neutrality did little to alleviate. Schellenberg's pragmatic solution was to establish two 'values' which could be assigned to records: a primary value, relating to the creating body's needs, and a secondary value, whose importance rested with researchers (Cook, 1997: 27). This line of thought enforced a direct, dynamic role in the appraisal of records for the archivist, shifting the discourse from a focus on 'natural', or passive, accumulation towards an active selection of content for preservation.

In removing the records' creator – Jenkinson's 'administrator' – from the process of selection, ensconcing any decision entirely within the remit of the archivist, Schellenberg had implicitly identified archivists as co-creators of an archive. Co-creation occurred with the assistance of researchers, or users; those individuals occupied in the pursuit of evidence and information. Significantly then, Schellenberg's secondary value was sub-divided into these two dimensions: evidential value supported the interests of researchers when documenting the functions, policies and procedures of a creating agency; whilst informational value reflected 'persons, corporate bodies, things, problems, conditions, and

the like' which were incidental to the typical operations of government (Schellenberg, 1956/2003: 139). Both of these values were to be assigned by the archivist following an appropriate level of research and analysis undertaken in consultation with subject specialists to preserve as many broad research interests as possible.

The characteristic differentiation between Jenkinson and Schellenberg lies in their conception of the archive. Jenkinson believed archives to be an organic extension of the creating agency, their value to historical research a serendipitous by-product of preservation. Schellenberg, meanwhile, insisted upon differentiating between records and archives based upon criteria aligned with their informational and evidential value to research (Tschan, 2002). However the consideration that collecting practice should be based around the whims of users was not without its detractors and has been harshly criticised as preserving a narrow and restricted view of history (see Chapter Eight). Nevertheless by assessing content as being worthy of permanent preservation in this manner, Schellenberg made an important distinction between 'records' and 'archives' (Tschan, 2002).

Schellenberg's appraisal theory underpins the life cycle model of record keeping distinguishing, as it does, between records and archives, and thus records managers and archivists. The life cycle model provided a simple, yet effective way of perceiving recordkeeping processes from the creation of a document through to the subsequent disposition or archiving at the end of its 'life'. Its descriptive language is founded in biological metaphor, describing the stages of a document's existence: much like a human, a document is born (created); lives through youth (active use); old age (inactive use) and then

dies (disposal/archiving). This demonstrated that a document was not static, it evolved through a series of actions which the model depicted as either a linear progression or often as a circle (Shepherd & Yeo, 2003).

Critics do not perceive appraisal as sitting happily in the life cycle model, considering it an exercise in creating an end-product (Upward, 2005). Indeed, Brothman (2006) felt it was equally viable to conceive of the life cycle in terms of a death drive: only upon completion can the true value of a record be obtained. Brothman posits that the identity of records, as with humans, is only really knowable once they have a birth and death date, once they are finished products. This, he determines to be at the heart of current models on recordkeeping, resulting in recordkeeping containers embodying and perpetuating a 'relentless linear progression towards completeness: a drive towards death' (Brothman, 2006: 257). The notion of archives being an 'end-product' in this model is largely due to the fact that selection/appraisal occurs after records have ceased to be of use to their creating organisation. Therefore it is necessary to consider the manner in which memory institutions are thought to have an active role in creating archives. Thus a discussion of the storage concerns of the arrangement and description of content is relevant here.

ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION

Archival work is founded upon the twin pillars of provenance and original order that respectively established the manner in which archives should be arranged and described. These principles, or rules, were first articulated by Muller, Feith and Fruin (1898/1968: 13) who defined 'the foundation upon which everything must rest' as being that archives are 'the whole of the written documents, drawings and printed matter, officially received or

produced by an administrative body or one of its officials' (1898/1968: 13). The totality of an archive, so-defined, has been subsequently referred to using the delineation '*fonds*' from the original French. Extending from this position, the principle of provenance was encapsulated by Rule 8 which determined that archives must not be placed into artificial arrangements premised upon geographic origin, subject matter, chronology, or mixed with content originating from other creators, but 'must be kept carefully separate' (Muller et al., 1898/1968: 33). Furthermore, Rule 16 elicited that arrangement should reflect and describe 'the original organisation of the archival collection, which in the main corresponds to the organisation of the administrative body that produced it' (Muller et al., 1968: 52). These pronouncements have been termed archivally as *respect des fonds*.

Yet issues raised by Cook (2013) and Brothman (2010) complicate the notions of provenance and original order, specifically that *respect des fonds* is predicated upon a close relationship between a record and its creator, a relationship rendered untenable in the contemporary organisational environment. The established principle that collections were received and contained in the order in which they arrived and then defined by placement into mono-hierarchical structures, was designed to reflect the body from which content originated. However in a digital environment, hastening organisational devolution and dispersion, such structures do not necessarily still exist – organisations have become increasingly complicated and the records that they create can often be accessed, altered and utilised by different departments simultaneously. For provenance to identify a creating body then, it had to consider more than one participant.

This understanding formed the crucible in which subsequent archival theory has attempted to rectify the perceived instability to appraisal. The notions of macroappraisal, functional appraisal and documentation strategy sought to re-contextualise content isolated from the functions, structures, and interrelationships of the creating bodies that defined them. This was achieved by advocating for a change in perspective, one that moved away from a focus on the records themselves, to one which adopted a more intellectual approach premised upon the social role of the creator. Put simply, a shift from content to context. Cook (1997: 37) aligns this 'rediscovery of provenance' with a greater ability to reflect 'the functions, programmes, and activities of records' creators *and* those in society with whom they interact or whose values they indirectly reflect' (original emphasis). Description of content in these terms required greater fluidity than the accepted hierarchical model promoted by retaining one 'original order'.

The organisational environment of London 2012 provides an excellent indication of the multiple relationships between manifold creating bodies tasked with delivering the Games. The interrelationships represented in Figure 3.1 demonstrate the insufficiency of perceiving of arrangement and description as a static process premised upon fixed one-to-one links. To better comprehend the scale and complexity of a mega-event such as London 2012, memory institutions were required to describe

> *many-to-one, one-to-many, and many-to-many relationships: between many series and one creator, between many creators and one series, between many creators and many series, between creators and other creators, between series and other series, and between series and creators to functions, and the reverse* (Cook, 1997: 38).

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Figure 3.1 *Programme for delivering London 2012 and the Cultural Olympiad*
(based on TNA, 2007)
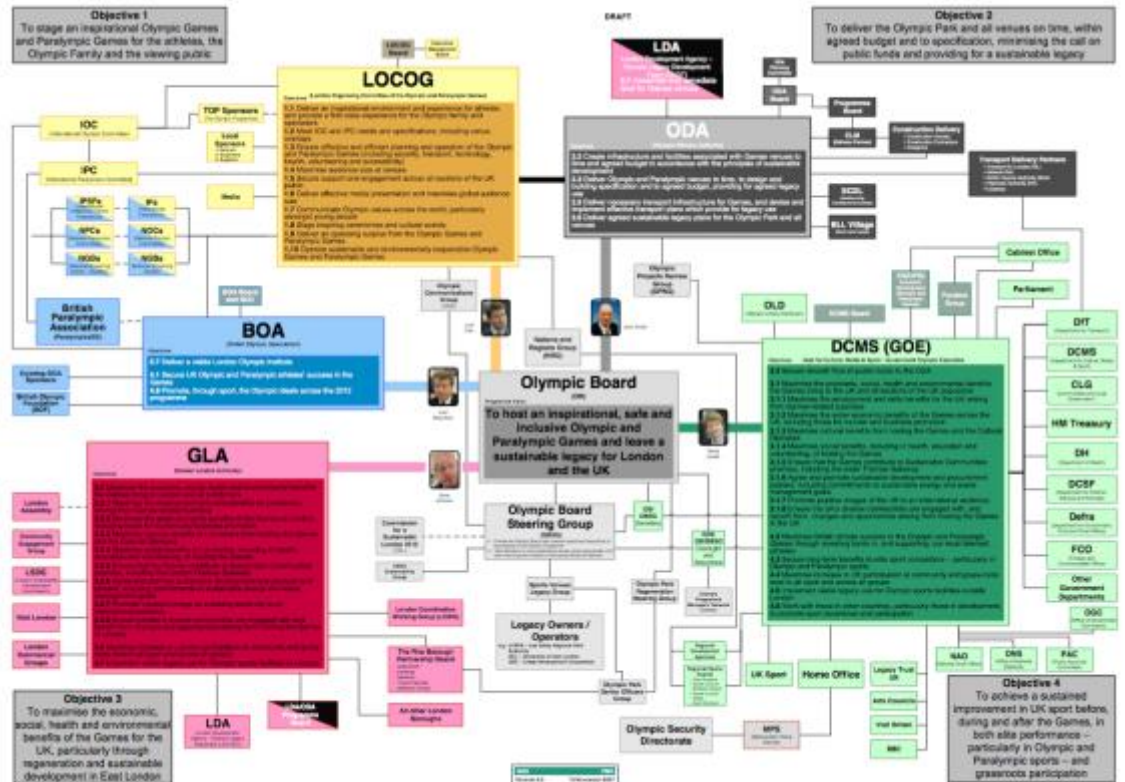
Such a perspective can be observed in the three approaches of macroappraisal, functional analysis, and documentation strategy. Macroappraisal assesses records in the context of the intersections between an institution's function, structure and clients. In this way it is posited that a more representative body of content is captured, as interactions between the three are the crucible of record production (Cook, 2004; 2005). Alternatively, functional analysis is restricted in scope to an analysis of the internal functions of a single institution. By identifying primary functions, broken down into component activities, an archivist is better able to identify the content central to the completion of individual activities and functions (Marshall, 1998).

Finally, documentation strategy attempted to operate across many institutions whilst focussing on one specific issue, activity, geographic area, or (mega-)event (Marshall, 1998). Although documentation strategy is considered an impractical tool and 'ultimately unworkable' (Johnson, 2008: 190; Malkmus, 2008), its applicability to archiving an Olympic and Paralympic Games was well recognised (BMSD, 2009; Sola, 2009; Williams, 2012a; 2012b; 2013). Moreover, feedback from participants aptly demonstrated the five salient characteristics commonly associated with documentation strategy (see Table 7.1; Marshall, 1998).

The processes of arrangement and description are the principal methodologies utilised by archivists in order to provide access to content.

> *The importance of document management and archives in the organisation of the Olympic Games is basic for final access. But the importance of having all the documentary fonds integrated within a single institution facilitates access and localisation among researchers and people interested in the Olympic archive and, of course, promotes conservation* (Sola, 2009: 48; author's translation).

Documentation strategy and its related approaches attempted to facilitate such access by describing the complicated multiple relationships involved in contemporary record creation, however an increasing reliance upon digital technologies has further muddied the proverbial waters. This is a key consideration of post-custodialism which conceives of archives as 'without walls' (Bearman in Cook, 2000: 23) and calls for archivists to '*(dis)respect des fonds*' (Bailey, 2013).

THE PRO- AND POST-CUSTODIAL ARCHIVE

Selection of archives is considered a key task of the digital archivist (Hockx-Yu, 2011: 4), with some commentators suggesting that as little as one to five percent of records are retained as archives (Johnes, forthcoming: 4). Accordingly, digital archiving is perhaps the biggest challenge confronting modern archives. The BL itself estimates that 75% of all material will be published digitally by 2020 (British Library, 2010: 6). The UKWA, administered by the BL, adequately demonstrates this dilemma, outlined by England and Bacchini's discussion centring on the dichotomy of selectivity versus universality or, in digital terms, quality versus quantity (England and Bacchini, 2012: 264).

Digital records are typically of two types: digitised records that have been converted (often for the purposes of preservation) from analogue into a digital format; whereas born-digital records have only ever existed incorporeally on computer systems. It is the latter which occupy the most concern for memory institutions as digitised records already exist within collections at the point of digitisation, whilst born-digital content has yet to pass 'the archival threshold' (Bantin, 1998; Duranti, 1996). The notion of a boundary beyond which documents become evidence, an '*archii limes*' after Duranti's fashioning, the archive as a place in which records are stored and managed, is a prominent component of archival literature, especially surrounding electronic records (Duranti, 1996: 244).

The growing abundance of born-digital content has required greater consideration of the provenance of digital records as their technological context shapes the manner in which society creates, keeps, and uses such content. The multi-directional relationships observed in contemporary organisations are even more prevalent in digital recordkeeping systems. In

recognition of the multiplicity of provenances within a digital environment, arrangement and description according to a single creatorship has been stringently challenged. Consequently some commentators have attempted to abstract the *fonds* to an entirely conceptual level in order to delineate parallel provenances between and within collections (Hurley, 2005; Millar, 2002; Yeo, 2012).

However others have observed that physical relationships are redundant in a digital environment. Bailey (2013: n.p.) highlights the structure of digital records as being comprised of 'bits' of information which, when aggregated, compose the whole,

> *a key component of storage media is that it is random access; that means the bits composing a record are inscribed to available clusters across the platter of a drive depending on which tracks and sectors are available for inscription. That is, the component bits of a digital object are non-sequential in their material physical arrangement. Aggregated, they can create an interpretable object, but their component location is nonlinear. Here, even at the bit level of a single item, there is no original order. Furthermore, each time these bits are reconstructed, each time the file is accessed and translated into an interpretable, editable representation, the file will be altered in minute ways (for instance, a file's "last opened" date) and thus be composed of a new order as new bits are assigned to other available areas of the disk.*

Furthermore so-called 'ambient data' created by auto-save functions and recovery programmes instantiate multiple versions of single items that exist beyond the comprehension or control of a creating agent. The intangibility and highly mutable nature

of such records is extended to arrangement and description, which Bailey, contends are no longer driven by retrieval or physical space and as such are no longer the sole means of access. 'The key point is that, even at the level of representation, arrangement is dynamic: access and representation need not depend on the fonds' (Bailey 2013: n.p.). This call to *(dis)respect des fonds* prioritises the interface, or catalogue, as the means by which access is facilitated and demonstrates a post-custodial perspective.

Post-custody is premised upon the understanding that the transfer of content from creator to repository is redundant and undesirable in a digital environment (Tough, 2004). This position holds that content can be managed irrespective of its physical location, as memory institutions are able to fulfill the provision of access without assuming guardianship. Furthermore such an approach would aid memory institutions to ward off the unpleasant prospect of digital obsolescence, 'If archival institutions were to sit back and wait for electronic records to become non-current before looking at them they might find there weren't any records' (O'Shea cited in Tough, 2004: 19).

Alternatively, the pro-custodial counter argument reflects the life cycle model of recordkeeping, delineating between the active administration of content by creators prior to ingestion and its subsequent management by memory institutions once it has passed the archival threshold. Duranti's (1996) conception of 'archives as a place' asserted that this represented the point at which content becomes fixed regardless of format and is a necessary step in the preservation of authentic evidentiary records in a digital environment. Consequently opponents of this position have identified it as neo-Jenkinsonian due to its insistence upon custody in defence of evidence. The principal differences between these

Table 3.1   *The pro- and post-custodial debate*   (based on Bantin, 1998)

Pro-custody	Post-custody
1. Mission – Competencies:	*1. Costs:*
Mission of creating agency does not extend to preservation and staff lack specific skills to safeguard authenticity of non-current, archival records.	Hugely expensive and waste of resources to duplicate existing technological environments within archival setting.
2. Ability to monitor compliance:	*2. Changes in technology:*
Lack of archivists to monitor and audit records in distributed custody.	Manufacturers' reluctance to support out-dated hardware and speed of innovation challenges ability of centralised repository to manage electronic data.
3. Cost to monitor compliance:	*3. Skills required:*
More costly to monitor recordkeeping practices than take custody of content from the outset.	Nigh impossible for staff within memory institutions to acquire necessary expertise to access and preserve extensive variety of digital formats.
4. Changes in working environment:	*4. Loss of records:*
Changes to the staff or priorities of a creating agency create risks to records in their care.	Insistence upon custody increases potential for important records to fall outside the recordkeeping boundary.
5. Vested interests:	
Potential for corruption or neglect of material if left in custody of creating agency.	

two positions are summarised in Table 3.1, although some discussion is relevant in relation to London 2012.

When recounting their experience of the archiving the records of the Vancouver Organising Committee for the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games (VANOC), Mumma et al. (2011: 120) reflected that,

In many ways it represents a worst-case scenario: a large organisation – with a

rapidly evolving organisational structure and a wide diversity of recordkeeping

technology – that existed for a limited time and therefore had little need for

organisational memory after the close of the Games.

Such a contention was mirrored during London 2012 as LOCOG and many of its related bodies (see Figure 3.1) were responsible for set deliverables within a finite amount of time. 'So the challenge was to identify them, define their activities, select and appraise records they created, and transfer them as appropriate before their dissolution' (Williams, 2012a: 26).

Both approaches implicitly demonstrate a pro-custodial approach to documenting predominantly digital content. The recognition that the organisations involved in the planning and delivery of the Games have little concern for the records they generate is very evident in the diminishing focus on legacy visible in such statements as made by Lord Coe, 'I don't want this to sound like this is not my job, but actually it isn't. We created the best platform in living memory to create the environment for that to happen. This begins after 2012. We finish and go off and do whatever we do' (Gibson, 2012b; see also Table 9.1). Such a division of labour as represented here absolves the creating agency of responsibility for the longevity and sustainability of the content that they create and necessitates intervention by memory institutions to ensure the custody and accessibility of any knowledge legacy thus created.

CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed contemporary debates within archival theory and practice in relation to the functions of collection, storage and dissemination. Mirroring these functions, the chapter was organised to address a specific aspect representing each process: appraisal,

arrangement and description, and the pro- and post-custodial debate. Through the discussion of these three areas, a more comprehensive understanding of the pragmatic archival landscape was achieved.

The first section focused on how content is collected by archives via the process of appraisal. Through a consideration of the manner in which this activity has developed from 19th Century ideals of neutrality and passive accumulation to the necessity of active selection determined by the amount of content being generated and a drive towards more inclusive representation within memory institutions, the professional problem of how to decide what content to acquire was revealed.

Arrangement and description, the second section of the chapter, described the concepts of provenance and original order. It established that the increasing complexity of large-scale, impermanent organisations, as characterised by LOCOG, had imposed a necessary reinterpretation of traditional archival principles. This reassessment was shown to have underpinned a revitalised approach to the description of content that highlights the multiple relationships evident within and between collections. As such it has demonstrated an improved foundation upon which to facilitate access to, and subsequently the dissemination of, a knowledge legacy for London 2012.

The final section considered the competing notions of the pro- and post-custodial archive. The rise of digital technologies was shown to have had a significant impact upon contemporary archival theory. As such it discussed how the concept of memory institutions as enduring physical spaces were challenged and defended. Ultimately it was demonstrated

that pro-custody was an essential component when documenting impermanent organisational structures such as those involved in delivering London 2012.

The next chapter turns to consider the methodology employed when undertaking research for this thesis. In light of the conclusions drawn in the previous chapter and this chapter it addresses the manner in which this research seeks to reveal the social and professional issues that underpinned the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy.

CHAPTER FOUR – METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents both an account of 'what happened' in undertaking this research and a discussion of the particular issues surrounding method that confront scholars involved in research into archives. Rather than compiling an exhaustive and complete account of the many methodological concerns related to the topic under consideration, each section provides descriptive accounts detailing the development and conduct of the study. In order to highlight some of the central issues involved in adopting a qualitative approach to the study of sports mega-events and archives these accounts are supported by relevant discussion of the associated theoretical issues. As such, this chapter alone deliberately adopts a more reflexive approach to writing, presenting a first-person narrative of the research process in order that the inherent unity of theory and 'method' is more fully explicated.

Chapter One outlined the principal aim of the research as being to explore the possibilities and challenges involved with managing and disseminating materials associated with large cultural and sporting events, with a specific focus on the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. As such, the central research aim of this thesis is to investigate how the BL manages sport, focussing on the London 2012 archives. Specifically how sport and Olympic related content can be collected, archived and disseminated by a memory institution such as the BL. Although the key research question is centred specifically on one institution, within this there are various related issues that need to be explored in the wider context of archives beyond the BL before such a question can be answered. Thus the three objectives are: (1) to describe how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms are being approached; (2) to assess how sport and Olympic related data can be sustained as a resource after London 2012;

and (3) to identify how best such content can be disseminated, with an emphasis on widening community engagement.

Desk-based research was undertaken which examined the historical contexts of several memory institutions, the sociology of memory, archival theory and mega-event literature, both in print and digitally. Whilst this principally occurred in the first year, desk based research was continuous throughout the study. The project adopted a qualitative approach that also incorporated elements of ethnographic research to collate data that was then subject to thematic analysis. Consequently this chapter explains the chosen research design, outlines the methods of data collection and analysis adopted, and explicates the research process.

This thesis is underpinned by a qualitative methodology principally consisting of 32 interviews (six of which were pilots to check the clarity and order of questions) conducted with a cross-sector sample of staff at the BL and other memory institutions between 2013 and 2015. The interviews were informed by prior desk-based research and my own observations of the participating organisations, and especially the working practices of staff within these memory institutions. Research itself was embedded within the former Social Sciences department of the BL, as previously said, thus affording unparalleled access to staff and establishing the BL at the heart of this project. As qualitative research accepts that there is an inextricable link between the researcher's theoretical assumptions and their applied methodology, it is important to reveal these connections. Therefore, any discussion of methodological issues encountered during the research process must inevitably confront the theoretical underpinnings that form the foundation for enquiry. I discuss these throughout the chapter.

LOCATING THE METHODOLOGY

It is of central importance to any study to firmly locate the research process within a suitable methodological framework. As a researcher working across disciplinary boundaries, I found many potential avenues to pursue, yet the necessity of situating the methodological process of my research was to prove challenging. In order to better understand the approach I adopted, and some of the obstacles facing researchers within the discipline of archives, it is illuminating to consider the juncture at which the research itself sits.

As noted in the previous chapter, archivistics, a term suggested to designate the underlying principles of the archival discipline, is an area in which a fine balance is struck between theory and practice. Research in this area is as heavily involved in the professional dispensation of its theoretical precepts as it is in the pursuit of a conceptual foundation upon which the discipline rests. In depicting the archival mission as 'much ado about shelving', Ketelaar reveals the commonly held belief that to date research has tended to focus more on the *what* and the *how* rather than the *why* (Ketelaar, 2000: 325). Indeed Ketelaar aligns this tendency towards professional concerns with the codification of archival methodology through professional publication by Muller et al. in their so-called 'Dutch Manual' of 1898 (Ketelaar, 2000: 324). In turn, Shepherd (2011: 175) has pointed to the ascendant writing of Hilary Jenkinson as performing much the same role of denying British archival theory a conceptual framework in publishing his *Manual of Archive Administration* in 1922.

This duality between theory and practice has been characterised as an identity dilemma in which the discipline is forced to choose between being professional and being academic (Shepherd, 2011), but such a choice has ramifications for research conducted

in this area. The absence of a well-defined conceptual framework, Ketelaar's *why*, has left researchers somewhat stranded. Indeed, research conducted as recently as 2006 by the British Academy investigating archival research endeavours within UK universities revealed the view that there 'was a lot of poor research which is conducted with insufficient intellectual rigour … research methodologies are still not understood in certain quarters' (quoted in Shepherd, 2011: 179). As I discovered, this uncertainty around the field has created an environment in which it is difficult to identify particular approaches within archival research, whilst simultaneously necessitating a more explicit locating of my research process in its ontological and epistemological foundations.

Ontologically I had to consider whether 'reality' is separate from, or influenced by, human practices. A realist may argue that it is possible to uncover the 'truth' of events through the objective study of what we know; relativists, on the other hand, contest that 'knowledge is always going to reflect our perspective' (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 27). The competing epistemological methods of enquiry, quantitative and qualitative, whilst not mutually exclusive, reflect these respective ontologies (Gratton and Jones, 2010: 29-30). Braun and Clarke employ a simple metaphor to distinguish these positions identifying the (generally) quantitative, realist, researcher as an archaeologist employing their methods to *discover* 'true' knowledge that is independent of practice; whilst the (generally) qualitative, relativist, researcher is cast as a sculptor *creating* knowledge through their research and therefore implicitly involved in constructing reality (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 29). My reasoning for adopting a qualitative approach is principally based upon my interest in how the London 2012 Games were archived. This is not a story told by the records themselves, it is not a question that can be quantified by considering how much of the wealth of available information was captured; such research may reveal a projection of the Games, an instantiation of what happened, but

ultimately it would recount the planning, execution, and legacy of London 2012 and offer little insight to how the collection, storage and dissemination of records at the hands of the BL and other memory institutions has occurred. I found this distinction to cut right to the heart of alternative perceptions of the archive; namely whether the archive is a storehouse of documentary *evidence*, devoid of influence and recording 'true' history, or whether the archival record is *created* through the (inter)actions of creating agencies and archivists themselves.

As established in the previous chapter, archives do not exist in a vacuum, archivists are no longer considered as independent, impartial custodians, just as the archives themselves are not thought to be the product of a passive accumulation of the historical record; rather they have come to reflexively embrace the role which they play in creating the archival record and now recognise it as more of a social product. Such contentions are strongly reflected in the literature on memory considered in Chapter Two, which casts memory as being 'collective', shared and mutable, thus being more than a purely personal act, subject to (re-)creation in a community and, therefore, socially constructed. To borrow a phrase from archival literature, they are 'always in a process of becoming' (McKemmish in Reed, 2005: 128). Consequently I found myself drawn inexorably towards a constructionist epistemology. Having made this decision, I found it a much more simple act to locate my research in an archival framework.

In general terms, Gilliland and McKemmish (2004) point to archival research being situated in several research paradigms. They highlighted specifically Buckland's contention that placed it in an information paradigm, operating simultaneously within a document tradition and a computation tradition, and also Ellis's binary oppositions of a

cognitive paradigm (focussing on people) and a physical paradigm (concerned with things or artefacts). Into this mix, the authors add a third potential:

> *Archival science research arguably includes both a focus on the people and on the artefacts (in this case, records, record-like objects, and their surrogates), but there is also a third focus - processes (for example, records creation management, preservation, use)* (Gilliland and McKemmish, 2004: 165).

Within such a paradigmatic framework, most archival research can be located as being concerned with artefacts and processes, yet until recently much of this has failed to elucidate its epistemological foundation. An instructive case is highlighted by Gilliland and McKemmish (2004) concerning research conducted into the validity of electronic records which saw competing research projects engaged in a debate that typified the entrenched methodological approaches of positivism and interpretivism without ever specifically identifying with either epistemological approach. These two approaches have also been reflected by research into archival processes with the concept of a records' 'life cycle' (Brothman, 2006; Shepherd and Yeo, 2003) sitting with a more positivist framework whilst more recent theories of a records 'continuum' (Upward, 1996; 1997) adopt an interpretivist outlook.

The wealth of research conducted into both artefacts and processes dominates archival research. Whilst I retain some interest in these areas within this project, in terms of the types of artefact collected, and the processes necessary to achieve this, neither paradigm would elicit satisfactory data in order to determine how such activities occurred. Having identified my research as qualitative within a constructionist epistemology, I was particularly interested in the experiences and opinions of the people that worked for the memory institutions involved in archiving the Games. Shepherd (2011) acknowledged

that it may be possible to excel in both professional and academic fields: her proposed identity dilemma may be a false dichotomy. Indeed, recent approaches to archival theory have attempted to embed research within the discipline, providing a greater depth to the foundations upon which it is based, considering not only the 'skill set' of the profession, but also its 'mind set' (McLeod, 2008; McNicol and Nankivell, 2006). The incorporation of both these positions into the development of research methods has facilitated the convergence of questions of *why* with practitioners' concerns of the *what* and the *how*, thus aligning the importance of research within the professional context (McLeod, 2008).

Having located my methodology in the qualitative sphere in order to uncover the experiences of the people that work within the field, I was able to adopt a holistic approach which considered both the skill set and the mind set of practitioners. Considering this, I determined to undertake a series of semi-structured interviews with staff at the BL, and other memory institutions, and subject these interviews to thematic analysis. Following the tripartite themes of collection, storage and dissemination, I initially conducted desk-based research to identify principle issues in contemporary archival research (presented in Chapter Three), which provided a basis upon which to formulate the questions used in subsequent interviews.

DATA COLLECTION

Constructionism contends that social life is actively shaped: that people, independently and in groups, assemble and assign meaning to a dynamic social reality; that 'the world we live in and our place in it are not simply and evidently "there" for participants' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2007: 3). Adopting such a stance, as I have, necessitates an approach to data collection that exceeds simply observing a phenomenon, one that seeks

to reveal the 'objectified world' of lived human experience (Dawson and Prus, 1995: 113).

Primary data collection formed the basis on which to build a case study of the archiving of London 2012 by the BL. As this research was embedded within the BL, which afforded unparalleled access to its staff, it formed the principal case study of this thesis. However, taken in isolation the BL's experiences would be insufficient to reveal a representative reflection of the archiving of the Games. Owing to the underlying nature of London 2012 as a mega-event, its significance would be recognised across local, national and international circles. For this reason, the argument of the thesis is supported by research into the experiences of other memory institutions and related bodies working towards this endeavour.

Yin (2014) proposes three instances in which to consider using a case study:

- When your theory suggests distinct results in a given context.

- When a unique or rare situation requires describing or explaining.

- When a case yet lacking any detailed study requires describing or explaining.

The Olympic and Paralympic Games operate on a quadrennial cycle, yet their peripatetic nature means that they are especially rare occurrences, something demonstrated in London becoming the first city to host three separate Games in 1908, 1948 and 2012, producing an average of fifty-two years between each event. Consequently, the use of a case study falls into the second of Yin's instances as a rare or unique situation. Furthermore, this temporal chasm between Olympics is reflective of the passage of time that occurs between the initiation of a bid for an Olympic Games and its completion, a process which was begun for London 2012 in 1997, a full 15 years prior to the event itself (DCMS, 2003). These gulfs are indicative of the importance of

clearly establishing the temporal context within which I intended to examine the phenomenon of London 2012.

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) delineated three distinct phases in their publication *Before, during and after: making the most of the London 2012 Games* (2008). In relation to London 2012 itself, these distinctions were representative of the seven years of planning which succeeded the awarding of the Games in 2005, the 'Before' period (Preuss, 2004); the twenty-eight days of Olympic and Paralympic competition, 'During'; and the legacy period of up to thirty years following the completion of the Games, or 'After' (London Legacy Development Corporation, 2012). As I am primarily concerned with the 'knowledge *legacy*' of London 2012, and considering that this thesis was undertaken in the immediate wake of the Games, it follows naturally that I should situate the study firmly in the realm of 'After'. Building upon DCMS's temporal model, however, allows me to further discuss the procedures I followed in conducting my research. I shall now, therefore, turn to consider the 'before' of my data collection and the decisions taken in order to pursue this.

Before

My rationale underpinning the process of data collection was to gain an understanding of how staff within 'memory institutions' interpret the processes of archiving, by way of an investigation of their experiences. It is frequently assumed that contemporary life exists in an 'interview society' (Barbour, 2014), and there is 'a simple and persistent belief that knowledge about people is available simply by asking. We ask people about themselves, and they tell us.' (Kellehear in Gratton and Jones, 2010: 175). A qualitative approach consisting of semi-structured interviews was subsequently employed. I opted to approach the research in this manner due, in part, to an implicit perception that sport

was undervalued within archives (Polley 2011; Reilly, 2012), but also in an effort to acquire an interpretation of the process of archiving a 'mega-event' such as London 2012. Herein I sought to reveal professional perspectives of the archival processes involved in this endeavour that moved beyond the statements of intent found within organisational policy documents and the observational process-based research commonly discovered within archival literature.

The decision to adopt a semi-structured interview technique was premised upon my desire to understand issues which are not directly observable, such as intentions, thoughts and feelings, that can be revealed by 'enter(ing) into the other person's perspective' (Patton, 2002: 341). Use of the semi-structured interview method, rather than conducting a structured or unstructured interview, enabled me to devise an interview guide with questions premised upon themes directly related to my research and objectives. Structured interviews can be quite restrictive in scope, essentially resembling an oral questionnaire, and unstructured interviews risk giving too much freedom to respondents, resulting in a lack of focus within the data (Gratton and Jones, 2010). My semi-structured interviews were designed after Kvale (2007) as more of a 'professional conversation' giving a flexibility to re-order my questions as necessary and respond to unanticipated responses by including new questions in order to explore any emergent areas (Bryman, 2012; Saunders, et al., 2012). I felt comfortable with adopting the notion of a 'professional conversation' and initiating such a dialogue owing to my background as a qualified archivist, and my experience of working within the sector. As such I was already a part of what Schultz terms an experts' 'communicative universe' (in Pfadenhauer, 2009: 85). Being familiar with the professional methodologies legitimised my approach as I was able to trace a logical direction for the interviews along the lines of relevant archival processes without being

unnecessarily side-tracked by professional exposition or explanation of unfamiliar concepts.

Whilst I chose to use qualitative interviewing as my main component of data collection, it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations of the process and recognise interviewing as having 'its own issues and complexities, and demands its own type of rigour' (O'Leary, 2009: 162). It is important to recognise an interview as a complex situation, one in which the interaction between interviewer and interviewee can have a profound effect, especially when considering that an interviewee's response can be positioned as a product of how the interviewer frames the situation. Klenke (2008) posits that this considered power imbalance is addressed by repositioning the focus on validity. Instead of resting with the researcher, Klenke (2008: 127) insists 'it is the informant's account which is being sought and highly valued'. In order to do this successfully, it was important for me to not only develop the social and communicative skills integral to interviewing, but also the ability to comprehend and reflect on the interview process (Klenke, 2008).

Anonymity was assured to all respondents, the only identifiers utilised being the particular institution for which an individual worked. However, it must be acknowledged that anonymity is uneven within this thesis by necessity, as participants often reveal the organisation they represent through the context of their response. Yet as an explicit recognition of a respondent's organisation could potentially identify a participant, especially those from smaller organisations with fewer staff, every effort has been made to anonymise responses as broadly as possible. This has been addressed principally through the redaction of references to locations, collections and other individuals associated with a respondent's organisation. Therefore, the primary concern

of anonymisation within this thesis was to protect individual participants rather than the organisations which they represent, resulting in a necessary imbalance where certain organisations are identifiable through context.

Participation was determined to a certain extent by the privileged position I was afforded as a member of the Social Sciences team within the BL. As the principal case in my study, and with ease of access to staff within this institution, participants from the BL considerably outnumbered those from alternative institutions. I identified participants from within the BL by conducting an initial investigation into the structure and function of the BL (presented in Chapter Two) and through forming personal connections with members of staff. Beyond the BL, I identified several memory institutions and sporting organisations involved in archiving the Games. In some instances this was a straightforward decision, for example the six London Boroughs responsible for hosting both Olympic and Paralympic events (DCMS, 2012), whereas other inclusions were reliant on personal knowledge of activities that had been undertaken related to London 2012.

