

Creativity and curatorship:
Creative industries policy and the changed face of the curatorial
sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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2016

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Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Nemane Bieldt

September 2016

Acknowledgements

The acknowledgements page is always the first thing I turn to when I look at a thesis. To me, this page is a little window into the world of the researcher and his or her life during the time it took to complete the project – the family and friends who provided love and support; the colleagues who understood the pressure; the primary and secondary supervisors who guided, and shaped, and suffered through the pages and pages of work at hand. Now, in writing my own acknowledgements page, I likewise wish to thank those respective groups, but instead of listing them by name and number, I wish to give credit in the multitude, and thank ‘everyone’ according to their very kind deeds:

Thank you for helping me come to the ideas I wanted to explore in this research, and giving me the means to go on this journey; thank you for the pep talks to encourage me along the way; thank you for the laughter to help ease the stress, and the listening ear when I needed to moan; thank you for the friendship and camaraderie, the sort that exists for (and can survive) this kind of endeavour; thank you for the endless cups of coffee and late nights, the chocolate bars and mid-afternoon snacks; thank you for your love, and for sticking by me through all the ups and downs; thank you for helping me grow into the person I am today.

Thank you to everyone who was involved in this research journey of mine, you all deserve medals for your support and participation. While I can’t guarantee the latter, at the very least, I can assure you of my absolute and everlasting gratitude.

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to examine the impact of the discourses of the creative industries on the the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In relation to this overarching aim, I explored two associated ideas: first, the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the sector, and second, changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of the visitor. My interest in this research stemmed from my observations of changes that were taking place in the curatorial sector (Alexander, 1999; Boylan, 2006; Macdonald, 2003), and the influence of creative industries discourses (Cunningham, 2003; Florida, 2002; Hartley, 2005) on the cultural agenda in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Lawn, 2006; Prince, 2010; Volkerling, 2010). My aim was to investigate the influence of creative industries discourses on museums and galleries, on curators and the nature of work in the curatorial sector, and the construction of the curatorial 'visitor'.

To that end, my research was designed around the following three research questions: (1) What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period from 1992 to 2015? (2) In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct the members of the public and their 'visitor experience'? (3) What themes emerge from workers' lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work? I employed a 'mixed-methods' (Testa, Livingston & VanZile-Tamsen, 2011) approach for data gathering and analysis: critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992), semi-structured interviewing (Fontana & Frey, 2005) and thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

My research produced findings that show significant changes have taken place in the curatorial sector in Aoteroa-New Zealand, and that the discourses of the creative industries have become naturalised and accepted as 'common sense' in the management of museums and galleries, as well as in the performance of contemporary curatorial work and the construction of the visitor "experience".

Chapter 1

From the Custodial to the Creative

Museums...are places where people can learn about and explore aspects of popular culture. At a higher level, museums help us to recognize, celebrate and think about significant artistic or cultural creativity, and encourage further creative developments... Museums are in brief, a critical component of a modern creative economy.

-Museums Aotearoa Te Tari O Nga Whare Taonga O Te Motu

In the mid-1990s, a new cultural and economic policy term emerged (Cunningham, 2003; Flew, 2012; Hartley, 2005; Howkins, 2005; Roodhouse, 2006): “the creative industries”. First widely used in Britain, the term “creative industries” was, arguably, an optimistic response to prevalent *fin de siècle* despondency about the state of the planet, about the future of industry and manufacturing and about job and wealth creation (Caves, 2000; Cunningham, 2003; Howkins, 2001, 2005; Volkerling, 2001), and the simplicity of its basic tenet – that human creativity would save the immediate and all subsequent days (Florida, 2002) – was appealing to policy-makers, who began to emphasise “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001, p. 5). The adoption of a “creative industries concept” (Hartley, 2007; Flew, 2012) engendered a strong political focus on the economic value of cultural and creative activity (Flew, 2002; Howkins, 2001) and on “applied creativity” as well, in the sense of using creativity to generate appealing city-scapes capable of attracting creative people to a culturally vibrant “scene” with which they would engage to make it, also, economically healthy (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). It is an axiom of this research, therefore, that the notion of creativity was deliberately commodified (Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002; Negus &

Pickering, 2000; Peck, 2005, 2007; Scott, 2004) and woven into discussions about the generation of wealth and employment, producing the discourse of the “creative industries”.

Two decades on, it is still not possible to tell whether the discourse of the “creative industries” has delivered much of the economic well-being that was anticipated, but it is certainly possible to observe that the discourse has had an effect on art galleries and museums¹, which are a part of social life that was formerly considered to lie outside the constraints of systematic economic contribution (Anderson, 1983; Arinze, 1999; Bennett, 1995; Macdonald, 2003). It is in the context of this observation that the purpose of this research was formed. My primary purpose in this research is to examine the impact of the discourses of the creative industries on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand². In relation to this overarching aim, I will explore two associated ideas. The first idea is the positioning and interpellation of creativity in the sector. Here, by ‘interpellation’ I contend that the traditional conceptualisation of creativity was interrupted by forces of commercialisation and commodification. The second idea concerns changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of “the visitor.” I hope that my research will enhance present understandings of the conceptualisation and deployment of creativity in the curatorial sector and its intersection with the changing nature of curatorial work in Aotearoa-New Zealand at the beginning of the 21st century.

This chapter serves to introduce my research and the organisation of the thesis. Section 1.1 traces the development of the research idea and places the research within its broad field of enquiry, the creative industries; in section 1.2 I set out the questions which guided the research, and in section 1.3 I explain the way the thesis has been structured in relation to the research questions.

1.1 The genesis and evolution of the research concept

This research began because of my intense life-long interest in creativity, conceptualised first, as the abstract but powerful force that drives *making* of all sorts and second, as the artefacts that are the outcome of that force. My own sense of human creativity aligns closely with DH

¹ For the purposes of clarity and succinctness, I will from now on refer to “art galleries and museums” as “the curatorial sector”.

² New Zealand is constitutionally bicultural and in this research, I therefore mostly refer to this country as “Aotearoa-New Zealand”. I specifically use the bicultural name because it is central to the discussion of the social, cultural and political fabric of the nation, but also, because it is the context in which the contemporary curatorial sector is situated. At times, though, I use ‘New Zealand’ only, either because the discussion concerns the colonial past, or is about a subject not directly connected to biculturalism.

Lawrence's (1955) view that it should offer views into the "wild chaos" of the universe. It is easy to grow up without thinking about the principles underpinning social institutions such as museums, but at some point, as I progressed through my undergraduate studies, I became aware of changes in the social contract between communities and the curatorial sector³, and that, broadly, creativity was increasingly being harnessed in the language of management (Amabile, 1997, 2001) and put to serve the interests of business rather than those of art and artists (Oldham, 2003; Proctor, 2005; Powell, 2008). Given that I favour spending time in museums and art galleries, I decided that the source and effects of this change were worth investigating, and consequently, designed my doctorate around an examination of the new discourses of creativity (Cunningham, 2003; Garnham, 2005; Hartley, 2005, 2007; Prichard, 2002) and their outcomes in curatorial organisations.

Of course, I am not the first to notice that change is occurring. Others (Alexander, 1999; Ames, 2005; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Rentschler, 1998; Twitchell, 2004) have also noted that museums and galleries are no longer places dedicated purely to the conservation and preservation of cultural heritage, but rather, manifest a strong commercial presence in which the creativity of curation is conceptualised as a means to an end; an organisational asset; a government imperative to boost the economy (Grodach, 2012; Janes, 1999; Richards & Wilson, 2006; Ross, 2004; Scott, 2004; Suchy, 2000). Thus, as others before me have observed (Axelsen, 2006; Leighton, 2007; Prentice, 2001; Rowley, 1999), a visit to a gallery or museum has become an "experience" that begins with an entry next to the café and finishes with an exit through the gift shop. As a broad field of enquiry, the commercialisation of culture is, therefore, not new: see, for instance, the arguments of Adorno and Horkheimer (1997 [1947]) and Hartley (2005) about the effect of commercialisation and those of Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) about the changes in public funding that have forced museums and galleries to become more businesslike. For more than 60 years, then, scholarship has been full of debates about the impact of commercial principles on the ideal of "art for art's sake" (Caves, 2000; Eagleton, 1990; Ryan, 1992) but in the published research about the "new" (Ames, 2005; Ross, 2004) galleries and museums, no major examination has been made of the gradual colonisation of the language of curation by the discourses of profit and sustainability, nor the effect of this process on a general re-conceptualisation of creativity in the curatorial sector. My research is intended to open up this field to show the connection between macro-

³ For example, the use of the Auckland War Memorial Museum as a wedding venue, or the inclusion of a theme-park Motion Master ride as part of the OurSpace exhibition at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

level policy initiatives and statements such as this one from Museums Aotearoa (2005, p. 7) that "...the museum plays a central role in the 'modern creative economy'."

Although the geo-social setting of this doctorate is curatorial organisations, the research is not driven by the general concerns of Museum Studies, which focuses on the societal concept and function of the museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, 2007, 2013; Macdonald, 2006); the museum profession, including management and professional standards (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010; Macdonald, 2006) and the necessary training required to carry out curatorial practices (Ambrose & Paine, 2012; Boylan, 2004). Rather, my argument is specifically located within the concept of the creative industries (Hartley, 2007; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Flew, 2012) and the particular attention paid to the commercialisation of culture (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Twitchell, 2004; UNCTAD, 2008) and the 'creativising' of tired, dull inner cities (Florida, 2002; Richards & Wilson, 2006; Prentice, 2001; Scott, 2006). There is plenty of scope in the social fabric of Aotearoa-New Zealand for my examination: under the leadership of Helen Clarke, the fifth Labour government adopted creative industries thinking early in its first term, and applied it consistently in broad swathes of policy initiatives, promising that a vibrant creative sector would stimulate economic growth and build national identity (Clarke, 2002; Clarke, 2000b; Clarke, 2008c).

Curatorial organisations, and in particular, public sector museums and galleries (Thompson, 2001; Zimmer & Toepler, 1999), could not be immune to changes in cultural policy (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005) following from a government's insistence on using creativity as a means to an economic end (Potts & Cunningham, 2008), and so found that the documents that controlled their activities were imbued with the discourses of the creative industries. Before the 'creative industries' era, the social purpose of museums and galleries was primarily curatorial, in the sense that 'curatorial' means 'to care for' (Harper, 2010): they collected, preserved, and researched the history of their communities (Arinze, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; NMDC, 2010), and these are still the priority of museums and galleries today (Knell, 2004; Macdonald, 2003, 2006). In fact, the definition of 'museum'⁴ from the International Council of Museums is testimony to this purpose:

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its

⁴ Here I find it useful to extend the definition of *museum* to cover public art galleries as well.

environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. (ICOM, 2007, para. 3)

The collection and its preservation is implicit in this definition. As Gilmore and Rentschler (2002, p. 745) point out, the collection forms the “cultural capital of the institution”. Unstated in the definition, but also implicit, is the presence of curators, who dedicate their professional activities to studying, interpreting and presenting valuable artefacts in well-crafted exhibitions (AAMC, 2010; Boyle, 2004; Horie, 1986; Pearce, 1987; Tims, 2011). From a traditional perspective, then, curatorial organisations have been structured first, around the collection as ‘central’ and second, around the curator as ‘expert’ (Horie, 1986; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). There is a third aspect to the traditional structuring of curatorial organisations: they were always publicly funded as a service to citizens (DiMaggio, 1986; ICOM, 2007; Toepler, 2001).

The introduction of the discourses of the creative industries changed the traditional operating principles of curatorial organisations, which were increasingly obliged to compete in the marketplace against other leisure services (Dibb, 1995; Kotler, Kotler, & Kotler, 2008; Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002), “pursuing market share (support base) and revenue (fundraising)” (Miaoulis, 1985, p. 54) in the same way as purely commercial organisations. Unlike purely commercial organisations, however, museums and public art galleries could not single-mindedly pursue money, but instead, had to continue to fulfil their traditional social function as the custodians of culture. The split role meant that curatorial organisations were re-branded for market appeal⁵, that collections were re-conceptualised as block-buster exhibits with wide market appeal (Ames, 1989; Brown, 1996; Flemming, 2004; Higgins, 1984; Rentschler & Reussner, 2002; Yorke & Jones, 1987), and that curators were re-positioned as multi-skilled tellers of marketable stories (Alexander, 1996; Suchy, 2000; Muller & Edmonds, 2006).

The experience of the visitor – now a “customer” – became paramount (see Prentice, 2001; Richards & Wilson, 2006; Scott, 2006) and extended beyond the quality of museum-visitor interaction to include everything “from the moment that the customer seeks to park their car...to the moment the customer leaves the museum with the appropriate information, or leisure experience” (Rowley, 1999, p. 303). To provide ‘a total visitor experience’, curatorial

⁵ For example, the “Auckland War Memorial Museum” has been re-branded as the “Auckland Museum” or “AM” in promotional material, which then also forms part of the city-branding slogan, “I AM Auckland”. Similarly, the “Auckland Art Gallery” is branded as “ART”, which is also incorporated into the gallery’s logo, promotional material and shop merchandise.

organisations improved their venues, provided a wider variety of services and developed new products (Rowley, 1999; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; White, 1991) that featured “multi-art experiences” (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002, p. 746) and “activities” (Rowley, 1999, p. 304). Museums increased their floor space to accommodate interactive exhibits and ever-growing retail catalogues (Dibb, 1995; Suchy, 2000; Dobrzynski, 1997) and the shops were promoted as places where customers could purchase a memento of their museum trip or ‘cultural’ gifts (Toepler, 2006; Twitchell, 2004). As an example of the increasing attention to retail initiatives, between 1992 and 1997, “selling space” at the Metropolitan Museum of Art increased by 28 percent (Twitchell, 2004, p. 250).

While curatorial organisations were becoming more market-focused and entrepreneurial, creativity was – arguably – being commodified to suit a commercial ethos (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Hartley, 2005; McRobbie, 2002; Suchy, 2000). In other words, where once creativity had been associated with artistic expression and valorised as inherent and indeterminate talent (Eagleton, 1990; Davis & Scase, 2000; Hartley, 2005; Lawrence, 1955), from the 1990s onwards, it was keenly advanced in business and organisational discourses as a way to create and sustain competitive advantage and to add value (Amabile, 1997, 2001; Oldham, 2003). More creativity in business meant more business in creativity: a whole literature exists (Amabile, Conti, Coon, Lazenby & Herron, 1996; Bilton, 2007; Banks, Elliott & Owen, 2003; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Davis & Scase, 2000; Dubina, 2006; Florida & Goodnight, 2005; Gibb, 2006; McShane & Travaglione, 2004; Oldham, 2003; Powell, 2008; Proctor, 2005) on the ways to harness creativity and align it with commercial and economic imperatives, and certainly, since the term “creative industries” was coined (DCMS, 2001 [1998]), the concept has become the basis of policy schemes in countries as diverse as the United Kingdom, Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, Australia, USA, Canada and New Zealand (Higgs & Cunningham, 2008; Flew & Cunningham, 2010; Florida, 2005).

I have already shown that the creative industries concept forced changes on the social purpose and daily functioning of curatorial organisations, but the changes did not stop there. Cultural policy everywhere has been permeated – perhaps even saturated – with the assumption that creativity is about producing wealth and employment (Hartley, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005), and in this new understanding of creativity, curatorial organisations must do more than simply attract visitors and support themselves: they are an integral part of the efforts of local governments to build ‘creative cities’ to attract visitors and residents (Florida, 2002, 2005; Landry, 2000; Tay, 2005). As Scott (2006) shows, the

Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao has been designed and developed to stimulate urban renewal, attract creative activity and increase cultural tourism, and the NMDC (2010, section 3.4) argues that Britain's museums and galleries "driv[e] creativity and innovation" and play a significant part in the regeneration of inner cities by increasing tourism. The Victoria and Albert Museum, for example, is noted for making "an essential contribution to sustaining Britain's leading role in creative design" (NMDC, 2010, section 3.4) and even locally, the 2011 restoration of the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki and the 2006 renovation of the Auckland War Memorial Museum (Auckland City Council, 2002, 2005; Gibson, 2007) is driven in part by the council's determination to develop Auckland as an urban product that sells the cityscape as a unique cultural destination.⁶

My argument, is, then that curatorial organisations have been drawn systematically and moderately quickly into 'the market', and now carry a burden of expectations far beyond the preservation of cultural heritage. I suspect that those expectations are inherent in the discourses of the creative industries, which, I contend, have permitted the uncritical (and largely unexamined) acceptance of a divergence between the traditional function of curatorial organisations and the market-imposed need for interactivity, entertainment and "experience" (Leighton, 2007; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Prentice, 2001; Rowley, 1999).

The 're-purposing' of collections to fit the 'brave new world' of creative industries is sufficiently fascinating to me that I would have been happy to make that the sole focus of my doctorate, but I became interested in the way in which curators, previously seen as scholars and experts (Horie, 1986; Tims, 2011), were also being 're-purposed'. In recent years the work of the curator has changed significantly (Bady, 2001; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Scott, 2004; Suchy, 2000) and curators are now expected to be flexible, passionate and even 'heroic' in their efforts to balance curatorial, administrative, educative, marketing and public information responsibilities (Alexander, 1996; Bady, 2001; Brenson, 1998; Suchy, 2000). In light of new and rapidly-developing digital technologies, too, curators have had to become 'information professionals', with the business and digital skills to deal with the multi-media and commercial aspects of managing museums (Alexander, 1996; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Ray, 2009). Creativity in curatorial work appears to have been, to a considerable degree, appropriated by curatorial organisations-as-businesses. I am interested also in discovering the effects of the new ways of deploying creativity on curators and their work.

⁶ See, for example, the 'Starkwhite' (AAC, 2002) and 'Blueprint' (ACC, 2007) reports.

As I began to design this research, I came to conceptualise the curatorial sector in a hierarchy of three tiers. The top tier consists of those organisations⁷ that draw their being from public policy, and are, I maintain, likely to be most affected by changes resulting from the adoption of the creative industries discourses. The second tier is occupied by curatorial organisations that are privately owned and operated for profit and have therefore always been business-oriented but are nevertheless susceptible to the new directions of creativity and policy because they too are fighting for market share. The third tier is full of curators who work independently on contract, as part of the highly-educated “precariat” (de Peuter, 2011; Standing, 2011). I am concerned in this research with the top two tiers of my imagined hierarchy, those organisations and individuals whose work has been re-cast in the language of the creative industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Scott, 2004; Throsby, 2007).

1.2 Research questions

The purpose of this research is to examine the policies of the creative industries in Aotearoa-New Zealand in relation to the marketisation of curatorial organisations and an accompanying commodification of creativity in order to trace and account for these changes. A related purpose that is no less important is to capture the lived experience of some of the people working with the new conceptualisations of creativity and what is now meant by ‘curatorial organisations’. In line with that purpose, the research recorded here will address three research questions.

The first research question is “What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period from 1992 to 2015?” This question is intended to fill a gap in knowledge about the current direction of the curatorial sector of Aotearoa-New Zealand. The question will contextualise changes in the curatorial sector by examining the cultural policies and their influence on organisational practices. The specific timeframe for the question – 1992 to 2015 – was chosen because 1992 is the year the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act was passed into law. The Te Papa Act was a significant piece of legislation for the curatorial sector, for it not only united the national museum and art gallery into one institution, but also specified deep changes to the way this important curatorial organisation would operate.

⁷ Locally, these include such organisations as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Auckland Art Gallery.

My first research question will be answered by applying the textually-oriented discourse analysis proposed by Fairclough (1992), supplemented by Fairclough (1995), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) and Fairclough (2003), to the Acts that create and govern museums and galleries, and to the annual reports and other compliance documents produced by curatorial organisations. I chose these types of texts because I expect my analysis of the discourses within them to reveal both governmental and organisational priorities for the curatorial sector.

My second research question is "In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct the members of the public and their 'visitor experience'?" With this question, I place my investigation into creative industries discourses at the level of the visiting public. The documents that will be analysed to answer this question are those "hybrid" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 143) online and print materials that appear to offer information but are, in fact, primarily designed for promotion. These materials include museum and gallery websites and social media sites, exhibition homepages, "What's on" guides and other visitor information, and my aim is to show the ways in which museums and galleries position and construct the public, so as to ascertain the effect of creative industries developments on the museum and visitor interaction. I will continue to carry out critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) as I grapple with this question, but I will also incorporate data gathered in the interviews I conducted to obtain an answer to my third research question.

The third research question, then, is "What themes emerge from workers' lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work?" My aim here is to amass "first-hand knowledge" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 6) from those who work within the curatorial organisations, in order to understand from the insiders' perspective on work in curatorial organisations. To collect the 'first hand knowledge' I need for this question, I will conduct semi-structured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005) with organisational members, and will analyse the data set using thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

In this first chapter, I have set out the purpose of my research, outlined the development of my research idea and specified the questions which guide this research. I have also scoped the field of enquiry in the curatorial sector and situated the research within the discourses of

'creative industries.' In Chapter 2 my aim is to further contextualise my research, examining the social, political and economic factors that have given rise to the New Zealand concept of the 'creative industries'. This chapter addresses the historical context of the cultural sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, gives insight into how and why the creative industries concept was adopted, and also looks at the impact of creative industries policies on the cultural agenda and the view of creativity in the New Zealand cultural sector.

In Chapter 3, I discuss and review the key concepts shaping the contemporary curatorial sector, which include developments in creativity and creative labour, changes in museums and galleries, and growth in the cultural heritage field. The aim of this chapter is to contextualise contemporary curatorial work, and how changes in the sector have affected curators, curatorial organisations and their visitors. The literature reviewed in this chapter therefore serves as the backdrop for the two related ideas of my research purpose: the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the curatorial sector, and changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of "the visitor".

Chapter 4 considers the methodology and method employed in my research, presenting the details of my research design and the way that I conducted the research. I discuss discourse theory, how my research is aligned with a social theory perspective on discourse, and how critical discourse analysis serves as my chosen method for the research. I then detail the use of Fairclough's (1992) method in addressing my first and second research questions. I also discuss the research process for the third research question, which includes semi-structured interviews and a thematic analysis of the data set. I look at the theory associated with interviewing and outline my recruitment process, including the difficulties I encountered at this stage of my research. I also establish my research orientation as critical interpretive, examine the use of thematic analysis as a scholarly method, and present the details of my approach to use Boyatzis (1998) and Braun and Clarke (2006) to analyse my interview data.

Chapter 5 is the first of my data chapters and addresses the research question: "What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period from 1992 to 2015?" In this chapter I analyse key texts from Acts of Parliament, museum and gallery annual reports, statements of intent, strategic plans and other policy documents to show how the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand has undergone significant change, influenced and shaped by political, social, cultural and economic agendas, which have affected both the role and function of museums and galleries, as well as the scope and nature of curatorial work.

In Chapter 6, I provide a 'snapshot' of creative industries policies in the New Zealand curatorial sector by examining the Auckland Art Gallery as a case study in the application of 'creative cities' strategy. I discuss the mission statement of Regional Facilities Auckland, the administrative body for the art gallery, and consider the redevelopment of the Auckland Art Gallery's brand, building and curatorial portfolio, looking at the influence of contemporary curatorial priorities and creative industries policies on the role and work of the gallery.

Chapter 7 contains data and analysis for the second research question: 'In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct members of the public and the 'visitor experience'?' To answer this question, I conduct a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) of selected marketing texts produced by New Zealand curatorial organisations, including printed information guides, brochures and leaflets, as well as exhibition web-pages, museum and gallery homepages and corresponding social network interactions, which shows the commercialisation of the museum or gallery visit, and how visitor is constructed and positioned as an active participant in the museum experience.

Chapter 8 is the last of the data chapters and answers the third research question: 'What themes emerge from workers' lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work?' In it, I present the findings from the thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006) of my interview data, which tells the story of my participants' work experience, giving insight into the nature of curatorial work and role of creativity in the New Zealand curatorial sector.

Chapter 9 concludes the thesis. I discuss the significance of the findings of my research and draw conclusions on the basis of those findings. The final chapter also addresses the delimitations and limitations of this investigation, as well as specific avenues for further research.

In this chapter, I have specified the broad concerns of this research, and have set out the questions that I intend to answer in order to achieve my research purpose. In the next chapter, I will more fully explicate the background of curatorial organisations and the creative industries in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Chapter 2

Contextualising the creative industries in Aotearoa-New Zealand

The primary purpose of my research is to examine the impact of the creative industries discourses on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The first chapter sketched in a general background to my field of enquiry, introducing the concept of the creative industries and concurrent developments in the curatorial sector. This chapter will situate the research more firmly in Aotearoa-New Zealand, giving the historical context of the cultural sector, and the social, political and economic influences that have produced the “creative industries” concept in New Zealand.

2.1 From colony to cultural independence

As a small country in the South Pacific Ocean (see Figure 2.1), one of the distinguishing features of Aotearoa-New Zealand is its isolation, which has influenced the way that national and cultural identity has developed. The land itself was only inhabited from some time in the 13th century, when ancestral *tangata whenua*⁸ arrived from northern Polynesia (Davidson, 1992; Phillips, 2009c), and it was a further five hundred years before the country saw its first significant European influence, when Captain James Cook arrived in 1769 and claimed the land for Britain (Davidson, 1992; Owens, 1992; Wilson, 2009). As a result of this claim, the main influence on the social, cultural, political and economic development of New Zealand would come from Britain, which was instated as “New Zealand’s mother country” (Wilson, 2009, para. 12), first through settlement (Phillips, 2010) and then through formal colonisation

⁸ *tangata whenua*: the people of the land

in 1840, with the problematic signing of the Treaty of Waitangi⁹ (Lacy, 2012; Moot et al, 2009; Simpson, 2010; Wilson, 2010a, 2011).



Figure 2.1 Map of New Zealand in the South Pacific (Source: World Atlas, 2012)

Despite British colonisation, though, New Zealand had a reputation of being a wild, tough and lonely place (Phillips, 2009a; 2010). The whaling and sealing industries conjured images of a harsh environment, and early settlers were faced with a challenging land covered in acres of untamed bush (King, 2003; Phillips, 2009a; 2009f, 2010). Consequently, the emergent national identity for New Zealand was masculine, physical and rural, characterised by pragmatism and adaptability (Fairburn, 1975; Graham, 1992; Phillips, 2009b). This identity, however, did not greatly facilitate cultural activity, which meant that by the 1870s and 1880s, “a stereotype was emerging of the white colonial man or woman who was adaptable and physically strong, but lacked cultural interests” (Phillips, 2009b, para. 5).

The lack of interest in cultural pursuits came to be characteristic of New Zealand’s identity as the nation developed. Both work and recreation were linked with the outdoors, and national pride was invested in rugby and the All Blacks (Graham, 1992; King, 2003). In terms of cultural

⁹ The Treaty of Waitangi has a layered and complex history, caused in part by the different understandings held by the signing parties of what was being agreed. Even as the nation approaches the second centenary of the signing of the Treaty, it still cannot be said that these different understandings have been satisfactorily settled. Although the Treaty is an underpinning element of national identity and nationhood, it must be said that its ultimate meaning is a matter of ongoing negotiation.

activity, there was a literary scene, characterised by the trope of the 'man alone' (Allen, 2011; Benson, 1998; McCormick, 1959) and, therefore, reflective of colonial frontier conditions. However, these local authors struggled to find aesthetic or commercial success (Graham, 1992; Gibbons, 1992; Phillips, 2009f). There was also cultural activity in the form of musical performance, which found some popularity, but other forms of cultural pursuit, such as the fine arts or gallery exhibitions were not well-supported (Graham, 1992; Gibbons, 1992). On the whole, vocational skills and sporting prowess were valued more than cultural pursuits, contributing to the stereotype that New Zealanders were "governed by the triumvirate of rugby, racing and beer" (Phillips, 2009e, para. 8). By the mid-twentieth century, this stereotype of was so widely accepted, that on the Royal tour in 1953, "the Queen saw no local plays or films, visited no galleries, read no New Zealand novels" (Phillips, 2009e, para. 6).

New Zealand's social and cultural development also showed a significant dependency on Britain. For a long time, New Zealand was known and promoted as the 'Britain of the South' (Arnold, 1981; Hursthouse, 1861; Phillips, 2010; Williams, 2006), which encouraged what King (2003, p. 281) describes as a "double patriotism", where 'New Zealanders' were keen to identify with the land of their birth, but simultaneously retain a sense of being 'British' (Gibbons, 1992; Graham, 1992). This dual patriotism contributed towards a national and cultural identity that was fostered by 'Mother Britain' (King, 2003) and continued to reinforce the strong ties between the two countries. These strong ties also affected New Zealand's economic development, which was driven largely by agricultural exports to Britain (Bassett, 1998; Wilson, 2010b). This connection to Britain paid off as the nation experienced relative prosperity and economic stability¹⁰ (Chapman, 1992; Gould, 1982; Hawke, 1992; Roper, 1997; Rudd & Roper, 1997).

From the 1960s, though, New Zealand society saw significant change as the nation shifted away from Britain in social, cultural and economic terms. The exposure to global influences through television, high education and air travel (King, 2003); the increase in urbanisation (Chapman, 1992); the emergence of politicised countercultures¹¹ (Dann, 1985; Dunstall, 1992; Grimshaw, 1987; Harris, 2004; Walker, 1992); and economic turbulence¹² (Bassett, 1998;

¹⁰ By 1953, New Zealand was 3rd-equal out of 24 countries in the OECD rankings.

¹¹ For example, new feminist movements and Māori cultural resurgence.

¹² When Britain joined the European Economic Community in 1973, New Zealand lost much of its trade with Britain, which meant that New Zealand had to diversify in order to develop a self-sufficient economy. However, development was hindered by external economic crises, such as the 1973 oil crisis, and failed economic recovery attempts, such as Robert Muldoon's "Think Big" schemes. In the end, New Zealand slipped to 17th in the OECD rankings.

Bertram, 1997; Hawke, 1992; Maitra, 1997; McMillan, 1998; Roper, 1997) all contributed to a nation in a state of flux, and a national identity on the brink of change.

Change came by way of New Zealand's fourth Labour Government (Bassett, 1998; Hawke, 1992), which was elected in 1984, under the leadership of Prime Minister David Lange. The fourth Labour government represented the very essence of change – it was both the culmination of, and the catalyst for, significant social, cultural and economic development. To kick-start the ailing economy, the government embarked on a massive programme of economic reform known as "Rogernomics" (Bassett, 1998; Hawke, 1992; McRobie, 1992), consisting of policies that were driven by marketisation, deregulation, the privatisation of state enterprises and the revision of welfare programmes (Hawke, 1992; Roper, 1997; Volkerling, 2010).