The core organisations participating in this study were initially identified over three levels ranging from the '(Inter)National', through those institutions whose main concern was the immediate area of London (termed 'City'), to 'Regional' institutions whose immediate exposure to London 2012 was much less high-profile. This approach can be characterised as moving from the centre to the periphery and was designed with the intention of being more representative of archiving across the country at large than purely within the host city (Figure 4.1).

(Inter)National

These institutions provided an excellent insight into the processes of archiving the Games at a macro-level, including any agreements which may have been made with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The focus was principally on the BL and The National Archives (TNA), as the official Olympic archive. This section also includes the National Library of Scotland (NLS) which provided a counterpoint from its involvement in preparing for the Glasgow Commonwealth Games 2014 and the Olympic Studies Centre, Lausanne (OSC), contributing the standpoint of the IOC and its involvement in the archiving process.

City

I defined this group as including two London-wide institutions and two higher education institutions alongside the six Olympic and Paralympic Boroughs immediately involved in the hosting and situating of London 2012. These were London Metropolitan Archives (LMA); the Museum of London (MoL); the University of East London (UEL), as the current custodians of the British Olympic Association (BOA) archive; the University of Westminster, for their involvement in a project to archive social media during London 2012; Barking and Dagenham Archives and Local Studies Centre (BDA); the Greenwich Heritage Centre (GHC); the Dalston CLR James Library and Hackney Archives (HA); Newham Archives and Local Studies Library at Stratford (NALS); Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives

(THLA); and Waltham Forest Archives and Local Studies Library (WFA).

Regional	The Regional institutions are unique in terms of not being based in London and, therefore, not immediately and directly affected by London 2012. This group included Archives+, Manchester, for its hosting and subsequent archiving of the Manchester Commonwealth Games 2002; the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS), owing to its involvement with Stoke Mandeville and the Paralympics; the Wenlock Olympian Society, for their role as a precursor of the modern Olympic movement; and the West Yorkshire Archive Service, for their involvement in the Inspire scheme during the Cultural Olympiad and their work on improving their sporting archive collections.

Individual participants from within these organisations were identified through a preliminary written approach to each institution. Following this I was either able to identify the most suitable person with whom to arrange an interview, received no reply, or was informed that staff were too busy to adequately participate at the time. Every (potential) participant was asked to reply within a month to indicate whether they would participate; in the event that no response was received, a follow-up e-mail was sent allowing a further two weeks notice. However, following several pilot interviews, it became clear that to interview every participant that had been identified would exceed the time limits of this project. Consequently the number of potential participants was reduced, as I opted to remove several institutions following repeated non-response to e-mails.

Figure 4.1   *Geographic locations of potential interview participants*
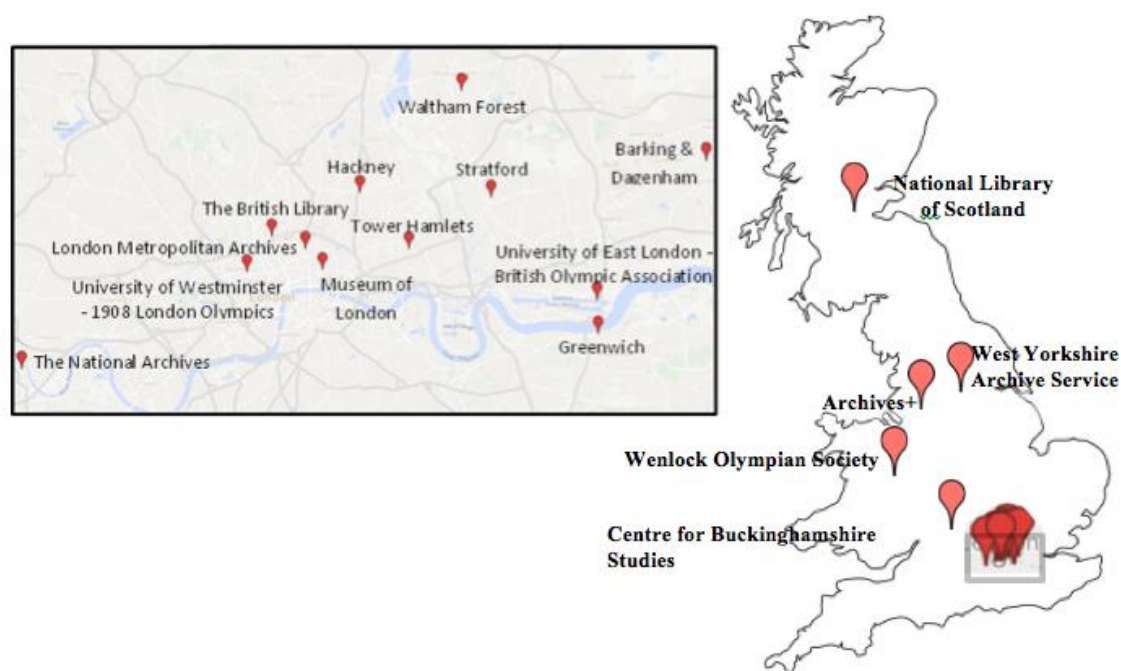
This decision would have removed all of the London Boroughs, a fact that I felt would be detrimental to the findings of this study. I therefore decided to pursue these institutions for a response which, as written communication did not seem to be working, I did by telephone. I was eventually able to establish contact and arrange for interviews to be conducted with representatives from three of the Boroughs, at which point I decided that I would cease my pursuit of the remainder, satisfying myself with site visits in order to collect observational data.

In total, I was able to conduct 26 interviews from 13 different organisations, 11 of which originated from my initial list of potential participants, and, as detailed later in this chapter, two of whom I was subsequently put in touch with by other participants. Reducing the number of participants in this way also helped to address the imbalance present in my tripartite division of participants because, despite my best efforts, there remained a significant emphasis on London-based institutions. By re-imagining the

Figure 4.2   *Final participants*
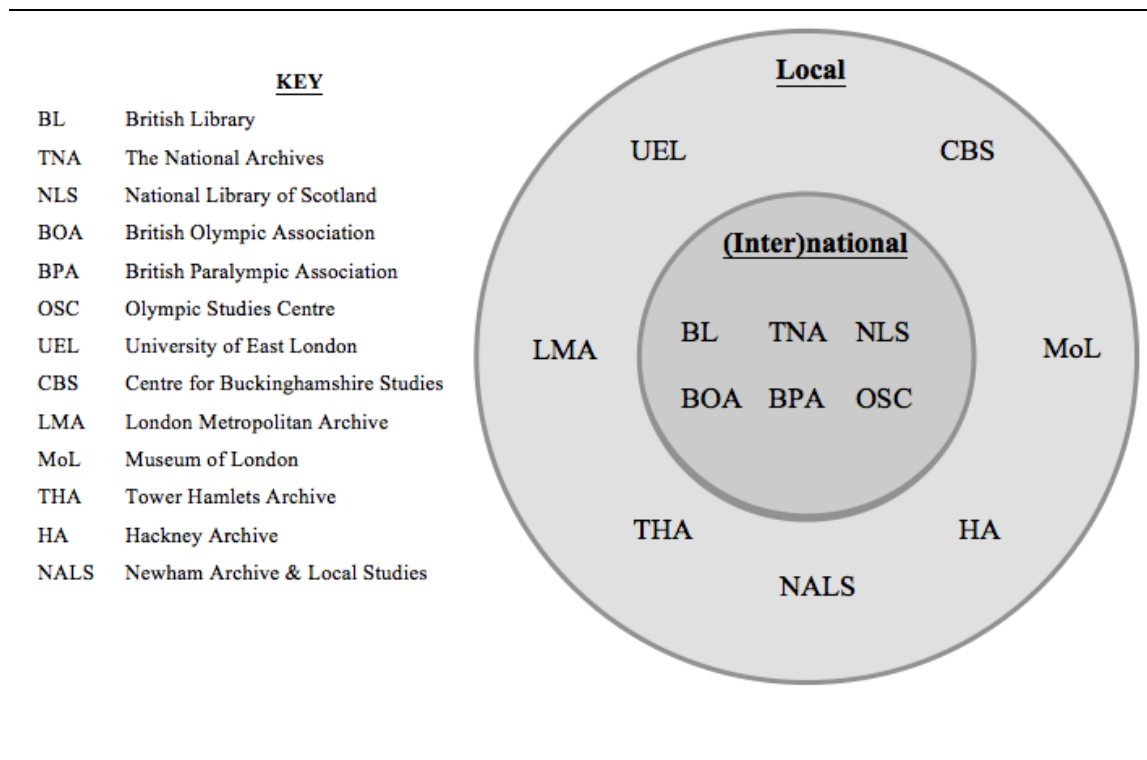
model as '(Inter)National' and 'Local', I was able to ensure a better balance between the two spheres whilst simultaneously making the centre-periphery divide more prominent in terms of the macro and the micro (Figure 4.2).

The interviews themselves generally lasted between 30 minutes and one hour, often dependent on the respondent's availability, their willingness to participate and the extent to which they elaborated within the interview. Every interview was conducted at the workplace of the participant in order to put the respondent at ease and to afford me the opportunity to observe the physical environment of each organisation. In advance of undertaking any interviews, I sought and gained ethical clearance from the University of Central Lancashire's ethics committee. In addition I ensured the research adhered to the British Sociological Association's ethical guidelines (British Sociological Association, 2002), and the University of Central Lancashire's practices. I made certain that participants were appraised of matters concerned with privacy prior to their interviews.

My explanation was supplemented by obtaining informed written consent from each individual confirming their awareness of their complete anonymity and related confidentiality issues, that the purpose of the study had been explained, how restricted access to the assembled data would be maintained, and that everyone was extended the right to withdraw at any stage of the research. Furthermore, I enquired with each participant whether they would object to the use of a digital recorder during the interview, with no negative responses (see Appendices One and Two).

My decision to utilise a semi-structured interview as my primary mode of data collection led me to develop an interview schedule focused upon four main topics, or themes, that reflected the concerns of my research questions: collection, storage, dissemination, and digital recordkeeping. Following recommendations in the literature (Robson, 2011; Tod, 2015), I incorporated three different types of question employing main questions, follow-up questions and probing questions (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). The purpose of my main questions was ensuring every aspect of the research problem could be investigated. For example, when considering the theme of 'Collecting', the main question I devised was 'What factors influence collection decision-making?' Beyond this, I sought to use follow-up questions and probes in order to elicit more depth and a greater level of detail from the respondent. Follow-up questions aimed to assist the respondent to expand upon concepts and events touched upon in their initial responses and probes directed the conversation in order to keep it on topic, to clarify ambiguous answers, or to acquire examples when desired (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). When following-up my query concerning influential decision-making factors for collection, I might ask about the criteria applied to determine what material is selected. Finally, if necessary, I could probe to discover examples of the process in action.

Meuser and Nagel (2009) highlight the differences between undertaking a narrative interview and an expert interview concluding that naivety of purpose in expert interviews can come across as incompetence on behalf of the researcher. They suggest that creating a thorough interview schedule provides the interviewer with a solid foundation from which to approach the interview. The contention here being that a participant's willingness to contribute is directly affected by the competence with which the researcher present their self when conducting the interview. As such, Honer (cited in Pfadenhauer, 2009: 91) determined that the most comprehensive manner in which to acquire information from an expert interview was to obtain an 'existential interior view'. Through my background of working within memory institutions and my research being embedded within the BL I was afforded both a figurative and literal interior view that supported the creation of an interview schedule.

During

Following Tod (2015), the interviews were organised into four sections including an introduction, warm-up, main questions, wind-down and close (see Table 4.1). The introductory part of the interview served as an opportunity to explain the purpose of the study and ensure that the informed consent of the participants was obtained. Factual information was gathered during the warm-up, including the name and function of the organisation, and the participant's role within it. However, I did not collect socio-demographic information as recommended by Bryman (2012) as I felt that this kind of information was less likely to adequately contextualise responses than information concerning the role and function of both the participating memory institutions, and the interviewees within them (see Chapters Five and Six). The main questions which followed were centred around the four topics previously highlighted, before the wind-down elicited any further information the participant wished to include, not previously

Table 4.1   *Sequence of questions in an interview*   (based on Tod, 2015)

Interview sequence	Types of questions
Introduction	• Introducing the study • Explain the purpose of the interview • Check the participant understands the purpose and nature of the study • Obtain or verify consent • Promote a relaxed atmosphere by making conversation
Warm-up	• Ask neutral, unthreatening questions • Ask for factual background information, for example, age, children and job • Seek clarification or expansion if necessary
Main questions	• Ask questions relating to the main research aim • Ensure sequence follows some logic and sense • Start with broad questions followed by more focussed ones • Leave the most sensitive and difficult questions until last • Use prompts and probes to generate deeper and richer data
Wind-down	• Round off with a few simple questions especially if the interview has been tense, emotional or sensitive • Let the interviewee know the interview is winding up, e.g. say 'to finish with …' • Ask if there is anything else they would like to add
Close of interview	• Check again that there is nothing else they want to add • Check if people know and remember what will happen to the data • Thank the participant

covered by the main questions. Then the interview was closed by querying their reasons for participating and thanking them for their time, help and cooperation.

I found the creation of an interview schedule to be of enormous benefit, especially in the early interviews, as it enabled me to rely upon the structure and questions contained within the guide (see Appendix Three). Subsequently, my early interviews were much more formal and structured than later interviews, yet as I became more familiar with the techniques of interviewing and my confidence in dictating the flow and direction of the interview increased, I found I relaxed into the role of interviewer and was able to use the schedule more for reference than strict procedure. As the structure of my interviews decreased, I was better able to create a more conversational dialogue and adjust the order of the questions I asked. My increasing confidence also allowed me to break from

the schedule in order to pursue interesting answers, and devise new questions based upon new themes emerging from the discussion (Daymon and Holloway, 2011).

Whilst the interview schedule provided questions relevant to all participants, I made a conscious effort to tailor interviews to suit the particular expertise of the participant. This approach enabled me to uncover information specific to the context of each memory institution and individual role. For example, I made certain to ask the BL's UKWA staff about their experiences of dealing with digital records rather than analogue content. In order to establish rapport with participants, I decided to reveal my own background as a qualified archivist. This I felt would put participants at ease and address the subtle power-imbalance that can arise when conducting expert interviews. This revelation was to prove very useful in gaining the trust of many participants and may have indirectly elicited certain information and detail that may not have been revealed to an 'outsider' who was unfamiliar with archival work.

DATA ANALYSIS

No particular techniques of data analysis are dominant within the qualitative methodology that I have adopted, however, situating my research within a constructionist epistemology has provided a foundation upon which to build. Markula and Silk (2011: 109) contend that analysis of interview transcripts including the identification of key and overlapping themes and any discrepancies therein, allows for 'a much stronger emphasis on understanding individual meaning making within a social, political, historical and economic context'. Thematic analysis allows for the summary of repeated meaningful patterns in data, it is a method of 'identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79). Moreover,

thematic analysis has been considered the most appropriate method to investigate how a group conceptualises a particular phenomenon (Joffe, 2012) and is, consequently, the analytical method I have adopted for this research.

After

As the interviews were completed, I began to compile a complete transcript for each of them. The decision to transcribe my interviews stemmed from the knowledge that being able to read a transcript is a much more efficient method of locating specific information than repeatedly listening to interview recordings. Moreover, it is also sensible to have a written version against which to check that no important details have been omitted. This facet of transcription was recognised by Rubin and Rubin (2012: 190) when stating that 'Relying on memory, rather than grinding work in a careful examination of a written and meticulously coded transcript, could bias your results'.

The first issue that I was to confront was the level of detail to which the transcripts should be subjected. Rather than leave the process of transcribing until after I had completed every interview, I opted to follow the advice presented in Flick (2014) to do a first transcription after completing my first interview in order to reflect upon whether the interview progressed as expected, the kind of analysis I planned to undertake, and the level of detail necessary to do this. This proved very informative, as my initial approach to transcription, following each recorded pilot interview, was to transcribe information verbatim from the interview recordings, retaining all instances of pauses, unfinished words, and hesitations. This process allowed me to revise certain questions, but it also illustrated that the level of detail recorded in these transcriptions would be superfluous to the analytical process I was following.

I therefore opted to pursue transcription utilising standard orthography for spelling and grammar, one which deliberately omitted paralinguistic verbal components including hesitation and fillers, such as 'uh' and 'um', and any instances of non-syntactically integrated repetition, for example 'when when collecting' (Kowall and O'Connell, 2014). Braun and Clarke (2012) advocate the utilisation of full orthographic renders of transcripts for thematic analysis retaining all verbal components; their contention being that raw interview data should not be 'cleaned up' in order not to miss revealing details. They argue that, whilst full orthographic transcription is more than sufficient, it should be used for analysis, with data only presented in a standard orthography as excerpts and quotations, dependent on the form of thematic analysis being followed. I would contend that this stance owes much to Braun and Clarke's research in the area of psychology, where such a level of detail may well be revealing as to the insights and unspoken perspectives sought after in that discipline, yet such hidden meanings were not the concern of my research. As the focus of my thematic analysis was on the *content* of the interviews, rather than the *manner* in which information was delivered, I felt it pertinent to adopt a standard orthography in order to present more fluid accounts.

Furthermore, I found that the full orthographic rendering of transcriptions would have proven far too time consuming to complete, in addition to containing a superfluous level of detail. Consequently, I disagree with Kowall and O'Connell's (2014: 70) assertion that 'the inexperienced transcriber may use his or her everyday habits of filtering them [verbal components] out…such exclusion, however, may lead to the loss of information crucial for purposes of interpretation'. This position assumes a lack of intellectual rigour on behalf of the researcher, discounting the possibility of a reflexive approach that recognises both the project objectives and what is attainable within the constricts of a particular study, reducing all decision-making to 'inexperience'. As my research was

more concerned with processes than people, my transcriptions were more than adequate for the identification of patterns within my data for subsequent thematic analysis.

The process of thematic analysis was reportedly 'named and claimed' within psychology, and has only recently evolved a distinctive method within social science (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 178). This goes some way towards explaining the omission of the method from a recent chapter on 'Archival and recordkeeping research' which, while making no claims to being exhaustive, is further demonstrative of the profession lacking a well established methodological framework (McKemmish and Gilliland, 2013). No single standard procedure for conducting a thematic analysis exists and researchers frequently vary their approaches to its use but it is usually characterised by three principal components: the data itself, coding of the data, and the identification of key themes (Howitt and Cramer, 2014). However, the lack of definition surrounding the method is also its most often criticised drawback (Boyatzis, 1998; Howitt and Cramer, 2014) open to having the 'anything goes' critique of qualitative analysis levelled at it (Antaki, et al., 2003). The relative transparency of this approach has also been challenged with regards to how themes are identified and the different stages at which they are developed (Pope, et al., 2007). Yet such concerns need not inhibit research and I argue that by adopting a thorough and rigorous strategy to my thematic analysis, an appropriate degree of transparency is attainable. Subsequently I drew upon the work of Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012; 2013) and Attride-Stirling (2001) in addressing my thematic analysis as a six-stage process: (1) familiarising myself with the data; (2) generating initial codes; (3) searching for themes; (4) reviewing potential themes; (5) defining and naming themes; and (6) producing the report. It is imperative to note that the stages in this procedure are not representative of a linear progression from step to

step, but are rather iterative and evolutionary, requiring continual movement back and forth between stages.

Initially a careful reading and re-reading of the transcripts was undertaken to ensure a close familiarity or 'immersion' in the data (Braun and Clarke 2006). Gaining such a thorough insight into the content of the generated data allowed a more in-depth examination of the responses which, in turn, established a stable foundation for the generation of my initial codes in stage two. This preliminary step later facilitated a more accurate analysis than an intuitive interpretation of the responses given (Heritage, 1984). Secondly marginal annotations highlighting points of interest or significance were added to each transcript. These formed the basis for my initial coding frame and the data was then coded throughout the interview transcripts. This systematic process, assigning tags, or labels, aided me in reviewing the data and divided it into smaller chunks which managed to 'capture the essence of a segment of the text', simultaneously organising it and ascribing significance in a meaningful manner (Howitt and Cramer, 2014: 343; Tucket, 2005).

Braun and Clarke (2013) highlight two contrasting strategies for identifying patterns within data: inductive and deductive. Inductive thematic analysis is usually characterised as being *a posteriori* and data-driven, derived free from the encumbrance of previous research or the researcher's own preconceptions. Alternatively, deductive thematic analysis is *a priori* and theory-driven, determined by the imposition of a pre-existing coding frame and the analyst's interests. Thematic analysis, however, does not preclude that one single approach be adopted, rather its flexibility as a method allows for both deductive and inductive stances to be incorporated into a hybrid approach (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). A hybrid thematic

analysis allows for some structure to be applied to the data analysis as it can be initially guided by pre-determined themes informed by the relevant literature, whilst providing for new themes to develop out of the data itself (Heslop and McGough, 2012). Based upon this principle, I opted to pursue a hybrid approach for this study, developing codes inductively from participants' experiences as reported in the data, and deductively identifying several *a priori* themes prevalent within the literature, namely appraisal, digital preservation, community archives and life cycle. In doing so, I was able to elicit information specific to my research without entirely obscuring the participant's own views with my analytic lens (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Step three of data analysis involved identifying further themes emerging from the initial codes that I had identified in the data and uncovering their relationship to each other (Williamson and Whittaker, 2011). In drawing together these thematic networks, I first aggregated the codes into 54 basic themes and then grouped similar ones together into broader categories. Once able to observe the raw data in this way, I discerned that several basic themes bore distinct resemblances to one another and subsequently the original 54 basic themes were reduced to a final total of 24. This process involved some being merged to create a new independent theme, whilst those of a very similar nature were collapsed into the most descriptive categorisation. Following from this eight principal strands were described, the first of which is illustrated in Table 4.2. These have been identified as organising themes, as per Attride-Stirling (2001).

As previously noted, thematic analysis is not a linear process, and this was especially evident during steps three to five. The preceding paragraph describes an ultimate iteration of thematic analysis up to step three. Prior to this, I had identified seven prominent themes arising from participants' responses:

1. Organisational relationships;

2. Passive accumulation versus active selection;

3. Management of collections;

4. Engagement;

5. Digital opportunities and threats;

6. Human and organisational resources; and

7. Sport and London 2012.

From these themes, I found a pattern within the data that reflected the archival processes of collection, storage and dissemination. Of these seven themes, three corresponded directly with these processes: theme two is analogous to collection; theme three mirrors the issue of storage; whilst theme four aligns with dissemination. Beyond these principal themes, the remaining three major themes were interwoven throughout, as each other theme has an impact upon those described above.

However, during step four, whilst reviewing the themes, I began to question whether those that I had identified were truly Global, and it became apparent that rather than allowing the data to speak, I was imposing a structural element of my thesis upon it. A further review of the basic themes revealed the structure outlined in Table 4.2 and comprehensively displayed in Appendix Four. Additionally, the eight organising themes suggested three global themes that more accurately described the data, and into which they fit much more comfortably.

Figure 4.3 presents the final analytical framework within which these themes sit. The three global themes grouped the nine Organizing Themes into super-ordinate sets that comprised the principal metaphors described by the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Table 4.2   *Example coding frame for basic and organising themes*

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Gap filling Terms of deposit Donation Gift Loan Purchase Transfer Legislation (Non-Print) Legal deposit Public Records Act Reactive versus proactive No capacity to be proactive	**Acquiring content**	**'Chasing the money'**
Adequate funding Funding and support structure Funding sources Fundraising Importance of fundraising Lack of funds Lack of resources Lack of resources as a small service Trust status Unfunded Money Money is an issue	**Budgets**	
Feasibility study Funding bid Funding isn't barrier Funding risks 'Chasing the money' Cost-neutral projects Funded projects Projects changing plans Project influencing collection Website down after project completion Necessity of funding Ongoing funds	**Project work**	

As such, each global theme represents the core of a thematic network which acts to summarise and assist the interpretation of the data. This juncture represented step five of Braun and Clarke's (2013) approach to thematic analysis, whereby the themes were clearly defined and named to better summarise the abstracted clusters of lower-order themes. Subsequently it was necessary to address step six, producing the report, the results of which comprise chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Figure 4.3 *Analytical framework for thematic analysis*
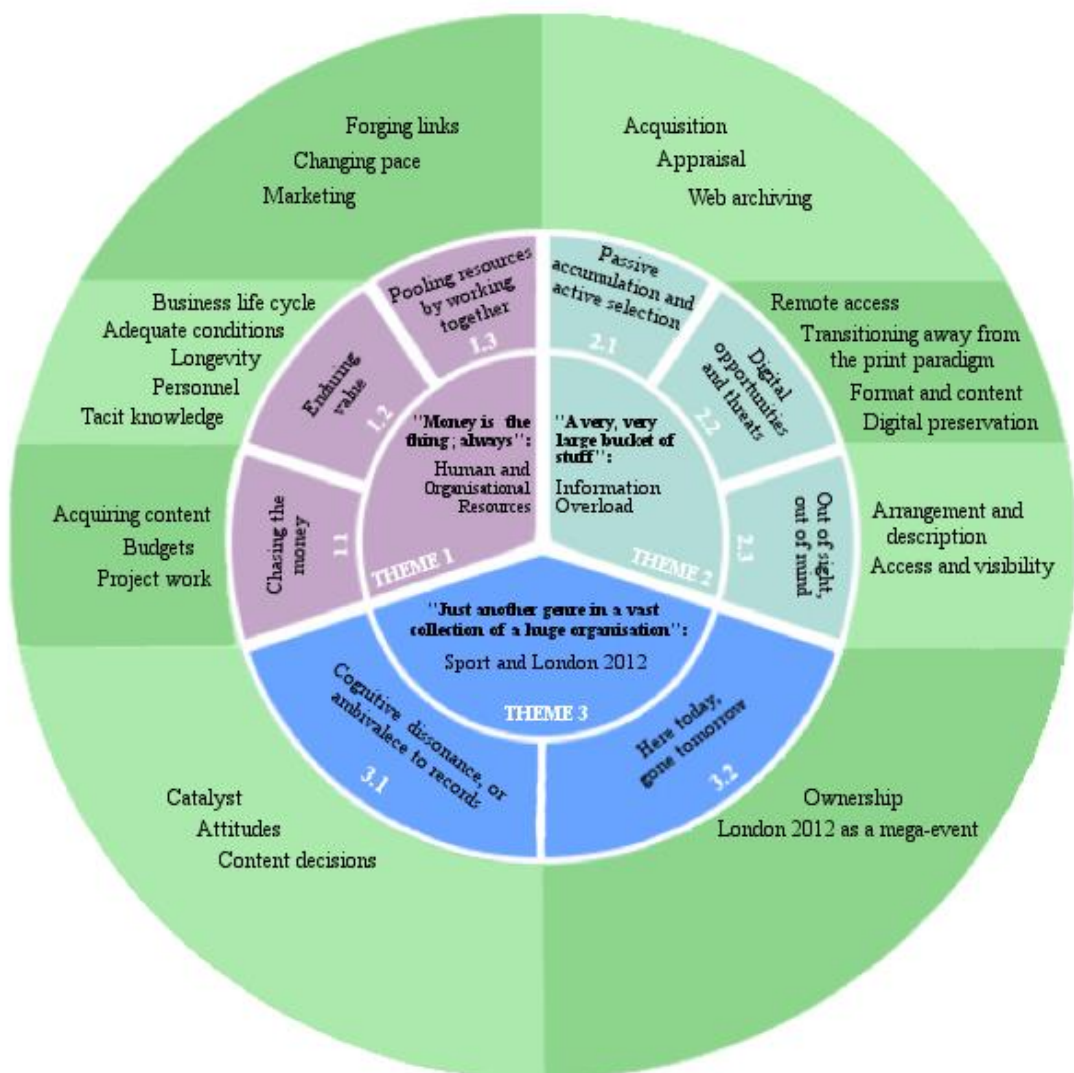
CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the connections between the researcher's theoretical assumptions and their applied methodology. As such it has primarily outlined the process by which 32 interviews were conducted with a cross-sector sample of staff at the British Library (BL) and other memory institutions. Buckley (2007: 91) contended that 'making mistakes and learning through problem solving are a natural feature of most people's first experiences with qualitative research', a statement this chapter has supported by demonstrating the revisions necessitated through the fluctuating circumstances experienced by the researcher and the pragmatism required to conduct a feasible study.

Therefore this chapter has presented an account of 'what happened' in undertaking the research alongside a discussion of the particular methodological issues that were raised. It also demonstrated that research was firmly embedded within the BL thus enabling the researcher to incorporate their individual observation of working practice, supplemented by research visits to other memory institutions. In this manner, the chapter presented a reflexive account that described the development and conduct of the study supported by discussions of the associated theoretical issues.

This chapter explained the chosen research design, outlined the methods of data collection and analysis adopted, and explicated the research process. It determined how the study has adopted a qualitative approach that also incorporated elements of ethnographic research to collate data, and that this was then subject to thematic analysis. As such, this chapter acts as a *volta* between the background research that contextualised the project, and the subsequent findings chapters that present the thematic analysis of findings drawn from participants' responses. Desk-based research

was continuous throughout the study and examined mega-event literature, the sociology of memory and memory institutions, and archival theory, presented as the first two chapters of this thesis. Furthermore I investigated the historical contexts of participant memory institutions. The findings from this element of the research are presented in the next chapter which provides the organisational backdrop for the thematic analysis documented in chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

CHAPTER FIVE – THE OPERATIONAL CONTEXT

The collection, storage and dissemination of an event on the scale of London 2012 requires input from a variety of memory institutions, and the differing contexts within which they operate can have a significant impact upon what they do, and the manner in which they do it. In order to adequately investigate the processes of collection, storage and dissemination, and the factors affecting them, it is pertinent to first consider the memory institutions themselves.

Therefore this chapter outlines the background to each of the organisations participating in the research, briefly considering how their distinct histories, locations and premises shape their services. Turning to consider the legislative contexts governing memory institutions, this chapter then outlines the legislation that controls and guides their activities, before ultimately describing how such memory institutions must closely interact, especially in attempting to document the knowledge legacy of London 2012.

ORGANISATIONS

Representatives from thirteen different memory institutions were interviewed during this research, ranging from (inter)national organisations to local services. This section describes each individual service in turn, including the facilities from which they operate, and attempts to discern some of the elements that have shaped the different services. It begins with The National Archives and the other (inter)national bodies, before turning to consider the local sphere.

The National Archives (TNA)

The roots of TNA stretch back to the foundation of the Public Record Office (PRO), formed by an Act of the same name in 1838, which saw the creation of a body dedicated

to preserving vital public records and facilitating researchers' access to them. It was not until the early years of the 21st Century, however, that TNA became a formal institution, following the merger of four government bodies:

- The PRO;

- The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts;

- Her Majesty's Stationery Office; and

- The Office of Public Sector Information.

TNA now, therefore, not only exercises the duty of the former PRO to collect and manage the government archive, and the historical record of England and Wales, but it also encompasses the purview of the Historical Manuscripts Commission to locate and identify manuscripts and private papers of historical interest (TNA, 2015c). Building upon this role, TNA instituted the National Register of Archives (NRA), and an annual 'Accessions to Repositories' survey, which collects information from more than 200 repositories throughout the UK about manuscript accessions received over the course of the previous year. The results are then added to the database of the NRA and edited into thematic digests made available on their website (TNA, 2015a).

TNA is based at Kew in the suburbs of London. Despite being the least centrally located of the London based memory institutions, the site is easily accessible via public transport and the service is entirely contained within the one location, with accessible records being stored on-site.

Finally, it is notable that since 2011, after the dissolution of the MLA, TNA has assumed responsibility for overseeing the wider archives sector, providing both practical and theoretical guidance, events, and training sessions.

The British Library (BL)

As discussed in Chapter Two, the genesis of the BL is found in the library of the British Museum. Long before its formal creation by the British Library Act (1972), the BL became a legal deposit library – one of a group of six, including the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, Trinity College Dublin's library, the National Library of Wales, and the National Library of Scotland. This designation entitles each of these institutions to receive one copy of every item published within the borders of the UK, some of the intricacies of which are discussed below.

The BL is spread over two locations: the St. Pancras site in the centre of London serves the needs of most researchers, providing access to the vast collections that the BL holds. The former National Lending Library for Science and Technology, based in Boston Spa, now serves as the Document Supply Service, which stores a considerable amount of the BL's material holdings, including the National Newspaper Building, the new home to over 750 million newspaper pages (BL, 2015a), following the closure of the previous site at Colindale.

Whilst the BL's St. Pancras site is eminently accessible due to its location immediately in the heart of the growing 'Knowledge Quarter' between three of the capital's main railway terminals, St. Pancras, Euston and King's Cross, the location of Boston Spa is slightly less so (BL, 2015a: 5). Though provision is made for researchers to be able to visit Boston Spa and consult BL content on-site, this location serves more as its name suggests: as a document supply service shuttling content not stored on the St. Pancras site to the reading rooms situated there, and fulfilling the BL's commitment to provide inter-library loans to services throughout the British Isles and beyond (BL, 2015b).

National Library of Scotland (NLS)

Like the BL, the NLS is divided over two sites: the principal library building is well situated in the centre of Edinburgh while a secondary location, Causewayside, is slightly further out from the city centre and serves as the main storage depot and maps reading room. The main site is very easily accessible to researchers, being only a short walk from Edinburgh's main railway terminal, Waverley. As another legal deposit library, the NLS has a very similar function to the BL, with an additional geographically defined focus upon Scotland.

International Olympic Committee's Olympic Studies Centre (OSC)

The OSC is located on the same site as The Olympic Museum, not far from the IOC's headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland. Physically and operationally distinct from the Museum, the facility includes both the Olympic Library and the Historical Archives. Although, these departments maintain a close working relationship, they operate separately. For the purposes of clarification, all further references to the OSC relate specifically to the Historical Archives function.

Figure 5.1   *Inside the OSC's reading room*   (photographs by author)

Despite being a building of considerable size, the space assigned for researchers to access archival material is poor, with room for only three researchers and the archivist at any one time (see Figure 5.1). The material stored at the OSC is retained on-site, with the most frequently requested, valuable and sensitive content being kept in their strongroom (see Figure 5.2). Further material is stored in a less well-maintained area beneath the museum, reportedly prone to occasional flooding.

Figure 5.2   *Inside the OSC's strongroom*   (photographs by author)

British Olympic and Paralympic Associations (BOA and BPA)

The shared offices of the BOA and BPA are located on Charlotte Street in central London, not far from Euston Station. The premises are not accessible to the public and also house several other organisations. This situation is principally due to the fact that both these organisations are neither museum, library or archive; rather they are private institutions.

London Metropolitan Archives (LMA)

LMA is the archive service for the City of London. Its location, though relatively central and close to Farringdon underground station, is quite unassuming and not as prominent as might have been expected. The service occupies two buildings connected

by a skyway. One is open to the public and dedicated principally towards access, containing exhibition spaces, reading rooms for consultation of documents, and storage for heavily requested content. The other building forms the bulk of LMA's storage facilities and conservation studio, dedicated much more towards the preservation of material than its counterpart. LMA occupies one of the more interesting positions of the memory institutions included in this study as, despite its mandate being for the City of London, its geographic scope extends to the Greater London area, creating potential conflicts of interest with other London borough archives.

Museum of London (MoL)

MoL opened in 1976 after the merger of the Guildhall Museum, whose outlook was largely archaeological, and the London Museum, whose focus was on more modern content. Its central location, close to St. Paul's cathedral, makes it very accessible via public transport, with several underground stations nearby. A second public site was opened in the Docklands area in 2003 to provide MoL with a space dedicated to their port and river collection. As MoL retained the archaeological purview of its predecessor body, it is now also home to the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre and the Centre for Human Bioarchaeology (MoL, 2015b).

Whilst these two divisions are managerially contained within MoL's Department of Archives and Archaeological Collections, they physically occupy a third site: Mortimer Wheeler House in the Borough of Hackney, which is where the bulk of MoL's collections are stored (MoL, 2015a). However, the main museum site remains the central point of access to the majority of MoL's collections with a considerable amount of content made available by public display, which takes visitors on a chronological journey through the history of London.

Newham Heritage and Archives (NHA)

NHA is located in Stratford Library about twenty minutes walk from the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park. The service itself occupies a single, unassuming room at the rear of the Library building where the public access is provided to the collections. As NHA is a local authority archive, it is responsible for the records of its parent organisation, in this case Newham London Borough Council, although this responsibility also extends to include the geographic area of Newham Borough and each locality that exists under the government of the council.

Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archive (THA)

As with Newham, THA is a local authority archive whose remit extends to include the records of their local government body, and more generally those records generated by the people, businesses and organisations that exist within the Borough of Tower Hamlets. One of the six Olympic Boroughs, Tower Hamlets' boundary extends to include part of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Hackney Archives

Now based in the Dalston CLR James Library, Hackney Archives now operate from a brand new, well-apportioned facility. The service moved into their new location whilst London 2012 was in full swing and, as with both Newham and Tower Hamlets, the Borough is host to part of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park.

Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS)

As County Record Office for Buckinghamshire, CBS is another local authority archive. Its location in the centre of the county town, Aylesbury, makes it very accessible to the

visiting public, however, the physical space the service occupies is set back from the road and hidden from the view of anyone approaching from the centre of the town, with no signage to indicate its whereabouts.

A short distance outside of Aylesbury is the Stoke Mandeville Hospital, famous for its role in creating what was to become the Paralympic Games. CBS maintains close ties with this establishment periodically advising on issues of records management, a relationship which became much closer following the events of London 2012. The County is also the home of Dorney Lake which hosted the rowing events during London 2012.

University of East London (UEL)

UEL has three campuses: the Stratford campus, Docklands campus, and University Square Stratford, all situated within the London Borough of Newham. Whilst the Stratford campus is based very close to the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, the archive service for UEL is based within the University Library on the largest of the University's campuses, Docklands campus, close to the ExCeL Centre which hosted the boxing, taekwondo, table tennis, weightlifting and wrestling events during London 2012.

UEL's archive holds the University archive, and several other collections relating to the University's research interests including the Refugee Council Archive and the Hackney Empire Archive. UEL also holds the BOA archive after successfully tendering to act as repository for this collection in the run up to London 2012.

LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

Each organisation involved in this study is governed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the legislative framework within which it operates. This context is important when considering the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy as it often has a particular impact upon the content that is, and can be, collected by a memory institution: whether or not an organisation is fit to maintain the records in their care and what happens in instances where this is not deemed to be the case; and ultimately the levels of access it is deemed appropriate for the public to have to materials in a collection.

This section discusses the different pieces of legislation encountered by memory institutions and establishes the parameters they set out for organisations operating within their scope. Specific instances where such legislation has affected services will be addressed more directly in the following chapters.

The earliest extant piece of legislation directly affecting memory institutions is the Copyright Act of 1709, otherwise known as the Statute of Anne, which established the legal premise upon which the Royal Library was entitled to one copy of every book published within the UK. As the Royal Library passed into the possession of the British Museum, it formed a part of what was to become a founding collection of the British Library following its creation in 1972. Concurrent was the transfer of the provision on which the BL's collecting practices rest, the practice that became known as legal deposit.

The roots of legal deposit can be traced beyond the Statute of Anne to an agreement between Sir Thomas Bodley and the Stationer's Company in 1610 for provision of

material to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Apart from making this agreement official, the Statute of Anne also extended it beyond the Bodleian to include not only the Royal Library, but also Cambridge University Library, and the University of St. Andrews among others (Field, 2004). The number of official legal deposit libraries has fluctuated since 1709, currently standing at the six libraries as described above (cf. Chapter Three), yet legal deposit has only recently been recognised as an independent piece of legislation following the passing of the Legal Deposit Libraries Act 2003 (LDLA).

The importance of this Act can be observed in the way it defines the true scope of legal deposit. Where much legislation concerning legal deposit prior to the LDLA concerned the provision of a copy of every published book, LDLA notably reiterates section 15 of the Copyright Act 1911 when clarifying a printed work as 'a book (including a pamphlet, magazine or newspaper), a sheet of letterpress or music, a map, plan, chart or table' (LDLA 2003: 1 (3)). Furthermore it continues to extend the scope to articles published in a medium other than print, significantly identifying digital material as being inclusive of the legislation.

A notable facet of legal deposit, in relation to the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy, is the manner in which it provides a legal basis for the BL to automatically acquire content from publishers. Whilst the implications of this situation shall be discussed more fully in Chapter Seven, it is interesting to draw a parallel with the Public Records Act 1958 (PRA) and how this, in a similar manner, establishes the basis upon which TNA operates as the official archive of the UK government.

Apart from establishing what was to become TNA, the Public Record Office Act 1838 embedded the notion that government departments were required by law to care for the records which they created (TNA, 2015b). However, where the definition of what constituted a 'record' evolved during the mid-1800s, there was no notion contained within this Act that government had a responsibility to transfer their records into the keeping of the PRO, or that the public had a right of access to them (TNA, 2015b). Concerns over such matters would eventually be addressed by the passing of the PRA 1958.

A committee chaired by Sir James Grigg was formed in 1952 whose findings provided the basis for the new legislation. Commonly referred to as the 'Grigg Report', the committee's findings stressed that the selection of records for preservation should rest with the creating department prior to transfer, and that the said department was also responsible for the eventual transfer of their records following a period of 30 years. The implications of this recommendation to the collection of London 2012 content is clear and reminiscent of the notions of positivistic, objective archiving discussed in previous chapters. As will be seen in the following chapters, this consideration is not necessarily so straightforward.

Furthermore, the records would only become accessible for consultation by the general public after a period of 50 years had passed, a landmark decision marking the first time that public right of access became statutory. Yet it remains notable that while this act cemented the notion of public access to public records in the legislation it had, rather counter-productively, artificially constrained that access by enforcing a closure period upon the records.

This approach, privileging secrecy and closure above transparency and access, has been steadily eroded, beginning with the PRA 1967 reducing the closure period to 30 years, and culminating in the passing of the Freedom of Information Act 2000 (FOIA). In itself, FOIA did not address the provision established by the PRA that required government departments to transfer records after 30 years, rather, the paradigmatic shift in thought re-prioritised the public right of access, reducing the closure period from an effective 60 years (30 years prior to transfer and a further 30 year closure) to just 20, following the recommendations of an independent review published in 2009.

FOIA's legal premise promoting free access to publically held information binds most memory institutions in their position as a public body: they exist for the benefit of the general public, supplemented by public funding. Significantly however, sporting bodies do not fall within FOIA's legislative remit, a position that is not unchallenged, as demonstrated by the Football Supporters' Federation (FSF) who argue that the vast sums of public funding spent in the pursuit of a sports mega-event, such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games or the football World Cup, make the governance of sport a matter of great public interest (FSF, 2011). Yet organisations such as LOCOG and the BOA are considered private companies and subsequently remain exempt. Therefore, the statutory right of access, heralded by the PRA, championed by FOIA and now inalienable from the general public, bears significant implications for the dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy. Such public-private tensions are further explored in Chapter Eight.

As with the Public Record Office Act, the Local Government (Records) Act 1962 (LGRA) provided a foundation for the provision of archive services, although this legislation concerned itself with local authorities rather than the national interest.

Debatably a response to the growing network of County Record Offices created since the mid-1930s, the Act was principally concerned with service provision, stating that 'a local authority may do all such things as appear to it necessary or expedient for enabling adequate use to be made of records under its control' (LGRA 1962: 1 (1)). However, the LGRA also empowered services to collect beyond the simple accumulation of their own administrative records, encompassing all records of local significance.

By empowering local services to collect in this way, the LGRA presents possible issues for storing the London 2012 knowledge legacy, most notably in providing for a potentially fragmented and dispersed record. A mega-event on the scale of the Olympic and Paralympic Games is, by its very nature, 'an event of international significance…with mass popular appeal' (Roche, 2006); in other words it is an occasion that captures the imagination of people and communities far beyond the immediate extent of the host city. Indeed, London 2012 was considered to be an event for the whole United Kingdom, not just the city of London (DCMS, 2008: 9), and with the Cultural Olympiad being celebrated nationwide, there was ample scope for low-level collecting across the regions.

Such a potential geographic diffusion of London 2012 content is exacerbated by the management of the main documentary output of an Olympic and Paralympic Games. This has historically been fragmented into three distinct categories stored by separate institutions. The records of the bid are stored by a country's national archive, records relating to the planning and infrastructure are deposited with the host city's metropolitan archive (BMSD, 2009; Sola, 2009), whilst the OCOG's own material is retained by the IOC, eventually to be transferred to its repository in Lausanne.

The importance of this knowledge legacy is clearly demonstrated through the explicit inclusion of a section of the Host City Contract (HCC) concerned with 'Games Knowledge Management, Archives and Records Management' (IOC, 2005). Each host city is required to sign the HCC immediately after the announcement of its successful bid by the IOC, and whilst this document does not bind any memory institution explicitly, the implications it bears are pronounced.

An immediate facet of the HCC is to establish the exclusive rights which the IOC holds to any and all 'Olympic properties', for example the symbol, flag, and anthem, but also including terminology such as the 'Olympic Games'. This consideration, and the IOC's right to license the use of such objects for 'profit making', resulted in the passing of the London Olympic and Paralympic Games Act 2006, providing amendments to the Olympic Symbol etc. (Protection) Act 1995, and established the parameters within which use of the Olympic properties may be utilised.

Within Section 27 of the HCC there is a large emphasis on the sharing of information created and retained by the OCOG, the process otherwise known as Transfer of Knowledge (TOK). This system, established during the build-up for Sydney 2000, forms part of what has become the Olympic Games Knowledge Management (OGKM) platform (see Figure 5.3), which attempts to ensure that the knowledge of how to stage the complex operation that is an Olympic and Paralympic Games, garnered by staff over the approximate ten year period that constitutes the bid, planning, undertaking and evaluation of a Games, is retained within the Olympic Movement in order to assist future OCOGs (IOC, 2014).

Figure 5.3   *OGKM part of the Games Management Framework process*   (based on Blanchard, n.d.)

Olympic Charter
Host City Contract
Technical Manuals

Games Debriefing
Official Report
Olympic Games Impact
Final CoCom Report

DEFINE

EVALUATE

MONITOR

ASSIST

Coordination Commission
Master Plan
Game Readiness
Integrated Plan (GRIP)
Project Reviews
Integration

OGKM Services
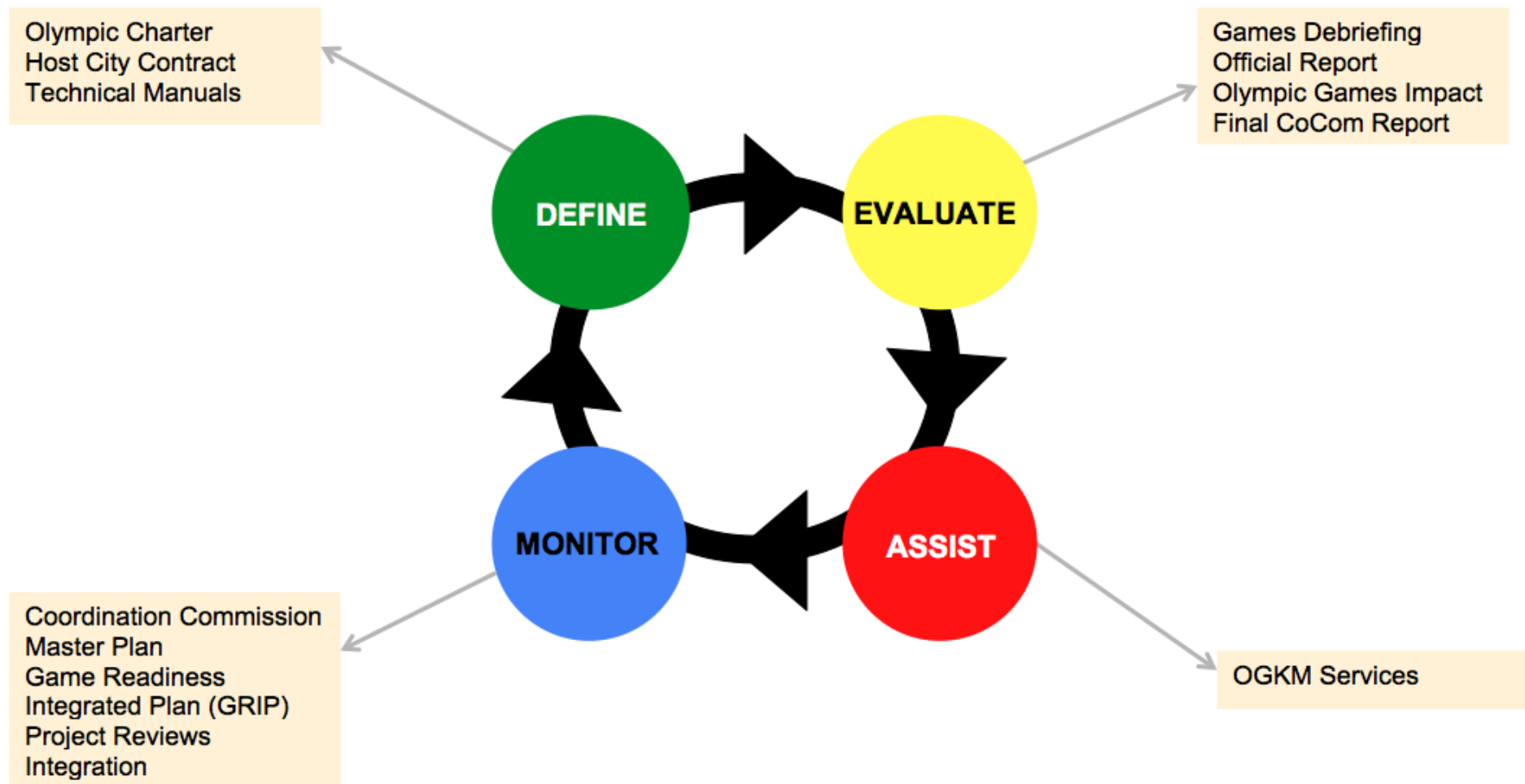
As the IOC owns the rights to and the brand of an Olympic and Paralympic Games, it has a responsibility for quality control over the event, yet it is important to recognise the distinction that the IOC is not accountable for the organisation of a Games: the rights and brand are franchised to the respective OCOG, which is then solely responsible for delivering the event itself. As an OCOG is an organisation with a limited lifespan of approximately seven years, it is very important that the information generated is duly captured and retained, not an insignificant challenge. It is therefore unsurprising to discover in the HCC the stipulation that 'Upon conclusion of the Games, the OCOG will deliver to the IOC, in a format(s) determined by the IOC, the necessary archives including, but not limited to, documents, publications, software, technology solutions, video and photo archives.' (IOC, 2005: 27 c).

That this was identified as a priority for London 2012 should come as no surprise, however, TNA's involvement in the process has been more remarkable than at previous Games. Where the origins of TOK and the OGKM can be attributed to the foresight of Sydney 2000, the perseverance and initiative of TNA and the former MLA has resulted in another ground-breaking agreement: London 2012 represented 'the first time records from a Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games have been deposited with a host country' (Owens, 2013: 29). Beyond this, the material deposited with TNA comprises the first complete collection of Olympic content, documenting the experience from start to finish, from bid to closing ceremony.

It is important to comment upon the complications of storage and access raised by the public-private tension surrounding the ownership of London 2012 content. LOCOG's archive was acquired under a deposit agreement with the IOC, not as a gift which would

have transferred ownership to TNA (Williams, 2012b). TNA (2006) identified five methods of acquisition typically utilised by memory institutions:

(i)   transfer from parent authority where content belongs to them;

(ii)   transfer from external organisations or individuals (i.e. Acceptance in Lieu or the reinstatement of content that has fallen out of official custody);

(iii)   statutory deposit (in accordance with existing legislation, i.e. Legal Deposit);

(iv)   loan, whereby custody of records is assumed by a memory institution but ownership resides with the records' creator; and

(v)   gift, bequest or purchase, whereby a memory institution obtains outright ownership of content

Therefore London 2012 content can be seen to fall into the fourth category. However, as a public organisation bound by FOIA, TNA is obliged to uphold its public right of access, a right subsequently extended to London 2012 content that could conceivably be closed by its owners, the IOC. For these reasons, rather than operate under the existing model that saw content as *closed* until *open*, records' creators were encouraged to work on the principle that records should be regarded as *open* as far as possible (Williams, 2012a). In such a manner, possible conflicts between private interest and public right might be avoided.

The scale of this task provides its own challenge: TNA estimates the records of the first 'Digital Games' to be comprised of up to 5 terabytes of data, the equivalent of approximately 50 kilometres of analogue content (TNA, 2012a). Managing what is considered to be TNA's first true digital archive certainly has implications for the storage of the London 2012 knowledge legacy, but the nature of the output, or records, of the event as being principally 'digital' also impacts upon issues surrounding the collection of content.

The growing importance of technology in recordkeeping can be observed in this transition from analogue to digital content and consequently, this has been addressed in requisite legislation. As mentioned earlier, in the same way that the IOC has taken care to specify the inclusion of multiple 'format(s)', which include 'software, technology solutions, video and photo archives' in the HCC, so has the LDLA extended to cover Non-Print Legal Deposit (NPLD).

Though inclusive of NPLD, the LDLA did not empower any of the legal deposit libraries to officially acquire non-print content, rather it served as enabling legislation, reliant upon the subordinate Legal Deposit Libraries (Non-Print Works) Regulations 2013 to enforce it (Green, 2012). This situation proved to be important with respect to the collection of a knowledge legacy, as the Regulations are notably post-London 2012. The immediate effect that this had upon the BL's provision of a UK Web Archive is that it had no legal basis upon which to acquire digital content, including websites and social media outlets, relating to the Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The pursuant strategy, mindful of the lack of a legal basis for collection, was to seek and negotiate permissions for content to be acquired and included within UKWA, an immediate result of this strategy has been a clear division of UKWA between content acquired prior to the Regulations, that remains openly accessible via the internet, and that which subsequently falls within its framework, access to which is restricted to the premises of the BL. This outcome, largely due to an apparent adversarial relationship between libraries and publishers, and somewhat demonstrative of a dominant print paradigm in an increasingly digital environment, is severely restrictive of access, including an outright ban on obtaining digital copies of content (Green, 2012).

A final consideration aroused by the implementation of NPLD is the issue of territoriality. Field (2004: 96) outlined the issue stating that 'online publications could not be tackled without resolution of what constitutes a United Kingdom publication in the online world'. This further demonstrated the competing economic interests of publishers, with memory institutions' concerns to avoid the creation of a 'deposit gap' surrounding what content could be considered a legitimate element of the cultural and intellectual record of the UK.

As can be seen, the legislative framework governing the UK's memory institutions had a considerable effect on their activities relating to the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy, the intricacies of which are explored more fully in the following chapters. Yet to obtain a more comprehensive picture of how memory institutions operate in relation to each other, it is pertinent to consider the channels of communication which they maintain.

THE ARCHIVAL CHAIN

In the case of London 2012 there seems to exist a paradoxical situation where the knowledge legacy is at once contained and diffuse. Content has been drawn together at TNA in an unprecedented fashion, whilst there remains a wider body of material spread throughout the UK and maintained by local services, specialist museums, and in company records of private institutions. The potential for Olympic and Paralympic content to exist in several repositories concurrently, necessitates memory institutions to attempt to define the precise constraints that determine where material is to be located.

A clear and present concern for digital archiving has been identified in the question of territoriality, yet this is not an entirely novel question. The distinguishing characteristic of territoriality is the challenge of determining the geographic boundary that curtails a memory institution's collecting remit in the digital realm, something which is very easily reconciled in an analogue environment by the precise extent of a geographical area. Boundaries, however, have not remained fixed and immutable since time immemorial, indeed, they can be fluid, with an observable geographic boundary able to represent multiple distinctions in itself, delineating an area, city, and even country at once. This can lead to conflicts of interest regarding the acquisition of archival content, in which terms London 2012 presents a particularly notable case, especially when concerning the Olympic Park and London's host Boroughs.

An aspect of the successful bid for London 2012 was to instigate the regeneration of East London (DCMS, 2008) leading to a significant proportion of events being based in the six neighbouring Boroughs of Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, and Waltham Forest. The proximity of these Boroughs can lead to a certain amount of overlap between them, a good example of this can be seen in Bethnal Green, which exists as both a part of Tower Hamlets and Hackney, which in turn can create potential overlaps in the content held by the individual borough archives. Furthermore, as alluded to earlier in this chapter, several of the six host Boroughs share boundaries which cover an area of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (see Figure 5.4). Although the majority of the Olympic Park is situated within the boundary of Newham, this does not necessitate that its archive service is the automatic repository for related Olympic content.

Figure 5.4 *Map of London 2012 host Boroughs*
(based on Strategic Regeneration Framework, 2011)
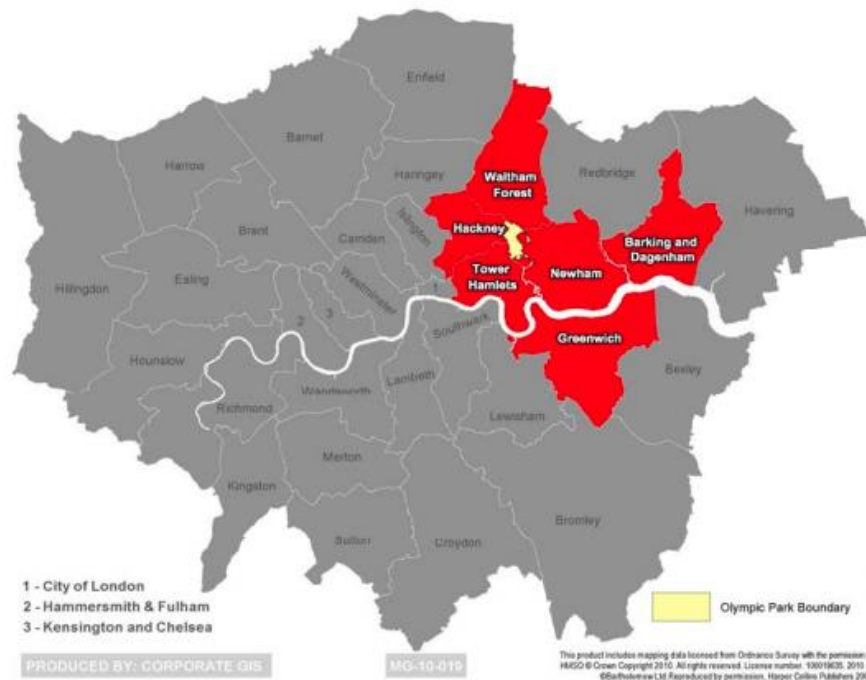
In the first part of this chapter it was observed that both the LMA and the MoL collected material relating to the Greater London area, one that envelops the host Boroughs and the Olympic Park. It has also been established that a city's metropolitan archive is the usual place of deposit for records of the planning and infrastructure surrounding an Olympic and Paralympic Games. Therefore, it is possible to determine that the complexities of addressing London 2012 go beyond the shared boundaries of the requisite Boroughs, despite the Olympic Park occupying a geographically defined space.

To further complicate matters, as a mega-event of (inter)national significance, London 2012 falls within the remit of both TNA and the BL as national memory institutions. TNA's successful project to bring together a 'complete' archive of an Olympic and Paralympic Games has resulted in them managing content that otherwise would have

Figure 5.5   *Organisational structure of 'The Record'*   (based on TNA, 2010)

The National Archives

THE RECORD: London 2012 and the Cultural Olympiad

Archives Cross-Cutting Group (CCG)

Central Bodies Group

Cultural Bodies Group

Public Record Holding Bodies Group

Repositories Group

Local Authorities Group

Sporting Bodies Group
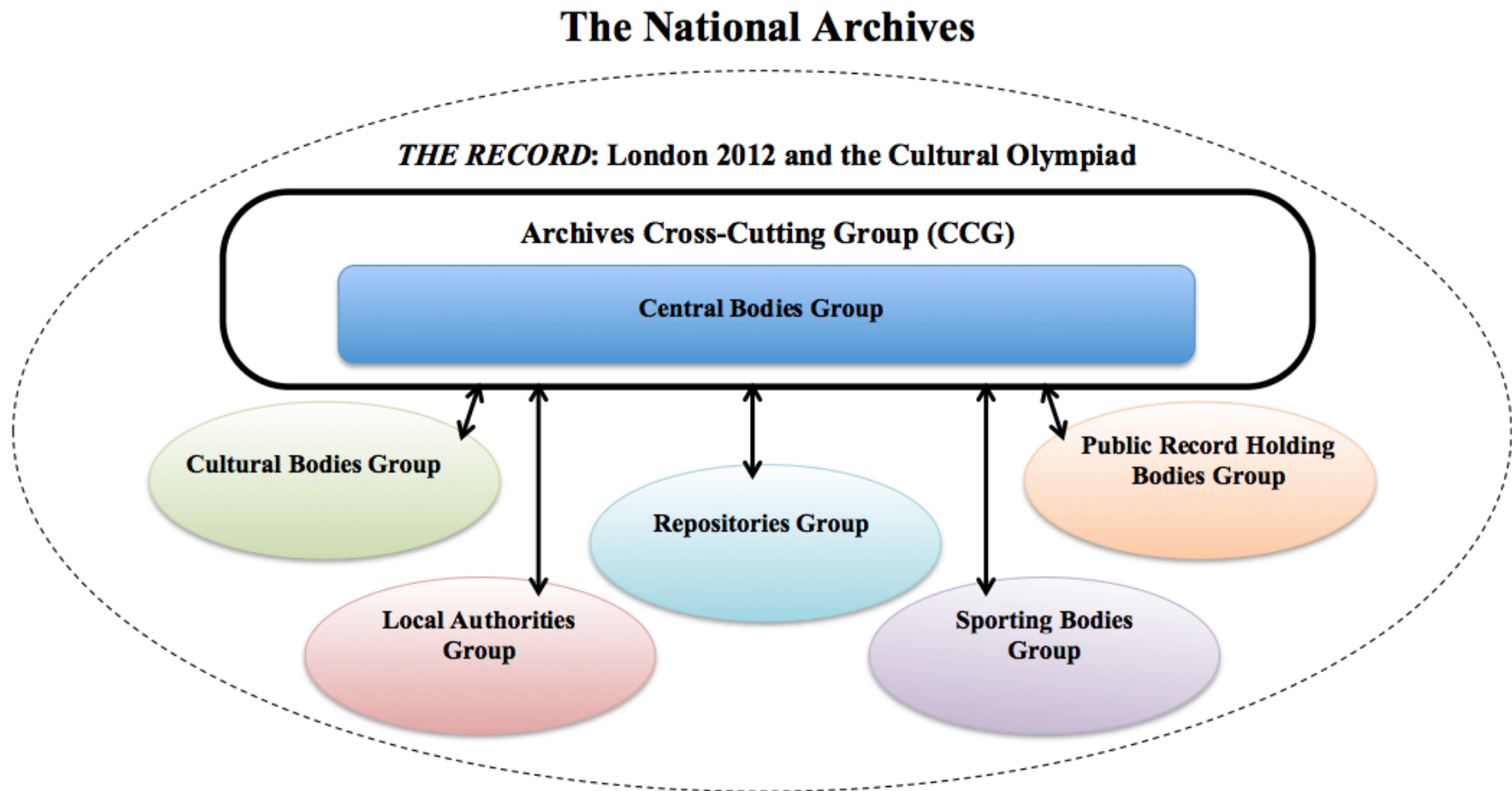
been stored by LMA and the IOC's own repository. With so many permutations and possible conflicts of interest, the potential for gaps in the knowledge legacy is significant. As such, it is essential that memory institutions do not operate in isolation, but, rather, constant communication channels are established, in order to avoid such an eventuality. The process by which TNA undertook to collect 'The Record' of London 2012 is demonstrable of this.

The origins of 'The Record' are entwined within London's bid, however, the project really began to take shape in the joint submission from TNA and the former MLA, entitled *Setting the Pace* (MLA, 2007). This document established the objectives of 'The Record' regarding its intention to map 'where records are created and where they are held' and to work with partners 'to ensure that the legacy of information created is used to its fullest potential' (MLA, 2007: 13). In order to competently address these objectives, TNA identified five working groups of key stakeholders spread across clearly defined sectors and areas of interest, overseen by a cross-cutting group which would act to coordinate and make necessary decisions arising from the undertaking.

Table 5.1 illustrates the different organisations that were involved in the working groups, and the responsibilities each group had in order to deliver 'The Record'. From this, it is clear to see the advisory capacity which TNA was beginning to adopt in place of the MLA, an integral part of driving the project forward being to establish and support clear channels of communication between themselves and each working group. This process of two-way communication (see Figure 5.5) ensured that 'The Record' was a collaborative process drawing together relevant institutions to continuously communicate with each other and TNA in order to avoid cross-purposes.

**Table 5.1**   *Organising 'The Record'*   (based on TNA, 2010)

Working group title	Organisations involved	Responsibilities
Archives Cross-Cutting Group [Central Bodies Group]	TNA; BOA; LOCOG; Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA); Government Olympic Executive (GOE).	Make decisions about scope, process and delivery.
Repositories Group	TNA; BL; LMA; BOA; British Broadcasting Company (BBC).	Lead on development of 'The Record'.
Public Record Holding Bodies Group	TNA; ODA; GOE; London Development Agency; Department of Communities and Local Government; Department for Transport; Department for Culture, Media and Sport; Metropolitan Police Service.	Required to fulfil statutory obligations for records creation, management, preservation and access.
Cultural Bodies Group	TNA; LOCOG; MLA; Arts Council England; BBC; LMA; Southbank Centre; Transport for London.	Will identify, host and/or deposit resources of cultural relevance.
Sporting Bodies Group	TNA; LOCOG; BOA; BPA; UK Sport; Sport England; sportscotland; Sports Council for Northern Ireland; Sports Council for Wales.	Will identify, host and/or deposit resources of sporting relevance.
Local Authorities Group	The six host Boroughs (Barking and Dagenham, Greenwich, Hackney, Newham, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest); Buckinghamshire County Council; Weymouth and Portland Borough Council.	Will identify and make proper provision for their own London 2012 records and prepare to receive multimedia deposits of local and/or national significance.

In order to document a strictly time-bound event such as London 2012, where record creating agencies are capable of forming, growing and disappearing in a very short period, 'The Record' was necessarily tightly coordinated and restricted to London 2012, but it remains essentially as a highly-structured representation of normal practice within memory institutions. An early consideration of what content is collected, stored and disseminated by any given memory institution is often down to its geographic remit, yet in instances where content which has come to their attention does not fall within their remit to collect, the material will not simply be rejected out of hand, rather it will be referred to a more suitable location.

A considerable factor when collecting is to ensure the relevance of content to the repository responsible for storing and disseminating it. If the content is not geographically relevant, it will be referred to somewhere where it is. Equally, ensuring the contextual relevance of material plays a part, and as such, even in instances where content is geographically relevant; it is possible that it could still be referred to as an alternative memory institution either due to boundary changes, or pre-existing specialist collections for example. Even in more prosaic instances where acquisition may not be financially feasible, or where storage space is at a premium, memory institutions are mindful to ensure that documentary heritage is collected and preserved, even where content is not directly relevant to their locale.

These relationships can be considered almost as a chain of referrals, horizontally between memory institutions with a restricted, local remit, and vertically with larger institutions, whose outlook is more national. In the case of London 2012, and more specifically the city of London, it is possible to envisage this as a pyramid owing to the ever-widening geographic remits: the host Boroughs collect for their locality, LMA and

Figure 5.6 *The archival pyramid*
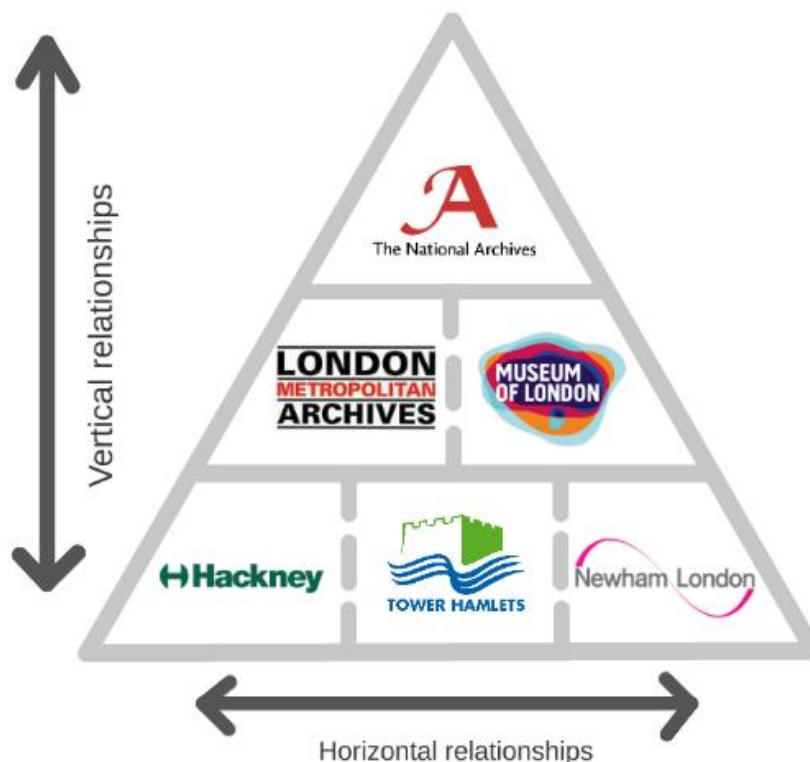
MoL cover the City of London and the Greater London area and, subsequently, the London Boroughs, and finally TNA, and other national memory institutions, collect for the entirety of the UK and, thus, also London (see Figure 5.6). Within this structure it is possible to identify horizontal relationships between, for example, the host Boroughs sharing, as they do, boundaries and elements of the Olympic Park, between LMA and the MoL for the Greater London area, and between TNA, the BL and other national bodies at the highest level, whilst also determining vertical relationships between each and every institution previously mentioned.