In addition, the fourth Labour government also ushered in social change, which included the systematic unpicking of the patterns of rural life (Cant, 2004; Tipples, 1995) and attempts to "carve out a more independent 'moral' path" in governance (McRobie, 1992, p. 386), demonstrated in the government's stance on nuclear testing, its declaration of New Zealand as a nuclear-free country, and opposition to South Africa's apartheid policies (McRobie, 1992; McIntyre, 1992). New Zealanders, too, embraced increased politicisation and demonstrated this by protest, for example, of the 1981 Springbok rugby tour, visits by nuclear-powered American ships, New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam war and support given to Britain in the Falklands War (Phillips, 2009d). As a result, New Zealand's national identity began to be redefined – as a 'tiny but mighty' nation, socially and culturally independent from Britain (McIntyre, 1992; Phillips, 2009d).

2.2 Cultural nationalism and an expanding cultural agenda

New Zealand's national and cultural identity went through a period of rapid and profound change during the fourth Labour government terms: British colonial identity became firmly established as a reference to the past (Phillips, 2009d) and continued urbanisation changed New Zealanders' way of life (Latham, 2003; see also Harvey, 1989; Smith, 1987; Zukin, 1995). The perception of New Zealand's changing social habits is summed up by Phillips (2009d, para. 9): "the city was a place of educated specialised workers, many of whom had travelled widely. They spent their weekends going to museums or films as much as watching rugby." Increasing urbanisation was also significant for Maori cultural development (Meredith, 2009;

Poata-Smith, 1997). According to Walker (1992, p. 519), city life allowed Maori to access a deeper knowledge of the political and social systems that shaped their lives, producing political movements that aimed to “pursue the common agenda of self-determination, equality, social justice, return of assets, and maintenance of culture.”

In relation to these political movements¹³, the fourth Labour government’s cultural agenda came to be dominated by cultural nationalism (Volkerling, 2010). The government reviewed the issues affecting the social status of Maori (Volkerling, 2010), specifically in relation to the settlement of claims under the Treaty of Waitangi. The government also set up policies of ‘biculturalism’, which involved the “incorporation of Maori cultural symbolism within the institutions of the state” (Poata-Smith, 1997, p. 176; see also: Consedine, 2011; Volkerling, 2010; Walker, 1992), and thereby started to align the sense of ‘New Zealand’ nationhood, closer to ‘Aotearoa-New Zealand’. Cultural nationalism became a form of identity politics, serving as a mechanism both for Maori protest¹⁴ and also as a way for the government to brand and develop a new national identity (Poata-Smith, 1997; Volkerling, 2010). Speeches at the time were filled with the rhetoric of the country’s identity as a Pacific nation with its own international and independent voice (McIntyre, 1992; Volkerling, 2010). Labour’s foreign relations agenda, therefore, focused on the south Pacific (McIntyre, 1992; McRobie, 1992; Volkerling, 2010; Vowles & Roper, 1997), and as Williams (2006) explains, the cultural and political changes were aimed at creating a national identity that was at a distance from New Zealand’s colonial beginnings.

In the context of this expanding cultural agenda, Prime Minister Lange called for a ‘symbol’ that would represent these cultural changes and be able to ‘speak for New Zealand’ (Williams, 2006). Lange’s grandiose idea of a place that would symbolise ‘Aotearoa-New Zealand’ came together in ‘Our Place’: the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. In 1985 a Project Development Team (PDT) began to plan a new cultural institution that would represent national heritage as a whole, manifest of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Cottrell & Preston, 1999) and express the distinctive Pacific culture of Aotearoa-New Zealand (PDT, 1985, p. 8 as cited in Volkerling, 2010, p. 97).

As much as Te Papa was a cultural symbol for the ‘new’ Aotearoa-New Zealand, it was also a symbol for the country’s new economic environment, as Te Papa was required from the

¹³ For detailed discussion on latter 20th century Maori political movements, anti-racism protests, Maori inequality, and activism regarding the Treaty of Waitangi, see: Consedine (2011), Miles and Spoonley (1985), Spoonley (1993), Pearson (1990), and Walker (1992).

¹⁴ For a critical discussion on the use of cultural nationalism in Maori political movements, see Poata-Smith (1996).

outset “to generate one third of its operating budget” (Cottrell & Preston, 1999). In addition to fulfilling its role as the custodian of the country’s *taonga*¹⁵, the museum was obliged to base its operations on ‘corporate principles’, ‘customer focus’ and ‘commercial positivity’ (Williams, 2006). Again, as a first, Te Papa was expected to offer “high energy attractions” (Cottrell & Preston, 1999) and be open to the public every day of the year, as part of the deregulation and marketisation of the public sector. Williams (2006) even goes so far as to say that “Te Papa was *designed* as a provocative symbol of corporate involvement in the public sector” (emphasis added).

Despite the government’s cultural agenda and ideological efforts, the major changes brought about by the fourth Labour government did not have the desired social and economic effects¹⁶ (Hawke, 1992; McRobie, 1992; Rice, 1992; Vowles & Roper, 1997), and so in 1990, a new National government was elected to power¹⁷. While National continued with many of the preceding Labour government’s social and economic policies¹⁸, to the growing disillusionment of New Zealanders (Hawke, 1992; McRobie, 1992; Rice, 1992; Rudd, 1997), the government also put forth considerable effort to promote national culture and expand the cultural agenda, continuing to build Aotearoa-New Zealand out into the Pacific (Volkerling, 2010).

The National government’s cultural agenda was dominated by two endeavours: the funding and building of Te Papa, and the negotiation of benchmark Treaty settlements under the amended authority of the Waitangi Tribunal (Volkerling, 2010). Prime Minister Jim Bolger helped to secure the funding to build Te Papa and showed pride in the growing awareness of cultural identity and national independence, and under his leadership in the 1990s, government spending on culture increased from \$388.5 million in 1990/1991 to \$549.1 million in 1996/1997 (Volkerling, 2010). While the government increased expenditure on the cultural sector as a whole, though, there was still room for improvement at the level of the individual – many arts participants did not feel a direct benefit, for example, in terms of salaries. According to Volkerling (2010), in 1999, two thirds of New Zealand artists earned less than \$10,000 from their art alone, compared with the national median wage of \$27,934.

¹⁵ *taonga* means “treasures”

¹⁶ The New Zealand economy went into a tailspin and unemployment rates increased in the late 1980s, and the government’s social policies were also criticised, particularly in terms of education and healthcare. The pace at which policy changes were implemented and the social costs of the reforms left many New Zealanders uneasy. For a full discussion see also Freeman-Moir (1997) Kelsey (1995) Rudd (1997) and Walsh (1997).

¹⁷ It is worth mentioning here that ‘National’ and ‘Labour’ are the two major political parties in New Zealand, but that Parliament is elected through MMP (Mixed-Member Proportional), which means that the elected parties enter into coalition governments.

¹⁸ Such as monetarism and the continued privatisation and liberalisation of the welfare state.

While the National government's social and economic policies did not bring about all the growth and development that was promised (Roper, 1997), the focus on national culture and identity improved the mood of the country, and also, highlighted the cultural agenda as a potential way of moving forward. At the beginning of the 1990s, the Planning Council had recommended that Aotearoa-New Zealand needed a niche (Davey & Westaway, 1990). That niche was to be carved out by a new Prime Minister who would focus on culture, not only as a way to build national identity, but also as the way towards social and economic prosperity.

2.3 Clark and the creative industries

When the fifth Labour government came to power in 1999, Helen Clark served as both Prime Minister and the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage (Volkerling, 2010). She was the first Prime Minister ever to take on the arts portfolio, signalling therefore that the cultural sector was to take a central role in government policy (Clark, 2000b). The cultural agenda had even been part of Labour's campaign platform – the government would focus on promoting national culture and identity, encourage arts and cultural participation, and stimulate economic development through 'creative industries' policies (Clark, 2000b; Matheson, 2006; Prince, 2010).

The creative industries policies that Clark and the fifth Labour government campaigned on were built on the argument that a strong creative sector offers sustainable employment (Labour Party, as cited in Wong, 2000), based around Tony Blair's "Third Way" approach (Volkerling, 2001), which combined neoliberal economic policy with a rekindling of interest in social democracy (Giddens, 2010). Prime Minister Blair stated that the Third Way embodied a significant readjustment of economic and social policies because "what used to be socially important is now an economic imperative" (Blair, 2001, para. 7-8). The Third Way policy re-constituted cultural sector as not only social importance, but also as an economic imperative.

In New Zealand, the fifth Labour government established the Cultural Recovery Package, which started with an initial vote of more than \$80 million, with funding increases of more than \$20 million annually for a period of three years (Clark, 2000a). Clark's rationale for the package was that, "Our arts, our culture and our heritage define and strengthen us as a country, as communities and as individuals. This sector expresses our unique national identity" (Clark, 2000a, para. 5). The Cultural Recovery Package was, therefore, aimed at fulfilling what Clark (2000b) considered one of the duties of government, that is, to further

the nation's artistic values and encourage cultural participation. Curatorial and heritage organisations were also specifically named in the Cultural Recovery Package – the Historic Places Trust, for instance, received an initial 'top up' of \$3 million and annual budget increases; Te Papa, received extra operating and capital funding, and the Christchurch Art Gallery benefited from \$6.474 million funding towards the new gallery development (Clark, 2000a).

With the Cultural Recovery Package, the government reinforced the social importance of the cultural sector. At the same, though, the support given demonstrated the dual purpose proposed for the cultural sector – that cultural activities and organisations would contribute towards fostering national identity, but also, that they would stimulate economic development. As a result, the cultural sector could be seen to start carrying a burden of economic expectation. The latter was clear specifically in relation to the emphasis placed on job creation and heritage tourism (Clark (2000b), as well as the generation of wealth – as Clark (2000b, para. 8) said of the Cultural Recovery Package, it "addresses not only the severe under-funding of the arts, culture and heritage sector in recent years. It also acknowledges the positive economic impact of investment in our creative industries" (Clark, 2000b, para. 8). Therefore, the term 'creative industries' entered the everyday language of the government, always in connection with innovation and culture, but also, in connection with wealth generation.

In line with this sort of financial investment in New Zealand's creative industries, the fifth Labour government also commissioned a report entitled 'Heart of the Nation' (Prince, 2010; Volkerling, 2001). Heart of the Nation (HOTN), or 'HotNation' as it was dubbed in the media, was to map New Zealand's cultural sector in the same way that the Department of Culture, Media and Sport had mapped the creative industries in the United Kingdom (HOTN, 2000; Prince, 2010). HOTN made some hard recommendations which were largely sidelined (Prince, 2010; Volkerling, 2001), but did nevertheless scope and define what were called "spheres of productive activity" in the New Zealand cultural sector, and heritage organisations were included among the designated subsectors (HOTN, 2000, p. v). HOTN also significantly used the term "creative industries" in its definition (HOTN, 2000; Volkerling, 2001), which reinforced the focus on creative industries in the government's cultural agenda, and the implementation of policies and strategies similar to those which had already been applied elsewhere in the world.

The creative industries concept was, therefore, enthusiastically adopted into both cultural and economic policy (MED, 2003; Prince, 2010; NZIER, 2002), and it was demonstrated in the 'Growth and Innovation Framework' (GIF), which set out to bring people from different sectors together to improve economic performance in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Clark, 2002; see also, True, 2006). The creative industries were identified as one of three key sectors of economic growth, "capable of developing world class scale and specialisation quickly, [to] contribute to the vision of a globally-oriented, innovative New Zealand economy" (Clark, 2002, para. 29; see also Anderton, 2005). Furthermore, such initiatives as 'Better by Design' (Anderton, 2004c; Hodgson, 2008), influenced by the creative industries concept, encouraged New Zealand businesses to be "more design-capable" (NZTE, 2011, para. 7) and showed creativity as an 'enabler' for other sectors of the economy (NZTE, 2012). Underpinning creative industries discourse in New Zealand from the beginning, then, was the assumption that creativity was an instrument to be used to drive economic and employment growth and to enable other sectors and industries (MED, 2003; NZIER, 2002). With support from the highest levels of government, then, the creative industries were touted as a way to "return New Zealand's per capita income to the top half of the OECD rankings over time" (Clark, 2002, para. 15).

The enthusiasm for creative industries at the national level was also reflected at the local level – regional and city councils eagerly adopted the concept and incorporated into local policy (Mintrom & Williams, 2006). Auckland City Council (ACC), for example, commissioned two reports¹⁹ to map the city's creative potential releasing 'Blueprint: Growing Auckland's Creative Industries' as the action plan to expand the city's creative industries through policy, funding and urban planning initiatives (ACC, 2007). City councils also bought into the idea that creative industries investment would bring return in the form of economic growth. Many cities therefore attempted to re-make themselves as 'creative cities', believing that the label of 'creative' would attract creative people, businesses and cultural tourists (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2005; see also McKercher, 2002; Richards, 1996; Sigala & Leslie, 2005). A number of New Zealand cities and regions, including Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin, as well as Tauranga, New Plymouth and the wider Taranaki region (ACC, 2007; CCC, 2011; Creative Tauranga, 2010; DCC, 2006; Venture Taranaki, n.d.; WCC, n.d.) instigated schemes to become 'creative cities' and produced recognisable and enduring brands, such as 'Absolutely, Positively Wellington' and Auckland's 'Big Little City', both of which

¹⁹ The Starkwhite report, 'Rethinking Auckland as a creative city: Concepts, opportunities and practical steps' (ACC, 2002) and 'Snapshot: Auckland's creative industries' (ACC, 2005).

demonstrated the prevalence of the creative industries concept in the New Zealand urban scene²⁰. Museums and galleries were also affected – the Auckland Art Gallery redevelopment, for example, was part of Auckland City Council's (2007) 'Blueprint' strategy to make "the Auckland Art Gallery an iconic cultural facility." Both Te Papa and Wellington's City Gallery were linked to 'Absolutely Positively Wellington' and the Auckland War Memorial Museum was an element of the 'Big Little City'²¹ promotions.

Creative industries thinking applied at both the national and regional level produced many positive developments in the wide creative sector. For instance, Aotearoa-New Zealand's strong fashion, film and music industries were beneficiaries of creative industries policies (de Bruin, 2005; Lewis, Larner & Le Heron, 2008; Shuker, 2008; see also Larner, Molloy & Goodrum, 2007; Scott, 2008), and the strong performance of these sectors was often quoted as evidence of the wisdom of basing social and economic growth on innovation and creativity, especially in constructing national and cultural identity, by raising New Zealand's profile internationally (ACC, 2009; Anderton, 2004a, 2004b; Light, 2003; Tizard, 2003; UNCTAD, 2008). Creative industries policies also affected the way that New Zealanders engaged with the cultural sector. For example, creative city strategies increased the number of, and participation in, local cultural events (Auckland Council, 2012; CNZ, 2012; MCH, 2009), engendering a renewed sense of cultural and national identity deriving from the cultural sector (MCH, 2008, 2009; Finlayson, 2009a, 2009b; Tizard, 2006a). In the boosterish writings on creative industries policies, Volkerling (2010, p. 100) suggests that Clark's attention to arts and culture resulted in:

...a population that was culturally engaged, keen to see representations of their way of life reflected in the mass media; receptive to narratives about their local and national heritage; and alive to the creative possibilities of traditional and contemporary media.

While the creative industries concept changed attitudes to and within the cultural sector as a whole, Clark's interest in art also had specific impact on the curatorial sector: during her administration, the number of museums and galleries increased from 366 museums in 2000 to 427 museums in 2009 (Museums Aotearoa, 2010, as cited in Volkerling, 2010). In that time,

²⁰ For more on 'Absolutely Positively Wellington', see: <http://www.wellingtonnz.com/> and for 'Big Little City', see: <http://www.biglittlecity.co.nz/>

²¹ See for example Te Papa's promotion as a 'Must Do' activity in Wellington (http://www.wellingtonnz.com/sights_activities/must_dos) and Auckland Museum's inclusion in 'Top 5' lists and 'Urban Journeys' recommended itineraries (http://www.biglittlecity.co.nz/Attractions/Attractions/Auckland_Museum)

the government increased funding and grants to museums and galleries, including additional funding of \$12 million to Te Papa's operating budget in 2008, and a \$30 million funding contribution towards the Auckland Art Gallery redevelopment (Clark, 2008a; 2008c; see also Clark, 2005, 2008b, 2008d; Tizard, 2006b). The rationale for supporting these curatorial organisations was that museums and galleries are integral to the nation's cultural internal well-being and furthermore, that these organisations are assets that advance Aotearoa-New Zealand's national identity to outsiders (Clark, 2008c; Okeroa, 2006).

However, the economic gains from the creative industries policies were not universally appreciated. Many initiatives were criticised within New Zealand arts communities because of a perceived commodification of culture and creativity (Blomkamp, 2011; Lawn, 2006; Skilling, 2005; Wevers & Williams, 2002). Lawn (2006, p. 3) argues that the cultural policies of the fifth Labour government "dress[ed] the wolf of neoliberalism... in the sheep's clothing of cultural nationalism" by promoting a form of corporatised creativity. Blomkamp (2011) and Skilling (2005) both maintain that creative industries policies limited the range of creative expression that was likely to attract funding, to those that were 'bankable' in the marketplace. Lawn (2006, pp. 9-10) condemned the creative industries policies as an "export-oriented imaginary," which:

judges cultural production in terms of successful or unsuccessful market performance rather than aesthetic, moral or intellectual qualities. Splatter movies, Maori kapa haka (traditional performance), and opera are all good as long as they find an international audience.

The overtly commercial emphasis of creative industries thinking in Aotearoa New Zealand caused much debate and dissension. For example, Prince (2010, p. 182) explains that in 2000, Creative New Zealand identified strongly with the creative industries, but that by 2006, the organisation preferred to be seen as "primarily an arts agency [that] did not have a creative industries focus." Other organisations, such as the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH), continued to work within the creative industries concept, but distanced themselves somewhat from the commercial discourse (Prince, 2010), placing greater emphasis instead on cultural and national identity (MCH, 2012). The tension between the creativity and commerce also affected curatorial organisations – Te Papa, for instance, embraced the creative industries concepts of entrepreneurialism, marketisation and commercialism in their

operations²², but other organisations, such as the Historic Places Trust were more inclined towards traditional conservation and preservation (NZHPT, 2011).

Placing the whole cultural sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand under the umbrella of the creative industries concept meant that cultural organisations had to find their own way of negotiating the balance between commercialisation and creativity. While Creative New Zealand and the Historic Places Trust took a more traditional view of culture and creativity, Te Papa and the 'new' Auckland Art Gallery could be seen as more closely aligned with creative industries strategies, including having a carefully-orchestrated market presence. This differentiation amongst cultural organisations in the sector demonstrated the varied understandings and applications of the creative industries concept in New Zealand, which was also indicative of the wider discussion concerning the creative industries, namely the continued debate about the concept's definition (Higgs & Cunningham, 2008; Flew & Cunningham, 2010), and criticism of the 'boosterish' writings on the promises of creative industries (Hartley, 2007; Knell & Oakley, 2007).

This debate is effectively where Clark and the fifth Labour government left the cultural agenda, as in 2008, the government lost the election to the National party. During its three consecutive terms in power, though, Labour had brought about significant change to the cultural sector – Aotearoa-New Zealand now had an arguably commercialised cultural sector, espousing the language and values of the creative industries, and while there had been positive developments and benefits for arts and culture, there was still debate about the extent to which the government had delivered on all of the promises 'creative industries' offered.

2.4 Current state of affairs

The current National government came to power in 2008, under the leadership of Prime Minister John Key. Unlike his predecessor, Key did not assume the arts portfolio, instead opting for tourism (New Zealand Gazette, 2008), in effect, indicating that the direction of policies would shift away from a central focus on arts and culture. The fifth National government also came to power during the late 2000s recession, which meant that many of the initial policy changes were directed towards reviewing and streamlining regulatory bodies

²² See for example the commercial and entrepreneurial strategies mentioned in the Briefing to the Incoming Minister (2011) and Te Papa's 'Vision for the Future' (n.d).

and procedures (Hide, 2009) as well as instigating “practical initiatives to help retain jobs or develop new opportunities” (Williamson, 2009, para. 3).

National’s approach to the cultural agenda was, therefore, far more pragmatic than that of the fifth Labour government. Increased funding and incentives were given to ‘proven’ arts and culture sub-sectors, those which were already successful, such as the screen production industry, and in particular, film (Finlayson & Foss, 2014; Joyce & Finlayson, 2013b) – the Screen Production Incentive Fund was amended to allow for more feature films to qualify and be produced (Finlayson, 2011c; Joyce & Finlayson, 2014); changed visa processes were put in place for workers in screen production, entertainment and music industries, so as to make it easier for international companies to have their productions in New Zealand (Coleman, 2011); and the review of the Film Commission was carried out by Peter Jackson, on the back of his successes in the film industry on an international scale (Finlayson, 2010b). The general aim of these initiatives could be summarised by the words of the Minister for Economic Development David Carter who explained that because the “screen industry, including film and television production, makes a substantial contribution to the New Zealand economy,” the government needed to “look at enhancing the potential in the industry as well as meeting our cultural objectives” (Finlayson & Carter, 2011, para. 3). The emphasis, then, was still on the economic value of the creative industries, but with the added proviso that support be given to industries which had already demonstrated veritable success.

In addition to supporting such ‘proven’ creative sectors, the National government’s approach to the cultural sector was also focused on ‘sustainability’ and ‘efficiency’ (Finlayson, 2012c; Joyce & Finlayson, 2013a). One way in which the government sought increased sustainability for the cultural sector was through philanthropic support – Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage Christopher Finlayson (2009c) set up a taskforce to investigate ways to encourage the private sector to invest in the cultural sector, and in 2013, a new ‘crowdfunding’ website was launched called “Boosted”, to further stimulate private investment (Finlayson, 2013a). The government also focused on reforming arts and cultural regulatory bodies, the foremost of which was Creative New Zealand, but also included the streamlining and renaming of the Historic Places Trust (Finlayson, 2011b, 2014a, 2014b). Mergers of cultural organisations, such as the NBR New Zealand Opera and Southern Opera (Finlayson, 2012d), and increased collaborations between Ministry for Culture and Heritage agencies, were promoted on the basis these would “lead to greater efficiencies and savings” (Finlayson & Foss, 2013, para. 1). On the whole, the approach towards the cultural agenda could be characterised as being fairly

conservative, erring on the side of frugal public spending, and support for 'efficient' creative sectors.

A significant feature of the current cultural agenda has also been the activities associated with the commemoration of World War I, and in particular, the remembrance of ANZAC and the ill-fated events at the Battle of Gallipoli (Barry 2015b, 2016a; Finlayson, 2011a). The centenary commemoration commenced in 2014 and will run until 2019, consisting of nearly 500 projects and events (Barry, 2014, 2015b, 2016a; Finlayson, 2011a). The aim of these activities is to tell the 'New Zealand story' of the nation's involvement in the first World War, so as "to better understand what we stood for and why" (Finlayson, 2014c, para. 12). The centenary activities are a clear demonstration of the government's civic responsibility regarding the nation's history, but at the same time, the planning and execution of many of the commemorative activities also show the influence of creative industries discourses.

For instance, the fictional television series *When We Go To War*, produced by Television New Zealand, was designed to capture the emotional and dramatic impact of New Zealand's involvement in World War I, both 'on the front' at Gallipoli and in Egypt, as well as 'at home' in New Zealand (Scholes, 2015). The television series, in my opinion, is an example of a creative product made under the aegis of creative industries thinking: that is, it is multimodal²³, multisensory and 'multi-age', and therefore, addresses the broadest possible audience. Similarly, the Te Papa exhibition *Gallipoli: The Scale of Our War*, also shows the influence of creative industries discourses by aligning culture and heritage objectives with the marketplace. The exhibition itself is a collaboration between the museum and Peter Jackson's Weta Workshop (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2016). The involvement of Weta Workshop has a twofold benefit: it associates the museum exhibit with film industry success, and also brings in large visitor numbers, many of whom are not the typical museum visitor, but who would be drawn to the 'blockbuster' nature (Alexander, 1996) of the exhibit. Therefore, the exhibition not only works towards fulfilling objectives concerning the presentation of the World War I heritage and national identity, it also serves as a marketable success story in the cultural agenda. It draws a viable connection between a number of different sectors and interests – creative, cultural, heritage, entertainment, tourism – demonstrating the integrated nature of the cultural agenda.

²³ See Ings' (2015) discussion on his design for the title sequence of the series, and how he conceptualises the work as a 'multimodal artefact' (p. 167).

In essence, the present reality of the cultural sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand could be summed up with the idea of being 'integrated' – creative and cultural organisations are expected to serve multiple agendas, and can be held accountable both from a cultural and a marketplace perspective. In this integrated environment, the language of 'creative industries' has become part of the everyday. However, while creative industries policies and strategies are still in place, the enthusiasm with which they were initially adopted has waned somewhat, and the attitude towards them is one governed by pragmatism. In saying that, though, examples such as the Galipolli exhibition at Te Papa demonstrate that core creative industries ideas are still valued: for example, using arts and culture as a way to build and promote national identity, and to 'boost' other sectors of the economy, such as tourism.

2.5 In sum: culture and creativity as a means to an end

In looking at the way the cultural sector has been shaped in Aotearoa-New Zealand, there are enduring themes which, not only give context to why the creative industries concept was adopted, but also, demonstrate the impact of creative industries policies and how these characterise the cultural sector today. The promotion of national identity (Clark, 2000a, 2008c; Finlayson, 2009a; MCH, 2012; Volkerling, 2010); the view of creativity as an 'enabler' for the economy (Clark, 2002; MED, 2003; NZIER, 2002; NZTE, 2011, 2012; True, 2006); and the view that creative people, organisations and cities are the idealistic 'way of the future' (ACC, 2007; Florida, 2002, Landry, 2005) are core ideas that have affected the cultural agenda and government investment over time, but can also be seen to have had a specific impact on the positioning of creativity in the cultural sector.

In regards to national identity and the cultural sector, the shift from a British colonial sense of nationhood, towards a more Pacific identity and constitutional biculturalism, meant that the cultural agenda had an increasingly significant role in New Zealand governance (Barry, 2015a; Graham, 1992; Phillips, 2009d; Volkerling, 2010). With each incoming government, the cultural agenda grew, both in size and scope, with efforts to encourage cultural engagement and participation. It is within the context of an expanded cultural agenda that creative industries was a viable concept – a strong appeal of creative industries policies is the promotion of national identity, as it provides a justifiable cause for investing in creative sectors. The impact of these policies in New Zealand is evident, with increased funding and expenditure on cultural activity (Barry, 2016b; Clark, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2008c; Finlayson, 2010a), especially during the terms of the fifth Labour government, on the basis of the role

the cultural sector would play in fostering and promoting national identity. However, while the increased investment is a positive, both from a cultural and an economic perspective, these creative industries policies are also problematic because of the way they position creative activity. The emphasis of investment is not necessarily on the inherent value of creativity, but rather, what it could do for national identity and the way it could promote New Zealand on the world stage, which has become an enduring logic of local cultural spending, and characterises much of the cultural sector investment today (Finlayson, 2012a, 2012b, 2013b; Finlayson & Foss, 2014).

In the same way that the cultural sector has been positioned to promote national identity, the cultural agenda has also moved closer to the economy, with creativity seen as an 'enabler' for economic development (Clark, 2002; MED, 2003; NZIER, 2002; NZTE, 2011, 2012, True, 2006). Over the years, a number of different strategies were used by New Zealand governments to try stimulate economic growth, the most dramatic of which included deregulation in the 1980s (Hawke, 1992; Roper, 1997). While many of the original policies were dropped, the ideology remained and was picked up again in the neo-liberal policies of the fifth Labour government, specifically in relation to creative industries and a marketisation of the cultural sector (Giddens, 2010; Lawn, 2006; Volkerling, 2001). In New Zealand, boosting creativity was linked to job creation, wealth generation and economic development, especially if sectors of the wider economy could benefit (Clark, 2000a, 2000b, 2002, 2008c). These creative industries policies encouraged a commercialised view of creativity, centring the focus on what the cultural sector could do for the economy. Although these policies have raised the profile of creative activity, they have also put pressure on the cultural sector to deliver on the economic promises. It has also meant that the funding for arts, culture and heritage has become skewed, because only 'successful' sectors tend to be continually promoted and supported (Finlayson, 2012a, 2012b, 2013b; Finlayson & Foss, 2014; Joyce & Barry, 2015).

The role of the cultural sector in the economy has also fostered the view that creative people, organisations and cities are the 'way of the future' (ACC, 2007; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2005). In New Zealand, it has taken time for arts, culture and heritage to find their way into the social fabric of the nation, and perhaps because this civic role has not always been embraced, it arguably made an economic role for culture and creativity more readily acceptable, which further fostered enthusiasm for creative industries and the creative people involved. While this enthusiasm has encouraged a focus on creative people and organisations, it has also created an environment where creative efforts are commodified (Blomkamp, 2011; Lawn,

2006; Prince, 2010; Skilling, 2005). Creative people and organisations can be seen as 'assets', to be deployed to achieve political or economic ends, a reality epitomised in the creative city concept, where future economic growth and development come from creativity and those who wield it (Florida, 2002). These views were both eagerly embraced (Anderton, 2004a, 2004b; MCH, 2008, 2009; Tizard, 2003) and heavily criticised (Blomkamp, 2011; Lawn, 2006; Skilling, 2005; Wevers & Williams, 2002) during the Clark administration, and as a result, the current cultural agenda shows a more tempered approach (Barry, 2015c; Finlayson, 2012c; Joyce & Finlayson, 2013a). In saying that, though, there are still undertones of commodified creativity – creative people are valorised for achievements that make New Zealand look good, not just for the sake of being creative; creative organisations are encouraged to serve multiple agendas and be fiscally viable; cities still campaign to be known as 'creative'. In the current cultural agenda, creativity has to earn its keep, and work as a means to an (economic) end.

In this chapter, my intention has been to address the historical context of the cultural sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and to look at the social, political and economic factors that have given rise to the New Zealand concept of the 'creative industries'. I wanted to, not only contextualise the research, but also give insight into how and why the creative industries concept was adopted in New Zealand, and in line with my research purpose, look at the impact of these creative industries policies on the cultural agenda and the view of creativity in the cultural sector.

Chapter 3

Key Concepts

The purpose of my research is to examine the impact of the discourses of creative industries on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In the first two chapters, I introduced and contextualised my research, first by giving background to my field of enquiry and then by looking specifically at the New Zealand adoption of the creative industries concept. These chapters also give insight into the debate concerning creative industries policies, and the impact of these policies on the cultural agenda in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

This chapter extends into the literature associated with the two related ideas of my research purpose: the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the curatorial sector, and changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of “the visitor”. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to look at the key concepts shaping the contemporary curatorial sector, and how changes in the sector have affected curators, curatorial organisations and their visitors. With these aims in mind, this chapter is framed around the concepts of ‘creativity’ and ‘work’ in the creative industries, which provides the backdrop to examine the influence these concepts have had on curators and curatorial work, as well as on the contemporary museum or gallery visit and visitor.