It is important to note that such relationships operate in a multidirectional manner, from the bottom-up, top-down, and middle-out. Here then, it is clear that memory institutions do not operate in isolation, but instead maintain strong links and open lines of communication to ensure that the multitude of potential conflicts of interest do not result in significant gaps in the knowledge legacy.

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CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the differing operational contexts in which the many memory institutions involved in archiving London 2012 operated. Therefore, the various backgrounds to the organisations participating in this study were outlined, delineating their specific histories, locations and premises that in turn shape the services in order to frame how these contexts can affect the manner in which various memory institutions operate.

As such the chapter considered the legislative environment which governed memory institutions and how they approached the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012 content. It demonstrated how legislation had guided the collection of material, yet also set the scene for a fragmentary record of the Games. Legislation, however, also controlled levels of access and dissemination that could be achieved. As legislation has increasingly moved to emphasise access, with memory institutions supporting the notion that content rather than being considered *closed* until *open*, the inverse should be prioritised. In this way, memory institutions have attempted to change the mind-set of records' creators in line with contemporary notions of transparency, accountability and open Government (Cabinet Office, 2015; TNA, n.d.).

Finally, although there were some implicit divisions created by the legislative context, secondary data analysis also revealed how memory institutions worked in collaboration to overcome such obstacles. In doing so they were better able to ensure that content was stored in the most appropriate location, and provided for a more comprehensive record of London 2012. Having discussed the secondary data analysis, the thesis now turns to the primary data collection and describes the three overarching themes that characterise participants' responses.

This chapter has elicited the histories that have shaped memory institutions, the legislation that governs their activities, and how their mutual concern for documentary heritage necessitates close working relationships. In this regard it becomes clear that the operational context surrounding the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy has a particular impact upon how a memory institution approaches these processes and, consequently, this is an important consideration that can affect the views of the participants presented in this thesis. The following three chapters independently explore the processes of collection, storage and dissemination in more detail through the views of the constituent stakeholders.

CHAPTER SIX – "MONEY IS THE THING; ALWAYS": HUMAN AND ORGANISATIONAL RESOURCES

The following three chapters independently address the principal themes revealed through data analysis. The titles of each chapter are derived from comments made during the interviews to illustrate the essence of the theme in question (Braun and Clarke, 2013; cf. Chapter Four). These concern the human and organisational resources available to memory institutions, the significant amounts of data being generated in modern society, and sport as an object of the archival gaze. Each chapter considers how these themes relate to the archival processes of collection, storage and dissemination, as articulated by the objectives of this thesis: (1) to describe how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms are being approached; (2) to assess how sport and Olympic related data can be sustained as a resource after London 2012; and (3) to identify how best London 2012 content can be disseminated, with an emphasis on community engagement. These processes, much like the themes themselves, are distinct yet retain close connections with levels of overlap throughout.

As defined in Chapter Five, primary data collection consisted of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with representatives from 13 organisations consisting of 11 memory institutions and two sporting bodies. These organisations were identified as belonging to either an '(Inter)National' or 'Local' sphere. However, as the themes are common across the data, discussion focuses on these commonalities, with any instances of tension or divergence being highlighted for analysis where they arise. Therefore, the following chapters present an interpretation of the views elicited from the participants in this study of the factors impacting the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy by memory institutions.

Figure 6.1   *First thematic network*
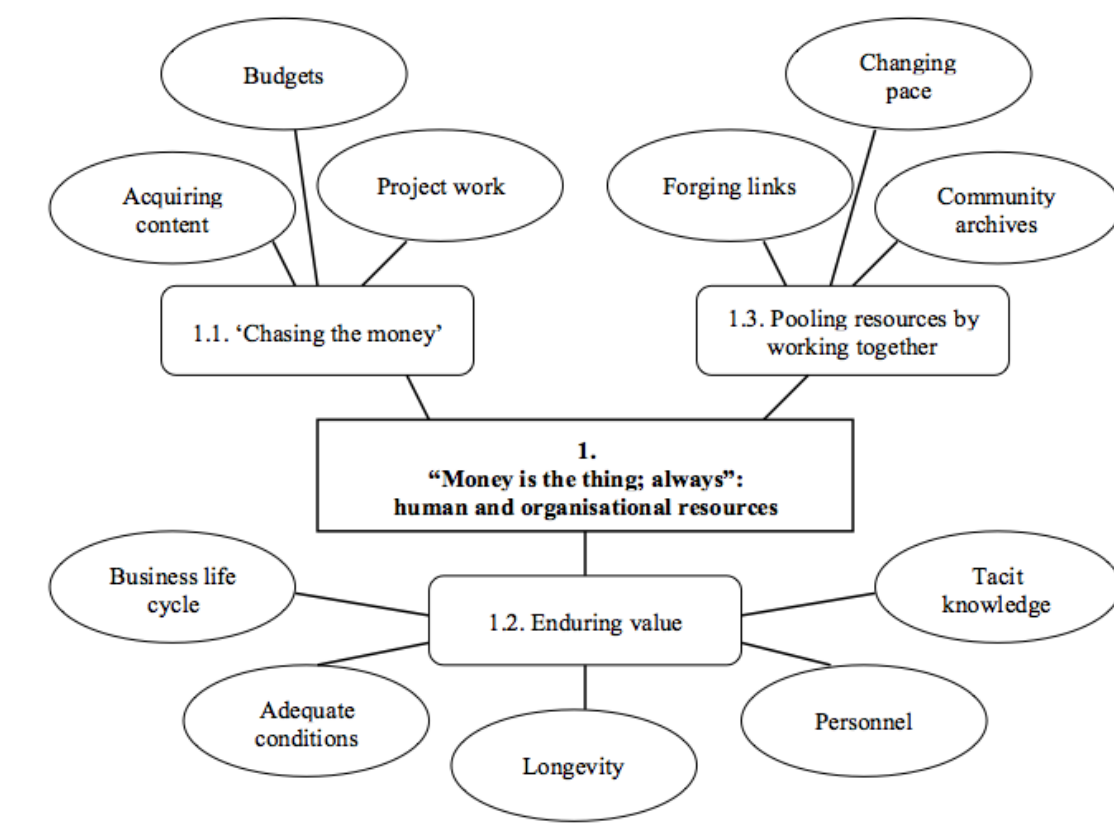
Thematic analysis of the interview transcripts revealed three main, or global, themes, the first of which, '"Money is the thing; always": human and organisational resources', is the focus of this chapter. That fiduciary concerns should be so thematically prominent is perhaps fitting insofar as London 2012 found itself ensnared between commitments towards hosting an Olympic spectacle and 'austerity' government measures promising reductions in public spending (Fussey et al., 2012). Indeed, such entrapment is arguably observable across many memory institutions, as the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) found itself an unwarranted casualty of 'austerity', the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) concluding that they found 'no persuasive reason for the Government's decision to abolish it' (DCMS, 2011: 40). Three organising themes emerged from the data that form the basis for analysis: 'chasing the money'; 'enduring value'; and 'pooling resources by working together' (see Figure 6.1).

This chapter contends that the human and organisational resources available to a memory institution played a significant, if largely implicit, role in facilitating the collection, storage and dissemination of a knowledge legacy for London 2012. I argue that, in the words of one respondent, 'Money is the thing; always' (ATG08: 445).

CHASING THE MONEY

This theme represents the issues and difficulties expressed by participants in relation to the constant demand upon human and organisational resources. The diverse content collected by memory institutions – from "mediaeval manuscripts and 19th Century novels" (ATG05: 320) to "electronic and born-digital records" (ATG21: 143) – all incur a cost to acquire. These costs are significant when considering the budgetary constraints ("I think resources are too thinly spread", ATG08: 422) within which a memory institution might operate in the coalition Government's 'Big Society' initiative (Cabinet Office, 2010), leading many to identify alternative sources of revenue. Such funding is often engendered as a project, however "these [projects] are long-term activities but the funding tends to come in parcels that's time-based, that's quite short timescales" (ATG09: 446) necessitating that memory institutions are frequently found to be 'chasing the money'.

Memory institutions acquire content in several ways. Participants indicated that "records are transferred to us" (ATG22: 336), that "some of it's through donation" (ATG25: 103) or "voluntary deposit" (ATG05: 217), and that content is "acquired through purchase" (ATGP03: 74). These methods of acquisition largely reflect those included in organisational collection policies (CBS, 2004; Hackney, 2014; LMA, 2014; MoL, 2011; TNA, 2006). Purchasing content is the most evident way in which

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organisational resources are consumed, as an immediate outlay must be made to finance acquisition. Yet purchasing content is not a purely financial decision and is reliant upon input from staff. Such considerations can result in sporting content being under-represented in memory institutions, a phenomenon to be explored at greater length in Chapter Eight, as illustrated in the observation, "I don't think sport collections are terribly … I just don't think they're very high up the food chain. I think there's much more concentration on literature, on history, on the big humanities subjects" (ATG23: 240).

To address evident lapses in collections, memory institutions often employ a process of gap-filling, a tactic particularly utilised at a macro, or high, level by local services. One London Borough interviewee reported, "one of the things we're currently looking at, at the moment, is gaps in our collection and what we should be targeting" (ATG21: 92). In this way, memory institutions can be seen to be taking an active role in the creation of the material they act as a repository for, their 'archival memory'. Another memory institution situated in the 'Local' sphere demonstrated how the London 2012 knowledge legacy was illuminated in such a manner, "the Paralympic collection at Stoke Mandeville was one of those gaps that we've been seeking to bring in a little bit over the last eight, maybe, years, no, maybe a bit less than that, seven" (ATG03: 21).

However, gap-filling can also be used in response to the micro, alongside grand archival designs. Another respondent demonstrated the value of this approach to acquiring content when reporting that a member of staff:

> *has audited, I suppose you could say, the [memory institution's] collections*
>
> *to look at what we actually have; to look at its physical condition, to try and*
>
> *identify any gaps in our collecting and fill those gaps; to replace material*

that might've been lost over the course of history sometimes due to interesting things like German incendiary bombs landing on storage facilities in [location]. That's a particular example; we did some spot purchasing to replace damaged material (ATG06: 258).

'Spot purchasing' reveals a financial impact implicit within this response that goes beyond simply spending money on improving the breadth of collections. Participants indicated a uniformity of purpose, most aptly articulated through the statement "the mission of our service is to collect, capture, preserve and celebrate the history of the borough" (ATG22: 18). These activities, whilst not exactly expressed in the same vocabulary as this thesis, demonstrate the archival processes of collecting, storing and disseminating ('capture', 'preserve' and 'celebrate' respectively), as central to memory institutions. Yet they also display a layer of complexity, uncovering how these processes intertwine and overlap, hinting towards the underlying professional paradox of access versus preservation, and evidencing how the act of collecting content cannot be divorced from the latter stages of storing and disseminating, and vice-versa.

In order to document a 'knowledge legacy' for London 2012, it is paramount that content is discoverable by the public: "there's no point in us having the content if people can't find it and use it" (ATG06: 324). To ensure content remains accessible over time, and therefore a sustainable resource, it is essential that it be preserved. The act of preservation is not without a cost implication, the specifics of which are more fully considered through participants' views expressed below. However it is pertinent to consider here an unusual position evidenced by the approach to preservation via purchase.

As suggested previously in recounting 'spot purchasing', the purchase of content was utilised 'to replace damaged material'. Purchase is also in evidence as a preventative measure however:

> *The [memory institution] also buys a whole load of other books, so second copies of things, because I think there's a distinction made between a preservation copy...and then if something's likely to be of high use, the library tends to buy a second one, which is usually the one that gets produced in the reading rooms. That way not all the readers of high use stuff are using the preservation copy* (ATG01: 76).

It is probable that it is a certain duality of purpose, incorporating elements of archives and 'traditional' library services which permitted preservation to be addressed in this manner (England and Bacchini, 2012). Archival material is commonly presumed to be unique and therefore irreplaceable. As such, it is unsurprising that archives do not usually acquire copies, or duplicates, of material (LMA, 2014; TNA, 2012c).

Despite the inclusion of purchase as an acquisition stream in most memory institutions' collection policies however, participants' responses indicated significant divergence between those in the '(Inter)National' sphere, and those located in the 'Local' sphere, especially in relation to London 2012. An '(Inter)National' respondent, for example, describes a very active approach to collecting material, "there was a map created, I think in 2007 of all the organisations involved, from public to private, commercial and all sorts of things…That's how we helped or meant who we were going to engage with in terms of records" (ATG09: 181). Such a pro-active approach, identifying the numerous record-creating bodies involved in London 2012 (see Figure 3.1 and Table 5.1), presents a stark contrast to the "reactive really rather than pro-active" (ATG22: 183) approach adopted by 'Local' memory institutions.

A revealing illustration of "reactionary" (ATG03: 95) collecting came from the 'Local' sphere, "we rely on people approaching us, offering material. Or people letting us know of things … But yeah we don't go out and actively approach organisations and say to them 'have you got records you would like to deposit with us?'" (ATG03: 194). Another respondent further supported this approach, "it's often been people coming to us rather than us going to other people" (ATG21: 43). In both instances, however, the participants justified their position, the former declaring, "we don't have a lot of space to be taking things in" (ATG03: 96), while the latter cited a "lack of staffing" (ATG21: 43). Both these positions reveal a financial concern underlying acquisition, both in terms of human and organisational resources. Moreover, a reactionary approach to documenting a 'knowledge legacy' for London 2012 has implications for a wider narrative present in both archivistics and literature on memory studies revealed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two discussed Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1992), particularly with reference to the presentist, top-down, approach they identified as creating 'official' state histories, whilst obscuring lived and experienced 'people's' histories. This position mirrors early archival theory that elevates the figure of the archivist almost to that of an observer, passively guarding the accumulation of content under their supervision. Whilst Chapter Three deterred any notions of collusion between archivists and narratives of nation-state, it would seem a risk remains of promoting such a perspective, particularly for an Olympic and Paralympic Games built upon a foundation of legacy (Evans, 2013; Weed, 2013) and as displayed by Table 6.1, one that consumed considerable government spending during a period of recession ("there was a

Table 6.1   *Public spending for London 2012*   (based on Girginov, 2013)

Item	£ million
ODA	7, 321
LOCOG Park Operation	67
Policing and wider security	475
Venue security	282
Paralympic Games	95
Funding available to LOCOG	63
City operations	22.5
Other operational provisions	63.5
Look of London	32
Elite and community sport	290
Contingency	587
Total	9, 298

real need for this mega event to be documented, because it was being – not to put too fine a point on it – underwritten with public money", ATG10: 62).

However, for an event backed by substantial public investment, maintained at £9.6 billion following the Government's CSR (HM Treasury, 2010: 66), support was not as forthcoming to assist with the creation of a knowledge legacy,

> *DCMS did open a conversation with the head of LOCOG, Deighton; Paul Deighton, at the time, who, essentially said, 'OK, let's talk about it'. We have an email somewhere, which states something like, 'though we have no budget line at LOCOG to support this'. Making it quite clear from the beginning, happy to talk and engage, but they could not put any funds into the handing over of the records at the end of the Games* (ATG10: 72).

This situation complicated an already difficult picture in which respondents discussed the effects of "shrinking our position budgets" (ATGP04: 76).

Respondents in the '(Inter)National' sphere alluded to the manner in which budgetary restrictions curtailed collection, yet they also recognised that this was not a problem unique to memory institutions. As one recalled,

The whole process was very much like herding kittens. It was not a successful process. We weren't resourced to do everything we wanted to. Certainly the bodies we were dealing with weren't resourced to do everything that we might have wanted them to do. Given more coordinated designated resource, a lot more could have been done, but I think overall we probably did better than any previous games had done (ATG08: 510).

Indeed, responses from the organisations explicitly involved in records creation also highlighted their fiduciary constraints, "So as an organisation we are not government funded. We receive a small amount of ring-fenced funding from UK Sport" (ATG26: 21).

The financial burdens that affected both memory institutions and creating agencies revealed an unfortunate side-effect that influenced the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012 content. One participant explained,

As far as the [creating agency's] collection is concerned, we don't really take new items; that is not what we are here to do. The collection really for us, it's a bit of a secondary thing, it's not our main priority as an organisation. It's not something we have any funding for, which obviously makes things a little bit tricky as far as housing and storage is concerned (ATG24: 44).

Such a perspective was further elaborated upon in the observation that,

> *as I've said we're a small organisation with extremely limited resource that has to deliver a huge project every two years when we take the team to the Games. So I think it would either need partnership working, as I say, where it's cost-neutral, or it would need somebody actually saying to us, 'This is something that you should be doing and we need to look at this. Let's think of how we can get some funding in for it', and then get some specific resource into the organisation to make it happen. It won't happen if it's just down to the people that are here day-to-day and what they have to deliver* (ATG26: 349).

Just as with memory institutions, these responses demonstrated the necessity of choice. As was also evident in LOCOG's lack of support for memory institutions, the financial burden upon the creating agencies involved in London 2012 obliged these organisations to uphold their primary purpose in precedence to the creation of a knowledge legacy. As further discussed in Chapter Eight, the delivery of the Games is paramount, whilst legacy is a problem for another time and another person.

As identified by the previous response, partnerships can be a valuable way of achieving shared goals, particularly when working to a restricted budget. This point is addressed later in this chapter, however, participants also recognised the value of,

> *standing on your own two feet, which is basically about income generation, which has become increasingly important in the light of the context of the last few years. Every heritage, cultural institution, has found that its traditional sources of funding have shrunk and, therefore, has to look at other ways of balancing the books* (ATG11: 20).

One novel manner evidenced during this study was the move to become an 'arm's length organisation', as seen with the Olympic Borough of Greenwich.

Greenwich Heritage Centre's (GHC) decision to adopt Trust Status is a prime example of a memory institution 'chasing the money'. During a research visit to GHC a member of staff explained that the decision was based upon the recognition that "archives and local studies are at the bottom of the pecking order for funds". This observation is supported by a similar move by Nottinghamshire County Council. Both organisations cite the availability of a wider funding pool, owing to the service not being council-funded, as being a primary driver behind the move (Nottinghamshire County Council, n.d.).

The MLA has already been highlighted as a casualty of 'austerity' earlier in this chapter and Chapter Two better discussed the CSR's impact on memory institutions; however, the gradual erosion of structures at a local level also presents challenges. Whilst the incumbent Government's latest Spending Review promises stable funding for memory institutions (HM Treasury, 2015: 7.8), the effects of the previous review are still being felt. Indeed Lancashire County Council's recent announcement of plans to save £262 million by 2020 has come at the expense of over 40 local memory institutions (BBC, 2015b). Furthermore, control of 32 of Leicestershire's 36 public libraries is reportedly being 'handed over to community groups within the next six months' (CILIP, 2015b: 6). The irony of such a development was keenly observed in the reminder that "community archives need some kind of formal support, ultimately, or potentially will need formal support. That's often in the shape of the local record offices. The problem is, that the local record offices, their network, their resourcing is being shrunk" (ATG10: 398).

As evidenced by the response, "You don't know where your funding is going to come from, and there is always a risk that the funding source that you have will stop" (ATG26: 157), there was an anxiety surrounding money which pervaded the memory institutions that participated in this study. The move to access a potentially wider funding pool in response to dwindling pecuniary assets as alluded to above, is further evidence of this sense of uncertainty and insecurity. In response, many participants identified a reliance on short-term funding in the form of project work.

Interviewees across both spheres acknowledged project work as another potential income stream and how this can help memory institutions to bolster their budgets, and enables services to go beyond their routine operations. Just as observed with creating agencies earlier in this section, who were unable to work beyond their core priorities to support archival intervention, neither were memory institutions able to extend outside of their own fiscal means. Project work provided the necessary funding that permitted some memory institutions, for example, to collect Olympic content that might otherwise have been missed, "There was a project which we were involved in but which is mostly run by the [memory institution] called 'Mapping the Change' and it had been hoped, at least at the beginning, that that might bring in some records from members of the public" (ATG21: 52).

In such instances project work was also observed to facilitate services in the 'Local' sphere to be more pro-active when collecting, in contrast to the reactive approach identified above,

> *Separately to that we did an oral history project, 'Old Ford Voices' which*
> *was, I wanted to target the area that was closest to the Olympic Park, i.e.*

The Fish Island and Old Ford areas of Bow and we with, again, 'Mapping

the Change' staff project workers recorded some oral history interviews

with residents of that area (ATG22: 102).

A significant element of such a pro-active approach is also evident in the observation that "In terms of social engagement and community engagement and the [memory institution's] point of view it worked extremely well" (ATG21: 57). Furthermore obtaining project funding enabled 'Local' services to reach non-typical audiences,

We've had three collection development projects going on where we looked

at collecting oral histories from under represented communities. This was

funded by HLF [Heritage Lottery Fund] through TNA's 'Opening Archives

Project' ... We [also] got some money from HLF to do a project on our

deeds collection which includes developing Key Stage 2 resource packs for

the schools (ATG22: 379).

Therefore it is clear that project work provides an effective way in which memory institutions are not only able to collect content, but also to disseminate it in a manner that helps to widen community engagement.

Yet establishing a funding model premised upon project work was not considered particularly sustainable. One participant elaborated upon this fact explaining that, "if they do gain development funding for example, it's quite finite, it's quite project-based which I kind of take issue with across heritage and arts really. These are long-term activities but the funding tends to come in parcels that's time-based, that's quite short timescales" (ATG09: 447). The particular danger of utilising short-term funding when documenting long-term phenomena was evidenced in relation to the process of gap-filling.

The process of gap-filling alluded to earlier was described as a method of retroactive collection development, as memory institutions sought to combat oversights in previous collecting practice. However, respondents recognised that a wholesale shift towards project-based collecting could significantly exacerbate this, "with the loss of the subject focus there wouldn't be anyone to do that routinely, because if we're moving from regular collection management to project work there's going to be gaps" *(ATG12: 262)*. The same participant later reiterated this point, emphasising that,

> *We're going to end up with very spotty collections, because there'll be a bit of work done on a collection as a project. If and when there is resource or there's particular interest, like there's an Olympic Games or an election, or whatever, and in between that there will be lacunae or gaps* (ATG12: 523).

Of particular note here was the speculation of if 'there's particular interest'. As a mega-event, London 2012 represented a divergence from the status quo for the host nation and, consequently, generated considerable attention. As such it represented a contemporary cultural zeitgeist and it was without doubt that London 2012 would be the subject of project work. Subsequently a considerable amount of funding was available to memory institutions in the run-up to London 2012, however, in order to develop sustainable collections funding must be available beyond the conclusion of an event. Yet as one participant described,

> *we're looking at picking up on big events big happenings where people are showing an interest and then you've got something you can hang your message on. I think that's really where the future of that sort of activity lies. At the moment everything is First World War. Everything, everywhere is First World War* (ATG08: 456).

The budgetary constraints faced by memory institutions makes the pursuit of funding a tempting prospect, although 'chasing the money' in this way resulted in many projects concluding almost simultaneously with London 2012's Closing Ceremony.

A particular challenge faced by memory institutions when collecting, storing and disseminating the London 2012 knowledge legacy was that funding models premised upon the cultural zeitgeist leaves open Ham's (1975: 8) criticism that they will 'remain at best nothing more than a weathervane moved by the changing winds of historiography". 'Chasing the money' revealed several facets of the human and organisational resources available to memory institutions in relation to budgets and the acquisition of content. Nevertheless project work can be of extreme benefit to organisations in facilitating complicated and expensive work that shrinking budgets could not necessarily sustain. These on-going collection management issues characterise the next organising theme, 'enduring value'.

ENDURING VALUE

The previous section illustrated the experiences of memory institutions when collecting a knowledge legacy for London 2012 in terms of their human and organisational resources. However, "In tandem with our ability to create content is our ability to store it. It has huge energy and cost implications thereafter" (ATG05: 239). Collecting content does not preclude permanence, indeed 'being in that privileged state does not ensure their equal treatment thereafter' (Cook, 2011a: 606). This contention is most clearly evident in what was described as the business lifecycle,

> *So lifecycle costs become important. Is it catalogued? Is there metadata?*
> *Where are we going to put it? How do we store it? How much does it cost to*

store? All of that then, so there's an assessment. Have we already got it? So

there's an assessment made with all of that (ATG23: 175).

This demonstrated that collecting decisions could be underpinned by the cost implications of subsequent processes, thus revealing a necessary contingency of collection upon storage upon dissemination and vice versa.

Another participant characterised such decisions as "a three-way balance" (ATG08: 137). This chapter previously revealed that duplication of content is not something that memory institutions typically strive towards, "are there competitors out there that do it better than we do … ?" (ATG06: 84), whilst also indicating that providing access was a core concern, "Because if people can't find it it'll be sitting in a box in the dark for the next 100 years. There's really no point in storing material that people can't get access to, so it's essential" (ATG17: 277). Such opinion was common in interviewees' responses providing further evidence that financial considerations permeated decisions based on the business lifecycle of content,

It's the value of the information in the record balanced against the unique

value of that information. Have we got the best record or has someone else

got a better record? Then set against both of those two is the effort, the cost,

the staff effort in actually securing it and passing it through to archive, and

in these days also assessing can it be made available or not? (ATG08: 137).

This section, however, is more specifically concerned with issues typically associated with the storage of content. In order for London 2012's knowledge legacy to be sustained for future generations, it is important to ensure the longevity of material.

Participants described longevity, or preservation to use a more prosaic term, as a choice between explicit short-term savings and implicit 'enduring value'. This cost-benefit

decision necessitated by constrained organisational resources, dictated that memory institutions needed to carefully consider the necessary equilibrium between access and preservation confronting the sustainability of London 2012 content.

> *It's about re-evaluating what you've got against of the costs of maybe – like, for instance, if one of our newspapers, the reels, gets damaged. I know that the [memory institution] would charge us about £80 to £90 for a new one, so is there another way I can repair it?* (ATG25: 167).

The need to minimise expenditure contrasted with their remit to facilitate access could determine the direction memory institutions pursued.

Digitisation was one particular approach to preservation evidenced by respondents. Through this, physical content once only accessible on-site could theoretically be made readily accessible online to a remote audience. Although the specific practicalities of this were not so straightforward, as discussed in the next chapter, digitisation was a popular approach especially as it seemed to marry the conflicting demands of longevity with access. However, its limitations were also recognised, "it's not about getting rid of the paper, it's about finding more effective ways of storing it. But we are mindful of the fact that any form of digital thing is costly" (ATG25: 228). The expense of working with digital material proved prohibitive to several memory institutions in the 'Local' sphere. This was sometimes a decisive factor in the provision of digitisation as this respondent continued, "a perfect example is me scanning these books. If I was to get someone to do it for me you're looking at maybe £2 or £3 a page. £2 or £3 a page for a 400-page book, that's £400 plus VAT" (ATG25: 231).

Digitisation illustrated a significant manner in which memory institutions provided 'enduring value', as the digital surrogates created through the process relieved demand

Figure 6.2   *Damaged map of Olympic site*   (NHA, photograph by author)

upon heavily utilised content. Heavy use of material can be particularly damaging to content, a fact well demonstrated in the case of a map of the site that would become the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park (see Figure 6.2). It was, perhaps, unsurprising to find that memory institutions acted to reduce the risks posed to content by ensuring that they acquired material for which they could provide adequate storage conditions, "We try not to take film material simply because we don't have the specialist storage required to store it properly" (ATG03: 98). However, simply providing storage was not enough to sustain 'enduring value' for London 2012 content, "long-term preservation is obviously a major issue, it's not just a question of putting it in a nice environmentally controlled storeroom then leaving it so that's the main thing" (ATG21: 153).

Even the provision of environmentally controlled storage presents challenges, however, as this respondent indicated,

We had two strongrooms which were interconnected. Space was the issue,

the main issue, but we also had some issues with the environmental

controls. One of the rooms tended to get – the humidity tended to vary too

much and got particularly too high in the summer and the other room, we

had problems with the temperature getting too high (ATG21: 175)

Indeed, the evidence obtained from participants highlighted that maintaining the adequate conditions required to sustain a knowledge legacy for London 2012 was an ever present concern, and that disaster planning was integral to any such intentions ("God forbid, there's a fire or there's a flood" ATG25: 243). This, of course, has implications for the human and organisational resources available to a memory institution, "It's down to resource as well. That can create more of a risk, because people aren't aware of things like security, fire, flood and so on, or if they are there's not much they can do about those risks" (ATG09: 474).

Such comments are particularly significant in relation to London 2012 as the condition of pre-existing sporting records was not always ideal,

sadly when everything was at [location] there was a flood and we lost a lot

of items. Again, I've been told we lost a lot of items, I don't know what we

lost or exactly how many. Some of the records, they do go back to the start

of the organisation in 1905 but I can't tell you what (ATG24: 62).

Yet this should not be taken to mean that contemporary content is immune from concerns surrounding longevity. This point is well documented by Mumma (2011) and Williams (2012b) who recount the experiences of Vancouver who, when documenting the records from the 2010 Winter Games, found their paper bid-records beset by a silverfish infestation. Those records were less than ten years old, most likely no more than four or five years old, but the inadequate conditions in which they had been

maintained by the creating agency had resulted in a huge strain on the human and organisational resources of Vancouver City Archives in order to undertake the necessary preservation work.

The most prevalent issue specifically confronting the organisational resources of memory institutions was that of space, "When we were in our old building space was an issue, we were more than 100 per cent full and things were being stored in inappropriate areas" (ATG21: 128). Beyond the implications to the longevity of records precipitated by inadequate conditions, the 'enduring value' of content can be undermined by a multiplication of storage facilities, "at the moment we're fighting on space. We have this site but we've also got five other sites where we've got stuff! We'd like to get it all together on one site but the reality is that it's about cost, space and then you have to look at … Can we keep this thing or can it go elsewhere?" (ATG25: 134). Splitting the storage of collections in such a manner was not beneficial for the provision of access to content as any material stored off-site was not immediately retrievable by staff.

Moreover the demand this placed upon memory institutions' human and organisational resources, particularly in smaller organisations without the necessary space to support content to be stored in a singular on-site repository, was such that staff were required to develop an encyclopaedic knowledge of their holdings and, often, locations.

> *for instance if you ask me where [archive] is I know it's not on this site, I know exactly where it is. For instance with that [archive] collection, I know that's definitely here in our store. There are certain items we know exactly where they are. That's why we're doing the inventory project in order that there is a catalogue for the public* (ATG25: 290).

In terms of dissemination, this situation was liable to create an extreme researcher-archivist dependence where the human resources largely determine the level of access available to the general public,

> *We ask that people contact before, because when the people come we organise what we say in orientation session with the Library and Archives so that people can explain what the subject and then we can ... then [to] you we bring the list of files and they are really depending on us to be able to research* (ATG20: 315).

This phenomenon was clearly demonstrated by the experience of GHC.

GHC's relocation into new premises, following their move to adopt Trust status, precipitated a dilution in collections knowledge. An informal conversation with staff during a research visit to the organisation indicated that distancing GHC from the central council offices, and subsequently the museum service, created some confusion when attempting to locate content. The division of staff between the old and new location meant that some staff with intimate knowledge of where material was previously stored were left behind. The implicit understanding such staff developed resulted in idiosyncratic references to former location being used such as 'in strongroom' with the result that such knowledge has been lost to the service.

Such a position as evidenced above is demonstrative of the importance of tacit knowledge to the 'enduring value' of content. Chapter Two indicated that an increasing tendency towards the transience of staff, exacerbated by a move to project work as discussed in the first section of this chapter, has resulted in a diluted knowledge base within memory institutions. Indeed, tacit knowledge was implicitly evidenced as an important human resource,

there's nobody you can speak to who would know more about this than I do

because I'm the person who's done all the work on the archives, and I'm the

person who knows the collections there; in many ways better than the

organisations do themselves, because when they're looking for something

they ring me (ATG03: 699).

Furthermore, another respondent revealed that, "if anyone is going to talk to you about the information management and records management aspect of what went on it would be me. There just isn't anyone else who was as involved and could do it" (ATG08: 544). As such, a significant element of London 2012's knowledge legacy is embodied by the human resources available to a memory institution.

However, in order to represent 'enduring value', tacit knowledge must be retained by memory institutions. That the specific expertise gained during the Games was acquired by singular individuals posed a threat to the sustainability of London 2012 content. Responses evidenced that this was a very real threat, "I should tell you that during the Olympic period – my manager left a month ago so she was the person in charge during that period" (ATG21: 17) and "in fact I think the collection must have happened in the interregnum between her leaving and my arriving" (ATG01: 51). Moreover the CSR discussed in Chapter Two has prompted ever more rapid change within memory institutions, "we were about six months into it – and then there was an internal reorganisation and restructuring and I moved jobs completely" (ATG08: 30), with the result that organisational restructuring has further diluted the internal knowledge legacy.

The restructuring of services had a particular impact upon personnel within memory institutions, "So it's more a question of the capacity – and here I mean staff resources … That's a question of, yes, time and effort really" (ATG06: 249). This identification of

the capacity of staff is evident of the implications in terms of human and organisational resources, especially for smaller services, "We're a small archive but we try and do the best we can and I don't think sometimes people understand the difficulties that we have in trying to keep the service going" (ATG25: 361).