3.1 Creative labour and creativity

The Department for Culture, Media and Sport defined the ‘creative industries’ as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (DCMS, 2001, p. 5). As discussed in the previous chapters, the creative industries

concept came about because of a number of social, political and economic factors that all contributed to a particular moment in time, when people turned to the idea of 'creativity' as an economic saviour (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002; Hartley, 2005; Howkins, 2001). The DCMS definition itself is testimony to that, focusing on the potential of creative people to generate wealth and economic growth. Implied in the DCMS definition, too, are consumers – the ones who likewise contribute to the creation of wealth by virtue of their participation in the creative and cultural marketplace. As a result, 'creative industries' was always going to be inextricably linked to the concepts of creative work, workers and consumers, not only in the sense of the processes associated with 'creating', but also (and more so) with the processes associated with 'industry' – for example, the type and nature of creative employment (Bilton, 2007; Howkins, 2001; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999); the labour contribution of a creative worker to the economy (Caves, 2000; Florida, 2002; de Peuter, 2011); the commercial value of a creative product, and the marketing potential to consumers (Negus & Pickering, 2000; Rentschler, 2007; Rentschler, Radbourne, Carr & Rickard, 2002; Ryan, 1992; A. J. Scott, 2004).

Creative work and workers, therefore, are fundamental to the research on, and understanding of, creative industries. An entire body of literature on creative work already exists, which examines creative processes (Curran, 1996; Elsbach, 2009; Elsbach & Hargadon, 2006; Neff, Wissinger & Zukin, 2005) and the nature of creative work (Egan, 2005; McRobbie, 2002; Towse, 1992) and workers (Bain & McLean, 2011; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999; MacDonald & Wilson, 2005; McRobbie, 1998), as well as the issues faced by creative people in industry (de Peuter, 2011; Elsbach & Kramer, 2003; Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002; McRobbie, 2002; Poettschacher, 2010), the complexities of the creative marketplace (Caves, 2001; Ferguson, 2009; Miége, 1989; Negus & Pickering, 2000) and the realities of 'making a living' as a creative worker (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Henry, 2007; Leadbeater, 2004; Menger, 1999; Platman, 2004; Standing, 2011). A contemporary approach to theorising creative work in the creative industries, though, is through the lens of 'creative labour', which captures the arguments for the creative features of the work, but also, serves as a platform to critique the creative industries and associated labour conditions (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; McGuigan, 2010; McKinlay & Smith, 2009; Rossiter, 2006). Creative labour, then, can be used as the theoretical framework to discuss the sociology of creative work and examine some of the issues facing creative workers today.

The reality of this sociology is a difficult one, with creative labour characterised by a series of complexities. In the first place, it is a challenge to clearly define and categorise creative workers – as Shaw (2004) shows, while criteria exist to determine what constitutes an ‘artist’, the criteria tend to be either arbitrary or serving a particular agenda, whether it be the artist’s, the researcher’s or the funding body involved. Additionally, the data that are gathered on creative workers, both quantitative and qualitative, tell a story of contrasts – in the statistics, the creative workforce is young, growing in number, and more jobs and career opportunities exist (Florida, 2002; Hartley, 2007; Leadbeater & Oakley, 1999; Menger, 2006; Towse, 1992). At the same time, however, the indicative statistics not only belie the complexities of creative careers, they also skew the focus towards economic imperatives (McRobbie, 2002; Ross, 2003, 2006-7; Shaw, 2004; MacNeill, 2009). Similarly, the ideological and neoliberal construction of ‘creative work’ is characterised by such ideals as freedom, autonomy and self-expression (Banks, 2007; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Davis & Scase, 2000; McRobbie, 1998), yet also, such factors as uncertainty, insecurity and irregularity (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, 2007; H. Blair, 2001; de Peuter, 2011; Murdock, 2003).

The complexities of creative labour are well discussed by Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010), whose research demonstrate some of the issues faced by creative workers. Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2010) found that the creative labour experience was dominated by uncertainty: creatives typically worked long and irregular hours, often for low remuneration or no pay at all; job security was relative and union representation posed difficulties for workers’ industry reputations; socialising and networking was crucial, yet controlling, blurring the lines between “pleasure and obligation” (p. 15); and despite socialising and industry connections, workers still felt an apparent isolation, both personally and professionally. As Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010, p. 13) say, “cultural workers seem torn over the precariousness of their work” – on the one hand, they get to ‘do what they love’ for a living, but on the other, the insecurity about ‘money and employment’ mean they experience a “complicated version of freedom.”

This difficult sociology makes for a critical reading of creative work – from a political economy perspective, the experience of creative workers is characterised by precariousness and exploitation (Bain & McLean, 2011; de Peuter, 2011; Murray & Gollmitzer, 2012; Neilson & Rossiter, 2008; Ross, 2006-7; Standing, 2011; Ursell, 2000). What is more, these factors are not only as a result of industry, but also caused by creative workers themselves (Hesmondhalgh 2010; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2013; Ross, 2008). Murray and Gollmitzer (2012, p. 419) discuss “the ‘wicked problems’ of cultural labour” which include “voluntary self-

exploitation, free cultural exchange, marginal subsistence and episodic migration into other parts of the economy." Creative workers find themselves operating in an environment where the intrinsic motivation and rewards associated with creative expression conceivably become "tools of control", not only as regards the self, but also, as a management mechanism for industry (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010, p. 18). This environment is summed up by McKinlay and Smith (2009, p. 10), who grimly suggest of creative people, that "the lucky ones who actually get employed doing what they think they want to do are, no doubt, soon disabused of the romance in what today can be extremely grinding and ill-rewarded work indeed."

Such a critical reading suggests that creative workers are under constant pressure, both in terms of the work they do, but also in the way they conduct themselves – McKinlay and Smith (2009, p. 10) say that "people subjected to such uncertainty and unpredictability in their 'creative' careers must fashion the kind of self that can cope in fiercely neo-liberal conditions." McKinlay and Smith (2009) identify what they call "the neoliberal self", that a creative person needs to be 'cool', 'self-reliant' and 'selfishly resourceful' in order to succeed (see also: McGuigan, 2014). Therefore, while creative industries propose a work environment that "offer better experiences than those older jobs" in conventional industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010, p. 18), the 'new' work environment instead offers similar, if not heightened, work pressures, as well as added anxiety for creative workers that call into question the 'quality' of the creative labour experience.

Furthermore, the precarious labour and exploitation experienced by creative workers in the creative industries is not restricted to any one sector. Creative labour research has been completed in relation to such sectors as screenwriting (M. Banks, 2010; Conor, 2010, 2013), film and television (Lee, 2011; McGuigan, 2010; Stahl, 2010), performing arts (Brooks & Daniluk, 1998; Eikhof & Haunschild, 2006, 2007; MacNeill, 2009), fashion (Arvidsson, Malossi & Naro, 2010; McRobbie, 1998) and the music industry (Curran, 1996; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; MacDonald & Wilson, 2005). Such research contributes to the perspective that "precarious labour is now increasingly the norm, even in professional-managerial occupations" (McKinlay & Smith, 2009). Neilson and Rossiter (2008, p. 52) even go so far as to say that "life itself was declared a resource put to work", meaning that all aspects of a person's existence could arguably be considered under the realms of the work environment. Therefore, while creative labour takes a very critical approach, it does indicate the sort of reality faced by creative workers today.

However, the concept of creative labour and its associated complexities are nonetheless dependent on the ideas that creative people are able to 'deploy' their creativity, and moreover, that 'creativity' itself is something deployable. One of the reasons why creative people will put up with the insecurity and uncertainty that comes with creative labour is because their driving force is creativity itself: to creative people, the 'true' rewards of creative work tend to be non-monetary: the fulfilment in creative expression; a sense of self-actualisation; the processes involved in creating; credit from fellow artists; recognition and reputation (Bilton, 2007; Brouillette, 2008; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, 1997, 2002; Elsbach, 2009; Elsbach & Kramer, 2003; Ferguson, 2009; McRobbie, 1998; Torr, 2008; Townley, Beech & McKinlay, 2009). Such is the "pleasure" they find in their work, that creative people are willing to put up with the "pain" that comes with the nature of the work environment (McRobbie, 1998, 2002), and Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) contend that this 'labour of love' contributes to creative workers' self-exploitation.

That creativity is an intrinsic driving force, draws on a historical or 'purist' view of creativity, aligned with art and artistry (Davis & Scase, 2000; Galloway & Dunlop, 2007; Hartley, 2005). This view looks at creativity as an inherent talent, of indeterminate and nonconformist nature, in the possession of an artist, who is likewise seen as nonconformist, perhaps even eccentric or rebellious (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, 1997, 2002; Davis & Scase, 2000; Lawrence, 1955). Creativity is therefore linked with such arguments as "art for arts' sake" or that creative pursuits are "a calling" (Caves, 2000; Cunningham, 2003; Fillis, 2006; Miller, 2004). While this is perhaps a romanticised view of creativity, it is still a perspective reflected in the 'passion' that drives creative workers, and in the enduring stereotype of the 'struggling artist', made noble by his or her artistic pursuit (Miller, 2004; Montuori & Purser, 1995). It is also an underlying emphasis in the 'creative arts' policy perspective, which proclaims the value of funding arts and culture for their civic role (Fillis, 2006; Hartley, 2005; Oakley, 2009). Therefore, 'creativity' in this sense is positioned alongside artistic and civic interests and has commonly, and at times actively, steered clear of commercialisation (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997; Caust, 2003; Fillis, 2006; Hartley, 2005; Oakley, 2009).

However, unlike the purist perspective, 'creativity' in the creative industries has a clear link with commercialisation (Flew, 2012; Garnham, 2005; Jeffcutt & Pratt, 2002). The promise of creative industries policies is that creative people can earn a living from their creativity, and also, that creative workers and consumers make a valuable contribution to the economy (DCMS, 2001; Florida, 2002; Howkins, 2005). In order for that rationale to work, creativity

needs to be seen in economic terms, which shifts the focus away from creative processes, towards the potential outcome or results of deploying creativity (Caust, 2003; Fillis, 2006; Oakley, 2009). This shift in focus is evident in the way that creativity has been adopted into business and organisational literature, conceived of as an asset or resource for creating and sustaining competitive advantage (Amabile, 1997, 2001; Amabile et al, 1996; Banks et al, 2003; Florida & Goodnight, 2005; Oldham, 2003). In this context, the concept of 'creativity' has arguably been subverted by business and managerial discourse to bring about a form of creativity that could be viably used for financial gain.

From a business and organisational perspective, then, Amabile et al (1996, p. 1155) define creativity as "the production of novel and useful ideas in any domain." The emphasis is therefore on the practical value of creativity, how feasible or appropriate the ideas are to the organisation or management. This view also holds that creativity is possible in any number of fields, including computing, science and engineering (Amabile, 1997; Florida, 2002), and also sees creativity as the purview of all individuals, not just a talented few (Amabile, 1997, 2001; Proctor, 2005). The reach and scope of this type of creativity makes it both valuable and sellable, resulting in a plethora of 'boosterish' literature on 'organisational creativity', how to achieve it and how to benefit from it (Amabile et al, 1996; Andriopoulos, 2001; Dubina, 2006; Gibb, 2006; Hunter, Bedell & Mumford, 2007; Locke & Kirkpatrick, 1995; McShane & Travaglione, 2004; Sternberg, O'Hara & Lubart, 1997). This literature also includes strategies and plans to improve an individual's creativity, so that managers, employees and anyone else can maximise their creative potential (Banks et al, 2003; Brown, 2007; Egan, 2005; Florida & Goodnight, 2005; Oldham, 2003; Proctor, 2005).

However, the viability of these plans and strategies is dependent on the idea that creativity can be taught, harnessed and implemented. Business and organisational 'creativity' therefore plays down the artistic and eccentric elements of creativity (Caust, 2003; Oakley, 2009; Powell, 2008) and instead, opts for a more standardised and franchised approach, so as to make the creativity strategies, and the proposed successes, measurable and replicable (Amabile, 1997; Amabile et al, 1996; Dubina, 2006; Florida, 2002). In the literature, this standardisation is discursively achieved by likening creativity to problem-solving and thinking ability, and by using the term synonymously with other concepts such as 'innovation' and 'efficiency' (Gahan, Minahan & Glow, 2007; Prichard, 2002). The broad application of the term makes it easier to explain and justify the success claims of organisational creativity, as well as the supposed increased productivity in a 'creative' workforce.

As a result, the business and economic view of creativity has been eagerly adopted by organisations, and is also reflected in the 'hype' associated with creative industries and creative cities policies. Despite the enthusiasm, though, the application of creativity strategies and claims of success have come under criticism (Caust, 2003; Gahan et al, 2007; Klein, 2004; Malanga, 2004; Oakley, 2009; Prichard, 2002). As Gahan et al (2007, p. 1) explain, the managerial appropriation of creativity serves a specifically business agenda, and in doing so, ignores "essential elements of what constitutes creativity." The standardised approach to creativity has also arguably produced standardised results: 'cookie-cutter' organisational workspaces, template creative cities and everyone 'being creative' (Klein, 2004; Malanga, 2004; Peck, 2007; Prichard, 2002). Concerning creativity strategies for organisations and cities, Peck (2007, p. 4) says that "the difference hardly seems to matter" (p.4), criticising the prescriptive nature of policies and the lack of attention given to the idiosyncrasies of each case. Likewise, when it comes to creativity training, Plucker and Beghetto (2003) describe the data from these programmes as inconsistent and anecdotal, often based on stereotypes of 'creative people'. Furthermore, they also discuss how the commercialisation of creativity training has meant the focus is "to increase innovation and productivity at nearly any cost" often resulting in "high-priced consultants quoting 'research' about their techniques" which are, in fact, "repackaged divergent-thinking activities that are decades old" (Plucker & Beghetto, 2003, p. 223; see also Baer, 1993).

The positioning of creativity alongside business and organisational imperatives has also had an impact on creative work and workers. As McRobbie (2002) explains, the commercialised focus means that the nature of creative work is increasingly 'speeded up', placing creative workers under pressure to function in an intensely marketised environment, and requiring them to be multi-skilled, entrepreneurial and self-promotional. At the same time, though, this pressure is not only felt by workers in creative sectors, but also by workers in other professions who are likewise required by their organisations to 'be creative'. Prichard (2002) says that managerial discourse has generated prescriptive characteristics of a 'creative person', which has in turn produced a normative creativity with potentially destructive effects: a form of workaholism can result, as people try to live up to and achieve the ideals of flexibility, entrepreneurship and creativity.

The discursive merger between 'creativity' and 'economics', therefore, has produced a complicated set of circumstances. On the one hand, creativity is valorised for its artistic and civic value, and creative workers are driven by this creativity to 'do what they love' for a living

(Hartley, 2005; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; McRobbie, 1998). On the other hand, the perceived economic value of creative work and workers has contributed to the commercialisation of creative sectors, and promoted a business or managerial view of 'creativity', which presents workers with creative labour issues and a marketised work environment (Amabile et al, 1996; McRobbie, 2002; McKinlay & Smith, 2009; Prichard, 2002). As a result, creativity and economics are not seen as mutually exclusive, but rather, are actively brought together in the discourses of creative industries. And it is in this complex milieu that curators and curatorial organisations now exist and operate.

3.2 Situating the work: curators and curating

In the above section I have reviewed literature pertaining to creative labour and creativity, and showing how the merger between creativity and economics has resulted in complexities for work and workers in the creative industries. In this section, I discuss both traditional and contemporary curators and the nature of their curatorial work. While creative industries policies differ between countries, there is a consensus that the curatorial sector is a significant contributor to the creative industries (UNCTAD, 2008; UNESCO, 2009) and therefore, curators and curatorial organisations are situated in an environment affected by creative industries concepts and policies. Curatorial work can therefore be examined from a creative industries perspective, tracking the influence of creative industries ideas in changes to the scope of curators' work, the nature of curatorial organisations and the view of visitors, in order to gain a wider understanding of contemporary curating.

Curatorial work has always been multifaceted, but historically, the primary tasks associated with the curator have been custodial (Cannon-Brookes, 2004; Horie, 1986; Pearce, 1987). The work of the curator is essentially encompassed in the Latin origins of the word *cūrāre*, meaning 'to care for' (Harper, 2010), and at the heart of this caring lies the museum or gallery collection (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; Knell, 2004). In caring for these collections, curators have always had a number of responsibilities in connection with protecting heritage materials, including acquisition, conservation, preservation and research (Boyle, 2004; Horie, 1986; Lamei, 2005; Morsi, 2005). The Association of Art Museum Curators (2010, para. 1) even describe the curator as having the "primary responsibility" for these tasks, and curators themselves also emphasise the primacy of custodial work. For example, Auckland Art Gallery curator Mary Kisler describes her role as "caring for a collection, being responsible for its progress, getting new acquisitions when you can" (McCombs, 2010, p. 27), and Auckland War

Memorial Museum curator Brian Gill similarly includes research, acquisitions and collating the collection as central to his work (Reid, 2010).

In addition to conservation and preservation, curators also have other responsibilities pertaining to the collection which feed into the wider curatorial function. These responsibilities include, for example, interpreting heritage material, encouraging community involvement and developing museum and gallery education programmes (Canby, 1999; Knell, 2003; Lagerkvist, 2006; Stoner, 1985; Charlesworth, 2007). Curators work with their curatorial organisations to fulfil these tasks in a number of ways, but perhaps the most public demonstration of these responsibilities is in the creation and curation of exhibitions (AAMC, 2010; Boyle, 2004; Tims, 2011; Wells, 2007). It is through exhibitions that curators are able to showcase the collection to the public, using exhibits as both a tool for education and as a mode to encourage people to visit the museum or gallery (Bayne, Ross & Williamson, 2009; Knell, 2003; Lang Rottenberg, 2002). Exhibitions give curators an opportunity to advocate for the collection, encouraging awareness of conservation and preservation, as well as using their extensive knowledge of the heritage to promote the visit as an act of learning (de Guichen & d'Ieteren, 2009; Hartley, 2005; Nardi, 1999; Reid, 2010). Curators, therefore, take seriously their role to “develop programs that maintain the integrity of collections” and “foster community support” (AAMC, 2010, para. 1). By crafting exhibitions, the curator can be seen as ‘expert’ in relation to the collection, but also as ‘mediator’ between the collection and the public (Brenson, 1998; Charlesworth, 2007; O'Neill, 2007), demonstrating the extensive nature of their work.

3.3 Contemporary curating: a tale of flexibility and ‘heroism’

However, with the advent of creative industries policies, as well as other developments in the curatorial sector, the work of the curator has undergone significant changes. Curators must contend with a curatorial work environment that has been affected by such factors as marketisation, democratisation and changes in the cultural marketplace (Ames, 2005; Alexander, 1996, 1999; Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Negus & Pickering, 2000; Ross, 2004; Rentschler & Reussner, 2002; Sandhal, 2006; Templer, 2008). The restructuring of public sector funding during the 1980s meant that museums and art galleries, like many other arts organisations, needed to be financially viable (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Kotler & Scheff, 1997; Thompson, 2001; Yorke & Jones, 1987), which resulted in a market-driven approach to the running of curatorial organisations, and a focus on the visiting public as a ‘target audience’

(Alexander, 1996, 1999; Boylan, 2006; Janes, 1999; Kotler et al, 2008; Rentschler, 1998; Rentschler & Reussner, 2002). Similarly, the museum or gallery visit also became a marketable 'experience' (Rowley, 1999; Prentice, 2001; Twitchell, 2004) and as Gilmore and Rentschler (2002, p. 746) discuss, curatorial organisations now actively seek out "new audiences, products, venues and multi-art experiences" so as to compete in the cultural marketplace, the latter of which has itself been influenced by the creative industries, the increased quantity and circulation of cultural goods, and the rising number of curatorial organisations (Caves, 2000; Jackson, 2007; Marceau, 2007; Negus & Pickering, 2000; Ross, 2004).

These developments in the curatorial sector have affected the scope and nature of the curator's work. In order to negotiate the different priorities associated with marketisation and democratisation, curators are expected to be flexible, balancing curatorial, administrative, educative, marketing and public information responsibilities (Bady, 2001; Brenson, 1998; Hylton, 2007; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Kotler et al, 2008; Roos-Brown, 2013; Suchy, 2000). While the curator's work has always been extensive, contemporary curating requires that curators not only tend to traditional tasks pertaining to the collection, but that they also work as 'information professionals', with business and digital skills to carry out the multi-media and commercial aspects of museum management (Brown & Tepper, 2013; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Ray, 2009). For example, Millar (2001) comments on how curators face increased leadership in museum marketing, working with the marketing department on the promotion of exhibitions, what to include in the museum shop regarding exhibition merchandise, and what to feature online.

The flexibility and range of skills essential to contemporary curating come under the umbrella of 'new museology' (Ames, 2005; Boylan, 2006; Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Desvallées & Mairesse, 2010; Ross, 2004), which places a neoliberal emphasis on the 'new' museum, to prioritise its social and economic functions. In this environment, museums and galleries are required to "justify themselves in terms of economic benefits they bring and what they can offer to a nation's social and educational priorities" (Boylan, 2006, p. 12), to the extent, that "museums are now being expected to give priority to economic and social policies rather than cultural ones" (p. 11). For contemporary curators, then, the reality of working in these 'new' museums and galleries is a blurring of boundaries between the cultural, social and economic: whereas in the past, the curator's main responsibilities were towards the collection itself, the

curator now has to focus more on how to use the collection in order to meet social or economic objectives (Boylan, 2006; Brown & Tepper, 2013; Hylton, 2007; Roos-Brown, 2013).

Central to these social and economic objectives is the idea of increasing accessibility to museums and galleries, which includes community outreach and public involvement in curatorial processes (Benhamou & Moureau, 2006; Galloway & Stanley, 2004; Knell, 2003; Milner, 1999). Increased access means that the public has a greater say in such traditional curatorial processes as acquisition and selection of heritage material. To illustrate, the Albright-Knox Gallery's deaccessioning of Medieval and Renaissance artworks in favour of acquiring contemporary holdings caused outcry amongst the local community, who argued that the museum should have sought more public comment on the matter before the decision was made to sell (Kennedy, 2007). Such an example shows how the lack of community consultation resulted in a negative outcome for the curatorial organisation, demonstrating how public involvement is increasingly a priority in curatorial decision-making (Hushion, 1999; Jackson, 2007; Kennedy, 2007).

Similarly, in the processes of conservation and preservation, community participation is encouraged in the form of 'preventive conservation' (Blanchegorge, 1999; Krebs, 1999; de Guichen, 1999). Preventive conservation strategies involve systematically informing the public of the value and fragility of exhibits to raise awareness of the community role in preserving heritage (de Guichen, 1999; Milner, 1999), but also, to more actively involve the public in the conservation process itself, such as by encouraging visitors to view the restoration work taking place at museums and archaeological sites (de Guichen & d'Ieteren, 2009; Nardi, 1999). Strategies like preventive conservation affect the work of curators because it prioritises community involvement in traditional curatorial processes, and also draws attention to the place of 'the visitor' in contemporary curating.

While curators and curatorial organisations have always had responsibilities towards the visiting public, contemporary curatorial work places a greater emphasis on the visitor and the nature of the visit, which is most clearly demonstrated in the concept of the 'museum experience' (Alexander, 1999; Axelson, 2006; Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Harrison & Shaw, 2004; Prentice, 2001). In the marketised and democratised curatorial sector, museums and galleries compete to serve increasingly wider populations and to make their collections more accessible to the public (Ames, 2005; Hushion, 1999). The museum experience is designed to appeal to that wide audience, and is therefore characterised by popular content, in the form of 'blockbuster' exhibitions (Flemming, 2004; Morris, 2003); interactivity, in the form of multi-

media and 'edutainment' (Addis, 2005; Lepouras & Vassilakas, 2005); and recreational amenities, in the form of the museum or gallery shop and cafe (Alexander, 1999; Rowley, 1999). As Brenson (1998) discusses, the museum experience changes the work of the curator, especially in terms of education and exhibition design: curators must now create exhibits and programmes that both educate and entertain, and that fit into the interactive multi-media based visitor experience (Bady, 2001; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Scott, 2004; Suchy, 2000). At the same time, though, these exhibitions and interactivity strategies have come under criticism for arguably 'dumbing down' the content for the visitor, and trivialising the museum or gallery visit (Barr, 2005; Templer, 2008; Voase, 2002). Curators, then, face the challenge of meeting the demands of the museum experience, while still fulfilling their educative and custodial responsibilities towards the visitor.

The 'museum experience' also highlights a further area of change in the curator's work: the incorporation of new media and digital developments (Archibald, 2006; Bayne et al, 2009; Karp, 1999; Knell, 2003; Leadbeater, 2010; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Nickerson, 2002; Ray, 2009; Renaud, 2002). New media technologies enhance the interactivity elements of the museum experience (Bearman & Trant, 1999; Lepouras & Vassilakas, 2005), but they also fundamentally alter the concept of the museum or gallery visit (Bowen, 2000; Nickerson, 2002). Ventures such as the Google Art Project or the Musée du Louvre 'Explore in 3D' take the museum and gallery visit into virtual reality, and move the visitor experience into the online world (Google, 2015; Musée du Louvre, 2011). While these developments are positive in the way that they increase access to heritage collections and serve as an effective medium for education (Anani, 2005; Knell, 2003) they also pose a challenge to the curator's management of artefacts and raises concerns about authenticity. Digital materials require different acquisition, storage and presentation techniques (Abid & Radoykov, 2002; Pantalony, 2002; Hall, 2004; Holley, 2004) and because of the immaterial nature of digital objects, curators must deal with issues pertaining to quality, accuracy and control (Barton, 2005; Karp, 2004; Ray, 2009; Williamson, 2004). Furthermore, as digital materials are generally a representation or 'copy' of the physical heritage (Archibald, 2006), the digitised experience is seen by some as secondary to its literal counterpart (Bayne et al, 2009; Knell, 2003). Curators, therefore, must contend with curating the museum experience, both 'real' and virtual, as well as the complexities of managing digital heritage.

Digital developments in the curatorial sector not only affect the museum or gallery experience, they also significantly affect the position of the curator in relation to the public.

Curators have traditionally been the experts when it comes to curatorial content and interpretation (Brenson, 1998; Horie, 1986; O'Neill, 2007). However, digitisation affords the public increased access and opportunity to 'curate' for themselves (Bayne et al, 2009; Leadbeater, 2010). While curators still have authority in terms of what is placed online and how it is presented, they relinquish a measure of control when it come to the interpretation and reception of the material (Brown & Tepper, 2013; Geber, 2006; Suchy, 2000; Yuwen, 2015). Making digital objects available online therefore shifts the power from curators to the 'learner-user' (Bayne et al, 2009), giving these digital users the option to interpret and process the material on their own. Rather than resisting these changes, Lagerkvist (2006) suggests that curators embrace a 'shared authority' with the community and make joint decisions about content. This shared authority includes accepting public participation in, and contribution to, digital material in the form of user 'tagging' of digital artefacts in curating digital collections (Bayne et al, 2009; Geber, 2006).

An example of such shared authority is the NOF-Digi "sense of place" (Nicholson and Macgregor 2003, p. 96) collections in the United Kingdom, where curatorial organisations collaborate with local communities to tell the story of their regions: the SoPSE (Sense of Place South East) has a website that brings together the cultural heritage of the area from curatorial and community contributions of digitised material (Yeates & Guy 2006), and The Glasgow Story is a collection of 550 stories and 12,500 images supplied by local curatorial organisations and members of the community (Anderson 2007). Similarly, Lagerkvist (2006) describes the move towards greater community involvement in curatorial project ownership and interpretation, citing the example of 'Advantage Göteborg', a project run by The Museum of World Culture in Sweden, which involved 30 migrants from the Horn of Africa, who worked with the museum in order to document and interpret collections from the participants' countries of origin. These examples illustrate how the curatorial process has become more democratic, drawing on the expertise of communities, which challenges the "single-authority voice" (Alexander & Alexander, 2008, p. 249) of curators and curatorial organisations. It is also a further manifestation of neoliberal ideology in the contemporary curatorial sector, encouraging the change in curatorial authority and valorising the 'new' approaches to curation. Therefore, these digitisation and democratisation developments in the curatorial sector re-position the curator: from above, to alongside, the community.

However, these changes to the position and work of the curator are not entirely straightforward. Curators face a number of challenges in negotiating and representing the

different perspectives of those involved in the democratised curatorial process: they must balance the needs of the museum or gallery with the community's priorities, and do so in an open and inclusive manner (Brown & Tepper, 2013; Hushion, 1999; Sandell, 2003). Even when curators fulfil all these responsibilities, there can still be tensions that can adversely affect the work at hand. For example, in the case of Advantage Göteborg, while the museum's aims were inclusive and encouraging of community participation, the citizens involved in the curation nonetheless felt excluded from the exhibition process. As Lagerkvist (2006, p. 58) observes, "many argued that the museum did not truly include the participants in the work and that most of the exhibition planning took place outside of the participants' control." The example of Advantage Göteborg illustrates the complexity associated with curating democratised exhibitions and projects, and the difficulties curators encounter as they navigate the contemporary curatorial field.

The challenges of this curatorial field have so significantly affected the work of curators, that the flexibility and adaptability required by contemporary curators could actually be construed as 'heroism'. Curators are heroic in their efforts to fulfil the range of cultural, social and economic responsibilities in the marketised and democratised curatorial sector, especially in an environment where fiscal accountability, government agendas and market priorities directly affect curatorial decision-making and content provision. As Boylan (2006, p. 12) observes, museum and gallery funding is conditional, based on "specific requirements, performance measures and indicators or targets across a wide range of factors" which may, in fact, "not relate in any way to the basic professional and ethical traditions and responsibilities of the museum." In extreme circumstances, such funding may actually be used as a control mechanism, through "direct or indirect censorship" and threats to withdraw support when curatorial decisions do not align with governmental, organisational or market imperatives (Boylan, 2006, p. 12). The latter was the case with the controversial Smithsonian exhibition of the Enola Gay, the B29 plane which bombed Hiroshima in World War II (Harwit, 2012; Kohn, 1995; Zolberg, 1995). The museum's exhibition policy came under significant criticism, as it was felt that the inclusive approach the museum had adopted to represent the historical events was not socially acceptable to Americans. This criticism resulted in a congressional intervention and withdrawal of the exhibit in favour of a 'more approved' and less controversial display (Harwit, 2012). Such examples illustrate the pressures placed on contemporary curators as they try to negotiate different cultural, social and economic obligations, and the impact of these pressures on curatorial decisions and programmes.