The anticipated impact of London 2012 upon shrinking services was such that some 'Local' memory institutions acted to prevent their human resources being stretched too thin,

> *the period of the Olympics was an absolute ghost town in London. We actually had fewer people in than ever before ... So we had, actually expecting a deluge of tourists, had got an internal secondment of two additional members of staff to cope with the additional demand and as it happened it was not needed at all* (ATG22: 294).

However, it was interesting to note that this experience was not universal among organisations.

> *From the moment it was announced it started to get busy and we not only had local people interested in the archives but you had people who had moved away, people from Australia, Canada, America who might have lived or been born in the borough and moved away* (ATG25: 39).

This respondent indicated that the human and organisational resources available to them were entirely insufficient, "it was hell before, hell during and hell after" (personal comment during telephone conversation).

The severe lack of resources reported in this instance had extreme implications for the level of access that could be provided to content during London 2012, "I found especially to do with the Olympics we were really challenged in terms of catering for

people that came here" (ATG25: 381). The strain upon service in evidence here had an adverse effect on the 'enduring value' of content as access was limited to what could be provided by the human and organisational resources available at the time. The increased demands placed upon the service beyond the standard day-to-day operations resulted in 'enduring value' being undermined by an artificial restriction to dissemination that reflects concerns described earlier in this chapter that the role of memory institutions is to preserve content for future use.

Having observed that memory institutions are increasingly 'chasing the money' to attain the human and organisational resources necessary to maintain 'enduring value', and ensure that content is not left "sitting in a box in the dark for the next 100 years" (ATG17: 277), it is pertinent to consider some strategies used to arrest the steady decline in available resources. Therefore the chapter turns to consider the final organising theme, 'pooling resources by working together'.

POOLING RESOURCES BY WORKING TOGETHER

The rapidly changing pace of the digital context in which memory institutions now exist was observed in Chapter One and was well recognised by participants,

> *such a fantastic advance in terms of technology, I mean technology's changing so much, but we're in such a different place now, say to 2010, in terms of the way that the curating technologies, the tools that they use, their ability to harvest at deeper levels, and scale stuff, I think, that's actually quite different* (ATGP03: 441).

In tandem with memory institutions' attempts to make shrinking budgets go further, this represented a catalyst for organisations to increase partnerships and pool their resources by working together.

Participants evidenced a certain lack of confidence in relation to the contemporary instability of content, "it does pose additional challenges, whereas we've got it cracked in the print world; we've been doing this for 200 years" (ATG06: 205), particularly in relation to the new skills required by digital formats, "If there's a higher level of technical expertise required to process digital, or to understand digital, then I don't think it's in place" (ATG19: 208). Furthermore respondents from 'Local' memory institutions also displayed a lack of confidence in the organisational resources currently available to assist the collection, storage and dissemination of digital material,

> *Just a lack of knowledge. Lack of; not feeling confident enough with it. There's a couple of us who feel OK about taking it, but we don't necessarily have a system in place to be able to deal with it, that's something we're looking to bring in the next year or so. To buy in a digital preservation system that we can use. And I think once that's in place it's going to be a lot easier for us to take digital material* (ATG03: 228).

In such circumstances, where the changing pace of the digital landscape exceeds the experience of the human resource of a memory institution and goes beyond the capabilities of their organisational resource, participants indicated that working together across institutional boundaries was a productive way of pooling these resources. Partnerships as evidenced by interviewees could be explicit, for example where organisations collaborated on projects ("We did a project with some funding through 'Mapping the Change', which was [memory institution's] big Olympics project", ATG22: 86), or implicit, such as with the sharing of advice,

> *Well eventually they will get migrated over to a proper born-digital repository system but at the moment, following [memory institution] advice*

from about three, four years ago … There was a very excellent seminar I went to called something like 'Low Maintenance Digital Preservation' and it was giving advice to people in my position who do not have repository systems with bells and whistles like some universities do. The advice was the most secure place for your born-digital records is on your parent organisation's current server because they consider all that to be business critical and that will have two or three automated backups in place … My wish would be to buy into one that was set up specifically for this purpose of borough archives, where it will be migrated and looked after by proper digital preservation technicians. At the moment it is looked after by a third party IT supplier to the Council which is far from ideal, but it's still the best place that we could possibly get the records stored at present (ATG22: 244).

As highlighted in Chapter Two, with the BL's identification of assisting 'public libraries' as a key trend and TNA's role in adopting the advisory function for archives vacated by the MLA, sharing of knowledge was an important element when archiving the Games. Although interviewees from the '(Inter)National' sphere most frequently recognised this facet of pooling resources, "As well as our collecting remit, we have a role, a wider role, to support the archive sector … supporting them with advice and guidance on good practice in caring for their collections … we also give advice on funding" (ATG09: 10), organisations across both spheres demonstrated a clear understanding of the benefits of forging links between services. A particularly clear example of such implicit partnership work was evident in responses that revealed the archival chain discussed in Chapter Five.

The significance of a mega-event such as London 2012 raised complications for the collection, storage and dissemination of content that embodied high geographic, academic and social relevance to memory institutions across both '(Inter)National' and 'Local' spheres. However, for organisations where acquisition was not financially feasible, or where storage was strained, respondents demonstrated that memory institutions sought to forge links in order that London 2012 content was collected and preserved to ensure it could be disseminated and remain accessible in the future.

> *we have been offered a very extensive collection of photographs documenting the development of the Docklands, which spans [location] and [location], right across both boroughs and we don't feel it would be appropriate for us to take the whole collection because such a significant part of it is [not in this Borough], but we also don't believe that a collection like this should be split where it has a single author. So we suggested that the depositor contacts [memory institution] and [memory institution] and in the event neither of those organisations wanted to take it, so I'm seeing if we can come to an agreement with [memory institution] to split the collection as a last resort so that it doesn't not find its way into any archive* (ATG22: 62).

Feedback describing how memory institutions forged links in such a manner provided further evidence of a drive towards 'pooling resources by working together'. Moreover respondents elaborated that such links were developed with creating bodies alongside other memory institutions, "Part of the deal that was struck whereby we could take the records is that we were left with an on-going relationship and arrangement with the BOA and I suppose the British Paralympic Association as well" (ATG08: 300). The

digital nature of a significant portion of London 2012 content has provided the opportunity for memory institutions to make such links more evident.

> *Collecting is where the [memory institution] itself holds a copy of the content, whether it's print or digital. So in other words, it's either in our Digital Library Store, and has been ingested, or it's sitting on a shelf, at [location] or [location], or one of our other storage locations. Connecting is the opposite, it's where we don't hold that content ourselves* (ATGP04: 127).

As such, connecting is reminiscent of the notion of post-custody discussed in Chapter Three and was visible in some of the responses given by interviewees during this project.

A particularly illuminating response in relation to post-custody described how content could remain in the possession of its creator,

> *I think without access nothing really is very important. So that's where I say, sometimes another organisation who is the creating body of those records could potentially be a better repository for the information than we would be, depending on what it is and depending on the circumstances that are going to be providing access to it. Somebody came to us and said 'we want you to have digital copies of these, and provide access to the digital copies, but we want to keep the originals' we would work with them to do that* (ATG03: 591).

The post-custodial approach presented an opportunity for memory institutions to forge links with external bodies that could lighten the burden upon their human and organisational resources by reducing their interaction with content to simply provision

of access. It is significant to note, however, that the participant does not describe a uniquely post-custodial approach.

Insofar as the possibility of content remaining in the custody of the creator was considered, this feedback qualified the situation as one in which digital copies were acquired into the custody of the memory institution. This is evident of the dominant print culture that largely still exists within memory institutions. Whilst this is more fully discussed in the next chapter, it is useful to acknowledge here the assumption that memory institutions would be expected to maintain digital surrogates with the physical originals remaining with the creator. A similar attitude was evidenced by this participant: "archivists always like to have control of the material themselves and have it in their own possession and do not always think that digital copies of an item are the same as having the original item" (ATG21: 369).

This issue of control, or custody, appeared to be in direct opposition to the notion of 'connecting' discussed above. For example, in relation to principally digital content as in the case of London 2012, 'connecting' to content could reduce demands upon the organisational resources of cost and space required to store it, and alleviate the pressure on human resources required to preserve and maintain it. However, it is also pertinent to recognise the implicit supposition displayed above that the creating agency will continue to function and preserve the original records. The implications of collecting, storing and disseminating the records of an impermanent mega-event such as London 2012 are described in more detail in Chapter Eight. Yet the post-custodial model rests upon an assumed foundation of continuity, an organisational resource that cannot be guaranteed of the 'pop-up' organisations that comprise the creating agencies of an Olympic and Paralympic Games.

In such circumstances a custodial approach to collecting, storing and disseminating the London 2012 knowledge legacy was demanded. The finite existence preordained for LOCOG dictated that memory institutions take physical custody of London 2012's documentary output, regardless of digital or analogue format. Furthermore this evidenced a need to forge links with such organisations early in the record creation process. This was even more essential a consideration when combined with the inherent transience of digital content. When both record and record creator are at risk of disappearing, the prospect of pooling resources across institutional boundaries was well recognised.

Improving relationships with records' creators, especially those from non-traditional areas of collecting, for example sport and London 2012, was acknowledged by participants across both spheres, but was especially well articulated by one participant who indicated that,

> *I don't think it's a responsibility, I think it's an opportunity. It's an opportunity for us to have conversations with sports organisations who've never even thought about their archives. If our involvement with the organisations at Stoke Mandeville puts us in touch with those organisations and they have never thought about contacting anybody else, I'm happy to say to them 'look, talk to us, we'll help you'. And quite a lot about the work that we've done with the organisations we've worked with is about building trust, and because we've worked for the last six, seven years on building those levels of trust, the people in those organisations know us, they ring me up all the time, they e-mail me all the time and ask me questions, they know they can get in contact, and they know that they can speak to us. And I think*

that if they're saying to other organisations 'oh why don't you speak to me,

you should speak to' ... And I don't want to be passing them from pillar to

post. If they're at least speaking to somebody that's the most important

thing. So whilst I'm not necessarily saying that I see we have a national role

or whatever, I don't see that we have, what I see is that nobody's

necessarily taking the lead on Paralympic collecting, and if that's us then

I'm happy to do that (ATG03: 314).

In response to the severe budget cuts experienced since the CSR in 2010, memory institutions have displayed a certain resourcefulness in doing more with less. The necessity of changing pace to stay in touch with developments in the digital environment encouraged memory institutions to forge links with other organisations to augment the human and organisational resources at their disposal. "I think memory institutions can help by sharing their knowledge and skills as widely and generously as possible but it does have some limitations obviously, which comes back to resource again" (ATG09: 478). These experiences clearly characterised the theme of 'pooling resources by working together'.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has considered the human and organisational resources available to memory institutions and how they impacted upon the collection, storage and dissemination of a knowledge legacy for London 2012. The contemporary climate in which memory institutions operated during the Games was one of restricted budgets, organisational restructure and reductions in staff. This was reflected across the three themes which comprised this chapter: 'chasing the money'; 'enduring value' and 'pooling resources by working together'.

The first organising theme, 'chasing the money', principally described how feedback from participants indicated that reductions in public funding had necessitated a search for alternative revenue streams. This finding reflected Ray et al.'s (2012: 8) recommendation that memory institutions should aspire towards a 'tripod' funding model premised upon an balanced three-way split between core public funding, private giving and income generation. Diversifying income streams in such a manner should work to mitigate the impact of a sudden reduction of funding in any one stream. The predominant reliance upon core public funding observed by Ray et al. (2012) was a key factor implicitly recognised by participants in moving to become 'arms-length organisations' and in the constant pursuit of project funding.

Secondly, the organising theme of 'enduring value' highlighted the costs involved in sustaining content on a long-term basis. The considerations evidenced by the business life cycle of material demonstrated the interrelations of the processes of collection, storage, and dissemination and how value for money was a significant factor for memory institutions. The costs participants ascribed to longevity further evidenced the pressure upon organisational resources, whilst the more subtle threat to human resources was engendered by a decline in tacit knowledge. This was lost to memory institutions as restructures reduced numbers of permanent staff alongside an increase in short-term project workers.

The final organising theme, 'pooling resources by working together', evidenced that memory institutions operated in tandem with each other and record creators. In order to make money go further, memory institutions attempted to maximise their human and organisational resources by sharing advice, cooperating to avoid loss of content and

opening lines of communication with creating agencies. Ultimately the conclusion drawn by this chapter is that less money is expected to go further and that memory institutions evidenced a desperate level of underfunding. Both of these factors had a significant impact on the human and organisational resources available for the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy. These issues were very eloquently characterised by the remark that "Money is the thing; always" (ATG08: 447). Expanding upon the conclusions presented here, the next chapter presents findings from participants in relation to the routine activities undertaken by memory institutions when documenting London 2012.

CHAPTER SEVEN – "A VERY, VERY LARGE BUCKET OF STUFF": INFORMATION OVERLOAD

Building upon the findings presented in Chapter Six, this chapter provides insights into participants' views on collecting, storing and disseminating seemingly ever increasing and diversifying amounts of documentation. Where the previous chapter considered how the basic necessity of funding could impact these three processes, this chapter offers an interpretation of the views of key stakeholders within memory institutions, revealing how the day-to-day activities involved in archiving the Games impact upon the knowledge legacy that is created. Just as the archival processes of collecting, storing and disseminating are closely related, this thematic analysis recognises the interconnections and overlaps present between each global theme and the objectives of this study. As such, this chapter presents an interpretation of the responses obtained through data collection addressing each specific objective in relation to the theme of information overload.

As highlighted in Chapter Three, previous research within contemporary archival literature has reported concerns of information overload (Bailey, 2007; Cook, 1997; Crow and Edwards, 2012). Information overload, otherwise styled as 'infobesity' or 'infoxication' (Dias, 2014; Rogers et al., 2013), has implications for memory institutions seeking to document a knowledge legacy for London 2012, particularly considering the designation of London as the first 'Digital Games' (BBC, n.d.). Not only this, but TNA has recognised their attempt to document 'The Record' as being their first truly digital collection (Owens, 2013). Despite considerable scholarship relating to digital recordkeeping, there are few instances of research into archiving an occasion on the scale of an Olympic and Paralympic Games.

The chapter examines the way in which memory institutions manage the vast amounts of information generated in and by contemporary society. Is it possible or even desirable to collect everything? If not, how are decisions made on what to collect and what to omit? What implication does the advent of the Internet and digital media hold for memory institutions? How are staff within such institutions coping with the transition from print to digital? Discussion also turns to consider how collections are organised and arranged in order to provide efficient access for users, what barriers limit such potential activity, and how organisations are attempting to overcome these in order to reach new audiences and better utilise their content streams. Throughout, the huge amounts of material involved across a wide variety of formats is considered in relation to the thought processes required on an on-going basis so that content is ensured to stand the test of time and a knowledge legacy is preserved for future generations.

Figure 7.1   *Second thematic network*
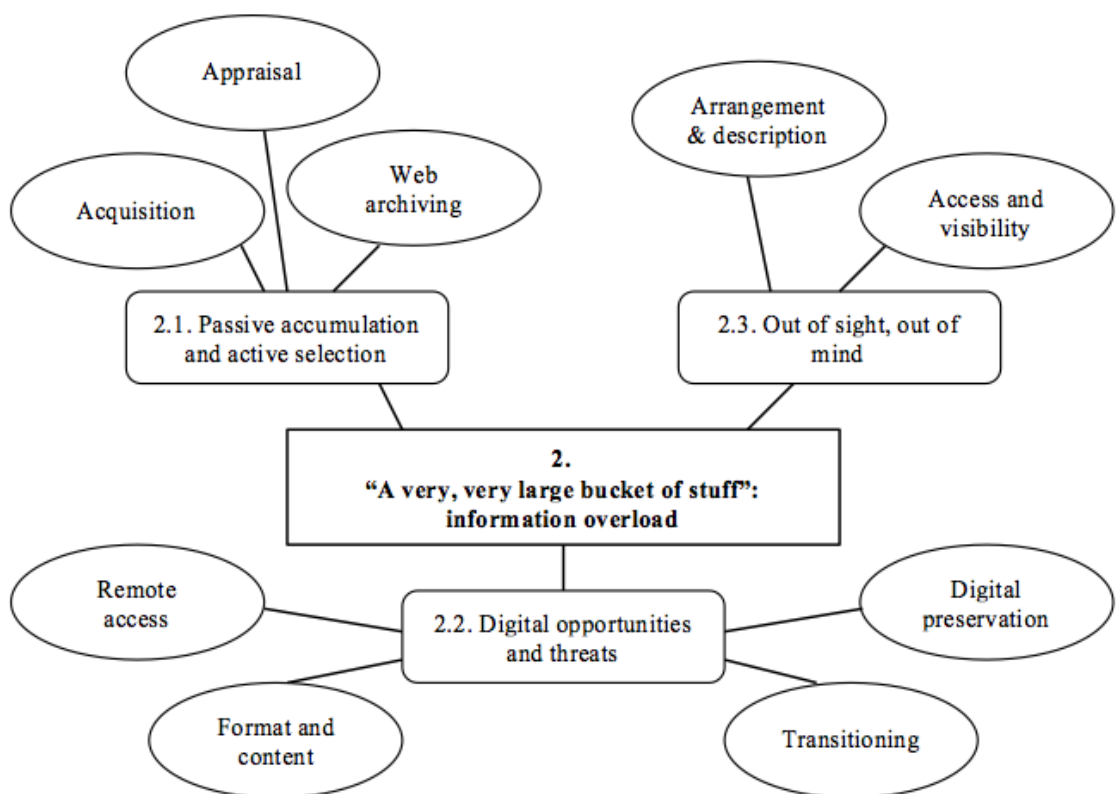
Analysis revealed that the notion of data deluge permeated both participants' responses, and the processes of collection, storage and dissemination. This is fully evident in characterising the second main theme as '"A very, very large bucket of stuff": information overload'. This global theme is comprised of three organising themes, which form the basis for analysis within this chapter (see Figure 7.1). 'Passive accumulation and active selection' addresses how archivists, and other heritage professionals, collect content and the implications of their approaches to London 2012. The second organising theme, 'Digital opportunities and threats', considers the impact of digital records, including how they can facilitate community engagement, whilst also recognising the challenges the variety of digital formats pose for creating a sustainable legacy. 'Out of sight, out of mind' is the final organising theme which observes that in order for there to be a true knowledge legacy for London 2012, content must be discoverable to the general public.

PASSIVE ACCUMULATION AND ACTIVE SELECTION

The previous chapter touched upon a contentious issue within archivistics which concerns how content is acquired by memory institutions and how this risks creating a distorted, 'top-down' reflection of society. Where Chapter Six considered how a dearth of funding for the Arts sector affected the acquisition of London 2012 content however, this organising theme illuminates the practical decisions that are necessitated when "almost anything you can think of the library probably acquires at some point" (ATG01: 83).

Set against this background of shrinking budgets, and an increased user expectation of immediate access derived from the perceived advantages of digital media and the Internet, as discussed in the next section, staff use their professional expertise and

knowledge to establish well-defined collection policies and strategies to address the issue of acquisition in order to help make often difficult choices more straightforward. Collection managers tread a fine line between simply accepting what comes their way (passive accumulation) and proactively seeking content or information (active selection). When building or maintaining a knowledge legacy there is a constant process of appraisal: asking questions to determine what content is being collected and what purpose it will serve; who are, or may be, its users?

Faced with the considerable amounts of information produced in print and, increasingly, in digital format, memory institutions find themselves having to set limits and make choices based on how they will be able to manage collections and ultimately make them accessible: "Our role in that, as I say, is seen to be largely around making available huge quantities of information to researchers and the public and learners and all sorts of different audiences for them to use to inspire them, to inform them, to answer questions, to help them to generate more knowledge going forward" (ATG06: 19). The issue of choice is particularly contentious, and has been at the centre of almost all archival discourse surrounding appraisal as outlined in Chapter Three. Indeed, there exists a notion that archivists, librarians, and many other professionals working within the 'heritage' sector are predisposed to accept anything for fear that a collection may otherwise be lost. Such a perspective was in evidence from respondents who admitted, "I think it's probably the natural instinct of an archivist to say they would like to collect and preserve as much as possible" (ATG04: 167) and "We do tend to err on the side of caution. So if there's something where we would go 'ooh, do we really want this or not?' we say actually we will take it" (ATG03: 228). Furthermore, this notion persisted even when participants recognised the futility of such an endeavour. In response to the question, "is it desirable to keep everything?" one participant declared, "I think if we

had unlimited budget and unlimited resource then yes I think it would be, but the constraints we work in, so budgets and manpower mean we do have to prioritise" (ATG18: 314).

Participants' responses evidenced the gradual shift in thought, away from positivistic notions of objectivity and impartiality, to an acceptance that the sheer amount of information being produced necessitated professional intervention in order to select content. In particular, one interviewee described how in previous years appraisal and acquisition required less consideration, "In the early years, when there wasn't so much being published, we just grabbed everything we could" (ATG02: 73), a process very reminiscent of the 'vacuum cleaner' analogy highlighted by Lamb (cited in Cook, 2011a: 609). It is significant to note the statement that content was ingested at will because very little material was produced at the time, a contention that mirrors Jenkinsonian archival theory prevalent in the early 20th Century that resigned the archivist to the role of simple custodian, exercising no control over what content is acquired.

Passive accumulation, or 'natural' accumulation as Jenkinson saw it owing to the manner in which he perceived recordkeeping as being 'a kind of neo-Darwinian construction, if you will, of the survival of the fittest applied to the workings of the registry office' (Cook, 2011c: 176), can be observed through the prism of the National Libraries in the form of LD. As described in Chapter Five they are legally obliged to collect the published output of the UK:

> *we have absolutely a massive task as far as I can see. That task is to acquire, preserve and make accessible the published output of the United Kingdom, so this is a very longstanding role that we've had since the 17th*

Century and we've evolved over hundreds of years to acquire print

publications to moving to audio materials, electronic documents and so we

have a legal obligation to acquire the published output of the United

Kingdom (ATG18: 9).

The scale of LD is evident in the estimation that, "It's 80 per cent of what comes in. It's a lot of material, it's about 280,000 items a year for this library" (ATG15: 35). It must be recalled, however, that LD is but one manner in which content is acquired by memory institutions. It is possible to extrapolate that a further 20 per cent of a National Library's annual intake arrives through alternative avenues, many of which were previously illuminated in Chapter Six.

An important criticism of Jenkinsonian appraisal theory, that it places the onus of collection squarely on the shoulders of records' creators, is relevant here, particularly when considering the creation of a knowledge legacy for London 2012. Chapter Two discussed the historical development of one Legal Deposit Library and how, despite the legal obligation resting with publishers, reliance upon the correct and smooth functioning of LD has rarely been fruitful. Indeed, one participant described LD as "by no means comprehensive and no means an automatic process" (ATG13: 101). Moreover, the implicit risk passive accumulation poses to London 2012's knowledge legacy was revealed in the statement

if the government departments had published material about the Olympics

or the Paralympics which fell into one of our normal categories, then we

would collect it. Not because it was about the Olympics but because it was

about our collection of UK government material (ATG12: 159).

The implication contained in this revelation is that material passively accumulated in this manner is reliant upon an established content stream to be acquired and that any

Olympic or Paralympic related content falling outside of the 'normal categories' would be lost. For these reasons, one participant explained, "we try to add to that by having curatorial staff checking what's come in, taking action to fill the gaps" (ATG13: 101).

As demonstrated by the previous comment, participants recognised the necessity of active selection, yet they were still willing to passively accumulate London 2012 content, even in impractical circumstances.

> *some of the stuff I have in my very office is not the type of thing that we as an archive would normally seek to take. I have a rather fetching statue of a geisha girl just round here from the 1964 Paralympic Games at Tokyo that an ex-Paralympian has given to me to look after. And it's not the type of thing that archives normally would have in their collections, hence why it's not in a strongroom and it's up there, because we haven't really got the capacity in our strongrooms to take that type of thing* (ATG03: 395).

This proclivity to collect and preserve content demonstrates another form of information overload as the risk-averse approach adopted by many memory institutions complicates the matter of appraisal. The comment supports findings that much sporting heritage content remains in the possession of individual collectors (Brittain et al., 2013; Hood, 2006; Reilly, 2012). However, it also demonstrates a lack of awareness surrounding the different functions of memory institutions.

Feedback from the 'Local' sphere also determined that there was a lack of awareness from creating agencies involved in the Paralympic Games, a finding supported by Brittain et al. (2013). Whilst this issue is more comprehensively addressed in Chapter Eight, it remains pertinent to the theme of information overload that record creators for

London 2012 paid scant regard to either the value of the content created, or how to manage that material after the event.

there's certainly material that I have that we wouldn't normally take, and we haven't really taken, it's just that it's been given to me as a place of safekeeping. So there's a lot of object-based stuff that there is in their collection, and they don't differentiate, they call it the archives. They at Stoke Mandeville don't differentiate between the medals and the stuff, geisha, and all of that type of thing, and the paper-based, or the photographic-based material that they have (ATG03: 402).

The passive accumulation of content in this manner complicates matters of storage, particularly as space is a valuable resource for memory institutions, "Space is probably the biggest factor for us and although we're a big archive we take in huge amounts of records every year and it's something that we have to be very careful of" (ATG16: 161).

The increasing societal production of information has challenged the ability of memory institutions to grab "everything we could" (ATG02: 74), "Inevitably not everything can be kept … there just isn't space" (ATG 17: 230). Chapter Four discussed Schellenberg's projection of primary and secondary values, which are observable in the explanation that, "rational decisions have to be made all of the time. One of the hardest things an archivist does is have to try and predict what's going to be useful in the future" (ATG 17: 228). This observation was supported by another respondent:

Probably everything could be kept. Whether everything should be kept is another matter but that's one of the things that archivists are taught when we do post-graduate qualification, is making an informed decision over what we think is going to be suitable for permanent preservation and is

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going to be useful in a historical context, 10, 20, 50 years down the line

(ATG16: 295).

Considerations such as these demonstrate the recognition within memory institutions that relying on passive accumulation to collect content was not a viable or sustainable model in an age of information overload to document a knowledge legacy for London 2012.

Participants explained that when actively building a collection several factors are taken into consideration. These include user need, "it gets driven by user needs" (ATG23: 173), and, inevitably, staff influence:

> *If it's a collection that we're being offered that is completely new to us,*
> *something we've never really looked at before, we will always send an*
> *archivist out to have a look at it. They will talk to the creators, they will*
> *have a look at the archive and if they think that it fits with our collecting*
> *policy* (ATG16: 165).

This response clearly demonstrates the process of active selection, whereby a collection is appraised prior to ingestion to determine if it is 'suitable for permanent preservation'. The notion being that reducing the amount of content ingested reduces the threat of information overload. However, staff influence on collecting was revealed to have more wide-reaching implications. Chapter Two described how the early collections of the BL evolved as the interests of different 'keepers' often determined what content was acquired. Indeed it is probable that, without the initial efforts of some of those librarians to begin a collection, some extant content may not exist within the BL's stores. It is perhaps unsurprising then that one participant commented that, "one of the things that's quite interesting about this place and possibly quite important is that I really do think

that some of the content represents the interests and abilities of the people who work here" (ATG23: 285).

The impact of staff influence was implicitly revealed insofar as the larger employee quotient at '(Inter)National' organisations facilitated a greater breadth of collection than at 'Local' memory institutions. As one '(Inter)National' participant reported, "it's not just the efforts of one person limited to what they can do" (ATG06: 136). As discussed in the previous chapter, 'Local' interviewees revealed a much lower level of staffing, with one respondent specifically highlighting that, "it was just myself and the archivist, which put a lot of pressure on us" (ATG25: 56). This 'pressure' was manifested in the phenomenon of 'Local' memory institutions displaying a higher incidence of passive accumulation in collecting London 2012 content,

From within the Council it has in the past often been somebody's clearing out a basement for a building that's about to be demolished or they need it cleared out, we end up going in and getting some of the records. A team is shut down, we end up getting transferred some of the records if the team leader reckons it's important (ATG21: 35).

Therefore it is clear that staff influence played a defining role in the collection of London 2012 content, "you do broaden and narrow and broaden and change direction because of the interests of the people and abilities of the people you've got working here" (ATG23: 297).

Another aspect of active selection is that of user need, "we looked at it from the point of view of the user" (ATG23: 48). This driver for collecting ties into the research function of memory institutions which requires these organisations to make efforts to establish what researchers require, "it gets driven by user needs and requirements and then there's

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the kind of what do we want to keep because we think it's going to be interesting as heritage eventually" (ATG23: 173). That selection should be based around the whims of users has been harshly criticised, as proficiently demonstrated by Ham's (1975) 'weathervane' accusation described in Chapter Six. Indeed, these concerns have been recognised particularly in relation to Paralympic heritage which 'has been collected primarily for personal or academic interest', a position which becomes even more fragile when 'Paralympic heritage is largely positioned as worthless and not necessarily deserving of time and attention' (Brittain et al., 2013: 174, 180).

The next chapter focuses more specifically on the 'value' attributed to sports and sporting records within both memory institutions and creating agencies, however, respondents demonstrated awareness of this potential drawback to active selection. In this instance, rather than addressing gaps that developed in their collecting practice, memory institutions introspectively considered gaps in their collections, "we're quite aware of what those gaps are and, in a way, the Paralympic collection at Stoke Mandeville was one of those gaps that we've been seeking to bring in" (ATG03: 21). Such a process sought to deny the silences that were previously evident in collections, reveal hidden or obscured narratives and redress the imbalance inadvertently created through documenting prominent and contemporary historical discourses (Carter, 2006). Similarly respondents explained that they adopted a "helicopter view of the world" (ATG10: 25) when documenting London 2012. This statement is supported by the revelation that, "there was a map created, I think in 2007 of all the organisations involved, from public to private, commercial and all sorts of things … That's how we helped or meant who we were going to engage with in terms of records" (ATG09: 181). The 'helicopter view' described here, reminiscent of Ham's 'broad spectrum of human experience' and in distinct contrast to the common criticism levelled at active selection,

reflects the archival methodologies of functional appraisal, macroappraisal, and documentation strategy.

These three methodologies confront the shared objective of improving the quality of content through marginally different approaches, each aiming to achieve a more effective selection. Macroappraisal assesses records in the context of the interactions between an institution's function, structure and clients (Cook, 2004; 2005). Functional appraisal, on the other hand, restricts itself to an assessment of the functions and activities of a single institution. Finally, documentation strategy attempts to operate across many institutions whilst focussing on one specific issue, activity, or geographic area (Marshall, 1998). Although documentation strategy is considered an impractical tool and 'ultimately unworkable', its applicability to archiving a mega-event such as London 2012 was well recognised (Johnson, 2008: 190; Williams, 2012a; 2012b). Indeed, feedback from participants aptly demonstrated the five salient characteristics commonly associated with documentation strategy (see Table 7.1; Marshall, 1998).

Significantly, it is possible to observe a distinction between appraisal and acquisition in these approaches, indeed Cook insists on it as the former determines archival value, while the latter purely determines whether those records, so appraised to be archival, can be transferred into the custody of a memory institution (Cook, 2005). This intellectual divide is important in terms of information overload as it signifies a shift from selection occurring after, to before ingestion, from (re)active to (pro)active selection. This was a factor of particular importance with regard to digital records, as participants recounted, "As we move headlong into the fully digital era, that becomes more and more important, talking about managing records at point of creation and not simply being the recipients of boxes of stuff" (ATG10: 51).

Table 7.1   *Characteristics of a documentation strategy*

Documentation strategy	Participant responses
1. A well-defined scope	*"to preserve the record of the 2012 Olympics"* (ATG08: 23)
2. The involvement of archivists, records creators and users	*"it's also about that engagement role, and getting in touch with people in organisations, within the established archive sector and beyond it"* (ATG09: 32)
3. It is multi-dimensional	*"this thing about collaboration, connecting, and a dispersed archival strategy ... well the fact that TNA, that's your role, you do that. Museum of London that's your role, you do that. Legal Deposit Libraries, you need to be involved in this and this is what you're going to do"* (ATGP03: 455)
4. It seeks to influence the creation of records, not just deal with existing content	*"working with government departments to better manage the knowledge, information and, therefore, records that they create and hold"* (ATG10: 48)
5. It is on-going and subject to continual revision	*"These things don't do themselves and collection management is an on-going activity"* (ATG12: 264)

Digital archiving proffers many opportunities and threats and is more fully explored in the next section. However, it is pertinent to consider the phenomenon of web archiving and how it pertains to the notion of information overload here. As previously established, documentation strategy was utilised as a method of (pro)active selection when documenting a knowledge legacy for London 2012. This is perhaps unsurprising owing to the method being developed in part as a response to a growing concern surrounding the glut of content produced by new technologies (Marshall, 1998). One response to this challenge was the creation of a UK Web Archive (UKWA).

Several responses highlighted the unprecedented expansion of digital content, "You have to remember that in one minute - probably; I'm going to make up a figure, but it's probably not far off - we generate more content than has been generated in centuries

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beforehand" (ATG05: 236), and the work of UKWA, "We use the web archiving technology to go out and harvest literally thousands of websites – well, tens of thousands I suppose really" (ATG06: 114). Information overload of this kind challenges memory institutions' existing practices, "God knows how it's going to work as a research tool, because there's just too much of it already, and that's just after one year of collecting" (ATG05: 252).

Under the auspices of Legal Deposit Libraries, UKWA is "enabled to collect the whole web, UK web domain, and born-digital publications, and that only started last year, 2013" (ATGP03: 24). NPLD legislation was passed in 2003 to allow for the collection of born-digital publications, however it is important to note the disparity between its promulgation and implementation, significantly coming into effect almost a year after the conclusion of London 2012 and long after the recordkeeping process was begun. The result of this disparity is the existence the Open UKWA and, more recently, following NPLD, the Legal Deposit Web Archive, as one participant explains, "Just to clarify, before 2013 we had to get permission to harvest websites, so we did set up that curated collection which is available online, you can get hold of it and look at it but it's limited" (ATG23: 458).

Pymm and Wallis (2009) investigated the web archiving practice in Australia including PANDORA, the country's selective, openly accessible web archive which contains records relating to Sydney 2000, and the non-publicly accessible 2007 whole-of-domain web harvest. The accessibility of these two web archives almost perfectly parallels those of UKWA, and is more comprehensively discussed in the following section. Yet this mirror image reveals the pertinence of this discussion here as the authors consider

Figure 7.2   *The long tail*   (based on Pymm and Wallis, 2009)
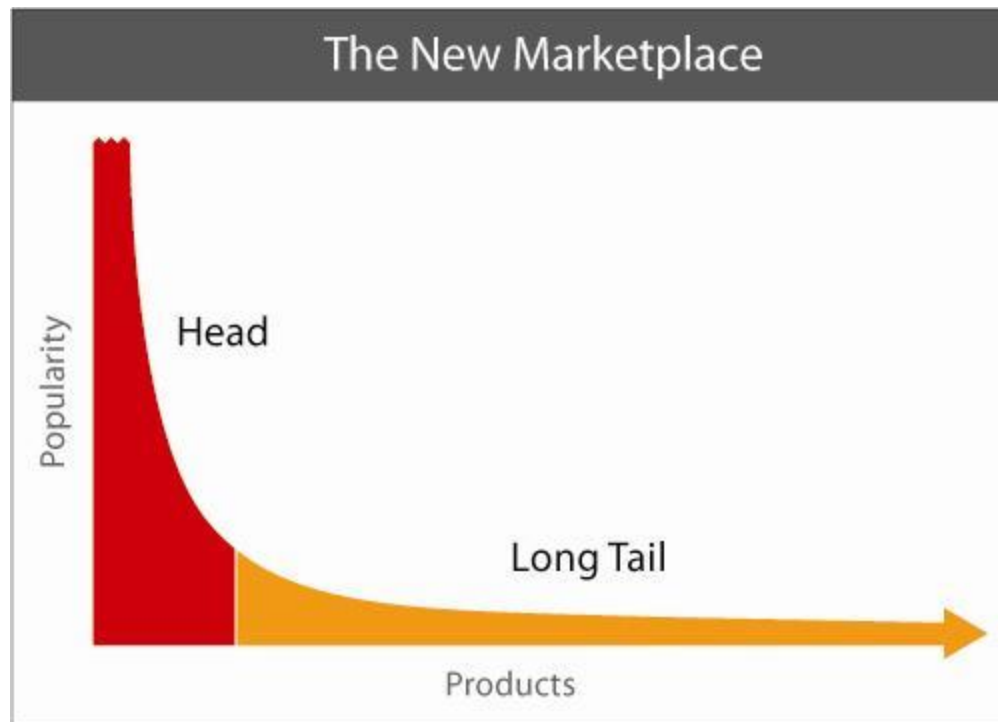
Anderson's model of the Long Tail as an alternative manner of conceptualising digital content (see Figure 7.2).

Pymm and Wallis (2009) observed that web searching behaviour can be detected through this model as a typical user will discover what they seek or give up within a few pages of results. The active selection applied to content stored within PANDORA or UKWA should therefore replicate this, as selective web archives effectively truncate the web reducing it to what should represent the specific content being sought. This they declare, 'represents the head of the tail – high relevance to most people – while the entire web or whole of domain crawl represents the long tail – of interest to a small and diminishing number of users' (Pymm and Wallis, 2009: n.p.). However, the growing interest in so-called big data demonstrates that the long tail of the web might be of more than passing interest to scholars.

The notion of big data is underscored by a recognition that the concern is not with the amount of data being created, but how the data can be aggregated and utilised by organisations. That the BL (2015a) has highlighted 'data' as a trend, and specifically big data within that trend, in their current strategic plan, and that they are working in partnership with the Alan Turing Institute to address the opportunities it represents, is significant considering the quantities of data arising from London 2012. Yet, as Chapter Six recognised, "in tandem with our ability to create content is our ability to store it. It has huge energy and cost implications thereafter" (ATG05: 238). Thus memory institutions are faced with a cost/benefit decision, "when you're talking about the kind of scale we're operating at, you've got a choice of either collecting a very small number of, a very small amount of content very intensely and completely, or operating at scale and so missing some of it" (ATG01: 406). This dilemma has been characterised as one between domain and selective archiving, returning again to the notion of 'passive accumulation and active selection'.

The relevance of this to a knowledge legacy for London 2012 is evident insofar as prior to NPLD there was no alternative for UKWA but to collect 'a small amount of content very intensely'. As explained by an interviewee, "Previously you selected, asked for permission, harvested, provide access. Now we harvest everything we know is in scope, curate after the fact, and then ask for permission after the fact. So the whole workflow has just been turned on its head basically" (ATG01: 227). Demonstrating a complete reversal of the practice exhibited with documentation strategy, UKWA's approach would appear to have brought the process of appraisal almost full circle. It is therefore important to recognise the necessary dependence placed upon the selective archive when a whole domain harvest is not completed. In such circumstances, as observed

during the period of the Games, it was essential that the Open UKWA contained a representative sample of content highly relevant to London 2012. In order to ensure the relevance and integrity of ingested content, such an approach not only demanded considerable quality control over the process of selection, but also surrounding the capture of websites:

> *the main challenge I suppose really, is the scale, and quality assurance, if I can put it that way. The [memory institution] is a trusted provider of high-quality, reliable, independent information … when it comes to creating collections, they are, largely, curated, and that means, again, staff time and expertise, an assessment of the reliability, and the validity, of the sources of content (ATG04: 214).*

It is evident from responses presented above that methods of collecting independently premised upon the values of record creators, or archivists and users were unable to sufficiently address the issue of information overload in documenting a knowledge legacy for London 2012. Indeed, as one approach strives for objectivity and yet fails to address the vast amounts of material being produced, potentially reducing the knowledge legacy to that of LOCOG and the government, the alternative approach appears too subjective, privileging the dominant discourses of researchers and the interests of those individuals in a position to acquire content. It is, therefore, relatively easy to comprehend 'passive accumulation and active selection' of records as being in binary opposition to one another. The use of antonyms in defining these two approaches would seem to make active selection the antithesis of a method of collecting premised upon the passive accumulation of content.

Nevertheless participants evidenced both processes of 'passive accumulation and active selection' and explicitly recognised the limitations of each approach in their responses. Subsequently, participants identified a hybrid approach to documenting a knowledge legacy that embraced both a domain and selective approach to web archiving, "From 2013 what you've got is the annual harvest which I think should move to every six months but of websites, and then special collections within that which we can now do under Non-Print Legal Deposit" (ATG23: 461), supporting a wider documentation strategy.

Yet the notion of information overload remains, particularly in terms of digital content. Cook has highlighted the importance of appraisal as acting as the gateway to all other archival processes (Cook, 2011a). The significance of this is heightened in light of one interviewee's revelation that,

> I think at the moment what really is holding us back, if you want, is the resources, the human - because of the human input involved in that process it really depends how many curators there are, how knowledgeable they are. At the end of the day, if you just said, for us doing web archiving it's easier to scoop up everything. It's finding the needles in the haystack, it's effort required to do that that holds us back (ATG07: 127).

The implicit privileging of domain collection practice evidenced above would restrict any knowledge legacy to just the long tail of the web. Using the same metaphor, Pymm and Wallis (2009: n.p.) queried the expediency of such practice, 'Is the resultant huge 'haystack' of data useful in any meaningful way? Does it enable researchers to discover 'needles' of information or identify broader trends within this undifferentiated stack?'.

Delimiting collecting to purely selective means places strenuous demands upon already burdened human and organisational resources, as discussed in the previous chapter. Similarly, a principle focus on the long tail of the web results in, "a metaphorically, a very very large bucket of stuff. About which we only know the URL [Uniform Resource Locator]. So we only know the data about the thing itself. No human being has ever thought about what is in that bucket, apart from in system terms" (ATG01: 213). Within a digital framework, as within the print paradigm that preceded it, 'passive accumulation and active selection' are not binary options memory institutions must choose between. Despite certain concerns that "you've got a choice of either collecting a very small number of, a very small amount of content very intensely and completely, or operating at scale and so missing some of it" (ATG01: 406), a third option exists in which elements of 'passive accumulation and active selection' are used in tandem to confront the notion of information overload.

DIGITAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS

Memory institutions are increasingly required to accommodate a multitude of varying formats and content, "it goes beyond what you might think of as traditional publishing, so it's not just books, it's journals, it's newspapers, it's websites now. So it's right across the span of published output" (ATG23: 8). Another respondent confirmed this saying, "there's very considerable archival holdings, and holdings of materials of all sorts of different formats" (ATG01: 13). Digital media, most specifically social networks and the Internet, have reshaped and remodelled most traditional forms of communication. Print publishing is adapting to new technology as old media forms are redefined as, for example, websites, blogs, tweets, fansites and online forums, and sometimes recreated through a process of digitisation. Such a plurality of format and content presents an

excellent opportunity for memory institutions to capitalise upon digital sources and better represent Ham's 'broad spectrum of human experience' (Ham, 1975: 8).

Furthermore, this spectrum is better manifested across a range of data. As the previous section described, UKWA functions primarily by conducting 'web crawls' or by 'harvesting' digital content. This process has allowed the collection of content from approximately one billion webpages ranging across five million websites, with tweets and even Facebook pages potentially within the scope of further collecting (Meikle, 2013). The significance of this is acutely realised as a democratisation of knowledge via accelerated forms of interaction propagated by instant messaging, Internet forums and social networks. Indeed, several commentators have observed that physical attendance in memory institutions to consult content is becoming obsolete as 'The archive, the web, and the office are blending: they can be one and the same' (Estelle, 2015; Johnes and Nicholson, 2015; Osmond and Phillips, 2015: 14). One of the results being the expectation that everything should be accessible at all times.

Memory institutions have recognised this and responded by endeavouring to make collections remotely accessible wherever possible:

Most practitioners and professionals, working people, don't have time to go traipsing into the [memory institution] when they require information, and that is why we developed the portals, to take the information out to them, to be available twenty-four/seven at the touch of a button. So you get very few professionals or practitioners coming in here. They are out in the field serving their clients, they're not in here and they won't be in here, and they should not be expected to come in here (ATG12: 393).

In reacting positively to this digital opportunity, memory institutions are adapting to accommodate the rising use of digital technologies in user research strategies. One institutional response was that "Increasingly we're making that material available by digitisation and other means so that people throughout [the country] and throughout the world have got evermore access to it, so they don't have to come to the library" (ATG13: 11).

However, retroactive digitisation of analogue content is slow and costly, rendering the process prohibitive to less-well resourced organisations. Indeed, it is not difficult to comprehend the scale of the exercise, as described by an interviewee, "Digitisation is obviously something that we are doing more and more of. We think we've probably digitised somewhere in the region of about five per cent of our holdings and we've got around 100 kilometres of archives here, so digitisation of everything is going to take many, many, many years" (ATG16: 324). Rather, 'Local' memory institutions recognised that the first point of access into their collections is the catalogue, "our catalogue is not online and this has been a five-year project to get it online, which has been stymied by a zillion, million ridiculous problems along the way. We're near the end of that. Once our catalogue is online and people can actually search remotely and find out what they've got, I think it will be more accessible" (ATG22: 263). Although this participant emphasised the obstacles that had been faced, it is important to highlight that diverting resources to digitising their catalogue was one method of enabling remote access to content that would otherwise have remained hidden.

This issue is particularly relevant to Olympic and Paralympic content as Wilson (2015: 38) indicated, specifically mentioning the case of the OSC in Lausanne: 'The center has developed a number of useful digital resources for researchers, but relatively few of

them are documents converted from paper. The great bulk of the archive remains exclusively in paper format'. In similar instances, where digitisation of catalogue and content is lacking, participants demonstrated an awareness of how this impacts upon researchers, "If you come in and ask for something we'll fetch it for you straightaway but the problem is you have to ask us what we've got and we have to look it up for you at the moment because of the catalogue not being online" (ATG22: 270). Furthermore, such a situation places additional strain upon staff as outlined in Chapter Six:

Q: So if I wanted to research a relative, I would visit and I would speak to yourself or another archivist and explain the situation?

A: Yes, and then [to] you we bring the list of files and they are really depending on us to be able to research (ATG20: 329).

All institutions, however, make strenuous efforts to overcome any consequent negative effects. Every effort is made to facilitate access despite the size of the collections, as described in this particular instance, "we've got four floors, eight rooms of storage over there" (ATG16: 318), staff have worked on processes which enable the quickest access saying, "Everything in our collections can be retrieved within 20 minutes" (ATG16: 313).

Memory institutions are constantly seeking to achieve a balance between the contesting demands of access and preservation. Digitisation presents an opportunity as a point at which these two archival prerogatives intersect. Feedback from participants repeatedly stressed that content was collected in order to provide access for the general public not only in the immediacy of the present, but also for future generations. One respondent replied, "we're going to make a conscious effort to develop these collections in ways that we know are going to serve the current and future needs of researchers" (ATG06: 73), whilst another explained "It's appropriate to capture society's view on the Games

themselves and the impact that they may have had on different sectors of society. That's important for today's scholars as well as future scholars" (ATG19: 188).

A respondent from a 'Local' memory institution gave a particularly illuminating response on this issue, "although you keep something you want to be able to digitise it because of the use that it gets. So, it's like a catch-22" (ATG25: 166). They further elaborated this point, explaining that

> *in order to keep it going you need to be able to preserve the copy you've got and the only way to preserve that is maybe to say, 'No, you can't use your camera,' maybe to say, 'If you've digitised it, this book shouldn't really be looked at but you could look at the digitised copy. You don't have to touch the original'* (ATG25: 261).

The issue of the potential damage to heavily requested content was well illustrated by the map of the Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park in the previous chapter (see Figure 6.2). The explosion of interest that accompanied London 2012 resulted in very high demand being placed upon already fragile records. Without a digital surrogate, the interviewee explained the risks posed to content:

> *it's not that we're not making it accessible but it's the practicalities of these things are getting old and too much handling actually does more damage than good. I understand the need for the public to look but I think you have to look at the longevity of what you've got because they're not replaceable* (ATG25: 269).

However, where digitisation offers many positives to memory institutions, enabling a certain ease of access and easing preservation concerns, the process also serves to remove a record from its physical context, diluting the materiality of historians' sources.

Johnes and Nicholson (2015) discuss this issue when considering the digitisation of newspaper collections, determining that digitised versions are impressions adapted from microfilm copies of bound versions of single issues, three-tiers of remediation prior to access. 'Thus,' they assert, 'when a newspaper is digitized, [sic] it is fundamentally changed. It is sensible, therefore, to ask what is lost in the process' (Johnes and Nicholson, 2015: 53). Significantly, however, the inverse of this approach has been proscribed as a method of preserving born-digital content, material that exists entirely on computer systems with no physical form.

That sporting organisations are accused of adopting a careless approach to archiving their records is explored more fully in the following chapter. However, it represents a significant digital threat not only that Viita should be so concerned about the attitude of Finnish sport organisations to conclude that 'paper copies should be taken from all the electronic material which is to be preserved permanently' (Viita, 2009: 30), but also that this attitude was displayed by respondents when archiving London 2012: "we're going about the capture and preservation of born-digital records in an extremely primitive way and one of the ways we are doing it is to print off pages of websites, which is far from ideal but it's better than nothing" (ATG22: 229). Subsequently, Johnes and Nicholson's (2015) recognition that the transformative process requires questioning is again raised, particularly when one considers how the context or operability of websites, tweets and social networks, for example, could be rendered into print form. Indeed, as Ross comments, 'Digital preservation is about more than keeping the bits – those streams of 1s and 0s that we use to represent information. It is about maintaining the semantic meaning of the digital object and its content, about maintaining its provenance and authenticity, about retaining its 'interrelatedness', and about securing information about the context of its creation and use' (Ross, 2007: 2).

Whilst memory institutions are seeking to take advantage of the significant opportunities afforded by digital technologies in terms of both access and preservation, they are also aware of the very real threat that is almost hiding in plain sight:

The other thing about it is that, I think the assumption in a lot of people's minds is that whatever is published on the web will be there in 10 years' time. People don't realise that the stuff won't necessarily be there, it doesn't necessarily get archived or preserved anywhere. Even if it does, some of the archival resources might not exist themselves in 10 years' time, or the technology might have moved on, and that content might need to be actually translated into new formats to make it work, in future. So there's kind of a big preservation job there, so I think there's something there about being able to go back and look at mega-events maybe 20, 30 years after they've happened and still being able to get access to the content, still being able to read the content, when the content is largely in digital formats now, and all sorts of different digital formats, not just stable ones like 'pdfs' and 'Word documents', so there's that (ATGP04: 201).

The change in format is inexorable and undeniable, "At the moment it is, I should say 80 per cent digital and 20 per cent print" (ATG12: 29). Respondents highlighted so-called "fugitive material" (ATG15: 575) at risk of not being captured by memory institutions and falling into a digital "black hole" (ATG15: 53). Many items may have been missed, even by the institutions entitled to Legal Deposit because the LDLA had not been implemented by the time organisations began collecting for London 2012. The same respondent goes on to explain the idea of the black hole and the implications to the documentary heritage of 2012; "I mean the digital publications that are only

produced in digital that haven't been collected at all by any of the Legal Deposit libraries, because we've not been entitled to them and we've not been able to do anything" (ATG15: 67).

The inherent transiency of much digital material is further complicated by the dispersed nature of the web, a situation which poses challenges to the collection of content with no fixed format or geographical boundary by which to delimit its relevance, often referred to as 'territoriality' (Hockx-Yu, 2014). One participant explained "The Non-Print Legal Deposit regulations define territoriality, so what's UK … if a website doesn't use <.uk> then the publishing process needs to have taken place in the UK. So, if you have a website which is a <.com> address but we know you're based in the UK then that's in scope" (ATG07: 226). For most UK content, the challenge to memory institutions has been in identifying and collecting content residing on servers that are physically outside of the country, "It's assumed that the <.uk> domain is within the scope. For stuff that's not within <.uk> top-level domain, as it's called, there are then a series of tests which we apply" (ATG01: 261). These tests are required as a considerable amount of digital content is hosted on foreign servers and are outlined as a flow chart in Figure 7.3. A particular example of the fifth test provided during the interview process was David Cameron's Twitter, a <.com> site hosted in San Francisco, "it's self-evidently his Twitter feed, and it's self-evident he's publishing it from the UK, so a curator will say 'yes, this is fine'" (ATG01: 286).

However, as outlined in Chapter One London 2012 is a mega-event and consequently has fundamental international significance and mass popular appeal highly likely to generate considerable content that would fall outside of such tests, social media being a prime example of this. One manner of collecting this content was through the

Figure 7.3   *Territoriality decision tree*   (based on Gibby, 2013)

1) Is it a domain with **.uk** suffix? *

2) Is the site hosted within the UK, as determined by a third party directory/lookup?

3) Is a UK postal address published in the website as a relevant point of contact?

4) Does separate correspondence with the webmaster confirm that the content was created or published in the UK ?

5) In the professional judgement of an appropriate official, is it a UK publication?

Out of Scope

In Scope

*.**scotland**, **.wales** and **.london** have also been registered by ICANN as potential geographic top level domains (like **.uk**) and would come within scope if put into effect.

innovative use of the hashtag '#CitizenCurators' (MoL, n.d.). As one participant recounted,

> *we collected tweets, a group of tweets, during two weeks of the Olympic*
>
> *Games, under the heading, 'Citizen Curators', and there was quite a lot of*
>
> *pre-work that had to be done on what are Twitters, what are users of*
>
> *Twitter signing up to, in terms of privacy and what right do we have to*
>
> *harvest this information? Can we retain it? If there is an image attached to*
>
> *the tweet, how on earth do we work out the rights on that image? ... when*
>
> *we collect a physical object, we have a personal relationship, to some extent*
>
> *or other, with the person who's giving it to us or that we're buying it from.*

Whereas with the digital, with the people whose tweets we harvested for 'Citizen Curators', some of them probably don't know that they're in our archive. They've not had that conscious interaction in the same way (ATG11: 294).

Social media is a burgeoning area of societal data production and memory institutions' abilities to capture this are important in terms of big data. As the first true 'digital Games', a significant amount of societal interaction, consumption and discussion occurred on and around social media.

Participants recognised that the value of a knowledge legacy for London 2012 went significantly beyond embedding sport into their collections, "if I'm recording lots of the Olympic Games why on earth don't I record every football match? Why didn't we record the programmes around the World Cup? I think it's because we didn't approach the Olympic Games as a sports event, but as a social event" (ATG05: 55). The opportunities afforded by big data in such circumstances allow insights into perceptions of the event, such as social media reactions to the opening ceremony, or broader trends, for example the impact of controversial measures such as the Olympic lanes upon London's infrastructure.

However, social media is not always a straightforward format to collect, store and disseminate. The issue raised above around dynamically generated and embedded content, such as images attached to tweets, exemplified a further issue faced by memory institutions when dealing with digital data. Another respondent explained, "we didn't actually collect any photos that were attached to the tweets; we only collected the text of the tweets, because we just thought that the rights issues on images were just too knotty and too difficult to unpick" (ATG04: 303).

This approach raises some theoretical issues for the process of archiving, particularly in relation to the concept of what constitutes an archival record. The dynamism and transience of digital media means that much content is almost in perpetual flux,

> *The rabbit hole that you may or may not want to go down is if you've got a site, like BBC <.co.uk>, which is very large and so it takes a number of minutes or longer to crawl in its entirety, it is conceivable that in that context as the crawler's going round the site stuff is changing behind it and around it, so what you can only be absolutely sure that you have the snapshot of not even the page, but the individual elements to the page at the time that you find it* (ATG01: 379).

Furthermore, the notion of intentionality alluded to in the previous paragraph has significant implications for both the nature of the archive and ethical considerations surrounding privacy and the right to be forgotten (Ambrose, 2013; Bernal, 2011; Kiss, 2015; Mayes, 2011),

> *So the archival copy is whatever the crawler found. From a method point of view, in the terms of making the archive there is no deliberateness about, on the half of the content provider. So my personal papers, I might chuck them in a box, but I will intentionally have chuck them in a box, and I will say 'that is the archive, and that is its content'. Whereas the Web Archive is actually just what we find at a particular point in time from a site that wasn't intending to be archived, and wasn't looking to be archived, and hadn't made themselves more or less archivable at the time. So there's almost a sense in which actually that the term archive…so I'm not a literary theorist or a great reader of Foucault particularly, but there's a sense in*

which actually the making of the archive in this context is not a
straightforward one. Conceptually (ATG01: 415).

The unspoken task facing memory institutions and researchers when embracing digital information is, consequently, "something that we, that actually scholars haven't really even begun to think about as what that means in scholarly terms, what the archival artefact actually is" (ATG01: 386).

The implicit uncertainty revealed in the consideration that dynamic digital objects challenge traditional notions of fixity and integrity within memory institutions is evident of a discipline transitioning away from a print paradigm. Interviewees acknowledged the changing landscape of records formats, "we are going through a very awkward transition from one to the other" (ATG12: 18), expressing that digital content is becoming more commonplace within memory institutions as publishers and records' creators rely more exclusively on digital technology, "Official publications is nearly all switched to digital anyway because they're not producing print" (ATG15: 592). The 'awkward' nature of this transition bears significance for London 2012's knowledge legacy. As the first 'digital Games', London 2012 represents a 'first major digital collection' (Owens, 2013: 29) and an unfamiliar challenge for staff,

> *It's very different cataloguing a digital archive than it is cataloguing a*
> *paper archive and, again, it's something that we're only starting to look at.*
> *We haven't actually catalogued yet any large born-digital archives, so we're*
> *still very much taking our first steps* (ATG16: 188).

Whilst participants displayed an acute awareness of the opportunities afforded them by digital content, they also felt threatened by it, "We haven't had a huge amount of digital material deposited with us, and I think part of that is because there is a natural reticence

amongst the majority of the staff here about dealing with digital records" (ATG03: 223). Such a reticence may be, in part, "a reflection of cultural priorities in this country that print comes first" (ATG05: 204). However, the suggestion remained that this may not be a purely internal issue. One 'Local' interviewee identified that:

I also think that there's a mind-set amongst some of our depositors, and amongst even the organisation that we're based within, [the organisation], that we do paper. And we don't do the IT side. And that's not a distinction that we would necessarily promote, but I think it's a distinction that perhaps others have of us (ATG03: 233).

Such a contention is worrying, particularly in light of the findings of the previous chapter which detailed the concerns facing 'Local' memory institutions lacking the necessary human and organisational resources to properly confront digital archiving. A very real threat is that such bodies could be left behind.

The rapid changes in digital technology that occurred in the four years between Beijing 2008 and London 2012 alone are representative of the incredibly swift cultural phenomenon embodied in digital technology (BBC, n.d.). This change is reminiscent of the 'acceleration of history' alluded to in Chapter Two. Nora described this process as 'increasingly rapid change, an accelerated precipitation of all things into an ever more swiftly retreating past' (Nora, 2002: n.p.). The suggestion that there is a culture of 'electronic records, paper minds' (Cook, 1994/2007) is representative of the transition away from the print paradigm and captures the essence of the so-called 'digital immigrant' (Prensky, 2001).

Presnky defined between 'digital immigrants' and 'digital natives', claiming, 'The importance of the distinction is this: As Digital Immigrants learn – like all immigrants,

some better than others – to adapt to their environment, they always retain, to some degree, their "accent," that is, their foot in the past' (Prensky, 2001: 2). This phenomenon can be observed in a response discussing adapted processing methods.

We're very good at print, we've done it for centuries. Time will tell whether we're any good at digital ... I think it's fair to say that in terms of collection processing there are people in this building that have handled books for many, many years and are familiar with them. If there's a higher level of technical expertise required to process digital, or to understand digital, then I don't think it's in place. I think we've just tried to mirror our print processes in trying to capture digital, which over time will probably show that we need a different skill set, if not a higher skill set but a different skill set to handle digital content, to understand how it's produced and how it might deteriorate over time (ATG19: 202).

Indeed, the sentiment that there is not yet a critical mass of digital natives working within memory institutions was implicitly recognised in many responses.

Alternatively, digital natives 'are technologically savvy and simply will not settle for anything less than the efficiency and user-friendliness of online documents' (Wilson, 2015: 37). Such a sentiment is clear in the idea expressed at the beginning of this section, that content is increasingly accessible at the click of a button, whilst sitting at your desk, at home or in the workplace (Osmond and Phillips, 2015). Ironically, however, the assumption that access will become easier and more immediate in the internet age was challenged by respondents who identified that remote access is not always as straightforward as it may appear. The division of NPLD into the Open UKWA and the Legal Deposit UKWA clearly illustrates just such a case, "Legal deposit legislation only allows readers within the premises of the [memory institution]

to access deposited content, which given that a lot of this content was freely available remotely or globally, there's a certain irony that we can now only make it available within our buildings" (ATG19: 254).

Interviewees referred to legislation surrounding digital content as contributing to restricting access to collections. It is possible to observe here the influence of wider society upon the internal practices of memory institutions. As a participant elaborated,

That's a stipulation of the legislation, so the 2003 Legal Deposit Libraries Act that was enabled in 2013, it's a part of the legislation, stipulation of the legislation that the content can't be accessed more widely. The reason for this was that large publisher groups have, or perhaps hope to have a commercial interest from their archived content so if the national libraries make that content available free of charge over the internet, it undercuts their commercial model and so obviously the government and the [memory institution] don't want to jeopardise a commercial interest (ATG18: 260).

Copyright has been recognised as hindering the process of digitisation by restricting the scope of what can be processed and, as such, what is remotely accessible online (Johnes and Nicholson, 2015). Yet it would seem that this legislation also has a bearing on born-digital content as owners' rights have to be upheld, an issue that has very particular implications for the knowledge legacy of London 2012. In relation to this, Chapter Five highlighted that a tension existed between TNA, LOCOG and the IOC and this is investigated further in the next chapter.

It would seem that the records of London 2012 have inadvertently benefitted from the delay in implementing NPLD,

they are available for people to look at, anyone can look at them now because they're available online, the permissions were got or we said that we were collecting them, let us know if you don't want us to. But if the same thing was happening next year and we decided to do it off the web through the harvest, what we'd actually end up doing is have a collection that was only accessible within the library (ATG23: 481).

In this respect it is clear that both digital opportunities and threats have had an impact upon London 2012's knowledge legacy. While the inability to fully implement NPLD has potentially threatened the comprehensiveness of collections, this is arguably balanced, to a certain extent, by the improved accessibility to content that this situation has afforded.

The organising theme of 'digital opportunities and threats' described how the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012 content outside the realm of print has contributed to the global theme of information overload. The onset of the digital age has dramatically increased the amount and variety of content generated by society, an amount that grew in size and complexity in relation to the Games. In tandem with this, memory institutions' ability to capture data via harvesting techniques broadened the potential content it was possible to capture and store. However, the alacrity of change has resulted in an experience gap developing between so-called 'digital natives' and 'digital immigrants'. Furthermore, technological advances have occurred at a rate outstripping the preservation capabilities and budgets of many memory institutions, revealing an unwanted spectre of obsolescence where the technological platforms on which data has been created have been rendered obsolete by the latest developments. In an environment where impermanent creators generated intangible records it was

essential that memory institutions were able to establish early intervention to ensure a comprehensive record of London 2012.

Yet to establish a sustainable knowledge legacy it remained essential that content was accessible to users. Information overload determined that transient digital content can become invisible even simply due to the scale of content ingested by memory institutions. Indeed, the phenomenon of a "Google generation" (ATG09: 287) evidenced a potential barrier to remote accessibility. As discussed in the following section, this particular concern from participants was that content could find itself 'out of sight, out of mind', "That's why we have to have the two copies as I was telling you, the one which we can use remotely and the one that we can't. Non-Print Legal Deposit we cannot make available to non-traditional users really, only to the people who are willing to come here" (ATG12: 458).

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND

Chapter Two considered the interactions of remembering and forgetting, and how libraries, archives and museums act as repositories for societal memory in defining them as memory institutions. Yet as Connerton (2008: 65) observed, 'To say that something has been stored – in an archive, in a computer – is tantamount to saying that, though it is in principle always retrievable, we can afford to forget it'. This contention is particularly relevant to the theme 'out of sight, out of mind' especially in the context of access and visibility.

In aligning computers alongside archives as a mode of storage, Connerton highlighted a typical distinction between a repository for digital information and physical content. Where physical content is tangible, digital material, for example that produced during

London 2012, is largely ephemeral and transient. This distinction was implicitly articulated in the statement "The problem with digital archiving is that digital records are invisible" (ATG10: 250).

The notion of invisible media was exemplified in the distinction that analogue records are tangible: the format, content and context of a record are immediately evident, as is its condition in relation to any potential preservation needs. In contrast, none of this information is evident with digital media until a file is opened. "So, you need nothing, neither of us need anything more than this sheet of paper … if that were a digital file, it might not even be named properly. It might just be called file number one" (ATG10: 250). In such circumstances it was not immediately obvious what information was contained within a file. In order to control and appraise material sufficiently well from an organisation as large and complex as LOCOG and its subsidiaries, it was essential that specific controlled naming conventions were adopted, a fact well recognised by Williams (2012b). Furthermore, participants explained the ease with which invisible content was forgotten,

> it's an uncertain future. You use it just - with analogue you sort of know
> you've got a physical object, whereas you can't see a digital file. So you feel
> you're dealing with something insubstantial even while you're told stories of
> rows and rows of racks of servers spinning away and keeping stuff forever:
> you feel uncertain (ATG05: 352).

Such uncertainty had implications for London 2012 as it relied upon close collaboration between memory institutions and creating agencies to ensure the knowledge legacy was not 'out of sight, out of mind'. Chapter Six alluded to the finite period in which London 2012 content was created, a topic discussed in the next chapter but of relevance here as

an enforced timescale increased the importance of early intervention by memory institutions.

> *I try to point out to people what happened with the Olympic footage archives. So that was available on the BBC's website, everything, for the period that they had a licence with the IOC, and there was a European TV network site that had the same [inaudible]. On the same date - I think it was January 2013 - the whole lot disappeared. More than 24 hours, [inaudible] there was a huge amount of it: just went (ATG05: 446).*

In relation to born-digital content respondents indicated that, "The material will be available both remotely and within the [memory institution], and the other libraries, but there's slight problem in that the legal deposit legislation gives us the right to collect the material but doesn't give us the right to give remote access to the material" (ATG13: 331). That access to digital material was ironically restricted to individuals who could physically visit memory institutions is especially remarkable in the light of current government initiatives to enable services to operate as 'digital-by-default' (Rust, 2014). In terms of dissemination, there is a considerable risk of such material becoming 'out of sight, out of mind' as users anticipate increasing levels of immediate remote access to digital content. As one participant astutely noted, "the [memory institution] ends up serving the 1000 or so people who happen to live near [location]. And people expect stuff to be online" (ATG05: 316).

Furthermore, an understanding that online equates to forever is an increasingly popular assumption premised upon the notion that digital material persists without the need for intervention in digital and online environments. The characterisation of the Internet as an 'infinite archive' is representative of this (MacLachlan and Booth, 2015). Moreover,

the supposition that social media, for example tweets on Twitter and statuses on Facebook, have created new digital archives is evident in the assertion that 'they are instantly archived for posterity through digital capture' (Beer and Burrows, 2013; Osmond and Phillips, 2015: 9). Alternatively feedback indicated the intrinsic transience of digital content, highlighting the necessity of early intervention by memory institutions in order to ensure its longevity,

> *the collection of websites is good and you would never have had, had we not collected them, then that would have ... They're corralled and they're curated so they're the equivalent of however many shelves or whatever of stuff directly related to London 2012 and it covers, it goes right across the piece. If we hadn't collected those and the effort by the various teams, actually not just at the [memory institution] to do that, then we would have had nothing. They'd have been all over the place. They'd have been shut down, they would be lost, gone (ATG23: 475).*

The prevailing attitude assuming the permanence of online content was sometimes aligned with the notion of 'digital natives', "because we live in a virtual world and most people spend all of their time online" (ATG03: 582). This was further supported by the response, "It's very much down to the Google generation, as in you look it up on Google and you can't find it, it doesn't exist" (ATG09: 287). Such a phenomenon very literally characterises the theme of 'out of sight, out of mind' and potentially creates an 'offline penumbra' of unexplorable and unidentifiable content (Leary cited in Johnes, forthcoming: 11). It is significant to note that the restrictions upon access to NPLD content alluded to above demonstrate that even born-digital content may be subject to such a fate. However, rather than embodying an 'increasingly remote and unvisited

shadowland' (Leary cited in Johnes, forthcoming: 11), findings from the BL indicate that memory institutions are enduring as physical spaces (BL, 2015a).

The recognition that, "Discovery is the word, isn't it? Everyone is using discover, discovery" (ATG10: 216), was illustrative of the importance of arrangement and description within memory institutions. Indeed decisions surrounding which collections to catalogue and the manner in which they are categorised might actually obscure content as much as enable discovery (Lipartito, 2013). The archival principle of provenance, or *respect des fonds*, described in Chapter Three has typically determined the arrangement of content according to its original order. However, an increase in hybrid and digital collections has disputed such ideals, "the archives are about preserving original order and original order in digital is really quite challenging" (ATG10: 276). Indeed, some commentators have observed that physical relationships are redundant in a digital environment (Bailey, 2013). Such notions as *(dis)respect des fonds* and parallel provenance attempt to recognise the challenge to original order and propose alternate approaches (Bailey, 2013; Hurley, 2005; Millar, 2002; Yeo, 2012).