Similarly, the ever-increasing pressure on museums and galleries to function as self-sufficient market entities has resulted in more concerted efforts to stimulate commercial activity. Janes (1999, p. 6) discusses a number of different strategies for improving revenue generation, which include making the public services “more market-sensitive,” streamlining business procedures, so as to “reduce operating costs, bureaucracy and the weight of tradition, without decreasing revenue” and to further develop commercial ventures, such as consulting services, products for the museum or gallery shop and cafe, and strategic partnerships in the private sector (see also Janes, 2016). A local example of such commercialisation is the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, which in addition to its custodial and curatorial work, also runs a range of commercial services, including venue hire, event planning and management, the Te Papa Store both onsite and online, publishing through Te Papa Press and a number of corporate partnerships with technology and communications firms. Contemporary curators must therefore contend with such ‘diversified portfolios’, which as Janes (1999, p. 6) describes, makes the curators’ work and the curatorial organisation more “ambiguous and paradoxical” than ever before.

The ‘ambiguous and paradoxical’ nature of curatorial work reinforces the idea that contemporary curators are heroic in their efforts, not only to address their custodial and educative responsibilities, but also to negotiate the challenges that come with community involvement, the ‘museum experience’, digital developments and increasing commercialisation. However, the heroic curator’s work and work environment also shows another aspect to contemporary curating: that curators themselves can be considered ‘creative workers’. Curatorial work has arguably always had a creative element: the crafting of exhibitions requires that curators make creative decisions on what objects and artefacts will be featured, the name or title of the exhibit, and which themes and subjects will be portrayed (Arizpe, 2004; O’Neill, 2007; Wells, 2007), as well as how the exhibition will be displayed, both in terms of the medium of display and the physical layout (Lehmbruck, 2001), which contributes to the historical narrative the public is told, and takes the visitor through the exhibition in a very guided way (Boyle, 2004; Brenson, 1998; Charlesworth, 2007).

The staging of an exhibition therefore demonstrates the creativity of curators in a quite literal way, but at the same time, the design choices made by curators has also been likened to ‘creativity’ in the artistic sense of the word, where curating an exhibition is akin to creating an artwork (Alexander & Sharp, 2009; Brenson, 1998; Rendell, 2007). The idea that the ‘curator’ is a form of ‘artist’, and that the ‘exhibition’ is a type of ‘artwork’ comes mainly from the field

of art museum curation (O'Neill, 2007; Rendell, 2007; Rowlands, 2007), where curators such as Harald Szeeman have pushed boundaries and worked as 'creative agents' who were "responsible for the exhibition's very staging as an event" (Alexander & Sharp, 2009, p. 5). As Alexander and Sharp (2009, p. 5) explain, "after Szeemann, the figure of the curator would no longer be seen as a blend of bureaucrat and cultural impresario" but rather, "as a kind of artist himself."

It is, therefore, not an entirely new concept to think of the curator as a 'creative', or to view curating as 'creative work'. For example, much in the same way that creative workers feel drawn to their profession as a calling or vocation, curatorial work has also been described as something of a 'vocation' in the way that it draws people in from their specialist fields to work in museums and galleries (McCombs, 2010), and just as creative workers are motivated intrinsically by the creative process, Thea (2009, p. 6) describes how curators are driven by personal investment, their "intellectual convictions and personal visions" in the designing and executing of exhibitions. Ultimately, though, it is the contemporary curatorial scene, with all of its challenges and paradoxes, that best parallels curatorial and creative work: the ambiguous and diversified curatorial portfolios that require curators to be multi-skilled, flexible and 'heroic' are comparable to the complex creative work environments in the creative industries that require creatives to be multi-skilled, flexible and entrepreneurial. Overall, then, contemporary curators can be seen as creative workers in their own right, dedicated to their work in crafting exhibitions and presenting the collection to the public, and as heroic, in all their efforts to balance the many priorities of the marketised and democratised curatorial sector.

3.4 Contemporary curating: the wider context

While the focus on curators and curatorial work exists primarily within the context of contemporary museums and galleries, the idea of 'heroism' can be extended to the work taking place in the wider culture and heritage field. Curators and heritage professionals working in this field are faced with the same challenges of increasing accessibility, community involvement and commercialisation, as well as added pressures from social, cultural and political agendas (Abungu, 2009; Arpin & Bergeron, 2006; de Wenden, 2007; Dickenson, 2006; Fred & Schoorl, 2005; Littlefield Kasfir & Yai, 2004; Pinna, 2001a; Toshinobo, 2002; UNESCO, 2006; Vinson, 2001). The changes and developments in the heritage paradigm can therefore be examined through the lens of contemporary curating, looking at the influence of

these changes on the work of curators and heritage professionals in the culture and heritage field.

One such development is the growth of cultural tourism, specifically in terms of world heritage sites (Labadi & Long, 2010; Prentice, 2001; Salazar, 2010; Winter, 2010). Cultural heritage tourism is, in itself, not a new concept, especially to those in Western countries where there is a longstanding tradition of viewing museums, galleries and heritage sites as tourist attractions (Boylan, 2006; Prentice, 2001; Richards & Wilson, 2006). However, as globalisation and international travel has increased, so too has the number and profile of UNESCO World Heritage Listings, particularly in Asian regions, where listings have become sought-after symbols, both for their value to a country's national identity, and to the local tourism industry (Askew, 2010; Barré, 2002; Beazley, 2010). As Labadi and Long (2010, p. 2) observe, though, the "intensity, extent and character" of this growth has meant that heritage professionals are struggling to keep up with the demand for access to these World Heritage sites, some of which are located in remote areas. A well-known example is the Angkor site in Siem Riep, Cambodia, which since its UNESCO listing in 1992, has required sealed road construction and repair, the building of a 10000-room hotel complex, an upgrade to the airport and other access-facilities development, so as to improve and maintain accessibility to the site, and to accommodate high visitor numbers (Barré, 2002).

While the increased physical access to UNESCO World Heritage sites is inherently positive in the way that it encourages visitation and promotes the local culture and heritage, it also poses a challenge to the conservation, preservation and curation of the sites (de Guichen, & d'Ieteren, 2009; Manders, 2008; UNESCO, 2001; Winter, 2010). Heritage professionals must find the balance between affording access to the localities while ensuring the preservation of the cultural heritage that generated the interest in the first place. A case to consider in this regard is the Historic Centre of Macao, where tourism development has placed strain on heritage buildings, to the extent, that the integrity of some of the cultural heritage has already been compromised: the Guia Lighthouse, for example, is no longer connected to the sea due to the construction of hotels and casinos (Winter, 2010). Those curating these historic places must, therefore, heroically contend with the demands of increased access and tourism, while simultaneously ensuring the protection and authenticity of the heritage.

In addition to balancing these cultural and economic priorities, heritage curators also face the added pressure of negotiating political agendas in the cultural heritage field (Beazley, 2010; Lafrenz Samuels, 2010; Marceau, 2007; Vinson, 2009). To illustrate, because World Heritage

Sites bring status and monetary gain, the push to acquire one of these listings can sometimes result in questionable political action, such as in the case of the Fez Medina in Morocco, where 50000 people were relocated from the medina in the name of cultural heritage and urban redevelopment (Lafrenz Samuels, 2010). Actions such as these raise social and ethical concerns for heritage curators because it marginalises certain social groups and viewpoints, while prioritising politically favourable ones, which in effect, works against the principles of trying to increase accessibility, both physically and culturally.

In a similar way, the memorialisation at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial park has for many years prioritised the memory of some groups over others, such as victims of Korean descent, who only entered public commemoration there in the 1990s (Beazley, 2010; Haverson, 2010; Yoneyama, 1995). As Haverson (2010, p. 76) discusses, this omission demonstrates the politically favourable and dominant historical narrative of “the atomic bombings as exclusively Japanese experiences.” It also presents “Japan as victim rather than aggressor” which minimises the focus on the Japanese colonisation of Korea (Haverson, 2010, p. 70). For heritage curators, then, such political agendas require heroic efforts in their approach to the curation of the heritage: not only must they negotiate the political field, they must also portray and represent the cultural heritage in such a way, that it best addresses social and ethical responsibilities.

Such heroism in curation is also evident in the field of “difficult heritage” (Bonnell & Simon, 2007; Fengqi, 2009; Gegner & Ziino, 2011; Leopold, 2007; Sonnenberger, 1999; Williams, 2007), which most clearly demonstrates the challenges of representation. Logan and Reeves (2009, p. 1) define difficult heritage as “sites representing painful and/or shameful episodes in a national or local community’s history.” Examples of such sites include the Nazi concentration complex at Auschwitz-Birkenau, Nelson Mandela’s imprisonment site on Robben Island, and the Myall Creek Memorial in Australia (see, Young, 2009; Nieves, 2009; and Batten, 2009, respectively). The curation of these sites is a collective responsibility, in that government agencies, heritage professionals and communities must all come together on the way that the heritage is addressed: decisions need to be made on whether to remember, or to forget; to conserve or to commemorate; to inform or to exhibit, and on letting the voice of the victim speak (Logan & Reeves, 2009).

In terms of the specific work of curators in this field, Leopold (2007) says that difficult heritage requires curators to listen to the affected communities’ views of the site’s significance, understand how the site is held in public memory, and determine a curatorial plan that is

respectful and inclusive in representation, especially as regards the victims. Similarly, Logan and Reeves (2009) suggest that difficult heritage sites be curated with respect for “the principles of human rights” (p. 11), and that “practitioners adopt a sensitive cross-cultural negotiation approach in all the stages of the commemoration process” (p. 13). Even with the best suggestions and guidelines, though, the actual curating of this heritage is no easy task: on the development of the Torgau Documentation and Information Centre in Saxony, Beattie (2010, p. 37) describes the “difficulties of addressing multiple, interconnected histories within a single institution and the near impossibility of satisfying diverse and divided communities of memory.” For the curators of difficult heritage, then, the aim is to provide greater access, but to do so through careful and sensitive interpretation, in a manner that allows for historical complexity and gives voice to the victims of the past.

The idea that heritage curation can serve as a platform to ‘express and empower’ is also evident in the way that communities can use the curatorial ‘space’ of exhibition in self-determination. A foremost example of this is in China, where private places have been developed into exhibition spaces, so that the avant-garde can be displayed and celebrated (Hung, 2001; Qin, 2008; Wenchang, 2008). As Hung (2001) discusses, people use homes, basements of commercial buildings, and even embassies and foreign institutions to host exhibitions that are ideologically opposed to government views, and that would not be permitted or approved of in public museums or galleries. Using exhibitions in this way affords the participating individuals an opportunity to ‘openly’ express their views, in an environment where these views would otherwise be sanctioned or oppressed (Hung, 2001; Wenchang, 2008).

Such examples of the enfranchised use of exhibitions also highlights the perspective that the culture and heritage field can be used as a tool for social change, which is one of the basic tenets of the “social inclusion” agenda in contemporary curating (Dodd & Sandell, 2001; Flemming, 2003; Galloway & Stanley, 2004). While social inclusion has mistakenly been thought of as synonymous only with access and audience development, Sandell (2003, p. 45) describes the concept as “much more significant,” with “implications more fundamental and far-reaching,” and that the practice of social inclusion in museums and other heritage contexts can benefit individuals, communities and greater society: at an individual level, social inclusion can help people enhance their “self-esteem, confidence and creativity” (p. 45); at community level, social inclusion encourages empowerment, social regeneration and neighbourhood development; and at societal level, social inclusion can help to “promote

tolerance, inter-community respect and to challenge stereotypes” through “representations of inclusive communities” in museum collections and heritage exhibitions (p. 46). While these objectives may be a tall order to fulfil, the social inclusion agenda nonetheless demonstrates the potential for contemporary curating to effect change, and for the curator to be a ‘hero’ of that change: social inclusion policies and practices carried out by curators and heritage professionals can, in essence, contribute to the social development agenda, making the work of the curator socially and politically significant in this regard (Dodd & Sandell, 2001; Flemming, 2003).

In addition to navigating the cultural developments, political agendas and social movements in the contemporary culture and heritage field, the heroism of the heritage curator also includes contending with cultural policy agendas that have been influenced by the creative industries. Cultural heritage, museums and art galleries form a part of the ‘creative city’ and ‘placemaking’ strategies adopted by local and regional governments (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2002; Scott, 2006). These strategies encourage a view of museums and galleries as ‘attractions’ in a particular city or place, and use culture and heritage as part of promoting the ‘creative life’ of those who live in that city or urban environment (Florida, 2002; Gorbacheva, 2006; Landry, 2002; Taheri & Jafari, 2012). For curators, then, these creative city and placemaking strategies reposition the ‘city museum’ and other urban heritage sites under the umbrella of creative industries, shifting the emphasis of curating from ‘preservation’, to ‘promotion’.

To illustrate, urban museums and galleries traditionally would occupy “one building or one complex in the city centre” (Gorbacheva, 2006, p. 51), and be curated from the perspective of the collection contained within. Now, however, city museum practice is “based on working with space and wide areas,” meaning that city museums are complex structures, often consisting of “entire urban territories and settlements” (Gorbacheva, 2006, p. 51), which allows curators to promote the museum as an ‘active part’ of the city’s cultural and creative life (Côté, Dubé, Edwards, & Bourbeau, 2006; Grewcock, 2006; Lohman, 2006). An example of this is the Vienna Kunsthalle, which spans a former indoor riding arena and a playhouse, as part of the ‘Museum Quarter’ in Vienna (Matt, 2001). The incorporation of such other buildings and spaces affords curators the opportunity to provide greater access to programmes, such as through “parallel use of exhibition and urban territory as communication mediums” (Côté et al., 2006, p. 44), but it also changes the nature of the curators’ work, requiring them to curate over a much larger space, and take into account the

priorities of promoting the value of the heritage to cultural life in the city (Côté et al, 2006; Gorbacheva, 2006).

A further influence of creative city and placemaking strategies is in the design and architecture of museums and galleries (Lehmbruck, 2001; Lukin, 2003; Mitzushima, 2001; Twitchell, 2004). There has always been a need for architectural elements to be applied to the design of museums and galleries, because the spaces needed to be functional for exhibitions and displays (Lehmbruck, 2001; Lukin, 2003; Teutonico, 2009). In the creative city, however, the opportunity exists to use the architecture of a museum or gallery as a way to encourage cultural tourism. For example, the Guggenheim in Bilbao is promoted for its design by renowned architect Frank Gehry (Dennison, 2003), as is the Rosenthal Contemporary Arts Centre, which was designed by Zaha Hadid (Fiederer, 2016). Such 'architecture to impress' makes the museum or gallery a 'landmark' in its own right, and contributes to the 'brand' of the city or urban area in which it is located (Twitchell, 2004). It also demonstrates the priority of promotion, because there is some debate about whether these new buildings in fact overshadow the works they are designed to enhance (see Moldoveanu, 2000). These developments arguably place the curator in the interesting position of viewing the museum or gallery 'building', both as the repository for, and a part of, the cultural 'collection'.

Architecture in contemporary curating, though, is not just limited to the creation of the new, it is also concerned with the renovation of the old. Historic houses, royal residences and other monuments, such as the Santa Casa de Misericordia in Porto, the Hermitage in St Petersburg, and the Royal Palace in Madrid (Angel & Crespo, 2001; Lukin, 2003; Nolasco, 2000; Piotrovsky, 2003) have been restored, so as to protect the heritage and strengthen the buildings' structure to accommodate exhibition space (Bresc-Bautier, 2003; Guardiola, 2001; Risnicoff de Gorgas, 2001). While these renovations occur to protect, preserve and restore (Pinna, 2001b; Scaon, 2001), they are also driven by the needs of the 'visitor experience' (Cabral, 2001; Lehmbruck, 2001; Twitchell, 2004). The renovation of the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam is an example of this, where in order to direct the foot traffic of high visitor numbers, and to present the visitor with the 'recommended' museum experience, there is now only one route or circuit through the house (Verbraak, 2001), which starts at the front entrance of the museum, and concludes at the shop and cafe in the back of the building, before the exit. Such renovation decisions demonstrate the 'visitor-focus' in the cultural heritage field, and reinforces the centrality of the 'museum experience' in contemporary curating.

In effect, much of the work of contemporary curators and heritage professionals in the wider curatorial context is underpinned by the concepts of the 'visit' and the 'visitor': the cultural tourism field must deal with delivering access to, and services for, the visitor in the form of the 'tourist' (Labadi & Long, 2010; Prentice, 2001); those who work in 'difficult heritage' must manage the nature of the visit, so as to ensure authenticity and respect (Leopold, 2007; Logan & Reeves, 2009); the social inclusion agenda is concerned with using the museum visit as a means towards social gain (Flemming, 2003; Sandell, 2003); and creative city strategies promote the 'visitor experience' in museums and galleries as part of generating and promoting urban creative appeal (Scott, 2004; Twitchell, 2004). However, in this wider curatorial context where heritage is used to meet other objectives and the concept of the visitor is so central, Boylan (2006, p. 12) warns that while curators and heritage professionals should work to meet the demands of the sector, they should not do so at the expense of "basic institutional and ethical responsibilities." And therein lies the overarching challenge for contemporary curators and heritage professionals: to address the social, cultural, political and economic agendas in such a way, that they do not compromise their ultimate responsibility towards the heritage and that which is embodied in their name: 'curator', meaning 'to care for'.

3.5 In sum: 'creativity' and 'work' in the contemporary curatorial sector

Contemporary curating is a case study in complexity: from caring for custodial and educative responsibilities, to crafting marketised and democratised exhibitions, to negotiating social and political agendas in cultural heritage, contemporary curators and heritage professionals have diverse portfolios which present them with many challenges. One way to conceptualise the complexity is to frame it around the ideas of 'creativity' and 'work' from both a creative industries and a curatorial perspective. In terms of creativity, contemporary curators can arguably be seen as 'creatives' in an artistic sense because of their design and creation of exhibitions (Alexander & Sharp, 2009; Brenson, 1998; Rendell, 2007), but they can also be seen as 'creative workers' in a creative industries sense because of policy changes and developments in the curatorial sector (Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Ross, 2004) that have resulted in changes to the nature of curators' work, which now parallels the multi-skilled, flexible and entrepreneurial 'creativity' of workers in creative industries (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; McRobbie, 2002).

As regards the idea of 'work', then, the changes and developments discussed in this chapter also demonstrate how the scope of curatorial work has undergone significant change. Democratisation, and digital developments have extended curatorial work into the community, encouraging public -involvement in curation and challenging the 'expert' position of the curator (Bayne et al, 2009; Knell, 2003; Largerkvist, 2006; Yuwen, 2015). Marketisation and 'museum experience' have expanded the work of the curator in terms of increasing access to visitors, and by making the concept of the 'visitor' central to curatorial and commercial imperatives (Alexander, 1999; Boylan, 2006; Brown & Tepper, 2013; Janes, 1999; Prentice, 2001; Scott, 2004; Rowley, 1999). Developments in the cultural heritage field, including increased cultural tourism, 'difficult heritage' curation and social inclusion practices have likewise added range the curators' work, requiring them to address social, cultural and political agendas in the heritage field (Beazley, 2010; Flemming, 2003; Labadi & Long, 2010; Leopold, 2007; Logan & Reeves, 2009; Sandell, 2003). And changes in cultural policy, including the influence of creative industries, means that curators must contend with aspects of the creative marketplace, museums and galleries as part of creative cities strategies, and a view of museum visitors as 'cultural consumers' (Caves, 2000; Gorbacheva, 2006; Landry, 2002; Rentschler, 2007; Scott, 2006; Twitchell, 2004).

The purpose of this review and discussion was to track how changes in the curatorial sector have affected curators, curatorial organisations and their visitors. In this chapter, I examined key concepts shaping the contemporary curatorial sector, which include developments in creativity and creative labour, changes in museums and galleries, and growth in the cultural heritage field. The complex nature and expanded scope of curatorial work aligns the 'curator' with the 'creative worker', and reinforces the idea that contemporary curation requires a form of 'heroism' in order to balance all the different agendas and priorities. With this literature chapter in place, I now move into the discussion of the methodology and method that I employed in my research.

Chapter 4

Methodology and method

The three previous chapters have contextualised the field of this enquiry by introducing and discussing the creative industries concept, situating the research in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and exploring the issues facing curators in the contemporary curatorial sector. In this chapter, I set out the theoretical orientation I adopted for my research and the way in which I gathered and analysed the data. My primary purpose in this research is to examine the impact of the discourses of the creative industries on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In relation to this overarching aim, I explore two associated ideas: first, the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the sector, and second, changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of “the visitor.” To fulfil this purpose, the research is planned around three questions:

1. What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period from 1992 to 2015?
2. In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct the members of the public and their ‘visitor experience’?
3. What themes emerge from workers’ lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work?

Each research question will be addressed from different data sets that were gathered and analysed in different ways. Question 1 affords an examination of the policies under which museums and public art galleries operate. To deal with this question, I have drawn together a

corpus of texts from an archive of Acts, annual reports, and other public documents pertaining to the curatorial sector, and will use Fairclough (1992) to carry out a critical discourse analysis.

Question 2 interrogates online and print communication developed by curatorial organisations in order to show the influence of creative industries discourse on the relationship between the visiting public and the organisations. The archive for this document was all promotional materials, from web pages, social media sites and the homepages of selected exhibitions, to the more mundane "What's on" guides and other printed visitor information. The corpus of selected printed and online texts will also be analysed using Fairclough's (1992) method of critical discourse analysis.

The third research question was composed with a view to gathering "first-hand knowledge" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p. 6) from people working in the curatorial field in order to understand the insiders' perspective on life in curatorial organisations and the relationship between creative industries thinking and their changing work. The data gathered to answer this research question will be from semi-structured interviews (Fontana & Frey, 2005) with members of the curatorial sector and I will use thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006) to determine commonalities across the different interviews.

As the brief outline above has shown, I employ a mix of methods (Robson & McCartan, 2016; Testa, Livingston & VanZile-Tamsen, 2011) to achieve my purpose in the research, for, as Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 5) observe, the use of multiple methods allows researchers "to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question." I submit that the triangulation of research methods through the combined use of critical discourse analysis, semi-structured interviewing and thematic analysis deepens my investigation into the impact of creative industries discourses on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. This chapter gives the details of the way I conducted the research, with a view to making the process transparent.

4.1 Discourse and 'Critical Discourse Analysis'

Fairclough (1992, p. 3) stated, "Discourse is a difficult concept," a disheartening observation, mainly because there is no single working definition originating from the viewpoint of a single discipline: instead, the definitions articulated by different theoretical positions oppose, intersect and diverge. Discourse theories fall, broadly, into two main categories: the

'linguistic' and 'social theory' perspectives. Linguistic views of discourse are mainly concerned with social action and interaction, and social theory perspective concentrates on the way that language constructs social realities and knowledge (Fairclough, 1995). Both perspectives usefully shed light on this complex subject, but for the purposes of this research, I have chosen to align myself primarily with the social theory standpoint on discourse²⁴. Although what follows in this section is by no means an exhaustive discussion of this extensive topic, it nevertheless serves to explicate the main characteristics of the social theory view and will also justify the relevance of the approach to my research topic.

The social theory view – and perhaps it borders on platitudinous to say it – is that discourse is embedded in social life (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Macdonnell, 1986; Potter, 1996). As Harvey (1996, p. 83) puts it, "Discourses can never be pure, isolated or insulated from other moments in social life, however abstract and seemingly transcendent they become. Nor can they be separated from those doing the discoursing." Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000, p. 203) likewise conceptualise discourse as "a social text", and Mills (2004, p. 10) writes that discourse concerns itself with "statements which are enacted within a social context." Discourse then, both underpins and overarches social practices (Harvey, 1996; Potter, 1996): underpins, because language (of one sort or another) is the foundation of all interactions; and overarches, because language permits longevity of ideas, beliefs and practice. In other words, discourse, in the form of language use, is both a component of and a constructor of the relationship and interaction between social contexts, social structures and participants (Fairclough, 1992; Holstein & Gubrium, 2005): "a mode of action...as well as a mode of representation" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63).

Understanding discourse through a social theory approach is to accept that discourse is simultaneously reflective and constitutive of the social world (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972; Wodak, 1996), both constructing and limiting meaning. In fact, the constitutive property of discourse is a central theme in the scholarship of many discourse theorists: Potter and Wetherell (1987), for instance, write that "language is both constructive and constitutive"; Wodak (1996, p. 18) also argues that "discourse constitutes society and culture" and Johnstone (2002, p. 33) likewise pronounces that discourse "is shaped by and helps to shape the human lifeworld." Foucault (1972, p. 49) explains discourses as "practices that

²⁴ The social theory perspective on discourse is exemplified in the work of Michel Foucault, which will be drawn upon in my discussion. However, the scope of this chapter does not allow for a full interrogation of his theory. Furthermore, other theorists such as Louis Althusser, Mikhail Bakhtin and Michel Pecheux have also contributed greatly to social theory views of discourse. For a detailed discussion of the works by these and other theorists, see Macdonnell (1986).

systematically form the objects [and subjects] of which they speak" through the flows of power within language (Foucault, 1972; Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 2001) and further, argues that discourse not only constructs objects in the social world but also positions 'subjects' in relation to one another. Fairclough (1992) reviews the way in which the roles, rules and conventions determine the types of interaction and the eventual relationship that will exist between the subjects 'doctors' and 'patients' within the discourse of a medical examination. Discourses that are "naturalised" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 92) are all but unquestionable, and not only perpetuate but legitimise the relationships and subject positioning called into being in the language (Van Dijk, 2001).

The social theory perspective also places discourse in a frame of power relations, examining language in terms of the weight of ideological, political and hegemonic investment it carries (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1972; Pennycook, 1997), focusing, as Van Dijk, (2001, p. 352) puts it, on "the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context," which naturalise or automatise discursive practices, so that ideologies, hegemonies and political effects are not clearly visible and therefore go unquestioned, sustaining the status quo (Fairclough, 1992; Mills, 2004). However, as Van Dijk (2001) contends, power relations can be, and are, resisted and social change does occur, because "in so far as dominant conventions are resisted or contested, language use can contribute to changing social relationships" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 20).

Furthermore, proponents of the social theory approach to discourse understand discursive change both as alterations to the discourses themselves and also as social changes wrought by discursive practice (Wodak, 1996; Fairclough, 1992). The historicity of any discourse, though prolonged, is not infinite (Wodak, 1996), and Fairclough (1992, p. 4) describes "historical change" as "how different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce a new, complex discourse." Important to understanding such change is the concept of 'intertextuality', which Wodak (1996, p. 19) describes as discourses being "always connected to other discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically or subsequently." Regarding social change, Wodak (1996, p. 32) explains that the process is a discursive one, with the need to "initiate changes in the discourse, and thus changes in structures." However, she qualifies her discussion with the proviso that such social change likewise depends on specific contexts or conditions. Therefore, it is worth adopting a 'dialectical' view of the "relationship between discourse and social structure" so as to better understand the relationship between discourse and change (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64).

Discourse is both affected by, and effective of change, the relationship of which is vital for an understanding of a social theory perspective of discourse.

4.2 Critical discourse analysis

The social theory perspective on discourse – discourse conceptualised as embedded in social life, constitutive of the social world, imbued with power and effective of change (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2003; Pennycook, 1997; Wodak, 1996) – is predisposed towards a critical approach to analysing a texts. Fairclough (1992, p. 12) sums it up this way:

Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants.

A critical approach to discourse analysis suits my investigation because the first two research questions specifically examine the “institutional discourse” (Wodak, 1996, p. 8) of curatorial and government organisations. Wodak (1996, p. 10) writes that “institutions have their own value systems, which are crystallized in the form of particular ideologies” and that these ideologies can be overt and official, or implicit and underlying. A critical focus, when applied properly, will peel back the layers between what is said and the power and social relations that lie beneath the saying. Furthermore, critical discourse analysis allows a longitudinal and intertextual view of the changes in organisational dynamics (Wodak, 1996) within the curatorial sector.

Of all the methods of discourse analysis available to me, I selected the system set out by Fairclough (1992) because his combination of linguistic and social theory perspectives seemed to offer the most flexibility in showing the relationship between discourse and social change. To develop this thought further, Fairclough (1992) locates discourse within social and discursive practice, but also requires examination of texts at the level of the sentence and word, where so many unthinking assumptions can be detected. Furthermore, and quite pragmatically, Fairclough’s (1992, p. 73) “three-dimensional conception of discourse” (see Figure 4.1) sets out a model of considerable utility in ‘doing the work’ of analysing texts.

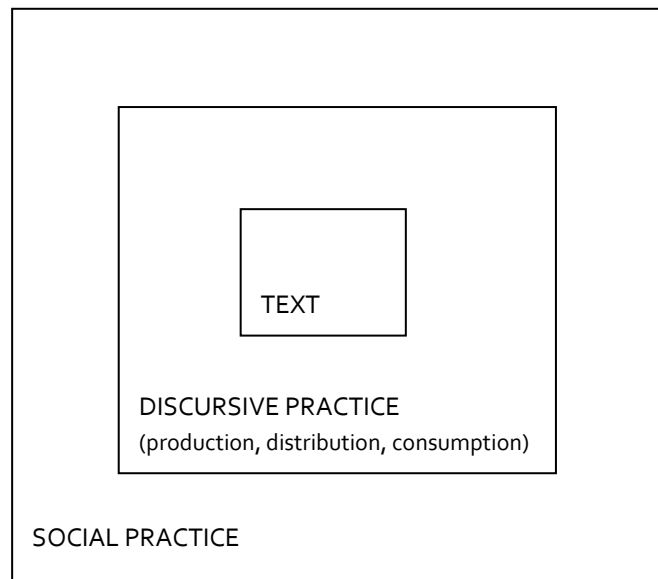


Figure 4.1 Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse (Source: Fairclough, 1992)

Figure 4.1 shows that critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) merges three traditions of analysis: linguistic analysis, macrosociological analysis of "social practice in relation to social structures" and microsociological analysis of "social practice as something which people actively produce" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 72). The model is dynamic, in that each dimension bleeds into and influences each of the others: perhaps it would have been better to draw the lines around each dimension with dotted rather than solid lines, to suggest the merging of the elements at the margins. In the model, the dimension of discursive practice functions as a mediator, bridging the gap between the text and social practice by inviting analysts to consider the way a discursive event is produced, distributed and consumed. Each dimension of the model contributes to a systematic extrapolation of discursive and social change

In the innermost dimension of the model, Fairclough (1992, p. 37) advocates a "textually-oriented discourse analysis" (TODA), which requires scrutiny of the vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and structure of texts. According to Fairclough (1992, p. 76), the selection and arrangement of words in clauses and sentences "amount to choices about how to signify (and construct) social identities, social relationships, and knowledge and belief", making the analysis of vocabulary and grammar a fundamental element in interpreting form and meaning in any text. Analysis of cohesion and text structure likewise explores design choices in the make-up of texts, but is more concerned with revealing the overall "structuring conventions" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78) in operation, because those practices allow analysts to discern schemata of knowledge, beliefs and assumptions about social relationships and social identities.