Description entails the process of cataloguing content and is essential for memory institutions to support discovery. Chapter Six recognised the impact cataloguing had on human resources, a factor also alluded to in the previous section that discussed the potential researcher-archivist dependence created by an inadequate catalogue.

This is a perennial problem for very, very large institutions like this, with very, very large and very diverse sets of content ... The best bet in terms of retrieving anything is actually via the [memory institution's] catalogue, via the [memory institution's] system, and that's dependent on how well you put together the meta-data. How much the meta-data schema in all the different

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content streams map onto each other. So actually you can search across all collection items for subject equals Olympics 2012 or whatever. So it's a battle because meta-data's complicated and describing life is complicated (ATG01: 304).

The 'battle' described above proved an unfortunately accurate metaphor for many participants who cited a cataloguing backlog as restricting access, particularly in relation to recent additions to collections. This was most clearly evident during a research visit to GHC where a sign informed researchers of a collections freeze. Staff indicated that this was in response to a backlog of uncatalogued material some of which was lacking any indication of its provenance or content.

This section has considered the issues of access and visibility, and arrangement and description. It observed that the increasing creation of 'invisible' digital content had coincided with a growing reliance upon remote access, potentially leaving the London 2012 knowledge legacy 'out of sight, out of mind'. Furthermore the rapidly developing complexity of digital content challenged memory institutions' abilities to catalogue the considerable amounts of data that characterise information overload.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the routine activities utilised by memory institutions to manage the vast amount of data generated by contemporary society. The information overload this engendered across a wide variety of formats was considered in relation to the thought processes required on an on-going basis in order for memory institutions to stand the test of time. The manner in which archivists and other heritage professionals approached the processes of collecting, storing and disseminating London 2012 content

was discussed through the three themes of 'passive accumulation and active selection', 'digital opportunities and threats' and 'out of sight, out of mind'.

'Passive accumulation and active selection' was the first organising theme considered in this chapter. It principally addressed the archival notion of appraisal and concluded that elements of both a passive and an active approach were utilised in relation to London 2012. This was particularly significant in relation to web archiving, where the choice between collecting on a large-scale, domain basis, or on a smaller, more selective principle characterised information overload through the concept of the long tail. However, the developing notion of big data, highlighted by the BL in Chapter Two, demonstrated that information overload does not always have negative implications. The opportunities afforded by big data are still being realised (BL, 2015), but hold an area of great research potential in the context of a mega-event such as London 2012.

The second organising theme, 'digital opportunities and threats', considered the impact of digital records and the prospects they offered to memory institutions. As such this section considered how memory institutions balanced access and preservation, from utilising techniques such as data harvesting to broaden the scope of acquisition, to digitisation and remote access. This discussion also recognised that as memory institutions have become more ingrained in the digital environment, an experience gap has arisen between supposed 'digital natives' and the 'digital immigrants' that form the bulk of existing staff. This organising theme recognised that the reported uncertainty of participants in response to digital content was unlikely to be fully resolved until a critical mass of 'digital natives' permeate memory institutions.

The third organising theme was 'out of sight, out of mind'. This determined that content must be discoverable for memory institutions to create an effective knowledge legacy for London 2012. The phenomenon of 'invisible' digital content combined with a predominance of the online search engine, Google, clearly demonstrated the need for comprehensive descriptions of content to enable sufficient levels of access to the general public.

Ultimately analysis revealed that the notion of information overload permeated both participants' responses, and the processes of collection, storage and dissemination. Furthermore, technological advances have outstripped preservation capabilities within many memory institutions. As Ross (2207: 6) declared,

> *Preservation risk is real. It is technological. It is social. It is organisational. And it is cultural. In truth, our heritage may now be at greater risk because many in our community believe that we are making progress towards resolving the preservation challenges ... it is obvious that, although our understanding of the challenges surrounding digital preservation has become richer and more sophisticated, the approaches to overcoming obstacles to preservation remain limited.*

This chapter described the ephemeral nature of the digital content that formed the bulk of London 2012's records. Moreover it elicited the difficulties of collecting, storing and disseminating intangible material that is effectively invisible. The next chapter expands upon these points by considering the ambivalent attitudes towards sport and records, and the impermanence of London 2012's creating agencies.

CHAPTER EIGHT – "JUST ANOTHER GENRE IN A VAST COLLECTION OF A HUGE ORGANISATION": SPORT AND LONDON 2012

Chapter Six established the importance of funding to memory institutions in undertaking their principal activities of collection, storage and dissemination. Chapter Seven expanded upon these findings, demonstrating the practical decisions necessitated by increasing levels of documentation and the on-going transition to digital recordkeeping. Subsequently, this chapter addresses the place of sport, and specifically London 2012, within memory institutions. Participants described a complex relationship between the perceptions of sport as a discipline and the roles of both memory institutions and sporting agencies. An interpretation of these perspectives uncovers the overlaps and interconnections between each chapter to more accurately reveal how memory institutions approached the collection, storage and dissemination of a knowledge legacy for London 2012.

Thematic analysis revealed multiple basic themes relating either directly to sport and the various sporting agencies involved in London 2012. These included explicit and implicit attitudes towards sport as a discipline, and, as an extension of this, opinions on what the relevance of such content is to the wider public. The overarching theme thus described sport largely as a cog in a wider machine, one that played its part without being especially remarkable. However, as a mega-event London 2012 represented considerably more as its scale and spectacle crossed many disciplinary boundaries. This portrayal is most evident in one respondent's summation that sport is "Just another genre in a vast collection of a huge organisation" (ATG19: 392). Having thus characterised this global theme, the various basic themes were arranged into two organising themes as seen in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1   *Third thematic network*
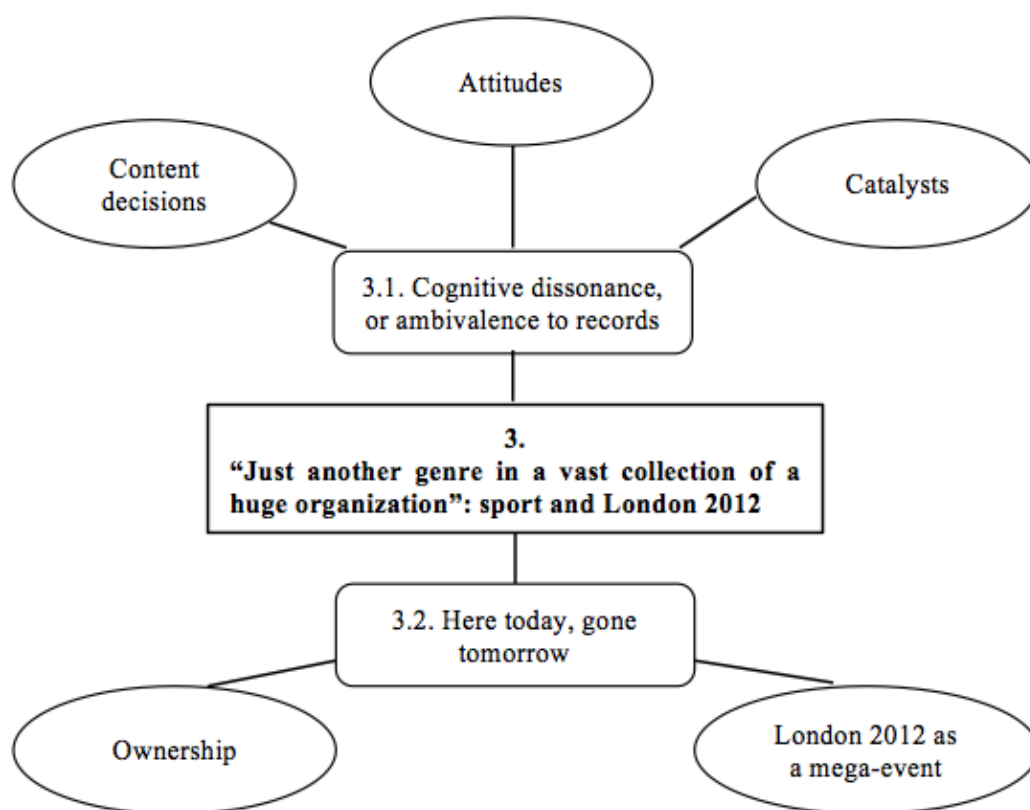
Unlike previous findings chapters, this chapter is divided into two sections determined by the organising themes that comprise the global theme under consideration. The first organising theme, 'Cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records', examines the roles played by both archivists and record creators in determining the knowledge legacy captured by memory institutions. This organising theme reveals that there is more to collection than simply what money affords, or what procedures are followed. Fittingly it traces the links to both preceding chapters and further demonstrates the considerable input participants' consider themselves to have when acquiring content.

The organising theme 'Here today, gone tomorrow' looks directly at the phenomenon of London 2012 as a mega-event and the implications this has for its documentation. The

peculiarity of collecting material for an event as distinctive as an Olympic and Paralympic Games is compounded by the limited access imposed upon content by creating agencies. When considered in the light of the often-conflicting attitudes revealed by the first organising theme, the sustainability of such content is jeopardised.

This chapter argues that within memory institutions, sport and London 2012, as a topic, still contend with being undervalued as not 'mainstream' enough, a consideration that is compounded by a lack of awareness within sporting organisations as to the value of their records beyond their 'primary', business, purpose.

COGNITIVE DISSONANCE, OR AMBIVALENCE TO RECORDS

This organising theme describes the seemingly unusual, or perhaps more accurately unobtrusive, position of sporting content within memory institutions. As suggested in Chapter Seven, sport is not "very high up the food chain" (ATG23: 243) and not "seen as being particularly serious" (ATG17: 116). This consideration of the 'seriousness' of sport has particular implications for its collection, and is observable in responses declaring that, "it's not one of the big narrative tropes" (ATG22: 132) and "it's not a rich history" (ATG26: 365). Indeed, aligning sport as not being 'a rich history' may go some way to understanding an (un)conscious perception within memory institutions that surrounds their social role.

Prevalent among participants was the notion of the historicity of the repositories in question, whether defining as "historical archives" (ATG20: 9), seeing "ourselves as London's memory" (ATG16: 15), or identifying history as an underlying purpose (ATG03: 7; ATG11: 8; ATG14: 6; ATG 25: 7). This position is particularly well illustrated by the assertion that "its real raison d'etre had been the fact of its arts and

humanities collections. That's what it's known for. You know, it's known for its old stuff" (ATGP03: 188). Conceiving of memory institutions in such a manner is reminiscent of the identity crisis observed in Chapter Two, whereby archives, libraries and museums can be delineated as 'cultural', 'heritage', or even 'cultural heritage' institutions. The question of sport as culture remains very divisive and is possible to trace back to the 19th Century dichotomy between professionals and the amateurism central to the ideals of Pierre de Coubertin and the modern Olympic Movement (Day, et al., 2014).

This dichotomy of professional-amateur, proletariat-aristocracy, football-cricket, or rugby league-rugby union, is perhaps reflective of the ambivalence towards sporting content observable within memory institutions. On the one hand, sport is not reportedly recognised as a collecting priority for many participants: "you won't find that much about sport on it I have to say. Of the areas that were identified in that strategy as being worth collecting, sporting cultural activity is not particularly to the fore of that [collection policy]" (ATG08: 66). Yet London 2012 was recognised as being "a really significant event in the history of London" (ATG17: 436), that "the Cultural Olympiad played into the perceived strengths of the organisation: culture, literature, historical material" (ATP03: 190), and that "The Olympic Games was a big influence on what we did. Sport has always been a strand of our collecting policy but before the Cultural Olympiad of 2012 we'd never focused on it and never concentrated on it as a specific strand to pursue" (ATG16: 128). Such contrasting approaches can also be cast in terms of cognitive dissonance, where the agencies involved simultaneously hold two opposing views: one recognising the significance of London 2012 as an event, and one reluctant to recognise the significance of sporting content.

With a certain confusion surrounding organisational approaches to collecting London 2012 content, participants revealed that the catalyst for collection often came from within, "We were not handed down anything internally whatsoever, it was purely what we felt was appropriate to do. So we discussed it amongst ourselves and we came up with the notion that we ought to capture the moment as best we could" (ATG22: 80). This was an area of commonality across memory institutions in both the '(Inter)National' and 'Local' spheres, and frequently relied on the presence of a member of staff with a particular interest:

> *I think having [member of staff] as a sport curator, one of the reasons we focused on sport was partly that's one of [their] interests and [they] are knowledgeable about it* (ATGP03: 243).

> *I think it's much more to do with the individuals themselves…I think one of the things that's quite interesting about this place and possibly quite important is that I really do think that some of the content represents the interests and abilities of the people who work here* (ATG23: 282).

However sports, and the Olympic spectacle in particular, are very emotive pursuits. As many people enjoy sports and sporting activities, there are just as many who hold diametrically opposed views, distancing themselves as far from such activities as they possibly can. Within the context of the Olympics, this binary opposition can be observed in the presence of so-called 'boosters' and 'sceptics'. Whilst it is too simplistic to homogenise, and correlate all boosters to being sports fans and all sceptics as vehemently anti-sport – as Horne (2010b: 35) notes, 'non-Olympic sports and organisations interested in mass-participation, for example, would not be as positive in their comments on the development of a sports mega-event for elite athletes in pursuit

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of the medal podium if it meant that resources were taken away from them' – it is possible to recognise the generally positive and negative attitudes towards sport and London 2012 as reported by participants in these terms.

The phenomenon of boosters and sceptics can also be discovered within the pool of participants engaged in this study. One respondent explained that they had continued with their remit to collect London 2012 content even after changing roles within their organisation because other staff made it clear that they had no interest or desire to engage with such material following a restructure:

> *Once we started work - I guess we were about six months into it - and then there was an internal reorganisation and restructuring and I moved jobs completely. The people in that part of the archive who took over from me were adamant that they did not want to touch archiving and Olympics with a bargepole, didn't see it as their priority at all, and therefore almost as a chance, as an accident, the work stayed with me even though I'd moved on to something completely different* (ATG08: 30).

Furthermore, one individual recalled that a member of staff actually took a holiday in order to avoid the Olympic spectacle, "I only had one person in the team and it has to be said, he went on holiday at that time, because he wanted to get away as far away from the Olympics as possible" (ATG05: 165). Such extreme measures of avoidance may be atypical of the responses reported by memory institutions, but is demonstrable of a certain antipathy contributing to a wider experience of ambivalence within the sector.

However, Olympic boosterism and scepticism are also revealing of the wider challenge faced by memory institutions, as introduced in Chapters Three and Four, and further elaborated in both Chapters Seven and Eight, that surrounds the promotion

(remembering) and exclusion (forgetting) of particular narratives through the content they collect. Vamplew observed this phenomenon in his assessment of sports museums in the late-1990s, asserting that the concept of a 'golden age' had become institutionalised across almost all sports in an area primarily catering for a nostalgia market, thus resulting in the perpetuation of myths in the face of contradictory research (Vamplew, 1998). Revisiting his analysis fifteen years later, the author found little to challenge his conclusions, noting that triumphs remain celebrated, yet recognising that the jingoistic tendencies of the sports museums in question must be tempered by the fact that they were privately owned organisations 'and hence they have no obligation to be run 'for the public benefit' and serve the ideologies of their political masters' (Vamplew, 2013: 155). As public bodies, the same is not true for most of the memory institutions forming the basis of this study, but is clearly visible in responses from those participants from non-publicly funded organisations. They reported, "we're looking to collect, sort of develop an archive that will specifically tie into the learning and research needs of the [organisation]" (ATG04: 39), that they "have a mission of disseminating the Olympic values out into the public and promoting if you like, Olympicism within our territory" (ATG24: 8), and that they're "charged with promoting and protecting the Paralympic movement" (ATG26: 10).

Horne (2010b) points to a power imbalance between boosters and sceptics, owing to the fewer resources and lack of equal access to the mass media nominally experienced by sceptics The potential for this power imbalance to be exacerbated by memory institutions relegating narratives opposing London 2012 is evident in the ambivalent attitude often expressed. Marginalisation of this kind can lead to what has been identified as Olympic 'reductionism', whereby the memory of an event is effectively

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constrained to a highlights package of official achievements (Cashman, 2006). Reductionsim in these terms can be seen through responses in terms of both collecting,

> *We didn't record the entirety of the BBC ... so we concentrated on those programmes which summarised what had happened rather than showing the live... we wanted it to be summaries of what's happening rather than there's an event* (ATG05: 58),

and in terms of disseminating:

> *Loads of media stories about the Olympics are incredibly partial, because the amount of time for research that you have or each journo has, is not compatible with the accessibility of information, the discoverability of information from museums and archives, and those become the record; they become the things that people refer to, rather than the original sources. So, those secondary reports kind of, then take the precedence and that skews the way people see the Games* (ATG11: 425).

A further risk of reductionsism is prevalent in the presence of boosters and sceptics within memory institutions themselves. The unwillingness to engage in the collection, storage and dissemination of London 2012 content by those individuals disillusioned, opposed or otherwise nonplussed ("the Olympics was well, 'you know it's sport isn't it. I'm not very interested in sport, haven't got a telly, I like other stuff, blah blah blah'", ATGP03: 209) may potentially skew the knowledge legacy towards a more supportive, celebratory narrative. Circumstances such as this further reveal the significance of discussions in the previous chapter concerning the theme of 'Passive accumulation and active selection'. That UKWA, for example, was able to harvest the web, collecting universally, or fishing with a net, resulted in the capture of websites designed to challenge London 2012.

For example *Games Monitor,* a website dedicated to 'debunking Olympic myths', has been captured since 2010, demonstrating the development of anti-London 2012 rhetoric before, during and after the Games, until 2013, asserting that,

> *We want to highlight the local, London and international implications of the Olympic industry. We seek to deconstruct the 'fantastic' hype of Olympic boosterism and the eager complicity of the 'urban elites' in politics, business, the media, sport, academia and local institutional 'community stakeholders'* (Games Monitor, 2013).

Other sources preserved in UKWA adopt a more tongue-in-cheek approach to their opposition. Protest groups for previous Games, including PISSOFF: People Ingeniously Subverting the Sydney Olympic Farce – whose opposition stemmed from 'the way that the Olympics papers over all the divisions in Australian Society- we're all meant to be 'Aussies' together despite (sic) attacks on unions and racism and homelessness and unbreathable cities' (PISSOFF, 2000) – and Bread Not Circuses (BNC), whose opposition to the bid for the Summer Olympics from the city of Toronto in the 1990s both used irony and humour to promote their agendas (Horne, 2010b). Following from this, similar anti-Olympic protests have produced propaganda subverting Olympic symbols and imagery to register discontent, from 'Ollie, the 2010 Olympic skunk' (Shaw, 2008) to the re-appropriation of London 2012's logo (see Figure 8.2).

Social media and the internet allow for a great many voices to be heard, yet despite the contemporary ubiquity of digital media, some types of protest still find their outlet in analogue form. Comic books can often be subversive and, as such, are often utilised as vehicles for protest. However, where some forms settle for taking a satirical look at contentious issues, such as the tongue-in-cheek commentary on drug-enhanced

Figure 8.2 *Anti-Olympic imagery*   (awasteofmoney.com, 2008; Banksy, 2012)

An Alternative Olympics logo -
it says what we are all thinking!

performance in *Asterix at the Olympic Games* (Goscinny and Uderzo, 2005), others take a more serious approach. At the BL's 2014 'Comics Unmasked' exhibition, there was a comic entitled *The Strip* by Laura Oldfield Ford. This piece, created in 2009 for publication in ArtReview, had been loaned from a private collection, and as such is illustrative of an issue discussed in the following section concerning the ownership of sporting content. However, a larger body of work, Ford's *Savage Messiah*, is part of the BL's collections (Ford, 2011). Both *The Strip* and *Savage Messiah* offer visual journeys through London's *'architectural follies of high-rises and gated estates'* whilst questioning the Olympic legacy by offering visions of reality charted through the experiences of *'urban drifts'* faced by the spectre of regeneration in forgotten fringes of the capital (Ford, 2011). Another subversive, counter cultural form of protest can be found in the MoL's Olympics display which juxtaposes an Olympic torch, associated with the high ideals of Olympism, with miniature protesters facing off against plastic soldiers representative of the powerlessness often felt by local citizens (see Figure 8.3). Perhaps fittingly, the display also featured more prosaic items such as souvenir sick

bags, described as representing the ''love-hate' attitude to big events traditionally shown by the British public' (MoL, 2012; cf. Figure 8.3).

The 'love-hate' relationship identified by the MoL reflects the ambivalence towards London 2012 content evident in the responses of participants, which in turn points to the societal impact upon the work of memory institutions expressed in the observation that "there was a general lack of interest and I think that lack of interest mirrored the country's lack of interest until quite late on actually" (ATG23: 138). Such lack of interest may correlate with the long build up to the Games, which forms a stark contrast to the explosion of activity during the three weeks of Olympic, and fortnight of Paralympic,

Figure 8.3   *Miniature protest*   (MoL, photographs by author)

Souvenir sick bags, 2012
Designed by Lydia Leith as an alternative souvenir to commemorate London 2012. Leith's choice to make and sell sick bags reflects the 'love-hate' attitude to big events traditionally shown by the British public.

The clever combination of shapes and colours taken from medals along with the number 2012 creates a visual link to the Olympics and Paralympics without breaking strict rules around the use of the official brand.

Miniature protest, 2012
Plastic protesters face off against toy soldiers guarding a closed cycle path alongside the Olympic Park. These pocket activists were also part of the Save Leyton Marsh Group, a local campaign that opposed the construction of temporary buildings on protected green spaces.

Pedro Reyna and his son Felipe took photographs of their toy collection in action to show how the Olympic movement often left local residents powerless.

competition that follow. Yet, that such a prevailing attitude of indifference should have existed at all is demonstrative of the relative ambivalence that hindered the collection of a knowledge legacy for London 2012. Indeed, it is not difficult to perceive of the ambivalence towards sport within memory institutions as almost being a reaction to the attitudes towards records evident within creating bodies.

Whilst it is far too simplistic to suggest that one condition is a volatile and churlish reaction to the intellectual position of the other, with both parties stubborn to the mutual opportunities of cooperation, there is certainly a consequential element to the conundrum. As Moore (2008) lamented when considering the case of the National Football Museum, prior to its relocation to the heart of Manchester, words are more forthcoming from sporting organisations than deeds. Indeed, where responses from memory institutions have evidenced hesitation and uncertainty from some quarters, even those 'boosters' that were actively attempting to document London 2012 faced similar reluctance from sports organisations involved in the Games, who admitted recordkeeping was "not a core function…it is more of a moral thing as opposed to something we have to do" (ATG24: 280). It would seem that the archival divide was here characterised by two competing mind-sets: one rooted in the primacy of records, struggling to see sport as part of its mission; one fixated on delivering a spectacle and maligning records as inconsequential to theirs. Or more simply: one that sees records as their 'thing' whilst sport is not; and one that sees sport as their 'thing', whilst records are not.

The consideration that sports organisations have a 'moral responsibility' for archives is one reflected by the inclusion of a section on 'Games Knowledge Management, Archives and Records Management' within the Host City Contract for London 2012

(IOC, 2005; cf. Chapter Five). However, it sits rather uncomfortably that while the IOC should recognise the importance and value of good recordkeeping, its legacy is only considered insofar as it pertains to the IOC itself, as the participant from the OSC explained, "what we have is really the relations between the organising committee and the IOC. So the Games archives, it will stay in the city, so it's not something we want to acquire. It's not really our job" (ATG20: 80).

That participants evidenced both a desire to document and a reluctance to engage with London 2012 was illustrative of an internal conflict within memory institutions surrounding the place of sport as cultural capital. Furthermore, feedback indicating the importance of quality records management provided stark contrast to the antipathy towards a commitment to archiving embodied within creating agencies. In this manner it was clear that respondents were displaying 'cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records'. The next organising theme demonstrates the particular challenges that participants ascribed to the process of documenting the impermanent, finite organisations that were 'here today, gone tomorrow'. As one interviewee remarked, it was necessary to consider "what happened when the Olympic circus rolled out of town" (ATG10: 61).

HERE TODAY, GONE TOMORROW

Chapter Five discussed the legislative context in which London 2012 occurred. It alluded to the complexity of ownership imposed by the public-private tension experienced by TNA as the official repository, but not the owner of LOCOG's content.

> *legally, it took us over a year to negotiate the deposit agreement, with the*
> *International Olympic Committee and the BOA, as their representatives*
> *here on earth, and with LOCOG who were obviously going to dissolve at*

the end of the Games. So, it was quite a complicated legal partnership,

because LOCOG, as the creators of the records were signing a deposit

agreement that they, of course, could not be held to, because they were no

longer going to exist at some point (ATG10: 160).

That LOCOG was dissolved almost immediately in the aftermath of London 2012 resulted in the ownership of content reverting to the IOC and IPC for the Olympic and Paralympic Games respectively. However as TNA had physical custody of material, the BOA and BPA were required to act as intermediaries.

Figure 8.4 *London 2012 ownership matrix*
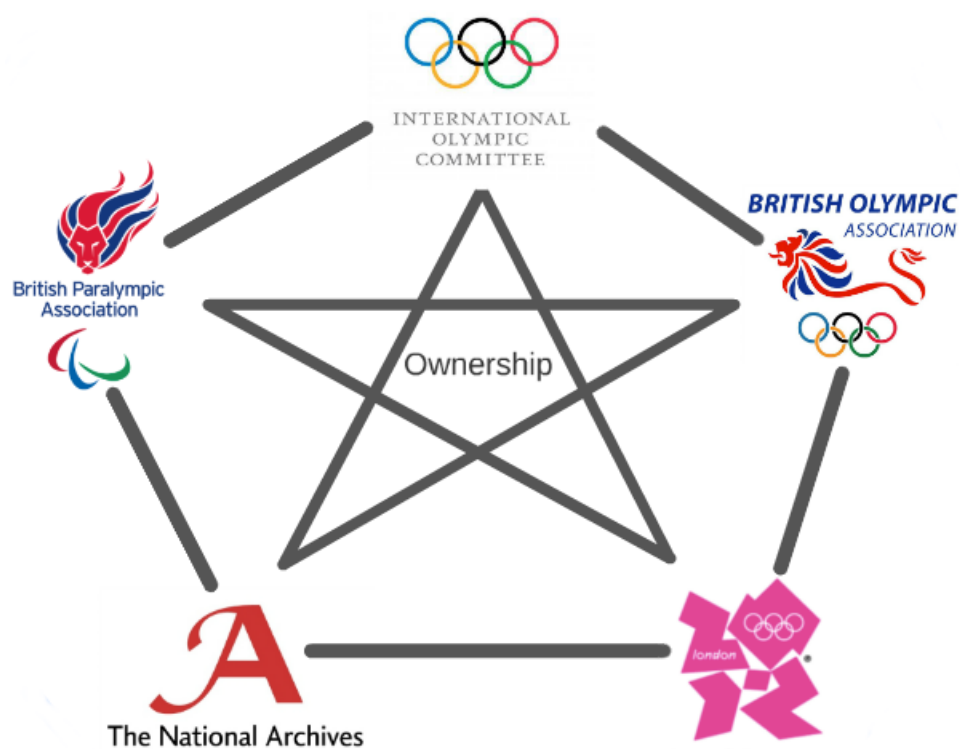
This complex web of interrelationships is depicted in Figure 8.4 and was well exemplified in the response that,

> *We are the guardians of it ... It basically means, like I say, they own it, it's their data but we can give access, effectively, to people to see it ... It's housed in this country for eventually when it is all opened, for people to access it and we're the ones that can say, 'Yes, you can have a look' or, 'No, you can't'* (ATG24: 403).

The control exercised over access described above is evident of another public-private tension surrounding ownership, one Williams (2013: 26) acknowledged when asking 'but whose Games are they?'

The public context in which London 2012 will ultimately be evaluated ("there was a real need for this mega event to be documented, because it was being – not to put too fine a point on it – underwritten with public money", ATG10: 62), combined with the values of Olympism, upholding sport for the betterment of society, reveals the integral role of legacy during the XXX Olympiad. However, the issue of privacy surrounding the IOC was highlighted through responses which indicated that they might seek to 'keep it in the family', "we're a sharing organisation within our family" (ATG20: 337).

Participants explained this phenomenon almost in terms of exclusivity,

> *we generally don't mind them being seen for private, well, for families to find out things and for other National Olympic Committees to also potentially go back and look at correspondence that we've had with them in the past but I don't see why it should necessarily be an archive of an access for all, if you like. I think it's quite nice to keep it slightly out of the public domain because we're a private company* (ATG24: 299).

Certain parallels can be drawn between such a notion of exclusivity, the public-private divide, and the professional-amateur dichotomy alluded to in the previous section. Indeed participants evidenced the impression that memory institutions were not held in particularly high regard,

The one thing we wanted and couldn't get our hands on was the emails and correspondence of Lord Coe ... we just had to say 'Okay you've made your decision' and at that point we came in saying 'Well let us advise you on keeping that material safe for whatever route it is it's going to go down eventually', but we knew we weren't going to get our grubby little mitts on it here (ATG08: 398).

However it is important to recognise that as owners of the content, and as private organisations, the IOC and IPC have intellectual property rights over London 2012's documentary output. Furthermore the 'Olympic family' maintains a significant business interest in upholding such control, particularly in relation to TOK from one Olympiad to the next. Subsequently it is unsurprising that "a lot of people would probably say that the IOC's approach is quite heavy-handed" (ATG17: 199). Notwithstanding this, the licensing of Olympic symbols and branding proved a significant barrier to access for many memory institutions,

I think while you're talking about insisting that a barber shop changes its name because it's just around the corner from the stadium then inevitably websites and work that people are trying to do to support academic research is going to suffer in the same way really. It's very difficult but at some points for organisations like ours, which are local authority archives, don't have the kind of lawyers that the IOC do behind them, you don't really

want to take those people on, so people will back down and just try and do it

the best way that they can, which is a shame obviously (ATG17: 202).

The previous chapter discussed the importance of visibility in terms of access and the dissemination of London 2012 content. This was particularly significant in relation to the notion that content untraceable via the Internet could effectively be lost to researchers, "If we'd been able to call it Olympics, I suspect we would have had more people finding the website … that makes it very difficult to market. And actually we're not selling it, just trying to promote our collections' (ATGP03: 530). The prohibitive licensing agreements evidenced by participants clearly highlighted such a dilemma,

it had to be called Sporting Cities obviously because of the Olympic brand.

The website's really about Olympic cities and cities that have hosted the

Olympic Games. Really all the way through the work that we did to build

that project up, that was really always the name that we gave it, Olympic

Cities (ATG17: 184).

Lacking the means with which to negotiate a license most respondents explained that they had little choice in the matter, "We all know about how if anybody transgresses those Olympic rings, what happens to you" (ATG26: 223).

Such an experience was not unique to the IOC however, "We had to change the name, because we couldn't get permission to use the word 'Paralympic'. So we had to change the name and we changed it to Mandeville Legacy and that's where [we got] the website, mandevillelegacy[.co.uk]" (ATG03: 47). Such enforced rebranding as evidenced above was reminiscent of the Manchester Commonwealth Games 2002

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website (gameslegacy.co.uk) currently preserved in UKWA[4]. The inability on behalf of the public to locate such resources by the most prominent keywords associated with these events raises questions regarding remote access and the sustainability of a knowledge legacy for London 2012. This is particularly pertinent in relation to 'here today, gone tomorrow'.

Feedback indicated that public interest surrounding London 2012 dissipated in its immediate aftermath, "there's not a lot of demand on us at the moment about, 'Do you have Olympic Games?' That just stopped the day after the Games stopped" (ATG17: 420). Such a situation reflected the findings from Chapter Six which indicated that the priorities of funding London 2012 dwindled with the (Para)Olympic cauldron. That widespread excitement surrounding the Games was 'here today, gone tomorrow' also mirrors the experiences of Barcelona and Sydney (Cashman, 2006).

It was interesting to note the parallel between the apparently finite level of public interest evidenced above and the time-bound nature of London 2012 as a mega-event, "we were up against a very strict timetable that we had no control over; the Games was going to happen, barring some major international disaster, at that time, so many years hence and we needed to get going" (ATG10: 86). The explicit urgency in these responses reflects Bolton and Carter's (2009: 60) recommendation that records management should begin ideally at 'the point the company is initiated'. However, as Williams (2012b: n.p.) recognised, the creation of LOCOG following London's winning bid 'wasn't the beginning. Winning was actually the result of four or five years of preparation within government, and across government circles'.

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[4]   http://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20110511152724/http://www.gameslegacy.co.uk/cgi-bin/index.cgi (accessed 15 December 2015).

The necessity of early intervention was indelibly linked to the fact that creating agencies involved in London 2012 were 'here today, gone tomorrow' insofar as they had a very specific termination point, "Well some of them just close anyway and don't exist anymore, so there's a real time constraint in making sure that you get things from them before they disappear altogether, and the staff for the Olympics disappeared on the last day pretty much" (ATG15: 221). Owens (2013) supported this observation, claiming that LOCOG's staffing numbers fell dramatically from 9000 at peak provision during the Games, to just 90 as of January 2013. Furthermore the identification of London 2012 as a digital archive alerted memory institutions to the fact that the majority of records forming the knowledge legacy would be a transient, ephemeral and intangible form of content.

The challenges of digital preservation were discussed at length in the previous chapter however, this was a significant factor in the perceived importance of early intervention to document an event that was 'here today, gone tomorrow'. Interviewees recounted that "As we move headlong into the fully digital era, that becomes more and more important, talking about managing records at point of creation or from point of creation and not simply being the recipients of boxes of stuff" (ATG10: 51). This response acknowledged that digital preservation cannot be left to chance, but also recognised the shift towards active selection evidenced in Chapter Seven.

Feedback from participants has clearly demonstrated the challenges of collecting, storing and disseminating a knowledge legacy for an event that was 'here today, gone tomorrow'. The rigid protection of the Olympic brand, restricting the naming or description of websites and, consequently, their discoverability, and the finite life of

pop-up organisations, dictated early intervention to collect any content created. The transient nature of the Games was mirrored by public interest which quickly waned as soon as the event was over. They were likened to a circus that rolled into town, put on a spectacle for a short time, then folded its tents and was gone.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the global theme of sport and London 2012 through an investigation of the roles of memory institutions and sporting agencies in relation to the perceptions of sport as a discipline. The interactions between memory institutions, records' creators, sport and London 2012 were characterised in the two organising themes of 'cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records' and 'here today, gone tomorrow'.