The dimension of discursive practice focuses on the production, distribution and consumption of a text (Fairclough, 1992), and each of these elements is complex in its own right. For instance, texts can be produced by one or many persons, each functioning from a range of subject positions, and each of these is worthy of research. The distribution of texts, similarly, raises many possibilities: distribution of a text can be simple or complex, mediated in any number of ways that might affect consumption and interpretation, and modes of consuming texts, also, are not only varied but can even transform the text in the process (Fairclough, 1992). Analysis of the discursive practice, then, should explicate the nature of the utterances contained in the text and the contexts that shape them (Fairclough, 1992).

The coherence and intertextuality of texts are also concerns of the discursive element of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). The coherence of texts is determined by whether or not it makes sense overall and how sense is achieved for its audience in terms of implicit and explicit "connections and inferences" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84). Intertextuality, that "property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 84), endows intrinsic connections to other texts and relates the text to its antecedents in orders of discourse in wider society.

At the macro-level, the analysis of social practice shows discourse as an expression of ideology, understood as "significations/constructions of reality...which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 87). Ideologies derive their power from being entrenched in discourse to the point that they are often invisible in everyday interactions and so assume what Fairclough (1992, p. 87) calls "the status of 'common sense'". Ideologies can, nevertheless, be identified and challenged: people are socially positioned by their relationships to ideologies, but they are also active agents who can draw on their own resources to interpret and restructure the discursive practices that they encounter. Ideologies manifest in the flows of power and hegemonic relationships are the site of continual struggles to establish a dominant social position and in Fairclough's (1992) model of critical discourse analysis, hegemony serves as both a matrix and a model for analysis: in both cases, analysis is concerned with the reproduction, restructuring and challenging of the existing order.

4.3 Research process: questions 1 and 2

In following Fairclough's (1992) system of critical discourse analysis, I collected an 'archive' of documents from different curatorial and government organisations. The documents included Acts of Parliament affecting the curatorial sector; public documents and website information from the Ministry for Culture and Heritage; the annual reports, statements of intent, briefing papers, collection policies and mission statements of New Zealand museums and art galleries²⁵. This archive was established through a systematic search of library databases, government archives, museum and gallery libraries, organisational websites, and directory websites such as that run by Museums Aotearoa or the 'NZ Museums' site, both of which serve as portals to a full registry of curatorial organisations across New Zealand. The archive consisted of many hundreds of texts, canvassed from the breadth of the curatorial sector, from the first museum Act of Parliament in 1877 to the latest "About Us" museum and gallery website updates in December 2015.

The archive for Question 2 comprised documents directed at the visiting public, and I collected print and online materials such as visitor information pamphlets, "What's on" guides, exhibition programmes and leaflets, museum and gallery website "Homepages" and the Facebook pages of museums and galleries. Setting up the archive for research question 2 involved taking regular (sometimes daily) screenshots of the museums' and galleries' websites, with particular attention to Homepages, visitor information pages and of the pages for special exhibitions. The websites of the curatorial organisations were found using the same registry that provided the information for the archive in Question 1. To obtain the printed material, I made regular trips to museums, galleries, and tourist information centres to collect pamphlets and leaflets, and I became a 'friend' of several organisations so that they would send me extra material. Some items in the archive were similar to one another, but on the whole, there was some variation in the text types.

It is not possible to use every item that ends up in an archive: discourse analysis is too fine-grained to allow that. An extensive archive, however, shows changes and developments in discourses over time, and allows the selection of a useful and telling 'corpus' of discourse samples for close analysis. The corpus should reproduce, on a small scale, the different discourse practices and changes in those practices across the many situations represented in the archive (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough's advice on selecting the texts for the corpus is

²⁵ See Appendix A for a list of the policy documents included in the archive.

simultaneously liberating and unhelpful: he suggests (1992, p. 227) that the corpus should be built up from “cruces and moments of crises”, which he defines as:

moments in the discourse where there is evidence that things are going wrong...which make visible aspects of practices which might normally be naturalized, and therefore difficult to notice; but (which) also show change in process, the actual ways in which people deal with the problematization of practices (Fairclough, 1992, p. 230).

Fairclough’s (1992) definition of cruces is important, because it is on this concept that the analysis is founded, but it does not prescribe a systematic selection of texts. Instead, it emphasises researcher sensitivity and discretion, informed by the context of the archive, but it is very clear that even if they were using the same research questions, different researchers would include and exclude texts according to their personal engagement with the field. The corpus, then, is not a given, and needs to be critiqued and justified.

In the case of the archive for the first research question, cruces appeared to me to coalesce around restructuring, shifts in museum and gallery functions and operations, and developments in cultural policy, and all three of these factors can be seen in the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992 which signalled a major development in the cultural milieu of Aotearoa-New Zealand, and it is because this Act represents such a break with previous legislation that I decided to open the corpus with samples of text from the Act itself, and followed it with sections of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act 1996; Museum of Transport and Technology Act 2000; ‘Blueprint – Growing Auckland’s Creative Industries’ (Auckland City Council, 2007); Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2007 – 2008; Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2009-2010; Regional Facilities Auckland Annual Report 2012; Auckland War Memorial Museum ‘Future Museum’ 2012 ; and Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2012 – 2015.

The corpus for the second research question was informed by the literature in the field about aspects of visitor experience, building relationships and connections with current or new audiences, and visitor ‘interactivity’. Although I was guided in the formation of the second corpus by ideas in published scholarship, I still needed, as Fairclough (1992) remarks, to know what was available and how to obtain samples. The constant watching of websites and homepages intensified my familiarity with the promotional genres used by curatorial organisations, and I quite quickly formed “a mental model of the order of discourse of the

institution or domain...and the processes of change it is undergoing" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 225). As a result, the corpus²⁶ consisted of text samples from: printed information guides and brochures, *'Te Papa – More than a Museum'*; *'November at Te Papa'* 2012; *Auckland Art Gallery 'What's On' Mar-May 2012*; *Auckland Museum 'What's On' Sep-Nov 2011*; *'Te Papa – Game Masters'*; *Auckland Art Gallery 'Degas to Dali' leaflet*; as well as museum and gallery websites, *Auckland Art Gallery 'Degas to Dali' online exhibition page*; *Te Papa 'Venues' information webpage*; *Te Papa 'Treaty2U' online exhibition*; and social media pages, *Auckland Museum 'AQUA' exhibition Facebook posts*; *Auckland Art Gallery Facebook posts*.

Once I had the corpus of texts for the two research questions, I organised them into time periods to demonstrate the discursive shifts that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand since 1992, and I then began to subject the samples to the three dimensions of Fairclough's (1992) critical discourse analysis; I used TODA for vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure; considering the elements of discursive practice, and finally, the dimension of social practice, to peel back the ideology and hegemony in the discourses that affect the contemporary curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Faircloughian analysis (1992) does not necessarily produce a linear discussion of first one dimension of critical discourse analysis, and then the next. Data from the innermost TODA dimension sometimes related to the outer dimension of social practice, and vice versa. The corpus for the second research question was treated in the same way as that for the first question. I found an organising principle – types of documents according to instrumental purpose in the curatorial organisations – and used critical discourse analysis as well for the close reading of the way the visitors and their experience were constructed within the texts. I employed TODA on these documents, but supplemented Fairclough's (1992) system with considerations such as the presentation of the material, font and colour choices, images, and the juxtaposition of these to the written text, so as to amplify some of the points that emerged from the Faircloughian analysis.

4.4 Research process: research question 3

The third research question concerns the lived experience of workers in the curatorial field with regard to creativity and the performance of their curatorial role, and my tactics in dealing with this part of the enquiry were different from those I used for the first two questions. In part, my approach was directed by the principles of qualitative research, which stresses "the

²⁶ See Appendix B for the full-text images of research question 2 corpus material.

socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 10), focusing on the processes of making meaning to understand how the social world is created. The role of researchers must not be ignored in qualitative research, for the choices they make during the research process inevitably influence the end result (Charmaz, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Wolcott, 1990). Qualitative research is necessarily interpretive, "guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22).

Researchers working within the interpretive paradigm seek to understand the social world as subjectively created by ongoing processes in which individuals are active participants (Bailey, Ford & Raelin, 2009; Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Hugley & Sayward, 1987; Mumby, 1988; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Robson & McCartan, 2016). Burrell & Morgan (1979, p. 6) argue that in order to understand the social world from participants' viewpoints, interpretive researchers need to obtain "first-hand knowledge of the subject under investigation." To address the third research question, therefore, I conducted semi-structured interviews with individuals working in the curatorial sector (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Wolcott, 1995), and sifted the resultant data using thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Fielden, Sillence & Little, 2011; Hatch, 2002; Leininger, 1985; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

4.5 Data gathering: the art and science of interviewing

Gubrium and Holstein (2002, p. 4) write that the "interview has become a commonplace feature of everyday life." The prevalence of, and reliance on, interviews in research has resulted in what Fontana and Frey (2005, p. 698) call "the interview society", in which interviews have become the most common form of data gathering. Interviews may be commonplace and almost basic now, but according to Platt (2002), interviewing has a complex history driven by changing methodological and sociopolitical concerns. Changes to understandings of 'the interview' have chiefly altered in format and process, but the purpose of interviewing has also shifted over time. Traditionally, the interview was like survey research, with objectivist ideals and a preoccupation with quantifiable data and scientific rigour (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Platt, 2002). This view typically constructed an asymmetrical relationship between the interviewer and respondents, who were sometimes also called 'subjects'. Interviewers, then, were often seen as a species of neutral facilitator dealing with

participants who were positioned in the research relationship as “vessel[s]-of-answers” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 13). The interview process was one in which the interviewer had to somehow retrieve valuable information from inside the respondent.

The process of interviewing and the relationship between interviewers and respondents are more complex than any ‘I-ask-you-answer’ attitude can account for, and post-modern approaches reflect that complexity (Fontana & Frey, 2005), shifting interviews, as Kong, Mahoney and Plummer (2002, p. 240) say, from being “instrument[s] of pathological diagnosis” to “a tool of modernist democratization and ultimately of social reform.” In other words, the interview is productive in that provides data, but is itself also a form of “cultural production” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 29) that is historically, politically and contextually-bound (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Wolcott, 1995). This philosophical change is reflected in conceptualisations of the relationship between interviewers and participants, which have shifted from passive asymmetry, with the power in the hands of the ‘expert’ interviewer, to active interaction between interviewer and participants. As Fontana and Frey (2005, p. 698) note, “increasingly, qualitative researchers are realizing that interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but rather active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results.” The interview, therefore, is a negotiated accomplishment, in which both the interviewer and participants should share the power to orchestrate a mutually acceptable interview event (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Wolcott, 1995).

I approached the interviews for this research believing that they could be realised only in collaborative social exchanges where power was as balanced as possible (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Wolcott, 1990, 1995). I saw that I could not avoid the influence of my own presence in the interviews: my choice of both of indicative questions and the participants themselves, my experience of their world and the purpose and orientation of my research, all had a constitutive effect on the data (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). With Fairclough (1989, p. 5) I accepted that researchers are “committed and ‘opinionated’,” and set out, less to conduct interviews than to share conversations (Rubin & Rubin, 1995), that would create spaces for the participants’ own stories to be told and heard (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Robson & McCartan, 2016). This kind of cooperative approach to interviewing promotes ethical behaviour based on “common sense and responsibility...to our respondents first, to the study next, and to ourselves last” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 716). I felt gratitude to my participants

and a strong personal ethical commitment that was enhanced by the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi: partnership, participation and protection²⁷.

Fontana and Frey (2005) point out that researchers must devise interviews carefully to ensure that the data gathered meets the purpose of the research. In order to see work in curatorial organisations from an insider point of view, I used semi-structured interviews to obtain what Geertz (1973, p. 10) calls “thick description”. Oppenheim (1992) and Sarantakos (2005) describe the main difference between semi-structured and structured interviews as a non-directive approach which permits the exploration of new ideas and directions that emerge during the exchange. The tone and framing of semi-structured interview, in other words, should be unthreatening so that participants will talk freely (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Oppenheim, 1992; Robson & McCartan, 2016). Interviewers, however, should not see the informality as relaxation: certainly, they must maintain rapport, but they must simultaneously be discreetly in control so as to intervene tactfully “when the respondent is spending too much time on issues which are far removed from the purposes of the research” (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 73). I prepared for the interviews by compiling some guide questions²⁸ to steer, but not prescribe, the flow of the interview, and I used them as markers, to bring the conversation back to my research if it began to ramble. For the rest, I allowed the participants to reflect and ‘follow their noses’ along paths that I had not previously considered profitable.

The recruitment process for potential participants was somewhat vexed. I made first contact by scanning the staff lists of several curatorial organisations and sent invitations, together with an explanation of my research intention, and initial responses were so heartening that I was positive that I would be able to carry out as many interviews as I wanted and reach data saturation very quickly. The real life event, however, proved very different: many people who agreed at first were simply never available, or did not answer follow up emails. I had begun my search for participants among curators within large, public-sector museums and galleries, but I ended up with so few acceptances that I widened my scope to include any curator in public and private museums and galleries. I also found the concept of chain referral or “snowball” sampling useful, and necessary, at this point in my research (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Penrod, Preston, Cain, & Starks, 2003; Watters & Biernacki, 1989). Biernacki & Waldorf

²⁷ In order to start my research, this project needed to be granted ethics clearance, as determined by AUTECH (Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee). In the application I was required to state specifically how my research design and practice would implement and adhere to each of the three principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in the interviewer-participant relationship. I received ethics approval from AUTECH, see Appendix C.

²⁸ The indicative interview questions are in Appendix C.

(1981) discuss how in the case of 'hard to reach' populations or fields of enquiry that are considered sensitive in nature, researchers can generate a "study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest." While my field of enquiry was not of a sensitive nature, the difficulties I enquired during the recruitment process essentially made my participants part of a 'hard to reach' population. I was therefore appreciative of my participants' assistance in informing me of others who would be able and available to participate in my research.

In the end, between October 2011 and May 2012, I succeeded in recruiting five participants, ranging from a senior curator with 15 years experience in a public gallery, to a collections intern at a private auction house. This particular participant had the least experience, but like all the other participants, had a post-graduate qualification relevant to curatorial work. Amongst my five participants, two were male and three were female. The number of recruits was – perhaps – disappointingly small, but the participants were so generous with their time and their thoughtful replies to my questions that I obtained data that is deep, rich and satisfyingly detailed. Each interview lasted between one and two hours, and the data were recorded and preserved in digital form.

4.6 Data analysis: thematic analysis

The data from the semi-structured interviews were subjected to thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Davidson & Tolich, 2003; Fielden et al, 2011; Hatch, 2002; Leininger, 1985; Robson & McCartan, 2016; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998), which Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 78) argue "should be seen as a foundational method for qualitative analysis."

Thematic analysis is versatile: it is not confined to any particular theoretical framework, allowing researchers to conduct their investigations from either an inductive or deductive standpoint, depending on their theoretical orientations. Inductive thematic analysis is data-driven, in the sense that patterns emerge from the raw data (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006), and is not dissimilar to grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or a phenomenological approach (Moustakas, 1994). Deductive thematic analysis, on the other hand, is theory-driven: the themes are established in relation to a set of pre-determined criteria (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006) and is comparable to methods of content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Weber, 1990). Thematic analysis is versatile in another way, too: it is applicable to data sets derived from a variety of sources. For instance, it has been used, as I have done, to analyse oral histories and interviews (Aronson, 1994; Fielden et

al, 2011; Hatch, 2002), while Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2012) argue that it has an established place in dealing with textual data sets. Then too, as Braun and Clarke (2006) point out, thematic analysis can be employed to uncover layers of meaning across a whole data set, which is often useful when the area of inquiry is new or under-researched (Guest et al, 2012; Lacey & Luff, 2001), or, alternatively, can be applied to a single aspect of a data set in a fine-grained and comprehensive examination (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

It was the flexibility and range of thematic analysis that immediately attracted me when I was selecting a method to analyse the interview data. I was particularly keen to place the data in the 'starring role', because this seemed to me to honour the participants' stories of life in the curatorial sector, but at the same time, I also needed to deal systematically with a large bulk of varied data to obtain an accurate and sensitive interpretation of the field. Following Tuckett (2005), I concluded that inductive thematic analysis would enable me to tell a rich story of curatorial work in Aotearoa-New Zealand: I would be able, as Aronson (1994, para. 7) puts it, build a "picture of their collective experience." The inductive approach was not my only reason for choosing thematic analysis, however. My other reason was, frankly, more pragmatic, relating to what Braun and Clarke (2006) describe as the accessibility of the method and the research results. Thematic analysis is time-effective and produces results that are accessible both to academic researchers from other fields and also to the "educated general public" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 97), and I was pleased to think that I could eventually, perhaps, present the lived experience of curators to an audience outside the academy.

However, commencing a study using thematic analysis is not without its problems. For instance, although researchers everywhere feel they know a theme when they see one, and despite its usefulness in making sense of large quantities of primary data, thematic analysis is not at all a clearly delineated method, nor is there much agreement about how to actually practise it (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005; Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). I began, therefore, at the two points where there does seem to be consensus among several scholars who favour the method. Aronson (1994), Conostas (1992), Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), Liamputtong and Ezzy (2005) and Tuckett (2005) all recommend that researchers should start with a clear, specific theoretical framework, and should also record the process of their enquiry in exacting detail to avoid the risk of having their work judged as lacking rigour.

Before I began my data collection, then, I had established in my own mind that the overall orientation of my research would be a critical interpretive (Deetz, 1982, 1996; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Linstead, 1993; Morgan & Smircich, 1980) examination of the curatorial sector in post-industrial Aotearoa-New Zealand. Here, by the word 'critical', I mean that I want to uncover and question the assumptions and false consensus that underpin corporate practices, and also examine the relationship between language, power and ideology (Bullis, 1997; Ceci, Limacher & McLeod, 2002; Fairclough, 1989). However, I needed to keep in mind that the section of my work that deals with the third research question tends towards the phenomenological (Moustakas, 1994), exploring as it does the life-world of curators, and that such an approach is about thinking that is "willing to question, and open to trusting the resonance of understanding that 'comes'" (Smythe, Ironside, Sims, Swenson & Spence, 2008, p. 1389; see also Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). I began the thematic analysis, therefore, open to all the possibilities in the data, but nevertheless with the understanding that eventually, the stories I discovered in the interviews would feed into and round out the more obviously critical approach I had adopted in the discourse analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 83) advise researchers to decide whether the purpose of the research is to provide "[a] rich description of the data set, or a detailed account of one particular aspect." The third research question is, "What themes emerge from the lived experience of workers in the curatorial field with regard to creativity and the performance of the curatorial role?" and the question seemed to me to require, therefore, reflection on the whole data set, which is, according to Braun and Clarke (2006) especially valuable when the topic is not well researched, or the views of participants are not unknown. In my judgment and reading, the work in the curatorial field is under-researched in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

I have already stated that I chose to carry out inductive (as opposed to deductive) thematic analysis, and the newness of my research area influenced this decision. Inductive thematic analysis is data-driven: coding is not a process of trying to fit the data into "a preexisting coding frame" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83), but rather, of allowing the connections to form. Boyatzis (1998, p. 31) remarks that this approach is a strength, because "working directly from the raw data enhances appreciation of the information." Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 84) stress the need for researcher reflexivity in inductive thematic analysis process, as "researchers cannot free themselves of their theoretical and epistemological commitments, and data are not coded in an epistemological vacuum." Similarly, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006, p. 83)

emphasise that inductive analysis must be an “iterative and reflexive process”, reminding researchers that they do not stand outside of the research itself (see also Conostas, 1992).

With these caveats in mind, I began to analyse my interview data. At its most basic, thematic analysis involves examining the raw data to find patterns (Aronson, 1994; Attride-Stirling, 2001; Lacey & Luff, 2001) which are coded, interpreted and presented as themes that allow insights into the phenomenon under study (Boyatzis, 1998; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Leininger, 1985; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). An emergent theme is an aspect of meaning in the data that not only categorises the material, but more importantly, is a doorway into interpretation (Boyatzis, 1998; Vaismoradi et al, 2016). Attride-Stirling (2001) and Boyatzis (1998) show that thematic analysis can unearth both the manifest and latent meanings within a text, simultaneously working, as Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 81) say, “both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of ‘reality’.”

Whether a particular system of thematic analysis sets out three stages of enquiry (Boyatzis, 1998) or names six discrete processes (Braun & Clarke, 2006), the method effectively requires three phases: recognition, encoding and interpretation. The first stage of thematic analysis, then, is becoming familiar with the data. Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 87) advocate familiarity by immersion: as they put it, researchers should carry out “‘repeated reading’ of the data ... reading the data in an active way – searching for meanings, patterns and so on.” Guest et al (2012, pp. 7-8) take a similar approach, recommending that “the researcher carefully reads and rereads the data looking for key words, trends, themes or ideas in the data that will help outline the analysis, before any analysis takes place.”

The job of the researcher in this phase is more to master the raw material than anything else: certainly, though patterns may begin to form, coding for themes would be preliminary. I listened to each interview several times at this stage, and as my familiarity with the data grew, I referred more and more often to the pages of notes I had made during each interview. I started adding ‘initial ideas’, ‘key words’ and ‘interesting points’ as I listened, testing to see if the word ‘held true’ or was a too-hasty initial reaction. Although this was a painstaking process to begin with, by the time I had listened to each interview three or four times, I found I could not only hold the data from each interview separately in my mind, but also think about the interviews in the aggregate. I had achieved what Boyatzis’ (1998, p. 46) calls “the full picture” of the information.

As I began to feel confident of my mastery of the raw data, I began to allow my rough notes to crystallise into tentative codes. According to Boyatzis (1998, p. 63) a code, which consists of five specific features²⁹, is "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way." Braun and Clarke's (2006, p. 88) description of a code is similar: they define it "a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst." These elements of interest, or "keyness" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82) guide the initial coding, and practitioners of thematic analysis recommend researchers to code for as many themes as possible, because codes can fit into many different themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006; Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). Furthermore, Tuckett (2005, p. 82) suggests that the first run of coding can be enhanced by asking such questions as "What is being described (event, action, interaction) in the data text? and 'How is it understood (processes) – what does it mean?' 'Why?'" (see also Rice & Ezzy, 2000).

I began to examine the key words, discarding some and grouping others together according to similarity of meaning. Braun and Clarke (2006) say that visual representations can be helpful in separating and grouping codes, and in fact, I found that a sort of mind-map format worked well. I drew heavy and light, solid and dotted connections between the different codes in order to capture a sense of relationship one to another, working, at this point, in a rather messy, non-linear way, multiplying lines and arrows until grouped words seemed to 'thicken up' into essential concepts, which I then tested by attaching short excerpts from the interviews to see if I could demonstrate them with the participants' own words. If I found that a concept was sound and demonstrable, I noted it on its own piece of paper, but also began to compile a "master view" page which listed all the concepts and showed emerging connections among and between them. At this point, I had separate, quite detailed coding pages for each interview, and the beginning of a more sparse, and untested master view, which was beginning to allow me to visualise the whole data set as tangles of patterns that could be candidates for themes.

These candidate themes, however, needed further refining and I began a two-tier process of review, first to check the internal coherence of the themes, and second, to check the accuracy and coherence of the themes in relation to the whole data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al, 2016). In this exercise, I followed Tuckett (2005), who advised that all codes

²⁹ Boyatzis (1998, p. 31): "A good thematic code should have five elements: 1) A label (i.e., a name) 2) A definition of what the theme concerns (i.e., the characteristic or issue constituting the theme) 3) A description of how to know when the theme occurs (i.e., indicators on how to 'flag' the theme) 4) A description of any qualifications or exclusions to the identification of the theme 5) Examples, both positive and negative, to eliminate possible confusion when looking for the theme."

should be re-examined for salient trends that might have been missed or overstated, until all coded data were integrated. This proved useful: I found several that could be further grouped and combined into overarching themes, and by working systematically through the candidate themes in this way, I ended up with a 'thematic map', which I reviewed against interview excerpts to make sure that all the codes were accounted for in the thematic map, which became my guide to the data set as a whole. I understand that another researcher working with the same data set may well have found different themes, but I was satisfied that my process had found genuine links and grouped recurrent ideas that I could defend as themes. I entered the next stage of the research.

Meaning lies within the themes, or, as Boyatzis (1998, p. 62) puts it, the theme is “the entity on which the interpretation of the study will focus”, so it is important to name them and write them up in such a way as to capture the spirit in which participants both related to and confided in the raw data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), accounting for the relationships between and among themes of different levels is part of finding and depicting the essence of a theme: it is not enough, in other words, to simply write up the qualities of an individual theme, but also to show how the relationship between themes reveal aspects of the data. My hand-drawn lines, both heavy and light, dotted and solid, proved invaluable for this stage of understanding and organising the data. Indeed, I could not have anticipated when I began almost to “doodle” the lines on the coding sheets how significant these visual representations would be for the draft write up. A digital representation of my coding sheets, including my ‘Overall Key Ideas’ and respective codes for each interview are located in Appendix D in this thesis.

This chapter has set out the theoretical orientation of the thesis and described the methods used for the selection of texts and their analysis, together with the conduct of the interview process and the analysis of the data gained from the interviews. The next chapter is the first of the data chapters, which addresses the question: ‘What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period from 1992 to 2015?’

Chapter 5

Discourses of Change

Chapter 5 is the first of my data chapters, in which I will address the research question: What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period since 1992? The data and analysis to answer this question comes from a critical discourse analysis of texts from my archive of policy documents in the curatorial sector, including Acts of Parliament, museum and gallery annual reports and Statements of Intent, and organisational mission statements. The purpose of this critical discourse analysis is to examine the changes that have taken place in the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. To that end, the method I have chosen to use is that proposed by Fairclough (1992), as its focus is on the nature of discourse in relation to social change. The methodology and method section in this research explicates the details of Fairclough's (1992) method, and as shown, there are three dimensions in this method for analysis: social practice, discursive practice and text. In this chapter, social and discursive practice are analysed.

In chapters two and three, I reviewed literature that showed the significant change that has taken place in the curatorial sector as a whole. In a traditional sense, the purpose of museums and galleries was to conserve, preserve, research and present history and historical artefacts (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; Horie, 1986; Lamei, 2005). These organisations were to act as repositories of, and advocates for, a nation's natural and cultural heritage (de Guichen & d'Ieteren, 2009; Nardi, 1999). In this traditional sense too, the museum and gallery organisation held a civic role in providing education for the public, informing and educating the citizenry (Hartley, 2005; Knell, 2003). However, as the literature shows, the changes that have taken place has resulted in a greater emphasis being placed on democratisation and

access, marketisation and experience, and commodification and creativity in the curatorial sector (Ames, 2005; Alexander, 1996, 1999; Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Barr, 2005; Boylan, 2006; Gilmore & Renstchler, 2002; Janes, 1999; Kotler et al, 2008; Negus & Pickering, 2000; Templer, 2008). The aim of this chapter, then, is to analyse these developments from a discursive perspective, looking at the way that they have been constructed in the discourse, but also, how these developments have themselves constituted change in the sector.

5.1 To conserve or commercialise? Locating the dominant discourses

To locate and analyse the dominant discourses that have shaped, and been shaped by, the New Zealand curatorial sector, Fairclough's (1992, p. 86) method suggests first to examine "discourse as a form of social practice" and "the nature of [this] social practice in relation to social structures and struggles" (p. 72). In terms of 'social structures', Fairclough's analysis concerns ideology: that which constitutes dominant views and beliefs at a societal level, 'materialised' by state institutions and institutional practices. In terms of the 'social struggles', the analysis concerns hegemony: the "unstable equilibrium" that comes about as a result of the continual negotiation and alliance of interests amongst state institutions. In Fairclough's (1992) theory, the alliance and integration of these interests results in a 'social artefact', which in the case of the curatorial sector can be seen in the form of legislative Acts or policy documents, or indeed in the formation of museums or galleries themselves. These social artefacts express or manifest the ideologies derived from the preceding hegemonic struggle. Therefore, elements of discourse are articulated, disarticulated and rearticulated in hegemony, thereby articulating, disarticulating and rearticulating ideologies.

In this negotiation of hegemony and ideology, Fairclough (1992) also explains that ideologies can become 'naturalised' and be accepted as 'common sense'. At the level of common sense, ideology is readily accepted, which could be said for the ideology associated with 'traditional museum discourse'. In the traditional sense, it is commonly accepted that the discourse associated with the curatorial sector was about the function of curatorial organisations: to conserve, preserve, educate; to exist as repositories for collected heritage; to present history, nature, culture and science to the public. In the curatorial sector, the articulation of the traditional museum discourse is by way of the 'ideological state apparatuses' (Althusser, 1971; Fairclough, 1992) in the form of policy, law and mandate that governs the sector as a whole. The same is true for the curatorial sector in New Zealand: the elements that constitute the curatorial discourse have been articulated by state institutions in the form of national

legislation and cultural policy, and for a long time, that discourse closely subscribed to the 'traditional' discourse associated with museums and galleries.

However, these elements of the traditional museum discourse have been disarticulated by the struggle that took place in the curatorial sector, particularly during the 1980s, with the alliance and integration of government and business interests with curatorial aims (Gilmore & Renstchler, 2002; Kotler & Scheff, 1997; Thompson, 2001; Yorke & Jones, 1987). It is tempting to call these alliances 'hegemonic', but in fact that cannot be proven. What can be said, however, is that the strategy of integrating business and art was beneficial to all the parties involved in the new arrangements. These strategic alliances were evident, not only in New Zealand, but also in the wider curatorial sector, where marketing and commercial objectives were incorporated into the running of museums and galleries (Alexander, 1996, 1999; Boylan, 2006; Gilmore & Renstchler, 2002; Janes, 1999). Therefore, 'traditional' curatorial ideology was redefined around the marketisation and democratisation of the sector. In New Zealand, the alliance of these different interests was evident in the pivotal development and legislation of a 'new national cultural institution' (Cottrell & Preston, 1999), which came to be known as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

5.2 Te Papa: a museum for the future?

The legislative agenda for the 'new national cultural institution' was set out by the fourth Labour government. In 1985, the government established the Project Development Team to lay out the plans for the museum and gallery, which was to serve as "an expression of New Zealand as a distinctive Pacific culture" (PDT, 1985, p. 8 as cited in Volkerling, 2010, p. 97). The new cultural institution was to balance a range of objectives: it was going to be a combination of the national museum and the national gallery, therefore serving the interests of the curatorial sector in the conservation and preservation of both natural and cultural heritage in New Zealand. But the museum was also to serve the governmental agenda, which at the time was concerned with trying to negotiate the impact of deregulation in the wider public sector, as well as the changing cultural policy framework which was focused on building New Zealand's national and cultural identity as a South Pacific nation. Therefore, the development of the new museum could be seen as a bringing together of different agendas and interest groups, thereby widening the scope of what the museum would be able to achieve, and by implication, the role and function of the museum as an institution. This widened scope is evident in the purpose of the Act (see Figure 5.1):

4 Purpose of Act

The purpose of this Act is to establish a National Museum that, under the name Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, shall provide a forum in which the nation may present, explore, and preserve both the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment in order better—

- (a) to understand and treasure the past; and
- (b) to enrich the present; and
- (c) to meet the challenges of the future.