The first organising theme, 'Cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records', examined the differences in attitudes exemplified by archivists and record creators. Consequently it revealed a more nuanced perspective of collection than simply what money affords, or what procedures were followed. Rather it uncovered that the process of collecting for London 2012 was influenced by perceptions of sport from within memory institutions and attitudes towards archiving from inside the creating agencies. Though improving, sport is not yet an accepted part of the cultural pantheon and 'the least valuable part of the museums' sector' (Moore, 2008: 459).

Following from this, 'here today, gone tomorrow' revealed the intricate position evidenced in relation to the ownership of content before directly addressing the phenomenon of London 2012 as a mega-event. This organising theme described how the public-private tension embodied in the records of London 2012 contrived to restrict

access to content and potentially jeopardised the knowledge legacy. The defining element of London 2012 as a mega-event was the overwhelming insistence from participants that memory institutions must become involved at the earliest possible juncture. Such action served to provide greater opportunities to ensure adequate collection, storage and dissemination of content, but also to promote a sustainable knowledge legacy, as articulated in the observation that "it wasn't just about collecting, it was about leaving behind an understanding of the importance of the good records keeping, good archive management and so on" (ATG10: 80).

Sport has yet to find legitimacy within memory institutions and as such represents "Just another genre in a vast collection of a huge organisation" (ATG19: 392). However participants recognised the value of London 2012 content as going beyond simple records of sport, "It's appropriate to capture society's view on the Games themselves and the impact that they may have had on different sectors of society. That's important for today's scholars as well as future scholars" (ATG19: 188).

The previous three chapters have presented the thematic data analysis of this research. The next chapter draws together the key findings of the thesis. In doing so it addresses the principle research questions and reflects upon the collection, storage and dissemination of the London 2012 knowledge legacy.

CHAPTER NINE – CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined attempts made by the BL, and other memory institutions in the UK, to archive London 2012, with a specific focus on the intersections between collecting, storing and disseminating its knowledge legacy. The thesis makes an important contribution to a sparse body of research into archiving sport and Olympic content through the adoption of a distinctive theoretical framework, and the critical interpretation of qualitative data relating to the perceptions of key actors and agencies within memory institutions and their approaches to the London Games.

The precise interplay between the processes of collection, storage and dissemination provide a hermeneutic device upon which to structure this chapter as each process principally addresses a central objective of the thesis:

(1) To describe how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms were approached;

(2) To assess how sport and Olympic related data might be sustained as a resource after London 2012; and

(3) To identify how best such content could be disseminated, with an emphasis on widening community engagement.

This concluding chapter examines the evidence presented in order to answer each objective and, subsequently, the research question at the heart of this thesis: how might a national memory institution such as the BL manage sport, and specifically London 2012, archives?

COLLECTING: how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms were approached

The evidence suggests that attitudinal barriers exist between memory institutions and record creators towards sport that inhibit its collection. The notion that memory institutions embody repositories of 'high' culture content including literature, ancient artefacts and historic manuscripts, at the expense of 'low' culture pursuits such as sport, persists, to some extent, although this attitude seems to be changing. That sport may have been considered a subject of interest only to the working classes and not befitting of documentation within memory institutions is evident through the contexts of their establishment. This reflects the social roots of many memory institutions stemming from the collecting activities, patronage, gifts and deposits of the upper echelons of the late-18th, 19th and early-20th centuries, which did not consider sport a legitimate cultural pursuit. Indeed, this is observed in the BL, whose foundation collections represent the efforts and interests of Enlightenment Britain. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the exclusion of sport from memory institutions is an underlying factor in the development of independent collections of sporting material, such as the establishment of the FIFA collection. This internationally important collection was collated exclusively by one private collector, Harry Langton, and forms the foundation of the (English) National Football Museum, now located in Manchester (Reilly, 2012). This position has ironically created memory institutions' own Frankenstein's monster insofar as these institutions can now find themselves competing for documentary 'scraps' in a competitive collectors' market should content not be acquired in time.

Though I have found evidence of resistance towards the acquisition of London 2012 content emanating from within some memory institutions, which risks reinforcing sport as outside of the cultural field and thus irrelevant, developments in the academic

disciplines of sociology, social history and sport studies have combined with new theoretical perspectives that have 'legitimised' the acquisition of sporting content. Changing perceptions of everyday and non-traditional forms of culture, such as sport, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s, are reflected in contemporary archival theories. These approaches sought to reveal hidden and otherwise silenced narratives, fill gaps previously omitted from collections to prove more representative of wider society, and adopt a more inclusive perspective for appraisal strategies. Pursuing more inclusive methods of identifying material has, to some extent, attempted to democratise content, support diverse narratives and encourage multiple interpretations of collections. Such an approach is evidence of a positive shift in attitude towards the collection of sporting content, well represented by the 'helicopter view' adopted when collecting for London 2012.

The findings presented in this thesis demonstrate that records' creators from within the Olympic and Paralympic 'family' have yet to recognize the importance of saving documentary source materials. The problems of corporate archives, as found with LOCOG, the BOA and BPA, are particularly challenging to resolve. Whilst these organisations recognise the value of good recordkeeping practice, and how this serves to benefit the parent organisation, there is little room for preserving records beyond their immediate use – a task few of these bodies would appear to consider essential to their missions. Furthermore, such archive creating agencies involved with London 2012 are finite. The impermanence of bureaucratic Olympic and Paralympic structures and related 'pop-up' organisations challenges memory institutions to demonstrate the value inherent in the records that are created.

As these organisations are established to complete set deliverables within an incredibly limited period of time, extolling the benefits of good information management beyond their own lifespan becomes essential to effect the comprehensive collection of such content. Conveying the idea of a knowledge legacy is no simple task when an organisation's engagement largely ends with delivery: the legacy of the Games is for another time and another body of people, including the archiving. Such an attitude is evident in three quotations from Lord Sebastian Coe (see Table 9.1), the chair of LOCOG. The gradual disassociation from responsibility of delivering upon London 2012's legacies, over the six-year build up to the Games and again immediately before the event, is evident of a clear diminishing focus on legacy. Moreover, many records are now created digitally, existing wholly in a 'born-digital' state, which necessitates early-intervention by memory institutions. It is otherwise entirely possible for a team to be established within a government department, fulfil their required role, and disappear before their parent department has fully recognised that they exist, with no physical trace remaining that documents their activities.

Table 9.1   *Lord Coe on legacy*

Sebastian Coe, May 2006	*'Legacy is absolutely epicentral to the plans for 2012. Legacy is probably nine-tenths of what this process is about, not just 16 days of Olympic sport'* (Culf, 2006).
Sebastian Coe, 2007	*'50 per cent of the organising team are working on making sure that the Games are working functionally at Games time and the other 50 per cent spend every working hour worrying about what it is we are going to do with these facilities afterwards'* (Cashman and Horne 2013, 55, quoting Shirai 2008).
Sebastian Coe, March 2012	*'I don't want this to sound like this is not my job, but actually it isn't. We created the best platform in living memory to create the environment for that to happen. This begins after 2012. We finish and go off and do whatever we do'* (Gibson, 2012b).

Evidence also indicates that a particularly significant challenge confronting memory institutions surrounds the complications of acquiring content whose ownership lies in private hands, as in the case of London 2012 where TNA were required to negotiate the deposit of LOCOG's records from the IOC. As this material belongs to an international non-governmental organisation TNA had no mandate to collect such content – as the National Archive of the UK, their collecting activities are restricted to acquiring the records of government. Therefore advocacy at the highest levels was essential to achieving this aim. By gaining the ears of influential individuals within the government, and Olympic and Paralympic structures, memory institutions were able to demonstrate their value and further their agendas, thus ensuring a more comprehensive collection of London 2012 content.

The findings indicate that content ingested into memory institutions following London 2012 has formed, in part, the nation's first large-scale digital archive and as such represents many new challenges, including the transfer of data from its source to the repository. Responses indicated that in a digital framework there is no guarantee that records will passively accumulate any longer. Whereas the previous operational status quo was that government records would accumulate and transfer into TNA's possession after a certain period, as established by the 30 Year Rule (now the 20 Year Rule), it is not possible to leave digital media for an indeterminate time before capturing it. The reasons for this are described in the next section on storage; however, this has necessitated intervention from memory institutions at an earlier stage if they are to ensure as complete a coverage as possible.

Therefore, the findings of this research demonstrate that early intervention is essential in addressing the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms, especially in a

digital age. This is evident in terms of documenting impermanent creating agencies with a finite existence, but also in capturing incorporeal, transient digital data. However, in order for early intervention to occur it is imperative that attitudes towards sporting content continue to improve, both in terms of the collecting aspirations of memory institutions and also with regards to the lasting value of content that creating agencies themselves do not always recognise. Continued advocacy from within memory institutions will help alleviate this barrier to collecting.

STORING: to assess how sport and Olympic related data might be sustained as a resource

Feedback from participants indicated that many memory institutions, particularly those in the 'Local' sphere, are well intentioned but desperately under-funded and overwhelmed with work. Unfortunately this situation seems set to continue as forecasts predict further cuts in funding until 2017/18. In order to do more with less, memory institutions have increasingly looked for alternative avenues of funding. This was most frequently evidenced in terms of external funding and initiatives for partnership working and collaboration, although a more extreme solution was also presented in the move to become 'arms-length organisations'.

Responses very evidently revealed the need for a stable funding platform. Severe reductions in public spending throughout the government's CSR exposed the fact that memory institutions were over-reliant on core funding from parent bodies, representing 80% of the overall budget. Ray et al. (2012) recommended an aspirational model of a 70:30 split between core public, and external funding by 2014/15 (see Figure 9.1). Sustainability in these terms was premised upon growing budgets to mitigate a sudden shortfall in any funding stream. For example, increasing an initial budget of £100K by

Figure 9.1   *Aspirational funding model 2015/16*   (based on Ray et al., 2012)
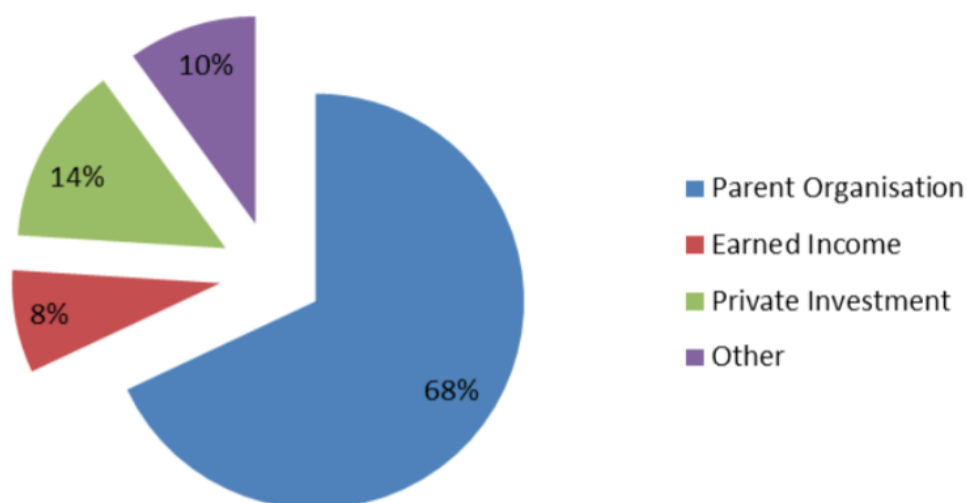
maintaining core funding at £80K and raising external investment to £35K resulting in an improved turnover of £115K. However, this is predicated upon stable core investment and should not enable the reduction of parent body funding to £65K in response. The diversification of income streams reported throughout the interviews demonstrated positive movement towards a 'tripod' model of funding within memory institutions. They have obtained 'non-traditional' material through the acquisition of London 2012 content by looking beyond traditional sources of funding; thus sport and Olympic related data can be sustained through forging lucrative new collaborations.

Evidence further suggested that the dissolution of the MLA, as a casualty of 'austerity', took away a voice at the top for memory institutions. Alongside TNA, the MLA had been an integral part of obtaining the support of DCMS to negotiate with LOCOG for the creation of 'The Record'. This represented a key factor in facilitating a sustainable knowledge legacy as 'The Record' established multiple rich veins of content and linked London 2012 to its predecessors in 1908 and 1948 and even beyond. Through highlighting diverse sources of content both chronologically, via a timeline of sport and Olympic content held by TNA from 1898 to 2012, and topically, demonstrating the

broad cultural relevance of the mega-event, 'The Record' delivered a sustainable resource accessible to researchers across various disciplines and diasporas. With the oversight for museums and libraries moved to Arts Council England, and responsibility for archives subsumed into TNA, a stabilising influence between memory institutions was also lost.

Mirroring the conclusions drawn under 'Collecting', the findings demonstrated that early intervention was a key component in securing a sustainable knowledge legacy for London 2012. As organisations have moved further into the digital age, the amount and complexity of content generated by society has dramatically increased. This is especially true of London 2012, the management of which occurred in the context of rapid technological advancement that demonstrated a marked shift from analogue to digital content production. In this respect, London was the first true 'digital Games' insofar as societal use of digital platforms increased whilst memory institutions' ability to capture data, for example through UKWA's use of data harvesting techniques such as the <.uk> domain crawl, broadened the potential content it was possible to capture and store. The increasing propensity for records to be digitised or born-digital has resulted in memory institutions engaging in the management of content earlier in its lifecycle.

Feedback from participants described the London 2012 digital landscape as being in flux: memory institutions' capacity to preserve digital content has not developed at the same rate as technological change. As such the spectre of obsolescence surrounded content created on platforms soon rendered obsolete by contemporary innovation. The evidence suggested that the capture of intangible, born-digital content generated by impermanent creators such as LOCOG necessitated early intervention and, more significantly, that memory institutions take custody of London 2012 content. In order to

establish a sustainable knowledge legacy the collection, storage and dissemination of content could not be left to chance.

Responses also considered the facility for access and preservation provided via digitisation. Furthermore, creation of digital surrogates in this manner assisted in preserving content by preventing (further) deterioration of original material. This promoted a more sustainable resource that provided the potential for remote access to content in formats previously only accessible on-site. However, digitisation also proved to be prohibitively expensive to smaller organisations and has to be balanced against the demands of born-digital material or else a considerable amount of content could be missed.

Evidence indicated that big data was an area on which memory institutions could capitalise. Big data is characterised by its volume, velocity, variety, veracity, and value. However, whilst the amount of data being generated was a significant issue, its principle asset was determined through the manner in which it was used. Chapter Seven observed the potential for big data to be utilised in relation to London 2012. For example, the aggregation of data relating to every athlete registered to compete at the Games (including age, sex, event, height and weight) allows research to analyse trends in participation, whilst the expansive use of social media throughout the event has facilitated research into 'intercultural dialogue' (Dennis and O'Laughlin, 2015; Rogers, 2012). The broad spectrum of content London 2012's big data represented has served to reveal developing avenues of research and collaboration necessary for its knowledge legacy to be sustained.

The findings indicated that an experience gap between 'digital natives' and 'digital immigrants' has developed within memory institutions. This was aligned with the alacrity of change in the technological landscape, as respondents evidenced a lack of confidence when dealing with digital content. As the bulk of staff currently working in memory institutions are 'digital immigrants', this uncertainty is unlikely to be resolved until a critical mass of 'digital natives' permeate the workforce.

Another finding of the thesis is that one of the most vital assets available to memory institutions is the knowledge of their employees. This tacit knowledge consisted of a high level of familiarity with content that enabled staff to identify acquisitions complementing existing collections, locate less-frequently consulted material, and support research enquiries from the general public. London 2012 occurred during a period of organisational restructuring and downsizing. This resulted in the loss of such knowledge as staff moved into new areas with little connection to their previous role, and normal turnover, retirement and redundancies worked to reduce staffing levels in line with efficiencies. Furthermore, the finite nature of LOCOG and the Games meant that London 2012 was an ideal candidate for project work using short-term staff whose resultant knowledge legacy was as transient as the event itself. Feedback clearly demonstrated that, for the smaller organisations, this was a threat to creating a sustainable knowledge legacy. Here content was often collected by project staff and stored in idiosyncratic systems by memory institutions without the adequate ability to catalogue and provide remote access to facilitate dissemination.

DISSEMINATING: to identify how best such content might be disseminated with an emphasis on widening community engagement

Research findings indicated that access was the cornerstone upon which the dissemination of London 2012's knowledge legacy rested. Indeed all the evidence suggested that there was little point in undertaking the collection or storage of content if access was not being provided. Such an observation was very pertinent in relation to invisible media. The phrase 'invisible media' typically referred to digital content insofar as it was incorporeal. Therefore, it was not immediately obvious what information was contained within a file unless specific controlled naming conventions were adopted. In the context of London 2012, organisations such as LOCOG created much invisible media *en masse* which required certain interventions from memory institutions to ensure that they knew what content was being collected in order to disseminate it to the general public. This demonstrates the importance of the process of description within memory institutions and the value of catalogues to the dissemination of content.

The amount of content created by society and collected by memory institutions has resulted in several organisations reporting severe cataloguing backlogs. This demonstrated a concern within memory institutions of content being housed but hidden: collected and stored but not disseminated. As alluded to in the previous section, catalogues provide a route of access into the collections held by memory institutions. The evidence suggested that in order to increase participation and widen engagement remote access to content needed to be provided. As user research strategies have become increasingly reliant on online search engines, recognised by participants as the 'Google factor', the importance of making catalogue information available online has subsequently risen. Respondents indicated that the demand for digital content belies a

risk that material not discoverable online is believed to be non-existent, a point of particular significance in relation to London 2012 content.

The barriers to access posed by restrictions placed upon memory institutions by the regulations surrounding Olympic and Paralympic branding became evident over the course of the research. As recognised by the findings concerning 'Collection', the (knowledge) legacy of London 2012 was not a priority for the IOC, IPC or LOCOG, whose involvement ended after delivery of the Games. The rigid protection of the Olympic brand was more concerned with preserving business assets than it was with preserving a (knowledge) legacy for London 2012. As Williams (2012b: n.p.) explained 'there's this sort of belief that archives are in it for their own good. Not for the greater good of access and research, and so on in the future'. Certainly the evidence suggested that the discoverability of websites including *Sporting Cities*, *Sport and Society* and *Mandeville Legacy* were reduced by the restrictive naming and description conventions that were enforced.

The public-private tension highlighted by interviewees surrounding the ownership of material reflects the differences between the very public role played by memory institutions, and the private business nature of the IOC and IPC. In contrast with the strict protection of branding, however, it is notable that access to London 2012 content has alternatively been facilitated through efforts by memory institutions to encourage the perception that content should be considered *open* rather than *closed*. This has supported the dissemination of content that otherwise would have been subject to a blanket closure period. In this way it was observed that London 2012's knowledge legacy was not going to be housed but hidden; rather it was possible to expedite research into the broad subjects of societal interest that surround the Games.

This notion was reflected in the finding that memory institutions targeted such content for collection, storage and dissemination because it represented considerable value beyond sport and London 2012. The recognition that there was more to London 2012 than simply the sporting events and ideals of Olympism, the 'official' record that Olympic Studies Centres have typically concentrated on, demonstrated the importance of collection, storage and dissemination for public consumption. Diverse and multidisciplinary research interests are supported across the data from the politics of the event, to nutritional information about athletes' diets, and thus comprising the 'unofficial' record as it were. The evidence suggests that through compiling a comprehensive record of London 2012, memory institutions have been able to situate its knowledge legacy in a wider societal context relevant not only to researchers and academics, but also to the communities that lived through and experienced it first-hand.

Dissemination of content by memory institutions is an on-going process and one that would benefit from further research being conducted into this phenomenon. Halbwirth and Toohey (2015: 247) assert that 'For an intellectual legacy to occur, knowledge must be transferred'. This is characterised as a movement through the explicit-implicit-tacit continuum, from potentially irreplaceable information that is unique to individuals, to that which is captured, organised and stored and able to be shared amongst many. They also recognise, however, that this occurs within a 'time continuum' and that 'the transfer is completed over a long time frame' that disrupts and prevents immediate access and use (2015: 254).

Although this is not to say that memory institutions are refraining from dissemination until an ill-defined future date. Indeed, some of the tacit knowledge generated during

London 2012 has already been made explicit and disseminated through talks and articles (Williams, 2013; 2012a and 2012b). Furthermore, the official knowledge legacy generated during London 2012 will be shared with future host cities, although this can be complicated by the nature of the Olympic cycle. For instance, it is largely too late for any knowledge legacy to contribute to Rio 2016, yet the function of the OGKS allows for dissemination to future Games. More immediately, London 2012's knowledge legacy can contribute to other ventures closer to home, as seen through the experiences shared after the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games during the bid and build up to London 2012 (Bolton and Carter, 2009).

The 'long time frame' in which London 2012's knowledge legacy exists, however, allows for considerable research potential beyond the conclusion of the Games, potentially easing Polley's concern for Britain's Olympic heritage (Polley, 2011). Indeed, the dissemination of this heritage provides fertile ground for a future research agenda. Dissemination by memory institutions is one small element of a much wider subject and requires consideration of the experiences of the wider public, and the uses to which London 2012 content is put. Through an inclusive study of the academics, businesses and communities affected by and interested in the impact of the Games and their interactions with content generated by them, a more comprehensive picture of the dissemination of London 2012 content will emerge.

ARCHIVING THE GAMES: how does a memory institution such as the BL manage sport, and specifically London 2012, archives?

Throughout this thesis, the need for early intervention has been identified as a key component for memory institutions managing London 2012 archives. The 'fugitive' nature of content produced by 'pop-up' organisations, each of which was both

impermanent and finite, combined with the 'invisibility' of much digital material ensured that there was a very specific and limited time within which memory institutions were able to operate. As such, feedback indicated it was essential that memory institutions adopt a strategic approach in order to document and preserve a knowledge legacy for future generations.

An approach adopted during London 2012 was that of documentation strategy, a pro-active method premised upon the notion of collaborating and working together with creating bodies across organisational boundaries from the earliest possible juncture. However, such an approach was not demonstrated across all institutions, and despite the efforts and intentions of TNA, and former MLA, the general approach evidenced by participants indicated that it was not an entirely strategic venture. Several interviewees reported that involvement had begun too late to employ a comprehensive strategy, yet evidenced that efforts had been made to forge links and work more closely with creating agencies and other memory institutions alike. Indeed this experience itself was considered one knowledge legacy to arise from London 2012, with respondents explaining that they were in a position of strength to act upon documenting similar events in the future.

Legacy is most frequently considered in terms of its tangible (e.g. infrastructure and stadia) and intangible (e.g. memories and analysis of the event) impact upon host cities and societies. To these considerations Horne (2015) suggests a further two distinctions, selective and universal, defining selective legacies as benefitting the few, whilst universal legacies affect the many. The contention that tangible legacies are generally selective is evident in the appropriation of the Olympic Stadium as West Ham United's

new home football pitch, as opposed to intangible legacies, which are typically universal, identifiable in the concept of a knowledge legacy.

That a passive accumulation of London 2012 content could not be relied upon was further supported by the notion that legacy was for another time and another place, rather than falling within LOCOG's remit. This diminishing focus upon legacy, clearly demonstrated in Table 9.1, was a product of the time-bound nature of the Games and was exacerbated by a lack of monitoring and evaluation of its implementation post-Games (Cashman and Horne, 2013). This implicit division of labour absolves the creating agency of responsibility for the longevity and sustainability of legacy. As such it has implications for archival notions of post-custody.

The post-custody concept is premised upon the notion that record creators can retain digital content with memory institutions managing it remotely to provide access. However, the findings presented in this thesis demonstrated that such a relationship was not feasible for the knowledge legacy of London 2012. The specifically time-bound nature of the Games established that no organisation would persist far beyond their conclusion, necessitating that memory institutions take custody of content. Therefore a custodial approach was recognised to be an essential element when approaching the collection, storage and dissemination of a knowledge legacy for a mega-event such as London 2012.

Ultimately the views presented by participants throughout this thesis have demonstrated the overtly complex processes undertaken by memory institutions in relation to documenting London 2012. Memory institutions worked within the resources available to them to create a sustainable knowledge legacy that supported the access to and

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preservation of Olympic and Paralympic heritage. The observation that "Archiving the Olympics was very much the art of the possible" (ATG08: 363) was particularly reflective of the broad experiences related by participants.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Archiving the Games: collecting, storing and disseminating the London 2012 knowledge legacy [A Collaborative Doctoral Award Project Supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and The British Library]

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in the study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask the researcher if there is anything that is unclear of if you need more information.

The Research Project

The project aims to gain an in-depth understanding of a range of stakeholders' views relating to the challenges involved with managing and disseminating materials associated with large cultural and sporting events, with a specific focus on the London Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012 (hereafter 'London 2012'). It will involve conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with key people, experts and archival professionals at several international, national, and local institutions.

Your participation in the research involves taking part in an interview, which should last approximately 30-45 minutes, at a time and place convenient to you. The interview will focus on four key themes:

1. how national and local memory institutions manage sport, and specifically London 2012, archives;
2. how the challenges of collecting data in diverse media forms are being approached;
3. how sport and Olympic Games related data can be sustained as a resource after 2012 and,
4. how best content can be disseminated, with an emphasis on widening community engagement.

This interview will be audio taped to help capture your insights in your own words, unless you request otherwise. The results of the study will be used for academic and publication purposes in academic journals only. If you wish to be made aware of these uses, please contact me at the address(es) below.

The research is being organised by Andrew Rackley, who is the sole researcher on the project.

For further information please contact:

Andrew Rackley
The British Library
96 Euston Road
London
NW1 2DB
E-mail: andrew.rackley@bl.uk
Telephone: +44 (0)330 333 7263

Your participation in the Research Project

- You can refuse to take part in the study at any time by contacting the researcher directly.
- You are free to withdraw from the research at any time, for any reason and without prejudice.
- If you agree to participate, I will seek your permission to audio-tape the interview so that I can transcribe it for analytical purposes. During the interview, you may decline to answer any question, you may request that the tape recorder be turned off, or you may withdraw from the study without consequence.
- Information will be treated as confidential and the audio-tapes and typed interview transcripts will be stored securely within the British Library with access restricted to the researcher only. Participants will be referred to anonymously in any written reports or articles.

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS TO KEEP

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Archiving the Games: collecting, storing and disseminating the London 2012 knowledge legacy   [A Collaborative Doctoral Award Project Supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and The British Library]

Researcher contact: Andrew Rackley
The British Library
96 Euston Road
London
NW1 2DB
E-mail: andrew.rackley@bl.uk
Telephone: +44 (0)330 333 7263

Participant's Understanding
Please read the following statements and initial the boxes to indicate your agreement.

Please initial box

I agree to participate in this study that I understand will be in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD.) at the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, U.K. ☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary. ☐

I understand that all anonymised data collected will be used for this study and may also be used for academic / teaching purposes and to inform future research within the same research theme. ☐

I understand that I will not be identified by name in the final thesis. ☐

I am aware that all records will be kept confidential in the secure possession of the researcher. ☐

I acknowledge that the contact information of the researcher and his advisors have been made available to me along with a duplicate copy of this consent form. ☐

I understand that the data I will provide are not to be used to evaluate me as an official of the British Library or any other archival institution in any way. ☐

I give permission for the researcher to contact me after the conclusion of the interview for the purposes of clarification. ☐

I agree to the interview being audio recorded. ☐

I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time with no adverse repercussions. ☐

_____   _____   _____
Name of participant   Date   Signature

_____   _____   _____
Name of researcher   Date   Signature

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Warm-up
1. What is the name of your organisation and what is its primary purpose?
2. Could you please describe your role within the organisation?
3. Does your organisation have a designated collection policy? Is a copy accessible online?
   a. Could you briefly describe you organisation's archival strategy?

Main questions

Collecting
1. Was there a specific remit to collect London 2012?
   a. Has sport always been seen as significant to collect, or has the Olympic Games influenced collecting policy? Why (not)? In what way?
2. What factors influence collection decision making? (E. g. cost, expertise, opportunity, personality, space, other repositories, advice from other organisations, etc.)
3. What differences have been encountered between collecting digital and analogue content?

Storing
1. Considering current capacities and capabilities, should, or could, everything be collected?
2. What measures have been taken to preserve the records of UK sports and sporting bodies?
3. How are records, both analogue and digital, being managed?
4. How will records remain accessible as digital technology dates?

Disseminating
1. How can sport/Olympic content be used to widen participation?
2. How could memory institutions support sporting bodies/archives in reaching a wider audience?
3. Should, or could, there be an independent sports archive/centre of excellence (ie. regional film archives) in the UK?
   a. If so, where? Could it be electronic?
   b. Would you wish your collections to be part of it?

Wind-down
4. Is there anything we haven't spoken about today that you would like to add?
5. Is there anyone you know of who may be better able to answer any of these questions?
6. What made you interested in speaking to me?
7. Is there anything else you would like me to tell you about my research?
8. Are you happy to be contacted in the future for the purposes of clarifying any answers given today?

EXPANDED CODING FRAMEWORK

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Gap filling Terms of deposit Donation Gift Loan Purchase Transfer Legislation (Non-Print) Legal deposit Public Records Act Reactive versus proactive No capacity to be proactive	Acquiring content	Chasing the money
Adequate funding Funding and support structure Funding sources Fundraising Importance of fundraising Lack of funds Lack of resources Lack of resources as a small service Trust status Unfunded Money Money is an issue	Budgets	
Feasibility study Funding bid Funding isn't barrier Funding risks 'Chasing the money' Cost-neutral projects Funded projects Projects changing plans Project influencing collection Website down after project completion Necessity of funding Ongoing funds	Project work	
Business critical Current-historic 'Historic' records Life cycle (?) L2012 records are semi-current No formal records management No transfer schedule No understanding of recordkeeping Transfer delay	Business life cycle	Enduring value

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Cost implication Cost of storing Change of location Improper storage locations Knowing where things are Moving office Non-standard storage conditions Organising storage locations Rationale for storage location Required storage conditions Space is an issue Storage constraints Storage locations	**Adequate conditions**	
Back-ups and duplicates Disaster planning Duplicates Duplicates for preservation/use Pragmatic preservation Preservation Purchase equipment Cost of equipment Repair versus replacement cost Access versus preservation Barriers to access and use	**Longevity**	**Enduring value**
Depleted staff Lack of expertise Lack of specialist staff Lack of staff No specialist staff No specific staff Only what staff can do Professional specialists Staff team Staff changes Staffing level Demand on staff time Dual roles Increased staff in searchroom Personal role Reference interview Role Staff research Staff time Volunteers	**Personnel**	
Fractured knowledge Tacit knowledge Vague knowledge Funded project workers Project staff	**Tacit knowledge**	

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Digital storage Council shared drive Servers Servers and lack of space Proper digital preservation technicians Digitisation Digital surrogates Future proofing Cost implication of digitising Expense of digital Professional specialists Lack of expertise Lack of specialist staff Online reaching wider audience	**Changing pace**	**Pooling resources by working together**
Advice welcome Inhibited partnerships Motivated to engage by work going in archive Partnership cost-neutral Partnership for outreach Partnership to store Partnerships Providing advice for others Reticence to deposit Working together Joint service	**Forging links**	
Accident or serendipity Capture everything Didn't receive much (Non-Print) Legal deposit Natural gaps Serendipity Unaware of material Collection policy in hindsight Frequency of deposit Ease of acquisition	**Acquisition**	**Passive accumulation and active selection**
Active selection Appraisal Collection priorities Collection development strategies Common knowledge Creating agency De-accessioning Decision making for appraisal 'Drier' documents in archive Passive accumulation Priorities Selection Uniqueness Value judgment Worthy of preservation	**Appraisal**	

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Internet effect Web curation Territoriality Sport and Society The People's Record The Record Winning Endeavours UK Web Archive	**Web archiving**	**Passive accumulation and active selection**
No online catalogue Remote access Remote access and descriptions Remote accessibility Website relieving demand	**Remote access**	
Analogue Audio-Visual Born digital Digital content Digitised Formats Grey literature Multiple formats Not limited by format Types of content Oral history Photographic content Several formats to manage	**Format and content**	**Digital opportunities and threats**
Acquiring digital content Conservative attitude to digital Difficult to acquire digital records Digital not replacement for print Digital revolution Google alerts Positive attitude to digital Print paradigm Transitioning Using digital to collect	**Transitioning away from the print paradigm**	
Black hole Born digital Digitising Lack of forethought Lazy attitude to recordkeeping Low-tech digital repository Migration, Emulation, Museum No digital archive repository No early intervention Print off pages Third party outsourcing for storage TNA advice	**Digital preservation**	

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Arrangement Backlog Capture the moment Catalogue Cataloguing Hybrid collections Influence on storage Internal versus external catalogue No improvement after London 2012 Online catalogue Original order Provenance Split as last resort Splitting collections Split storage	**Arrangement and description**	**Out of sight, out of mind**
Access restrictions Barrier to access Can access what you know about Can't access digital records in searchroom Closure periods Controlled access Copyright Data Protection Act Freedom of Information Act Legislative restrictions No desire to publicise No waiting for documents Online access Onsite accessibility Onsite facilities Permission to access Physical access Transparency Visibility Widening access Service visibility	**Access and visibility**	
Collection priorities Common knowledge Interpreting the legacy Narrative tropes Sport not a key theme Thematic collection Thematic influences Themes Value judgment Worthy of preservation Interest within the Borough Strategy to capture impact not sport/Olympics Games box	**Content decisions**	**Cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records**

Initial codes	Basic themes	Organising themes
Attitude to sport Attitude to Olympic and Paralympics General 'legacy' not archival Lack of sporting knowledge Popularity of sport Prominence of sport Sport as a social mobiliser Sport as 'hook' Sport integrated into consciousness Sport in society Ambivalence to own records Attitudes to each other	**Attitudes**	**Cognitive dissonance, or ambivalence to records**
External impetus Fear of loss Motivation to collect No internal remit to collect Personality Staff influence Staff influence on collection	**Catalyst**	
Ambivalence to own records BOA as custodians Collection management committee Complicated ownership and management Intellectual Property ownership Ownership Ownership by IOC Storage risks of not owning Host City Contract	**Ownership**	**Here today, gone tomorrow**
Frequency of event Influence of IOC In the public eye Infrequency of event IOC and Transfer of Knowledge Keep it in the 'family' London 2012 good example of TOK Narrow view of relevance Olympic initiative Olympics Too recent an event Olympic impact Effect of London 2012 on local services	**London 2012 as a Mega-Event**	