Figure 5.1 'Purpose of Act': Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa Act, 1992)

The Te Papa Act (1992) presents what, in some ways, is quite a conventional and concise purpose statement for a curatorial organisation: the museum is to preserve and present New Zealand's cultural and natural heritage, with the aim of better understanding and valuing the nation's history. However, on closer reading, the Act is a problematic juxtaposition of conflicting ideologies. While objectives (a) and (b) draw on the traditional ideology of cultural preservation, objective (c) alludes to the way of the future, drawing on the ambitious agenda set by the fourth Labour government. In the serialisation of these objectives, the museum purpose sounds aspirational: to 'treasure' the past, to 'enrich' the present, to 'meet the challenges' of the future. But while the objectives might be aspirational, they are also ambiguous. Objective (c), in particular, is vague in what it requires of the museum: the unspecified "challenges" could be in regards to curatorial concerns, but may well be in relation to national, cultural or other political agendas. Furthermore, the objective does not allow for how a 'museum', with a traditional function of being a repository for culture and heritage, is supposed to meet these challenges. The purpose statement of the Te Papa Act, therefore, requires the museum to be a dynamic player on the national scene, and illustrates the strategic alliances between curatorial and governmental interests that resulted in the formation of the national museum and gallery.

The Te Papa Act is a conundrum, because on the one hand, it still presents the ideology of the New Zealand museum as being 'traditional': the museum goals reflect traditional museum discourse in terms of research and preservation of history and heritage, and therefore too, the naturalised, 'common sense' view of the role and purpose of a museum as a cultural repository. This traditional discourse is reinforced throughout the Act and is also evident in the functions of the museum Board: "to collect works of art and items relating to history and the natural environment"; "to act as an accessible national depository for collections..."; "to

develop, conserve, and house securely the collections..."; "to exhibit..."; "to conduct research..."; "to provide an education service in connection with its collections" (Te Papa Act, 1992, p. 5). These goals reinforce the concept of 'the New Zealand museum' as one which is focused on the collection, preservation, research and display of national and local heritage. It is clear, then, that the prevailing discussion at the time still positioned the museum as a predominantly traditional institution, with traditionally established functions.

On the other hand, though, the Te Papa Act was also positioning the museum as a hold-all for cultural policy agendas and that which the government could or would come up with regarding 'future challenges'. For example, the name of the organisation itself served the interests of the cultural policy agenda and the fourth Labour government's aim at building national identity. The institution was named "Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa", which was a statement in its own right, signalling that as one of the founding principles of the organisation, 'Te Papa' would be a bicultural institution. A translated reading of the name 'Te Papa Tongarewa' in Maori is: "our container of treasured things and people that spring from Mother Earth here in New Zealand" (Te Papa, n.d, para. 16). Under its bicultural name, the museum was to act as "a forum" or 'container' wherein the nation could present and preserve its 'treasures'. As a forum for the nation, the museum was reflecting the societal and political movement towards building and strengthening New Zealand's bicultural and national identity: the museum would allow the nation's 'voice' to emerge, for the country to 'speak'. The naming of Te Papa is, therefore, illustrative of the ideological shift in New Zealand's national and cultural identity, and also served to construct the museum as an agent in promoting the discourse of biculturalism in its role and functions.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act (1992) is one of the early examples in the New Zealand curatorial sector of the strategic alliance between curatorial interests and government agency. The Te Papa Act (1992) established a curatorial organisation that was 'conventional', in that it reinforced traditional museum discourse, but also 'forward-moving', because of its focus on national identity and the future role of the museum. In the formation of Te Papa, there was a need to create a museum, that would be 'more than' a museum: a cultural institution that was both curatorial and politically profitable. In the Act, then, it is possible to see the disarticulation of the traditional museum discourse taking place, and the (somewhat uneasy) juxtaposition of political motives alongside curatorial objectives.

5.3 Business and curation: natural bedfellows at the Auckland Museum?

The above conjunctures of interests continued to disarticulate the traditional museum discourse in the legislative agenda that followed the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act (1992). In 1996, the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act furthered the strategic alliance between political agenda and curatorial concerns through the introduction of business and organisational discourse into curatorial sector legislation. More specifically, the elements articulated in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (1996) constructed the museum organisation as a business, thereby integrating managerial and corporate discourse into curatorial ideology. The latter is evident in Section 11 of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act 1996, where it stipulates the following as objectives for the museum Board (see Figure 5.2):

- 11 Objectives**
In carrying out its functions under section 12, the Board shall recognise and provide for, in such manner as it considers appropriate, the following:

 - (a) the recording and presentation of the history and environment of the Auckland Region, New Zealand, the South Pacific and, in more general terms, the rest of the world;
 - (b) conservation of the heritage of the Museum, and of global resources;
 - (c) the role of the Museum as a war memorial;
 - (d) celebration of the rich cultural diversity of the Auckland Region and its people;
 - (e) education which involves and entertains people to enrich their lives and promote the well-being of society;
 - (f) the advancement and promotion of cultural and scientific scholarship and research;
 - (g) achievement of customer satisfaction by consultation, responsiveness, and continuous improvement;
 - (h) leadership through professionalism, innovation, and co-ordination of effort with relevant organisations;
 - (i) greater financial self-sufficiency through the prudent operation of compatible revenue-producing and fund-raising activities which supplement public funding;
 - (j) providing maximum community benefit from the resources available.

Figure 5.2 'Objectives': Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (Source: AWWM Act, 1996)

The framing in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (1996) is noteworthy: the Act does not legislate the museum itself, but rather, sets out to provide an agenda for the *museum board*, a corporate entity. The purpose statement therefore prioritises organisational elements above curatorial ones, elevating the role of management, and by implication, the

managerial ethos. The introduction of business discourse in the Act signalled a change in the articulated curatorial discourse, that is, the re-articulation of traditional museum discourse as compatible with corporate ideology. This re-articulation is evident in the way that the traditional functions of the museum have been re-worded in the Act: for example, to collect, preserve, research and display natural and cultural heritage, is encompassed in "(a) the recording and presentation of the history and environment..."; museum research and scholarship is preconditioned with "advancement and promotion," both of which are terms more associated with corporate discourse; and even 'conservation' has an organisational focus, with the emphasis placed on the "(b) conservation of the heritage of the Museum..." not of heritage in the national identity sense.

The strategic alliance of interests that produced the social artefact of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (1996), therefore strengthened the ties between business and the curatorial sector, to the point where commercialism and market values are included as objectives that need to be achieved. For example, objective (i) calls for "greater financial self-sufficiency," meaning that the museum was legislated to run more like a business, through "prudent operation of compatible revenue-producing and fund-raising activities." The latter statement, in particular, is strongly reminiscent of 'management speak'. The fact, too, that the objectives list stretches from (a)-(j) is further indicative of managerial language, as the lengthy set obfuscates the museum role and purpose. There are also other words and elements that demonstrate the managerial ethos, for example, "global resources" and "leadership through professionalism, innovation, and co-ordination of effort with relevant organisations." These elements show how the discourse in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act naturalises the business ethos for museums and galleries in the New Zealand curatorial sector. The discourse promotes a 'new' ideology for museums and galleries, expecting them to run like businesses, demonstrate their accountability for public funding, and generate their own revenue.

In Fairclough's (1992) analysis of ideology, he claims that ideology 'interpellates subjects'. In essence, he argues that when ideology interpellates, it 'interrupts' the 'way of being' for a subject. I contend that ideological interpellation occurred in the purpose and text of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (1996), because the Act interrupted the way of being for the museum, in that the social framing of 'museum' shifted from 'conservation' to 'corporate'. But the Act also interrupted the way of being for the museum visitor, because the 'visitor' is framed as the 'customer.' The construction of the museum visitor as a customer is evident in

objective (g), which specifies “the achievement of customer satisfaction by consultation, responsiveness, and continuous improvement.” In this reframing, the interaction and dynamic between the museum and its visitors is changed – now, the museum has to offer a ‘service’, so as to best achieve ‘customer satisfaction’. Customer service, then, becomes a business output for the museum.

By extension, other engagement with museum visitors is likewise refocused through the business lens: ‘community involvement’, for example, is seen as a business output too: “(j) providing maximum community benefit from the resources available.” In this objective, engagement with the community is something that can be ‘maximised’, much in the same way as business services or corporate outputs can be maximised. Additionally, community engagement is to provide ‘maximum benefit’, though there is some ambiguity as to what that benefit entails, and also, that it is dependent on ‘museum resources’. Such reframing is applied to the objective associated with education too. Museum education is seen along the same lines as providing ‘community benefit’, but is also combined with the notion of entertainment: “(e) education which involves and entertains people to enrich their lives and promote the well-being of society.” By ‘involving’ and ‘entertaining’ people, the museum is situating itself as a provider of leisure services, that is, a place for people to spend their free time. Therefore, the education programmes developed by the museum draws on discourses of interactivity and democratisation: that which would ‘attract’ the ‘museum customer’.

The move towards marketisation and democratisation is not surprising in the context of the Auckland War Memorial Museum, because the museum already showed signs of commercialisation. In 1986, at the same time that ‘the new cultural institution’ was being set up, an illustrated guide was published by Auckland War Memorial Museum that closely resembles the objectives that would later be specified in the 1996 Act. The guide, published by the Auckland Institute and Museum, draws on educational discourse, in that the museum provides scholarship, but also community knowledge. More poignantly, though, there are pages dedicated to the museum shop and cafe, showing ways the museum would be able to generate additional revenue streams, and ‘highlights’ or ‘museum attractions’ that would appeal to museum visitors (or customers, as they were later termed). These developments at the Auckland War Memorial Museum are indicative of the hegemonic struggle and alliance of interests between business, government and curatorial agendas. By 1996, then, this hegemonic struggle had resulted in a disarticulation of the traditional museum discourse and a naturalisation of these alliances. It had become accepted, or ‘common sense’, that public

sector organisations would demonstrate accountability for their funding and find ways to supplement that funding with their own revenue. Such incorporation of business values in the curatorial sector meant that, in terms of curatorial discourse, the hegemonic struggle resulted in a rearticulation of elements in the form of a 'new' ideology of business curatorial ethos, thereby, producing a museum that would have a diverse portfolio.

5.4 Creativity in the curatorial mix: a new kind of future?

Fairclough (1992) posits that ideology is located in "orders of discourse", which are outcomes of past events and the conditions for current events. The development of the creative industries concept in the late 1990s (Cunningham, 2003; Hartley, 2005; DCMS, 2001) and the resulting cultural policies can be seen as an 'order of discourse', an outcome of political and economic factors that called for a different approach to economic policy, but also, that it set the stage for change to take place in the cultural sector. The creative industries concept encouraged the centrality of creativity in social, economic and political life (Cunningham, 2003; Florida, 2002; Hartley, 2005; Howkins, 2001). In New Zealand, the fifth Labour government introduced the creative industries concept in the hope that it would make a contribution towards economic growth, the building of national and cultural identity, and the raising of New Zealand's profile on the international stage (Clark, 2000b; Prince, 2010; Volkerling, 2001, 2010). These goals prompted the government to significantly invest in the arts and culture sector, and to promote creative organisations and their activities. The creative industries concepts, therefore, also found its way into the curatorial sector (UNCTAD, 2008; UNESCO, 2009).

An early example of the influence of creative industries discourses in the New Zealand curatorial sector is seen in the Museum of Transportation and Technology Act (2000). The Act outlines the following objectives for the museum and museum Board to achieve (see Figure 5.3):

12 Objectives

In carrying out its functions under [section 13](#), the Board must recognise and provide for, in such manner as it considers appropriate, the following:

- (a) the recording and presentation of the history of transport and technology and the effect it has had on the Auckland region, New Zealand, and, in more general terms, the rest of the world;
- (b) conservation of the heritage of the Museum, the Museum heritage buildings, and its collections;
- (c) biculturalism and the spirit of partnership and goodwill envisaged by the [Treaty of Waitangi](#);
- (d) education which involves and entertains people to enrich their lives and promote the well-being of society;
- (e) the advancement and promotion of historical and scientific scholarship and research;
- (f) achievement of customer satisfaction by consultation, responsiveness, and continuous improvement;
- (g) leadership through professionalism, innovation, and co-ordination of effort with relevant organisations;
- (h) greater financial self-sufficiency through the prudent operation of compatible revenue-producing and fund-raising activities which supplement public funding;
- (i) providing maximum community benefit from the resources available.

Figure 5.3 'Objectives': Museum of Transport and Technology (Source: MOTAT Act, 2000)

The MOTAT Act (2000) well-demonstrates the naturalisation and acceptance of commercial activity within the cultural sector, which is in line with the push at the time for creative and cultural organisations to have an economic presence. Many of the objectives also resemble those in the Auckland War Memorial Act (1996), even though MOTAT is significantly different from the Auckland War Memorial Museum in terms of the museum's collections, as well as conservation and preservation strategies³⁰. This similarity in the text, despite differences in the material collection, shows how the focus of museums and galleries had moved away from 'the collection' to 'the organisation' in terms of what it was able to achieve: as a government entity, as a business, as a service-provider to the community. It is also worth mentioning the addition of objective (c): "biculturalism and the spirit of partnership and goodwill envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi." The specific inclusion of biculturalism and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi indicates the furthering of national cultural identity, as was earlier encouraged by the fourth Labour Government agenda. However, due to the lack of its inclusion in the AWWM Act (1996), the biculturalism discourse also speaks to the fifth Labour government's creative industries agenda, to foster national identity through creative and cultural organisations.

The creative industries discourses also moved the curatorial sector closer towards the entertainment and leisure-services sector. Again, this shift is evident in the purposes set out in the MOTAT Act (2000), and specifically in the first point of the 'Preamble' (see Figure 5.4):

³⁰ The Auckland War Memorial Museum has a collection that is oriented towards natural history and local cultural heritage, whereas the collection at the Museum of Transport and Technology is comprised of aviation, rail and road transport artefacts and technologies. Additionally, the collection at the Auckland War Memorial Museum is predominantly indoors, whereas MOTAT is spread over 40 acres and has both indoor and outdoor heritage materials, meaning that the two organisations have different priorities in conservation and preservation. Finally, while MOTAT has military transport and technology as part of its collection, war memorialisation is not an underpinning principle to the function of the museum, as is the case with the Auckland War Memorial Museum, reiterating again that the two organisations are fundamentally different.

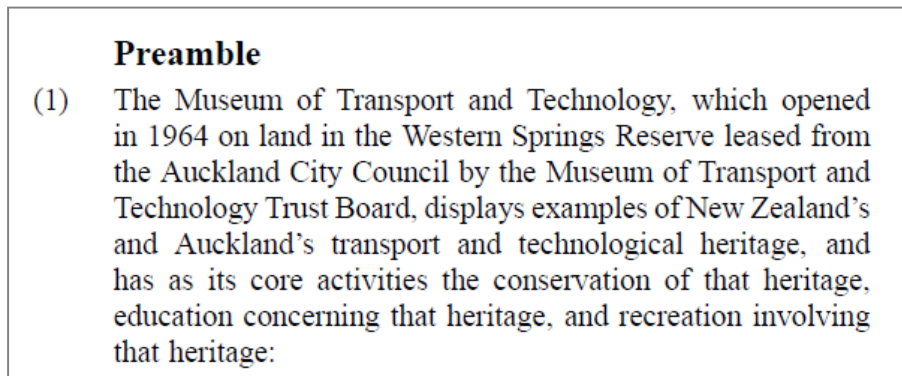


Figure 5.4 'Preamble': *Museum of Transport and Technology* (Source: MOTAT Act, 2000)

The preamble highlights the role the museum has in 'displaying heritage', but also lists the museum's core activities which includes "recreation", a concept generally associated with leisure, relaxation and 'fun'. By listing recreation as one of the 'core activities' of the museum, the discourse elevates the role of recreation and leisure in the museum's function: in other words, it becomes mandatory for the museum to be seen as a place of relaxation and 'fun'. The inclusion of recreation furthermore equates the concept of leisure with the museum's other core principles of conservation and education. Fun and recreation, therefore, become central to the museum's purpose.

Closely associated with the concept of recreation is 'accessibility': a curatorial organisation that is accessible is a democratised one, which encourages inclusivity and a break-down in 'elitism', and therefore, increased visitation to the museum or gallery (Lagerkvist, 2006; Ross, 2004; Seabrook, 1999; Templer, 2008). In the creative industries discourse, the economic value of seeing curatorial organisations as places of accessibility and recreation lies in the marketing potential. Museums and galleries which are promoted as 'attractions' can be located in the tourism and leisure services sector, as well as in the creative marketplace (Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Scott, 2006). In these different 'markets', curatorial organisations are constructed as centres for activity: a community hub, a fun place for the family, an entertaining day out, a place for interaction and interactivity. These elements are particularly evident in the annual reports, annual plans and other policy documents that have operationalised the creative industries discourses in the curatorial Acts. One example is Auckland City Council's (2007) report entitled 'Blueprint – Growing Auckland's Creative Industries', wherein the council outlines the following plans for the Auckland Art Gallery (see Figure 5.5):

Page 7:

- make the Auckland Art Gallery an iconic cultural facility.

Pages 12-13:

- developing and maintaining one of the most significant collections of the visual arts in New Zealand. The Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki is owned and managed by the council. The council is undertaking a multi-million dollar development which will reinvent the gallery for the 21st Century and increase accessibility for the community.

Page 13:

- **Aotea Quarter** – is positioned for transformation as a key part of the revitalisation of Auckland city's CBD. The Aotea Quarter lies at the heart of Auckland's CBD and will further develop as Auckland's civic core, cultural heart and arts and entertainment hub. The Quarter includes the city's major arts and cultural infrastructure such as The Auckland Art Gallery, the Auckland Town Hall, the Aotea Centre, the Civic Theatre and the Central City Library. Economic value will be built for the city through the quarter's arts, culture, entertainment and convention activity.

Figure 5.5 Text samples about the Auckland Art Gallery in 'Blueprint' (Source: ACC, 2007)

The Blueprint (ACC, 2007) document demonstrates the impact of creative industries discourses on the curatorial sector, particularly in terms of accessibility, entertainment and economic value. The Auckland Art Gallery was to be made into "an iconic cultural facility": the use of the word 'facility' is noteworthy, for it constructs the gallery as an 'amenity', a space for use, rather than a place of cultural conservation and preservation. As a facility, the gallery is repurposed to fulfil creative industries ideas: for example, the 'increased accessibility for the community' and the 'revitalisation of Auckland's CBD'. This repurposing is illustrative of the strategic alliance between government, curatorial and business agendas, but also the furthering of that alliance, with the incorporation of creative industries policies. The latter is evident in the statement that the council would "reinvent the gallery," developing it like a facility, more closely in line with creative industries interests.

Such changes in the curatorial discourse, therefore, also mean changes to the role of the museum and gallery in the cultural sector, now that it is governed by creative industries policies. In the case of the Auckland Art Gallery, as a facility 'owned and managed' by the city council, the gallery could be used for council agendas, such as in the plans to turn Auckland into a 'creative city'. The gallery forms a key part of the infrastructure in 'Aotea Quarter', which is reframed as the city's "arts and entertainment hub." The aim of this redevelopment is

to generate “economic value” for Auckland, “through the quarter’s arts, culture, entertainment and convention activity.” The latter goals locate the gallery in the creative cities discourse, as an agent in commercialised creativity, and demonstrates the prevailing creative industries ideology in the cultural sector. For curatorial organisations, then, creative industries ideology moves the focus of the museum and gallery closer towards goals of entertainment, accessibility and service.

The naturalisation and acceptance of creative industries ideology is also clearly seen in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2007-2008. In the latter report, the concept of “creativity” is explicitly incorporated in the policy of the museum and by implication, changes certain functions of ‘museum performance’. As part of the “Statement of Service Performance” (p. 15) in the annual report, the Auckland War Memorial Museum’s goals are outlined as follows (see Figure 5.6):

To this end, four functional groups were established, with a departmental head at the helm of each:

- Museum Delivery: comprising research, collection management, lifelong learning, creative and project management, customer service, and safety and security
- Commercial: comprising business development, events, and tourism
- Internal Services: comprising HR, accounting, facilities, IT, compliance and contracts, and visitor and market research
- Communications and New Media: comprising marketing, new media, internal and external communications, publications, and the library and associated information services.

Figure 5.6 ‘Statement of Service Performance’ AWMM annual report (Source: AWMM, 2007-08)

These functions are not just about the way the museum is run, but are also about the structure of the organisation, as each one of the above four “functional groups” has a “departmental head at the helm.” In the organisational structure chart included in this annual report, the departmental heads are also specified, along with the managers that work in each of these departments. In this organisational structure, the museum has a “Creative Manager”, demonstrating how the concept of ‘creativity’ now plays a role in the organisational structure and management of the museum, and that to some extent, the museum now operates within

the framework of being a 'creative organisation' in the cultural sector. The inclusion of creativity in the museum 'functional groups' and in the management structure of the organisation further demonstrates the acceptance and naturalisation of creative industries ideology in the curatorial sector in New Zealand.

The above functional groups also give insight into the priorities in museum operations. In regards to "Museum Delivery" the core functions of the museum are outlined. The emphasis in these functions is placed on what the museum can offer: research, collection, learning, management, service, safety and security. These elements, though, are based around what the museum can 'deliver', not just what the museum 'accomplishes', thereby promoting the museum function as one that is geared around 'service' and the community, more so than in the traditional model. Again, in this Museum Delivery category, "creative management" is mentioned, illustrating the influence of creative industries concepts, and the inclusion of customer service as one of the key functions in museum delivery indicates the centrality of the customer role in terms of curatorial discourse.

The other functional groups outlined in the Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report (2007-2008) are 'Commercial', 'Internal Services' and 'Communications'. These priorities focus on the organisation in terms of business operations, rather than curatorial operations. The function groups again draw attention to the business and service elements being promoted in the museum. For example, the "Commercial" functional group is comprised of "business development, events and tourism." These functions are reminiscent of the Auckland War Memorial Museum Act (1996) in terms of 'business development', but the inclusion of 'events' and 'tourism' is also indicative of creative industries discourse. The presence of creative industries ideology within the 'commercial' function of the museum is such that the museum could conceivably be viewed as a 'creative enterprise'. As a creative enterprise, the museum can use its collection, its 'creative assets', to help generate additional revenue streams, such as through events and tourism.

The internal services and communications function groups furthermore have ramifications for those who work in the organisation, particularly in terms of the role of technology. The mention of digital platforms as indicated in both groups ("IT" in 'Internal Services', and "new media" in 'Communications'), demonstrates the growing influence and presence of digital technology in the curatorial sector, reinforcing the increasingly multi-faceted nature of curatorial work. Additionally, the fact that internal services and communications both have a similar list of responsibilities shows that there is a blurring of organisational roles and tasks,

implying that those who fulfil these work roles will be required to be multi-skilled and willing to work a diverse portfolio. But these function groups also have implications for the wider museum role, demonstrating a greater emphasis on markets and marketing, advertising and publication, and a push towards new media technologies. The collection is no longer central, but rather, is a means to serve these other ends.

The Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan of 2009-2010 saw a continuation of creative industries ideology and furthered the developments specified in the annual report (AWMM, 2007-08). It is noteworthy that creative industries policies continued in the curatorial sector, because by this stage, the fifth National government was in power with a new cultural policy agenda (Finlayson & Carter, 2011; Finlayson & Foss, 2014; Joyce & Finlayson, 2013b). However, despite the differences between the National and Labour governments' cultural policy plans, there is still an emphasis on revenue-generation for the museum. The latter is evident in the introductory statement in the AWWM Annual Plan (2009-2010), as well as some of the strategic goals (see Figure 5.7):

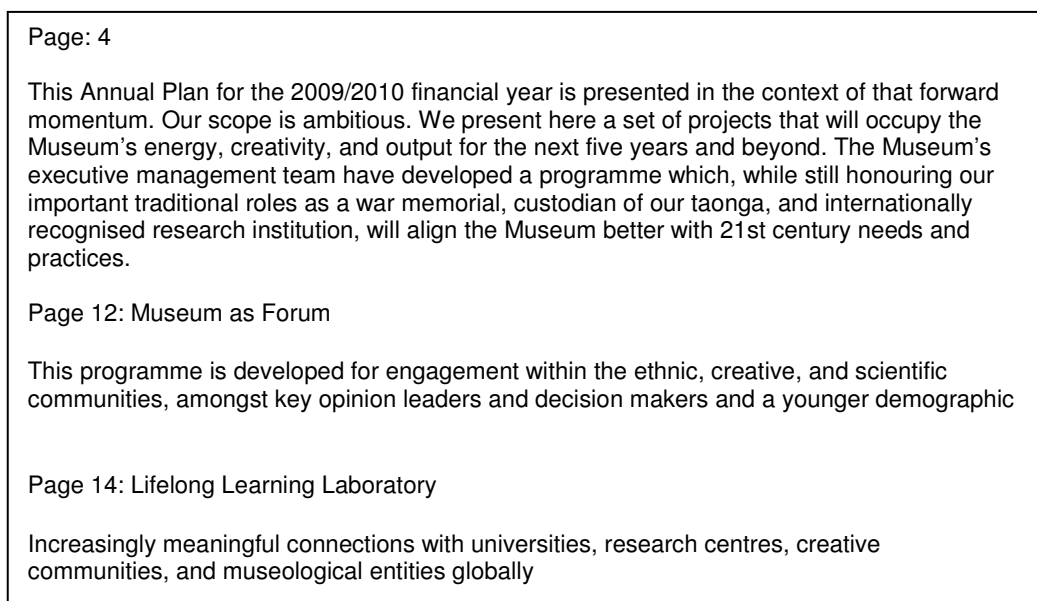


Figure 5.7 Text samples from Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan (AWMM, 2009-10)

The introductory paragraph states "Our scope is ambitious": such a statement constructs the museum as an institute of power, an entity that can effect change and that it has a role to play for the future. This 'ambitious plan' is followed by a statement that gives insight into the operational structure of the museum and the focus of museum responsibilities. The museum programme is developed by the "executive management team" which shows how the

museum agenda is set by management, not curatorship, demonstrating the prioritisation of managerial goals.

In describing the museum's programme aims, the list includes 'honouring the war memorial', 'cultural toanga' and the 'research institution' functions of the museum, as well as preparing the museum for the 21st century. In this sentence, though, the word "still" is used, which serves as a commentary on contemporary curatorial priorities. 'Still' is ideologically opposed to the 'new', showing that while the museum recognises the importance of traditional custodial functions, it does so in a concessionary manner, framing these functions as obligatory, but secondary. In fact, by referring to these priorities in the context of the development of the museum, the organisation is essentially making a virtue out of their commitment to priorities that are nevertheless required to fulfil. The priority is therefore moved closer towards positioning the museum as an entity for the future: "align the Museum better with 21st century needs and practices". This prospect is, again, ambiguous about what constitutes those needs and practices, but nonetheless drives the museum further towards future delivery of services.

The latter drive towards services is also illustrated in the strategic goals set by the museum, for example, "Museum as forum" and "Lifelong Learning Laboratory". In the former, the museum is no longer constructed as a repository for heritage, but rather, an active space for discussion and "engagement." The use of the term 'engagement' implies a particular type of relationship between the museum and its visitors, that it is not just about a museum visit, but rather, about establishing a 'connection'. This engagement or connection is amongst groups that are community-based: "ethnic, creative, and scientific communities," further constructing the museum as a community hub. This engagement is also amongst 'leaders', which furthers the idea of the museum leading change, and "a younger demographic", which draws attention to the assumption that museums were traditionally for an 'older' generation, and that this promoted 'engagement' will bring in the younger demographic.

The information on the "Lifelong learning laboratory" is an extension of the museum as a forum, and is part of the museum's education objectives. The objective of becoming a "Lifelong Learning Laboratory" is an ambition rhetorically related to creative industries discourses, in which scholars have made the connection between the remodelled cultural industries and education (Barr, 2005; Bartlett, 2003; Cunningham, 2003; Field, 2000; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Zipsane, 2009). The concept of 'lifelong learning' itself is borrowed from the rhetoric of education: that education forms an essential part of people's lives and that people

will keep returning to places of education (Bartlett, 2003; Field, 2000, 2005; Jarvis, 2004). As a Lifelong Learning Laboratory, the museum is constructed as one of these education places that people are to return to throughout their lives, and ultimately, also ensures that the museum has a continual stream of visitors in the form of a 'lifelong learning audience'.

The Lifelong Learning Laboratory is also explained as being related to "meaningful connections" that the museum wishes to establish with "universities, research centres, creative communities, and museological entities." These 'meaningful connections' draw on creative industries concepts, such as 'creative clusters' and networking (Cooke, 2001; Porter, 1990, 2003; Pratt, 2004; Wittel, 2001; Zipsane, 2009). The proposed relationships between the museum and the aforementioned organisations would encourage an exchange of ideas, but also, an extension of resources and industry relationships. These 'meaningful connections', then, again emphasise the service element in curatorial discourse: what the museum can do for those other organisations. Additionally, these connections further demonstrate the strategic alliance between the education sector and the curatorial sector: how the ideologies of education have influenced the museum's function. Part of this alliance is also connected to social gain, in that education has a civic purpose that will support the civic functions of the museum, and continue to justify the public funding for the museum organisation.

In saying that, though, the Lifelong Learning Laboratory concept is perhaps one that is more aspirational than realistic. The actual terminology makes the education being offered seem interactive and dynamic, reinforcing the curatorial shift towards 'edutainment'. Additionally, the title 'Life-long Learning Laboratory' employs alliteration creating a catchphrase, drawing on advertising language. The annual report, therefore, also shows the influence of marketing discourse in the 'promotion' of the museum's goals and objectives. By promoting the museum's education objectives in a way that sounds innovative and exciting, the museum is constructed as a 'fun' place to be at, which has implications for the 'museum visit'. A visit to the museum, then, is no longer just a visit, but rather, an 'experience'.

5.5 Contemporary curatorial discourse: going beyond the organisation

Much of the analysis so far has concentrated on the discursive construction of the museum or gallery and the changes in the role and function of the curatorial organisation. However, these changes also directly affect the work and workers within these organisations, which means

that the analysis also concerns the way that “curatorial work” has been discursively constructed. There is a sense in which the work of curators continues as it always has, in line with traditional museum discourse, to conserve, preserve and interpret the museum or gallery collection (Boyle, 2004; Horie, 1986; Lamei, 2005; Morsi, 2005). But just as the curatorial organisation has been affected by marketisation, commercialisation and business discourse, so too has curatorial work, with curators required to adopt more managerial and administrative practices into their work (Bady, 2001; Brenson, 1998; Hylton, 2007; Ray, 2009; Suchy, 2000), as seen in the previous section, for example, where business responsibilities are evident in every department at the Auckland War Memorial Museum, including the curatorial team. With the advent and influence of creative industries policies, though, curatorial work is being further repurposed, not only to accommodate the exigencies of a market economy, but also to fulfil a diversified curatorial portfolio, which includes community outreach, social development and public service delivery. Contemporary curatorial discourse, therefore, is as much about the ‘work’ as it is about the ‘organisation’, and how changes in the discursive construction of curatorial work have affected curatorial practice.

In contemporary curatorial discourse, the focus of curatorial work has shifted from caring for the collection, to caring for the visiting public. The changes that have taken place in the New Zealand curatorial sector have created a market- and audience-driven environment, requiring curators to balance their curatorial priorities with catering to the needs and wants of museum and gallery visitors. As a result, curatorial work has been framed as ‘service-oriented’, and curators as ‘service-providers’. A significant part of this service is turning the museum or gallery visit into an accessible ‘experience’: curators and those working in the sector are expected to curate exhibitions and develop programmes in such a way, that visitors feel like a trip to the museum or gallery is a leisure, recreational or tourism experience, or what Rowley (1999, p. 303) describes, a “total customer experience”, which extends “from the moment that the customer seeks to park their car...to the moment the customer leaves the museum with the appropriate information, or leisure experience.”

A pertinent example of the incorporation of ‘experience’ into curatorial work is seen at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. In the 2000-2001 Annual Report for Te Papa, the museum’s organisational objectives are outlined under four main headings, which includes “Experience” as one of the function groups. The latter function also has a ‘Director’ appointed, thereby officially making ‘experience’ part of curatorial practice at the museum. The Director of Experience role at Te Papa is a clear demonstration of contemporary

curatorial work: the portfolio includes curatorial and custodial responsibilities, such as the “Te Aka Matua Library,” the “Learning Centre” and “Touring Exhibitions”, but also includes market and audience-driven priorities, such as “Events and Entertainment,” “Customer Services,” “Guided Tours” and “Product Development” (Te Papa, 2000-2001, p. 29). The appointment of a Director of Experience and the incorporation of ‘experience’ into the museum’s curatorial practice reinforce the visitor-focused nature of contemporary curatorial work, and the view that curators are there to facilitate such visitor ‘needs’ as the ‘museum experience’.

The Te Papa 2000-2001 Annual Report also demonstrates how the idea of providing an experience is ‘naturalised’ in contemporary curatorial discourse. Not only is ‘Experience’ included as one of the core functions of the museum, but as the following text sample shows, the “Te Papa Experience” is seen as a visitor expectation (see Figure 5.8):

The Te Papa Experience

Te Papa has continued to exceed visitor expectations by providing a safe, clean environment; a broad range of food and retail facilities; specialist customer service staff - the Te Papa Hosts - and a combination of long- and short-term exhibitions aimed at catering for the diversity of the Museum’s audiences.

Discovery Centres

The four Discovery Centres – *NatureSpace* (natural environment), *PlaNet Pasifika* (Pacific), *Inspiration Station* (art and history), and *Te Huka ā Tai* (Māori) give visitors an enjoyable hands-on experience, and provide information about collections and exhibitions directly or through access to subject experts.

Figure 5.8 ‘The Te Papa Experience’: *Te Papa 2000-2001 Annual Report* (Te Papa, 2000-01)

From the outset, the ‘museum visit’ is constructed as the ‘Te Papa Experience’, and furthermore, that this experience is something visitors have come to expect, demonstrating the seemingly unquestioned acceptance of the experience concept in contemporary curatorial discourse. The text also makes some assumptions about what that visitor expectation is, namely that the trip to the museum is focused around recreational elements. The above text concerning the Te Papa experience is, therefore, similar to Rowley’s (1999) description of the ‘total customer experience’: for example, “a safe, clean environment”, “food and retail facilities” and “customer service” are listed as part of what constitutes the museum visit. In the order of the text, these items are listed before “long and short exhibitions”, thereby prioritising ‘customer service’ elements above curatorial ones in the

museum experience. This service imperative is also evident in the construction of curatorial work in this text: museum guides or volunteers are referred to as “Te Papa Hosts” who are “specialist customer service staff”, and the exhibition programme is designed with the customer in mind, to ‘cater’ to a ‘diverse audience’. The terms used here are similar to language used in marketing, or indeed, hospitality, to provide for customer needs and wants, reinforcing the service-driven nature of contemporary curatorial work, and the construction of curators and those who work in the sector as service providers.

In addition to the customer-service elements of the museum experience, the Te Papa Annual Report text also demonstrates how contemporary curatorial work is influenced by the wider discourses of democratisation and increased accessibility. Rather than static exhibitions, Te Papa offers “Discovery Centres,” which “provide information on collections” but also give visitors “an enjoyable hands-on experience.” The creation of these Discovery Centres reinforce the construction of the museum visit as an “enjoyable” recreational experience, because it emphasises the “hands-on” or ‘interactive’ nature of the exhibits, but it is also an example of democratisation, as it prioritises ‘accessible’ curatorial content by ensuring the exhibition material and environment is fun, interactive and entertaining. Furthermore, while the Discovery Centres still draw on the view of curators as “subject experts,” it is within the context of accessible ‘edutainment’, which demonstrates a democratised position for curators too: whereas in the past the curators’ knowledge would have placed them in an expert position in relation to the public, in contemporary curatorial discourse, curators work on and at the level of the visiting public, designing and curating exhibitions that are open, inclusive and accessible to the widest possible audience. The idea that the curatorial position is democratised and that curatorial work is public-oriented is also reflected in the ‘new museum’ concept, which Davidson and Sibley (2011, p. 178) characterise as a museum with “a democratized audience and a more diverse public role.” This diversified and democratised curatorial role is demonstrated in the Regional Facilities Auckland Annual Report (2012) wherein it summarises the activities and events that had taken place at the Auckland Art Gallery (see Figure 5.9):



Figure 5.9: 'Auckland Art Gallery': Regional Facilities Auckland annual report (Source: RFA, 2012)

In recounting the highlights for the Auckland Art Gallery, the RFA Annual Report (2012) shows how the gallery's work is both 'democratised' and 'diversified'. For example, democratisation is evident under the headings of "Visitor Experience" and "World-Class Exhibitions" where the report relates the range of exhibitions held at the gallery, specifically in terms of accessible and blockbuster exhibits such as *Degas to Dali*, and also how visitors to the gallery enjoyed their "experience", specifically focusing on the positive public perception of the gallery. The way in which the report presents these elements as 'successes' for the gallery (and by implication the RFA), shows how the 'museum experience' and 'visitor satisfaction' have been

accepted as standard practice in contemporary curatorial work, and that in fact, it is the expectation that museums and galleries will deliver on these fronts.

Under the headings of “Major New Acquisitions” and “Learning and Innovation” the RFA Annual Report (2012) shows how similar expectation is applied to the ‘diversified’ nature of curatorial work. The proclaimed successes include expanding the New Zealand art collection, launching the gallery’s collection on the Google Art Project, establishing the “Todd Foundation Learning Centre” and running the “outreach programme” with ‘migrant services’. This list demonstrates the diverse range of activities encompassed in contemporary curatorial work: collections, education, digital technologies and community outreach. All of the above are framed as ‘curatorial accomplishments’ in the annual report, not only demonstrating how diversified curatorial work become, but also how the extensive work portfolio is the expectation in contemporary curatorial discourse.

The diverse curatorial portfolio also demonstrates the influence of creative industries discourses in contemporary curatorial work, both in terms of the multi-faceted nature of the curators’ work, and in the way that the museum or gallery can be used as a means to a (political, social or economic) end. For example, in the annual report text concerning the acquisitions, the focus on the “56 works” added to the New Zealand collection draws attention to the way that the gallery works towards promoting New Zealand art and culture, akin to the focus on national cultural identity in creative industries policies. Similarly, ‘innovation’ is a creative industries ‘buzzword’, and connected to ‘learning’ in the annual report, it shows the influence of knowledge- and creative-economy discourse, especially in terms of digital developments and increasing accessibility. There is also an underlying economic imperative present in the text: the learning centre, for example, is sponsored by the Todd Foundation and the report contains statistics on the number of visitors involved in the education programmes, emphasising the ‘viability’ and success of the gallery and the work being done there.

In terms of contemporary curatorial discourse, then, the case could be made that democratised and diversified curatorial work is about addressing priorities that have traditionally been outside the scope of the curatorial domain, such as national identity, ‘innovation’ or economic viability. The same could be said in relation to the social priorities that have now been integrated into contemporary curatorial work. In the RFA annual report, the curatorial programmes and education initiatives at the Auckland Art Gallery are centred around family, children and community groups, demonstrating the focus on ‘community

involvement' in the gallery's work. In the context of the other gallery highlights in the report, the "outreach programme" serves as a social gain, constructing the gallery as a community hub, and curatorial work as a community service. While there has always been a social aspect to curatorial work in terms of education, for example, the latter concepts are evidence more specifically of the discourse associated with "social inclusion" (Dodd & Sandell, 2001; Sandell, 2003), repositioning the museum or gallery in relation to social and community needs. In terms of curatorial practice, the influence of such social inclusion and community outreach means that the focus of curatorial work shifts from 'the collection' to 'the community', not only in terms of priorities, but also in terms of effecting (social) change.

The latter perspective on contemporary curation, that the curatorial sector and those who work in it can bring about change for the good of the community, or even society, is evidenced in the mission statements and goals set out by the curatorial organisations in their annual reports and plans that demonstrate the aims for the future development of the museums and galleries. In these goals, the focus is on how the museum can diversify its services, cater to the needs of its visitors (or customers) and occupy a central role in the community (or communities) as a hub of activity. In addition, the museum or gallery is also constructed as 'future-driven', a social institution for effecting positive change. The following texts are the mission or 'vision' statements from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2014-2018, and the Auckland War Memorial Museum's (2012) *Future Museum* strategic plan (see Figure 5.10):

Te Papa 'vision and strategy': Changing Hearts, Changing Minds, Changing Lives

AWMM vision statement: Connecting through sharing stories of peoples, lands and seas (p. 10)

Future Museum: Achieve the museum's vision; Open up the collections; Reach more people; Fulfil our building's potential; Inspire our audience; Make it sustainable (p. 3)

Figure 5.10 Examples of curatorial mission statements (Sources: Te Papa, 2014; AWMM, 2012)

Mission statements are aspirational by nature: their purpose is to set a goal or standard for the organisation to aspire to, and to promote the organisation's (or corporation's) philosophy through the statement (Davies & Glaister, 1996; Morpew & Hartley, 2006; Swales & Rogers, 1995; Taylor & Morpew, 2010). In the case of the text samples from Te Papa and the

Auckland War Memorial Museum, the fact that they are called “vision statements” further adds to the aspirational element of the message, conveying the idea of striving forward and reinforcing the future-oriented nature of the text. The ‘future’ is a common theme across all three text samples, directing attention to what the museum will accomplish as an organisation and achieve for the community. This intentional aspect to the text and strong determination to be in the future is ironic, considering the museums’ function in conserving the ‘past’, but also reinforces the move in contemporary curatorial discourse to position museums and galleries as ‘community’ organisations, and for curatorial work to encompass responsibilities that lie well beyond the traditional role of the museum.

The idea of curatorial work and organisations being ‘future-oriented’ and ‘community-driven’ is also demonstrated in the focus on ‘people’ in the vision statements. In the Te Papa statement, people are implied, through ‘hearts’, ‘minds’ and ‘lives’, but in the vision statements from the Auckland War Memorial Museum, “people” are directly integrated as part of the museum’s strategy and plans. The museums therefore come across as organisations that have people’s best interests at the forefront of their priorities, which constructs a quite personal relationship between the museum and the public. The inclusion of ‘hearts’, ‘minds’ and ‘lives’ in the Te Papa vision statement especially demonstrates this personalisation, connecting the museum with people’s emotions and motivations. However, the ‘connection’ being constructed in these texts is a form of “synthetic personalisation,” where the public is addressed in an inclusive manner to suggest that they can have a personal relationship with the museum, but in reality, this personalisation is essentially aspirational and resonates with marketing discourse in trying to establish a return-customer relationship. The personalisation in the vision statements does, however, make it easy to support the proposed strategies by the museums, because it sets the organisations up in personal terms and constructs curatorial work as socially beneficial.

While the Te Papa and Auckland War Memorial Museum vision statements could, therefore, be considered inherently ‘good’, they are nonetheless vague in how the museums will achieve the goals they have set for themselves, especially considering the wide scope and aspirational nature of the proposed strategies. The lack of specificity is somewhat glossed over, though, by the marketing rhetoric and format used in the vision statements: for example, ‘fulfil potential’ and ‘inspire audience’ in the Auckland War Memorial Museum statement resonates promotional language, while the alliteration and repetition of “changing” in the Te Papa statement is quite typical of slogans or catch-phrases. Overall, the vision statements are

aspirational, but vague; generalised, yet personal, and emphasise the future- and people-oriented nature of contemporary curatorial discourse.

5.6 Summary

The curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand has undergone significant change, influenced and shaped by political, social, cultural and economic agendas, which have affected both the role and function of museums and galleries, as well as the scope and nature of curatorial work. As the curatorial sector is situated within the wider cultural sector, developments and changes in the New Zealand cultural agenda have also had implications for museums and galleries. One of the key concepts in this sense has been the emphasis on constitutional biculturalism, which really came into its own with the cultural sector policies adopted by the fourth Labour government and the development of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. The shift in focus to 'Aotearoa-New Zealand' has contributed to the building of national and cultural identity as a South Pacific Nation, but it also draws attention to the country's colonial past and how New Zealand is still affected by it. Negotiating this identity is an ongoing process, and it is within this process that museums and galleries are seen as having a role to play, contributing towards national biculturalism and facilitating discussion on the development of Aotearoa-New Zealand's national and cultural identity.

New Zealand museums and galleries have also been affected by changes that have taken place on an international scale, including the professionalisation of the public sector, the marketisation of arts and cultural organisations, and the democratisation of cultural activity (Ames, 2005; Alexander, 1996, 1999; Boylan, 2006; Gilmore & Renstchler, 2002; Templer, 2008; Thompson, 2001). In New Zealand, these changes did not occur organically nor over time, but were instead legislated and speedily adopted, repurposing existing public sector organisations to function as businesses and meet the demands of the marketplace. The changes that took place were also comprehensive, with wide-scale deregulation affecting the curatorial sector as a whole, requiring museums and galleries to accept market values and practices. The resulting 'museum experience' (Rowley, 1999; Scott, 2006) inclusive of blockbuster exhibitions, interactive 'edutainment', the multi-purpose building, and the shop and cafe demonstrates the marketisation and democratisation of the New Zealand curatorial sector, evident especially at Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the Auckland Art Gallery. Furthermore, while marketing is both vilified and verified in curatorial literature (Ames, 2005; Boylan, 2006) the way in which New Zealand museums and galleries holistically,

and uncritically, adopted market principles demonstrates, not only an acceptance of the changes, but a naturalisation of marketisation and democratisation in the curatorial sector, evident in the way that these discourses have been continued in annual reports, statements of intent, and strategic plans.

A further factor that has significantly contributed to change in the New Zealand curatorial sector is the advent and incorporation of creative industries policies (Cunningham, 2003; Hartley, 2005; Volkerling, 2001, 2010). Much in the same way that deregulation and marketisation was wholesale and fast, so too was the adoption of the creative industries concept, with the fifth Labour government holistically integrating creative industries policies into the cultural policy agenda. There is evidence of creative industries discourses both in the policy documents that govern the curatorial sector, as well as in the documents produced by the sector itself, demonstrating the cascade of creative industries ideas from the government level to that of the organisation, where they were 'operationalised' in different initiatives and programmes. Some of the creative industries policies were quite overt, such as the museum or gallery being used as an attraction in 'creative cities' strategy (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000) while others were more embedded, such as in the approaches to education, exhibitions and the 'visitor experience', as well as the diversified nature of curatorial work. Even when there was a change in government and cultural agenda, creative industries ideas still endured in the curatorial sector, demonstrating the acceptance and naturalisation of those key concepts: accessibility, engagement, creativity and innovation.

Contemporary curatorial discourse in New Zealand, then, demonstrates the naturalisation of the alliances between government, business and curatorial sectors in the acceptance and promotion of marketisation, democratisation and creative industries values in the function of museums and galleries, but it also shows the increasing emphasis that is being placed on social values, such as 'community', 'outreach' and 'service'. The 'new' museum (Davidson & Sibley, 2011) is orientated towards providing community service and catering to the needs and wants of its visitors, as seen with the Auckland Art Gallery community and education programmes in particular. Such social objectives for the contemporary museum or gallery are advantageous to the organisation in terms of accessibility and create an inclusive environment which encourages people to visit. It also encourages community involvement, both in a participatory and a 'social inclusion' sense (Sandell, 2003), thereby getting community 'voice' into curatorial discourse, and democratising the nature of curatorial work. However, community involvement can also be seen as a marketable product in its own right:

the education programmes, visitor satisfaction, outreach initiatives and other services raise the profile of museums and galleries, increasing their opportunities for high visitor numbers and revenue generation. These community services also diversify the curatorial portfolio, which extends the range, and 'purpose', of the museum or gallery in the 21st century.

In terms of this purpose, contemporary curatorial organisations have positioned themselves as 'service providers for the future'. As seen in the mission or "vision" statements from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the Auckland War Memorial Museum, the goals of the organisations are 'people-oriented', and are all about the organisations fostering a 'personal' connection or relationship with the public. While the nature of these goals and statements is more aspirational than achievable, the mission statements nonetheless provide insight into the planned direction for contemporary curatorial organisations, which sees them constructed as 'future-focused', 'community-oriented' and 'service-driven'. Ultimately too, these mission statements illustrate how much the curatorial sector has changed from the 'traditional' perspective on museums and galleries, which essentially positioned them as 'custodial repositories', working to conserve, preserve and interpret culture and heritage.

In this chapter I have analysed the data that answers my first research question: "What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period since 1992?" I have conducted a critical discourse analysis of Acts of Parliament, museum and gallery annual reports, statements of intent, strategic plans and other curatorial sector documents, showing how the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand has been shaped by discourses of marketisation and democratisation, and the influence of creative industries concepts and policies. In the next chapter, I present a case study of the Auckland Art Gallery, as a redeveloped contemporary curatorial organisation and a pertinent example of creative industries policies.

Chapter 6

Towards the 'creative city': the Auckland Art Gallery

The previous chapter is a critical discourse analysis of texts from museum and gallery policy documents which shows how the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand has undergone significant change, being influenced and shaped by different political, social, cultural and economic agendas. The analysis culminates in a discussion on contemporary curatorial discourse, and looks at how the aims of today's museums and galleries are community-oriented, service-driven and future-focused, as demonstrated in the aspirational mission statements from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Another mission statement that similarly displays these curatorial aspirations is from Regional Facilities Auckland, the administrative body for the Auckland Art Gallery. The RFA mission statement not only demonstrates the presence of contemporary curatorial discourse, it also shows the influence of creative industries discourses and policies.

Because the policy governing the Auckland Art Gallery is such a pertinent example of creative industries discourse, I have decided to present the gallery as a case study for this research, specifically looking at the way that the Auckland Art Gallery demonstrates the application of 'creative cities' strategy in contemporary Auckland, New Zealand. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to situate the gallery in the context of Auckland as a 'creative city', by examining the Regional Facilities Auckland mission statement alongside the redevelopment of the gallery's building, brand and curatorial portfolio, examining how these changes have contributed towards the gallery's place and perception in the creative city, as well the influence of creative industries discourses on the work being carried out.

6.1 'Creative cities' and creative industries policy

The basic tenet of the 'creative cities' concept is that by making a city a 'creative' place, then it will generate economic growth and urban regeneration (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000; Tay, 2005). Underpinning this view is the business-oriented, commercialised application of 'creativity' (Amabile, 1997, 2001; Oldham, 2003; Proctor, 2005), which is fervently espoused by Florida (2002), who claims that creativity is "the fundamental source of economic growth" (p. xi) and moreover, that creativity should be valued "because new technologies, new industries, new wealth and all other good economic things flow from it" (p. 21). While a contentious claim to make, Florida (2002) nonetheless reasons that this promised economic growth comes primarily from an increase in the creative workforce, or the "creative class" as he describes them, who through their skill and creativity would be able to bring about growth, innovation and development in the urban environment. The aim, therefore, is to attract a creative workforce to the city, which Florida (2002) recommends doing by catering to the creative 'lifestyle', such as by providing leisure and accommodation amenities that 'inspire', including bike paths, converted lofts and coffee shops, 'walkable' streets and an 'indigenous' street culture. As a result, a number of community, creative, business and government organisations, agencies and members are involved in, and affected by, the creative cities concept, so as to facilitate the 'right' environment for creative people and economic growth to flourish in.

While the creative cities concept, and Florida's views in particular, have come under significant criticism (see for example Klein, 2004; Malanga, 2004 and Peck, 2005), the associated claims and economic promises have nonetheless appealed to policy makers and city officials, who have eagerly adopted the creative cities concept into cultural policy and urban development plans. The same has been the case in Auckland, where the adoption of the creative industries concept by the fifth Labour government encouraged a localised application of creative industries policies in the Auckland region, specifically in terms of developing Auckland into a 'creative city'. Through such reports as the *Starkwhite Report – Rethinking Auckland as a Creative City* and policy documents such as *Snapshot: Auckland's Creative Industries* and *Blueprint – Growing Auckland's Creative Industries*, the Auckland City Council designed and implemented 'placemaking' strategies (Fleming, 2007; Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000) to encourage creative activity and to facilitate a creative urban environment. These strategies included sponsoring community and arts groups, hosting arts and cultural festivals, and redeveloping the Auckland CBD into distinct 'Quarters', each to cater to a

different creative lifestyle activity: the 'Britomart Precinct', for example, was to be "a lively precinct of shops, cafes, apartments, businesses and public open spaces (ACC, 2007, p. 14), while the 'Aotea Quarter' was designed to be "Auckland's civic core, cultural heart and arts and entertainment hub" (ACC, 2007, p. 13), featuring amongst other attractions, the refurbished Auckland Art Gallery.

The creative industries discourse and resulting creative city strategies that were evident in these reports and policy documents have been continued in the policy documents associated with Regional Facilities Auckland (RFA), the governing body for the Auckland Art Gallery. In particular, the organisation's mission statement, as recorded in the 2012 Annual Report, demonstrates the influence of creative industries discourses and the impact of creative city strategies on the RFA's administration of its facilities, including the Auckland Art Gallery:

Our venues and collections will be irresistible, enriching and accessible; we will grow the economy of the region, advance the social and cultural wellbeing for the people of the region; and be the trusted stewards of the assets (p. 7)

Figure 6.1 Regional Facilities Auckland 2012 mission statement.

6.2 "Our venues and collections will be irresistible, enriching and accessible..."

As discussed in the previous chapter, mission statements are inherently aspirational, promoting the ideal standard that corporations or organisations set for themselves and strive to attain (Davies & Glaister, 1996; Swales & Rogers, 1995; Taylor & Morpew, 2010). Mission statements, though, also emphasise a corporate ethos, in the way that they are determined by management and incorporated into the business philosophy of the organisation, as well as a marketing ethos, in the nature of the promotional language used (Morpew & Hartley, 2006; Sauntson & Morrish, 2010; Williams, 2008). This 'management and marketing speak' is also evident in the RFA mission statement, as is the essentially aspirational tone of the message.

In stating that their venues and collections "will be" irresistible, enriching and accessible, the RFA is making an absolute claim that it will achieve these goals, even though the goals themselves are hyperbolic and vague in nature. While the notions of 'irresistibility', 'enrichment' and 'accessibility' are all essentially positive, they are also concepts which are difficult to substantiate or measure, therefore making the RFA's claim hard to be against, but

also hard to prove. It makes the mission statement so open that it becomes entirely achievable, almost irrespective of the actions put forth by Regional Facilities Auckland, and therefore, qualifies and justifies the RFA's activity in terms of their venues and collections.

The idea of 'irresistibility' is the first of the claims made by the RFA and is hyperbolic because the interpretation and experience of the concept is so subjective. It is also a term that is closely associated with marketing discourse as a tool or ploy to attract and engage attention, which is the case with much of the 'placemaking' strategy and marketing campaign for the Auckland Art Gallery. In line with *Blueprint*, the refurbishment of the Auckland Art Gallery was not simply to improve the gallery or building itself, but rather, to "make the Auckland Art Gallery an iconic cultural facility" as an integral part of "Strategy 9: Develop creative places" (ACC, 2007, p. 7). Furthermore, the completion and re-opening of the gallery was to coincide with major marketable events such as the launch of Auckland's Wynyard Quarter³¹ and the Rugby World Cup in September 2011, and was promoted through an extensive marketing campaign that re-branded the gallery as "ART" (see Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2 The ART brand logo for the Auckland Art Gallery (Source: AAG, 2016a)

The re-branding campaign was designed to run in advance of the gallery opening, and parallel to the activity associated with Wynyard Quarter³² and the 2011 Rugby World Cup, essentially integrating the events in the same promotion around Auckland as a thriving hub of activity. The 'ART' campaign included a release of branded print and online materials to countdown to opening day (see Figure 6.3), as well as a series of sculptures around the city, which not only introduced the brand, but also created an opportunity for people to participate in the marketing campaign (see Figure 6.4). The fact that people were encouraged to actively engage with the sculptures and post their pictures on the Auckland Art Gallery flickr page draws on the concept of "experiential marketing" (Pine & Gilmore, 2011; Schmitt, 2000), as well as on the ideas of 'interactivity' and 'edutainment' in contemporary curatorial discourse, and relates to creative cities strategy in the way that branded sculptures are used as a

³¹ A dining, shopping and 'lifestyle' precinct on the Auckland CDB waterfront.

³² See previous footnote.

placemaking technique to promote a 'city brand' (see, for example, Figure 6.5). Furthermore, the emphasis on fun, interactivity and a catchphrase brand contributes to the 'irresistibility' proposed by Regional Facilities Auckland in their mission statement, and the Auckland City Council's (2007, p. 7) efforts to turn the art gallery into "an iconic cultural facility."



Figure 6.3 'ART' branding for the gallery re-opening (Source: StopPress, 2011)



Figure 6.4 Members of the public on an 'ART' sculpture (Auckland Art Gallery flickr, 2011)



Figure 6.5 City brand sculptures: Amsterdam, New York and Lyon (Source: Huang, 2015)

The sustained efforts as regards the ART brand, and related marketing as part of Auckland's creative life since the gallery's re-opening, can be seen as a continual source of the 'irresistibility' spoken of in the RFA mission statement: it engenders a sense in which visitors would not be able to resist a trip to the 'ART gallery' due to the range of activity that has been made available. For example, the gallery plays a central role such events as Auckland Art Festival's "White Night" and the Auckland Triennial, as well as hosting regular film screenings and live music and dance performances (see Figure 6.6). By promoting the gallery alongside other marketable events, and by establishing and building a recognisable brand, the redevelopment of the Auckland Art Gallery can be seen as situated in the context of creative

cities strategy, not only in the way the creative and cultural activity is presented in terms of tourism, but also, that the 'ART gallery' is presented as part of the creative life of Auckland City, thereby encouraging economic growth through attracting the tourist dollar, as well as creative people seeking the creative city lifestyle.



Figure 6.6 Events, activities and 'lifestyle' at the Auckland Art Gallery (Source: AAG Twitter, 2016)

The creative city role the Auckland Art Gallery plays in terms of 'lifestyle' is predominantly from the perspective of what the gallery can offer in terms of events and activities, rather than its collections. This distinction is also marked in the RFA mission statement, which creates a separation between "venues" and "collections", thereby placing emphasis on the gallery building or 'venue' as a separate entity to the gallery 'collection'. This separation is reflected also in the nature of the gallery refurbishment itself, which focused much attention on the design and architecture of the building, in line with placemaking strategies to use architectural design as a 'statement' or attraction to draw people into the city (see Figure 6.7). Therefore, the gallery was designed by Melbourne architects FJMT in association with Auckland architecture firm Archimedia, and has since won a number of national and international awards for the building's design, reinforcing the proposed value that comes with investing in architecture as part of creative cities strategy.

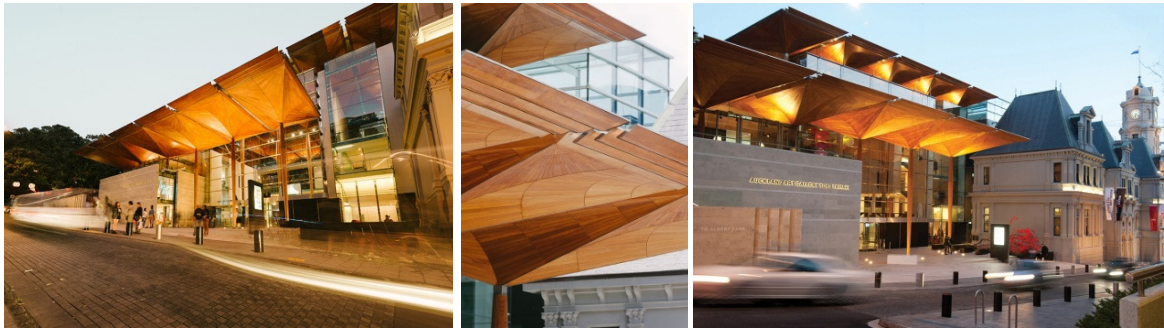


Figure 6.7 The design and architecture of the Auckland Art Gallery (Source: AAG, 2015)

The architecture and design of the gallery has, furthermore, not only created a space which can serve as a local or tourist attraction, but also increased the physical size of the gallery to include 50 percent more room for exhibitions and dedicated spaces for education, family and community activity. The inclusion of the latter dedicated spaces demonstrates the influence from democratisation in contemporary curatorial discourse, as well as the concept of increasing accessibility, which is a further claim made by the RFA mission statement. The Auckland Art Gallery is a clear example of 'accessibility', both in the 'venue' and 'collection' sense: in terms of the venue, the gallery is centrally located in the Aotea Quarter and has free entry to the public, and in terms of the collection, the gallery has hosted a range of popular culture and travelling exhibitions, such as the exhibit "Who Shot Rock & Roll" featuring famous photography and film of the genre. By including accessibility in its mission statement, the RFA is on par with contemporary curatorial discourse and practice, but it is also ensuring support and 'success' for its facility: running the gallery on the principle of being accessible is not likely to challenge or cause offense, and rather, is likely to garner support for that which could be considered positive and progressive, meaning that the RFA is in a better position to justify its actions and live up to its mission statement.

In a similar way, such inherent positivity and support can also be seen in the RFA's proposition about the "enriching" nature of their venues and collections. While hyperbolic and subjective like the idea of 'irresistibility', the view that the Auckland Art Gallery and its collection can be "enriching" does have some ground in contemporary curatorial discourse, particularly in regards to the social inclusion agenda, and that the museum or gallery visit can be empowering or inspiring (Dodd & Sandell, 2001; Sandell, 2003). However, the idea that the gallery as a facility is likely to achieve 'enrichment', as in a goal or outcome, is linked to the creative industries discourse and especially to Florida's (2002) views on creative city achievements. Florida (2002) believes that a creative city is a diverse and tolerant one, and in

fact, includes "Tolerance" as one of his "3Ts" of economic growth³³. Florida (2002, p. 56) suggests that by creating and encouraging an urban culture that "can accept difference, and uniqueness and oddity and eccentricity," a creative city is likely to prosper economically, as it will be open to new ideas and be able to draw on the diversity. Aligning the Auckland Art Gallery with the creative industries idea of being "enriching" frames the gallery both as a space for enrichment to occur, but also as an active player in contributing towards enriching social development in the creative city, which is a view further alluded to in the next section of the RFA mission statement.

6.3 "...we will grow the economy of the region, advance the social and cultural wellbeing for the people of the region..."

In this middle section of the Regional Facilities Auckland mission statement, three main areas of government concern are highlighted: the 'economic', the 'social', and the 'cultural'. While these agendas have arguably always been governmental priorities, they are also evidence of the influence of creative industries discourse, because of the way that all three are interrelated in the RFA's agenda: whereas in the past, economic growth may have been considered a subsidiary or separate aspect to social and cultural development, with the advent of creative industries, the latter is considered key towards boosting the economy, and is therefore integrated with economic imperatives. The case in point for the RFA is the Auckland Art Gallery, for while first a custodial organisation, it now must be operated not only to meet social and cultural goals, but economic ones too. Additionally, this middle section of the mission statement is similarly absolute in its claims and aspirational in its intent, particularly in regards to the verbs "grow" and "advance": both give the impression of progress and achievement, which makes the mission statement positive in the way the RFA is striving to achieve the economic, social and cultural goals suggested. The mission statement here again is optimistic, yet vague, which makes it impossible to criticise – but easy to critique.

The idea of 'growing the economy' is true to creative industries discourses and creative cities strategies, especially because that growth has been scoped to 'the Auckland region'. The creative cities concept is based on the principle of regionalisation and that the idiosyncrasies

³³ Florida's (2002) "3Ts" are Technology (high-tech development and innovation), Talent (the skilled 'creative class') and Tolerance (ethnic diversity and acceptance of all lifestyles). There is both support and critique concerning these ideas, for a more comprehensive discussion see Peck (2005), Markusen (2006), and Storper and Scott (2009).

of the 'local' are what enable cities to remain competitive in the global economy (Landry, 2000; Tay, 2005). Cities will therefore go to great lengths to differentiate themselves from others, find their 'unique selling point' (Reeves, 1961) featuring what makes their place unlike another. However, because so many cities adopt similar strategies, the efforts made to 'distinguish' actually bring about standardisation (Peck, 2005; Malanga, 2004) which is arguably the case in Auckland too. The Auckland City Council brought in Richard Florida as a consultant on the development of Auckland as a creative city, which resulted in the adoption of many of his key ideas: bike paths (throughout Auckland's CBD and inner-city suburbs); converted lofts and coffee shops (the Britomart Precinct); and 'walkable' streets (Lorne Street and High Street in the CBD, leading into the Aotea Quarter). The Auckland Art Gallery was likewise set up to be part of this creative city plan, to be marketed as a 'unique' attraction that differentiates the city from other competing cities such as Wellington, and that would encourage people to visit as part of the Auckland creative city 'experience'.

While the concept of 'an art gallery in the city' is not unique in itself, the aim for the Auckland Art Gallery is to make the visitor "experience" unique, or at the very least, memorable, in the context of the Auckland creative city experience. To that end, the gallery has been designed to create a space that would afford the visitor a contemporary curatorial experience, including: 'blockbuster' exhibitions, such as "Degas to Dali" featuring international and renowned works from the National Galleries of Scotland; multimedia, such as the interactive "Light Show" exhibition and all of the social media interaction on a number of different platforms; and leisure services, such as the Auckland Art Gallery shop (in-gallery and online), and the Mojo cafe and restaurant (see Figure 6. 8).



Figure 6.8 The 'ART' gallery "experience" (Source: AAG, 2012, 2014, 2016b)

In addition to making the visit memorable, the aim of the gallery experience is also to generate commercial revenue, especially in the form of ticketed blockbuster exhibitions and money spent at the shop and cafe. The hope is that money will similarly be spent at other creative city attractions, thereby contributing towards the region's economy in the form of tourism or local community expenditure, which is an underpinning aim of the Auckland creative city experience, namely to generate economic growth. However, therein lies the concern for investing in creative city strategies, because much of the promised growth is based on a 'trickle down' effect into the wider local economy, which, while realistic in some respects, is nonetheless more aspirational in others. Furthermore, with many creative city experiences appearing similar or standardised in nature, there is no guarantee that the proposed economic growth will occur. Therefore, the RFA mission statement can rightly be addressed with some apprehension when it is claimed that Regional Facilities Auckland "will grow the economy of the region," because in and of itself, there are no specifics to explain how this will take place.

The lack of specificity in the RFA's claim about economic growth can likewise be seen in its next proposition about 'advancing the social and cultural wellbeing of the people'. This statement is quite a difficult claim to make, due to the broad and open nature of the concepts involved, and also because the fulfilment of these goals tend to be experienced intrinsically, making it hard to 'prove' success. In saying that, though, much work has been done at, and by, the Auckland Art Gallery, to stimulate community involvement, which has seen the gallery

become part of the local community. For example, the gallery demonstrates its place as part of community cultural life by hosting such exhibitions as “Home AKL” which showcases contemporary art by local Pacific artists, as well as by running a number of community outreach programmes, including cultural art workshops, guided language tours for migrant groups and hosting art stalls at cultural festivals. Additionally, the gallery has an active schools programme, regular “family drop-in” and early childhood education sessions, as well as a number of education initiatives and partnerships, including collaborations with aspiring artists and granting tertiary internships for the community outreach programmes (see Figure 6.9). These programmes and initiatives are in line with the Auckland Art Gallery’s vision to “actively engage with Aotearoa New Zealand’s bi-culturalism and Auckland’s many diverse communities” (AAG, 2016d, para. 16) and reinforce the RFA’s claim about ‘advancing the social and cultural wellbeing for the people of the Auckland region’.



Figure 6.9 'Community outreach' at the Auckland Art Gallery (Source: AAG, 2016c)

However, the RFA mission statement also shows evidence of creative industries discourses, which in regards to social and cultural wellbeing has been influenced by a view of creativity as the purview of all, and that ‘true’ advancement is made by harnessing such human creativity. The latter view is especially proclaimed by Florida (2002), who in promoting creativity investment stated the following:

I strongly believe that the key to improving the lot of underpaid, underemployed and disadvantaged people lies not in social welfare programs or low-end make-work

jobs...but rather in tapping the creativity of these people, paying them appropriately for it and integrating them fully into the Creative Economy. (p. 10)

While Florida's (2002) views are at the extreme end of the spectrum, the idea that 'creativity' can be seen as a socio-economic problem solver is part of the appeal of creative city investment, that all those who live and work in these creative environments will benefit economically, or that at the very least, there will be some form of 'social' or 'cultural' gain. The efforts put forth by the Auckland Art Gallery can be seen in line with this discourse too, using art and creativity as the platform to initiate and contribute towards social advancement, cultural development and, in an ideal society, social change. However, there is a big leap between 'community involvement' and 'collective improvement', which is what is implied in the RFA mission statement. The claims of advancement are made at the macro level, for that which in reality, takes place on the micro level: individuals may experience social or cultural fulfilment through participation in the Auckland Art Gallery programmes, but that is not to say an absolute claim can be made for the 'wellbeing of all people in the region', much in the same way that creativity investment does not guarantee socio-economic problem solving. Therefore, while the intention to "advance the social and cultural wellbeing for the people of the region" is good, the achievement of such a goal is more aspirational than realistic. Furthermore, in terms of the art gallery itself, such aspirations place much pressure on what is, first and foremost, a custodial institution.

6.4 "...and be the trusted stewards of the assets."

The last part of the mission statement brings the focus back to the primary role of the Auckland Art Gallery: to be custodians, or "trusted stewards", of their collections. In their work as custodian or caretaker of the collection, the Auckland Art Gallery is responsible for conserving and preserving, researching and interpreting, and in other ways 'curating' the artworks and other pieces in their archives. As these responsibilities fall under traditional museum discourse and are considered part of the basic operating principles for an art gallery, it seems almost like an obvious claim to include "trusted stewards" in the RFA mission statement. However, contemporary curatorial discourse and practice shows how complex curatorial work has become, with curators and heritage professionals required to balance any number of curatorial, administrative and marketing responsibilities. In today's curatorial organisation, then, it seems that the traditional could easily be subverted in favour of the

contemporary, so the reinforcement of custodial work in the mission statement is ironic, yet somewhat reassuring.

The inclusion of custodial work in the mission statement also draws attention to the role the RFA is attributing to itself. Regional Facilities Auckland is the administrative body for the Auckland Art Gallery and, therefore, primarily a government agency and bureaucratic organisation, so by positioning themselves as “trusted stewards” they are also invoking the caretaker role, when in reality, they operate as much under business principles as they do custodial ones. However, by constructing themselves as custodians, they play down the corporate aspects of their work and direct the focus instead towards their social efforts. This view is reminiscent of the rhetoric associated with ‘corporate social responsibility’ (Lindgreen & Swaen, 2010; McWilliams & Siegel, 2000), the arguably ‘good’ kind of public relations, encouraging corporations “to behave socially responsibly” (Dahlsrud, 2008, p. 1). In the case of the RFA, the emphasis on ‘accessibility’, ‘advancing social and cultural wellbeing’ and being ‘trusted stewards’ reinforces the social and community role that Regional Facilities Auckland is aspiring to and promoting of itself.

This social role, though, is juxtaposed next to “assets” in the mission statement, again demonstrating the influence of creative industries and business discourses. These ‘assets’ are presumably the ‘venues’ and ‘collections’ mentioned at the outset of the mission statement, which means that the Auckland Art Gallery and its collections are ‘resources’ or ‘business entities’ that can be deployed for some form of material gain. The function of the gallery in the creative city can also be seen as part of the wider ‘creative economy’ (Flew, 2005; Howkins, 2001; Knell & Oakley, 2007), requiring then that the gallery is run as a profitable creative organisation – hence, the market-oriented role of the Auckland Art Gallery. In the annual report, from which the mission statement was taken, the RFA record the ‘achievements’ of the gallery in terms of high visitor numbers and visitor satisfaction, as well as successful exhibitions, events and programmes, and the refurbished art gallery building. The report is demonstrative of a ‘return on investment’, justifying the role of the gallery and the work being accomplished there, not only in terms of contemporary curatorial priorities, but also in terms of creative industries policies and the economic promises of the ‘creative city’.

In this chapter, I have looked at the Auckland Art Gallery as a pertinent example of creative industries policies in Aotearoa-New Zealand, presenting the gallery as a case study of the application of 'creative cities' strategy, through a discussion of Regional Facilities Auckland's mission statement, and the redevelopment of the gallery's brand, building and curatorial portfolio. This case study provides a 'snapshot' of the impact of creative industries policies on the curatorial sector in New Zealand, and insight into the effect of these changes on the role of the curatorial organisation and the nature of the work being carried out. I now move on to my next research question: "In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct the members of the public and their 'visitor experience'?"

Chapter 7

Shaping the audience

The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of creative industries discourse and policy on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In chapters five and six, I have examined data for the first research question, looking at changes in the discourses of the curatorial sector, with particular attention to the period since 1992, as well as considering the case of the Auckland Art Gallery as a contemporary curatorial organisation influenced by creative industries policies. This chapter contains the data to address the second research question: in what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector construct members of the public and their 'visitor experience'? To answer this question, I will conduct a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992) of selected print and online materials produced by New Zealand museums and galleries. The purpose of this analysis is to draw further attention to the role of marketing and promotion within the curatorial sector and to understand the impact of such promotion on the relationship between the curatorial organisation and the public, as well as the concepts of "the visitor" and "visitor experience".

In chapter five, the critical discourse analysis focused on social practice (Fairclough, 1992), because I wanted to address the macro-level changes that had taken place in the curatorial sector in Aoteroa-New Zealand, and therefore, the discussion centred around ideology and hegemony. The analysis concerning social practice, though, was nonetheless informed by that which is at the level of the text and so the previous chapter also contained analysis concerning the discursive practice and text dimensions of Fairclough's (1992) model. This chapter, however, focuses more on the discursive and textual elements of Fairclough's (1992) model, because the marketing and promotional material reflect the societal level changes at the level of the public, in the texts designed for the museum and gallery visitor. In other

words, the effect of the changes in the curatorial sector at the level of government, can be traced and analysed through the materials these organisations use to communicate with the public. Therefore, the discursive practice and text elements are analysed to trace the shift in orders of discourse, through organisational discourses, down to the receiving public. Furthermore, the analysis in this chapter aims to show how the public is positioned in the discourse in relation to curatorial organisations, community and “experience”.

Fairclough (1992, p. 78) describes discursive practice as involving “processes of text production, distribution and consumption” and that “the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors.” In terms of ‘discursive practice’, then, the production, distribution and consumption of texts vary according to text type and social conditions. For the purposes of the texts in this chapter, I intend to discuss the general principles of discursive practice at the outset, because the majority of texts are similar in type and format. I will then proceed with an analysis of the texts that examine the structure and content, and the specific language features in the textual dimension of Fairclough’s (1992) model. Therefore, the structure of this chapter will be according to the principles found in the text and not according to the texts alone, so as to avoid repetition. The texts chosen for this chapter were selected from my archive of marketing and promotional material collected from New Zealand curatorial organisations, as well as material sourced online from the websites and social media pages for the museums and galleries between 2011 and 2014.

7.1 Discourse Practice Analysis

Regarding text production, Fairclough (1992, p. 78) refers to the process in terms of ‘text producers’ and explains that it is “more complicated than it may seem,” because not everyone who contributes to the production of a text may be apparent in the textual elements themselves. Fairclough (1992, p. 78) therefore discusses the concept of ‘text producer’ in different roles: the ‘animator’, who actually makes the text; the ‘author’, who compiles or composes the document; and the ‘principal’, who is “the one whose position is represented in the words.” In terms of the print material chosen for analysis, the texts are ‘information guides’ about museums and galleries and their activities; ‘What’s on guides’ to promote upcoming events in designated time period (for example, the ‘summer season’ or ‘November at Te Papa’); and ‘Exhibit-specific guides’, which contain the details and highlights of a specific exhibition. In terms of the online material, the selected texts are ‘exhibition/event

pages' from museum and gallery websites, as well as 'official posts' and comments from 'news feeds' from the organisations' social media pages.

While it is not possible to specifically identify who the animators are for these texts, the text type lends itself towards suggesting that people in the marketing and media departments of the museums and galleries contributed towards the writing of the texts. This suggestion is based on the text purpose, which is to inform the potential visitor and to promote the museum or gallery's upcoming activities, a role predominantly given to the marketing department. Therefore, the production of these texts would be likely be collective, and the authors then, a group of people working in the relevant museum or gallery departments. The 'principal' for these texts is therefore layered: on the one hand, it is the museum or gallery, as it is the organisation's exhibitions and activities that are being promoted in the text content, but on the other hand, because the text type is mostly promotional, it can be argued that the position represented is also that of the marketing department. The content chosen for these texts is geared around what would be 'attractive' to prospective visitors, and therefore, the material is predictably promotional.

The nature of the material also gives insight into the 'voice' present in the text: the emphasis on promotion and 'selling' is indicative of business discourse, but specifically too, the discourse of commercialism. Therefore, while it is the voice of the 'museum' or 'gallery' that speaks in the texts, it is that of the marketised and democratised museum or gallery. The latter type of curatorial organisation is one that has to face contemporary issues within the sector, such as competing with other leisure-services industries for visitor numbers, finding ways to be seen as entertaining and accessible to a wide-ranging audience, and generating commercial revenue to supplement public funding (Ames, 2005; Alexander & Alexander, 2008; Boyland, 2006; Davidson & Sibley, 2011; C. Scott, 2004; Taheri & Jafari, 2012; Thompson, 2001). These issues can be seen as the back drop against which the museum and gallery information texts are produced, and therefore, factors that influence the presence of a commercial or business voice in the text.

In terms of text distribution, Fairclough (1992, p. 79) discusses how this can either be simple or complex: it can be as simple as within the "immediate context" in which the text is produced, or as complex as being "distributed across a range of different institutional domains." The texts chosen for this analysis have a potentially complex distribution because of the print and online circulation channels. In print form, the texts are available at the museums and galleries themselves, displayed in prominent places such as the foyer or main entrance, but also at

information and tourist centres in the respective cities. In a digital or web-based form, the distribution is wider-reaching and really only limited by lack of access to the Internet. The distribution of these texts also give insight into the potential audience: first time visitors, tourists or people new to the area, but also those with an interest in museums or galleries who would actively seek out such information.

In terms of the consumption of texts, Fairclough (1992, p. 79) explains that this is dependent on the social context, and that the consuming process "is partly a matter of the sort of interpretive work which is applied" to the texts and partly "the modes of interpretation which are available." In other words, both the purpose for, and way of, consuming a text affects the interpretation of the material. The purpose for consuming the chosen texts in this chapter would be 'information seeking': the reader may wish to find information about the exhibitions and events that are on, or about the museum or gallery itself, such as entry fees and opening times. This purpose would also, therefore, affect the manner in which the text is read or consumed: the reader would be skimming for the relevant information they seek, or be drawn to the 'highlights' promoted in the text.

While the above purpose and interpretation is the most likely reading of the text, it is however, only one way that the text could be interpreted or consumed. The likely 'primary' reading is based on the way that text producers anticipate potential audiences. As part of this process, text producers consider the primary readers of the text, but also, readers who do not constitute the main audience, for example, those who may incidentally read the text or come across it while searching for something else. For these groups, their interpretation of the text may be somewhat different from the primary reading. Fairclough (1992) explains that, while they may vary, each of these interpretations can 'make sense'. It is therefore possible for the same text to have multiple interpretations, which Fairclough (1992, p. 134) terms the 'coherence' of the text. In this frame, too, it is possible for the museum or gallery texts to have resistant readings: readers may, for example, take exception to the marketing material within the information guides, perhaps resisting the attempt to have the museum 'sold' to them, and may therefore respond negatively to the text.

Fairclough (1992, p. 80) also explains that there is an 'interplay' between production and consumption elements, that the "resources" discourse participants bring to the reading of a text affects the interpretation of the text, as much as the text itself contains "traces of the production process, or a set of 'cues' for the interpretation process." Those who consume the text bring with them their own internalised social structures, norms and conventions that

impact on the way they will interpret a text, and also what they expect of a text. Such is evident in terms of genres and standardised conventions that discourse participants come to expect, but because they expect these conventions, they reinforce the text type and, therefore, perpetuate the genre. The 'interplay' between production, interpretation and consumption is consequently constrained by these normative elements, but also give insight into the ideology that is imbued within this discursive practice.

The chosen museum and gallery texts is demonstrative of this interplay: the texts can be seen as part of the advertising genre, which has certain conventions that readers have come to expect (Goddard, 2002; McQuarrie & Mick, 1996; L. M. Scott, 1994; Tom & Eves, 1999). For example, an advertisement tends to be characterised by a message that is brief and by the use of visual aids to help persuade the consumer. As for these visuals, the images of the advertised product are often 'memorable' and generally accompanied by a catchy slogan or distinctive brand name. In the museum and gallery information guides, the language used is accessible, designed to reach the widest possible range of readers (simple sentences; exhibition titles; "What's on"), and the simplified text style is designed so that readers can quickly get the sense of the text, so that even a glance at the pamphlets or a skim through the website would suffice to get the gist of the text's meaning. The inclusion of minimal writing and maximum imagery is also evident, which is expected in the consumption of advertising messages.

7.2 Hybridised text structure: print formats

Fairclough (1992, p. 199) says that "description is not as separate from interpretation as it is often assumed to be." In line with this, the first stage of my analysis is to 'describe' the texts by way of examining the structure and content. As 'information guides', the texts present details about the museum or gallery, but in such a way, that the organisation is shown in a particular light, and the visitor is shown a particular 'experience'. These texts can therefore be seen as 'hybridised' because they provide information, but in a promotional way, demonstrating a mixture of genres (Fairclough, 1992), which in this case is 'information' and 'advertising'. As a result, the information guides can be read and interpreted as promotional material, drawing on conventions used in advertising.

These advertising conventions are evident not only in the structure and content, but also in the format of the texts. For example, a common print format is the 'trifold brochure': a

colourful pamphlet that segments the information into three panels across the page, prioritising the readers' gaze to focus on the material that is on the first panel, and the opening centrefold. To that end, the trifold brochure typically has a visually stimulating front cover, and a museum 'feature' or 'attraction' in the centrefold. The 'featured attraction' speaks to the priority given to it by the text producer, but also shows what is considered 'most appealing' to prospective visitors. In doing so, the museum or gallery is making a conscious decision as to what would be 'most marketable', that which would bring in the largest number of visitors, or appeal to the widest possible audience. The selection of information in the brochure, then, takes on a specifically commercial tone. Additionally, the type of exhibitions and events shown in these texts become the visitor expectation: when visitors read the guide, they anticipate seeing the 'main features' of the museum or gallery and that which is considered essential to the 'museum experience', so that if visitors choose to follow the guide, they are likely to 'get the best possible experience'. This interplay between the museum or gallery and the prospective visitor creates, and perpetuates, the 'expected' visit: arguably, a homogenised cultural experience.

The information guide *Te Papa – More than a museum* is an example of a trifold brochure illustrating this type of experience. While its purpose is to provide the visitor with museum information, in reality, it promotes the 'museum experience' as the expected type of visit. The front cover is visually stimulating, offering the visitor an artist's impression of the Te Papa logo (the fingerprint) as a representation of the museum space itself (see Figure 7.1):

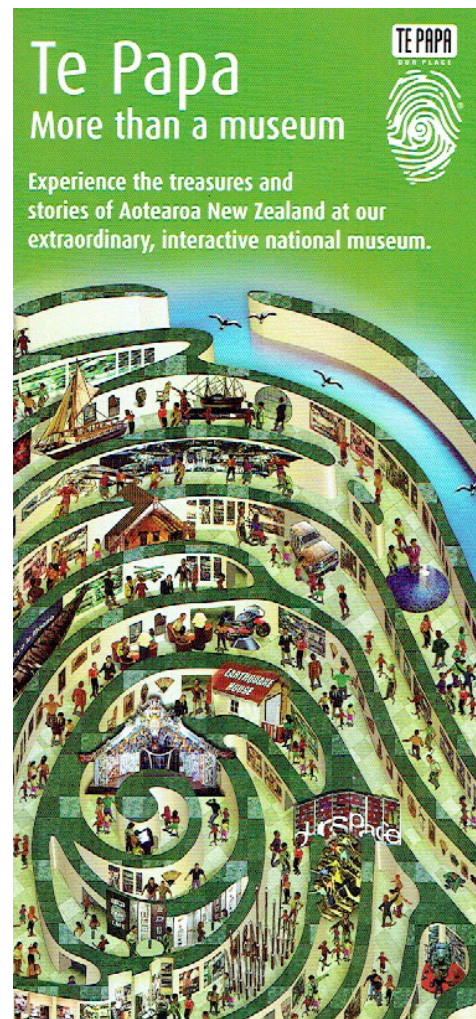


Figure 7.1 'Te Papa – More than a museum' front cover

This image presents the museum, not as a static repository for culture and heritage, but rather, as a vibrant and dynamic place, a 'maze' of activity filled with visitors and opportunities. In this maze, certain features are made more prominent than others, demonstrating which exhibitions and activities are given priority. Te Papa's marae and the early settler ships are highlighted, indicating the museum's responsibilities towards biculturalism and national identity, as mandated in the Te Papa Act. However, the other featured activities include the Earthquake house and OurSpace, both of which are interactive 'edutainment' exhibits, as well as the Te Papa Cafe and coffee lounge: all key elements to the 'museum experience' (Rowley, 1999). This imagery is quite telling of museum priorities, because by making all of the above features roughly the same size, it visually makes it seem like they are all given the same priority and value in the museum visit, thereby suggesting that delivering on the 'museum experience' is as important as delivering on the museum's responsibilities towards biculturalism and national identity. This visual representation also

builds visitor anticipation as regards the 'expected' museum visit, positing that visitors are in expectation of 'experience'.

This emphasis on promoting the 'experience' is further demonstrated in the accompanying written text on the front cover of the brochure. The written text again illustrates the hybridisation of advertising mixed with information-giving, seen in the use of comparative adjective and the imperative sentence (Rush, 1998; Tom & Eves, 1999), and draws the reader in with the following (see Figure 7.2):

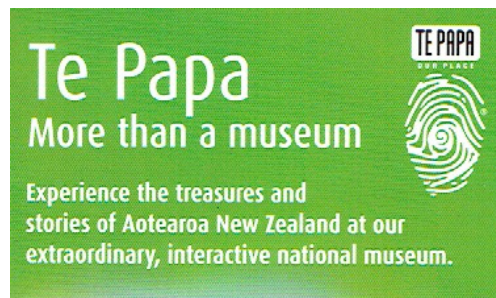


Figure 7.2 'Te Papa – More than a museum' front cover text

By stating that Te Papa is "more than a museum", the writers of the brochure suggest that Te Papa is not 'just' or 'only' a museum, implying that what Te Papa offers is an experience beyond a standard museum visit, as well as other services that would not traditionally be associated with a museum. The comparative "more than" assumes that readers are familiar with the 'traditional' or 'typical' museum (and that there is, in fact, a typical museum), so that readers can compare the Te Papa visit with other museum visits. It also suggests to readers that Te Papa is not only a different kind of experience, but is actually a 'better' one, further seen in the description of Te Papa as being "extraordinary," emphasising the distinctive nature of the museum. The word 'extraordinary' is also paired with 'interactive', suggesting that the visit to Te Papa is engaging, exciting and participatory. However, the choice of words here is also indicative of contemporary curatorial discourse associated with democratisation, trying to make museums accessible to the widest possible range of people through such strategies as 'edutainment' and 'experience'. In the case of the Te Papa brochure, including these concepts in the promotion of the museum, not only demonstrates their appeal to visitors, but also, how these ideas have become accepted and expected in the museum visit, showing the naturalisation of these concepts in contemporary curatorial discourse, and the priority given to them by the museum.

Furthermore, the written text also demonstrates the commercialisation of the museum visit. While the information guide itself is not an advertisement, the language used is from the advertising genre and encourages visitors to 'buy into' the museum experience. The imperative sentence encouraging prospective visitors to "Experience the treasures and stories of Aotearoa New Zealand," reads not simply as an activity, but rather as a call to action, similar to that of advertising messages (Rush, 1998; Tom & Eves, 1999). Additionally, the terms "treasures" and "stories" give an active quality to the museum artefacts and exhibits, which furthers the interactivity and experience concepts. However, the words themselves are also a play on the meaning of Te Papa's name: 'container of treasures' (Te Papa, n.d.). This wordplay is evident in the centrefold of the brochure too, where visitors are encouraged to "Take home your own treasure!" from the souvenir shop (see Figure 7.3):



Figure 7.3 'Te Papa – More than a museum' opening centrefold

Such wordplay and the use of imperative sentences are conventions associated with advertising, and shows how commercialisation has become part of the language of the museum visit. This commercialisation furthermore seen in the content selection for the centrefold in the Te Papa brochure, which features "Cafes" and "Shopping" next to "Visitor Information". The fact that the shop and cafe are so prominently featured in the brochure

demonstrates the marketable appeal of these 'museum attractions' and how these commercial elements are considered central to what visitors expect in their museum visit.

While commercialisation of the museum or gallery visit is evident in the *Te Papa – More than a museum* trifold brochure, there are other information guide formats that are more explicit in demonstrating such commercial elements. For example, the *Te Papa – Game Masters* 'information guide' can be seen as a 'poster' format – one-page, at the back of a magazine, with maximum use of imagery, minimum use of written text, with everything on the page 'bold', from the font choice to the colour (see Figure 7.4). These features make the poster seem more like an advertisement than an information guide, but the text nonetheless provides the prospective visitor with the necessary information for the exhibit: the location, the opening and closing dates, and the exhibition 'highlights'. However, the overall tone of the poster is commercial and draws on advertising techniques in the promotion of the exhibit. For example, the 'pop-up' text saying "100 + playable games" is typical of advertisements highlighting a 'bonus' feature of the 'product' which in this case is the exhibition, and the description "Discover the Gods of Gaming" is similarly illustrative of advertising discourse in the use of alliteration and the imperative sentence. Therefore, while the poster still serves as a source of information for the visitor, the primary aim of the text is to promote the exhibition and therefore, the text can be read as an advertisement.

The commercial nature of the *Te Papa – Game Masters* exhibition is further demonstrated by the prominent featuring of exhibition sponsors, the majority of which are corporate supporters. The priority given to these commercial elements is demonstrated in the space afforded to the sponsors on the poster: most of the bottom third of the page is dedicated to the sponsors and sponsorship information, almost more space than that which is given to the exhibition information. Additionally, the inclusion of "admission charges apply", the mentioning of the "Visa Platinum Gallery" in the location description, and the statement "Te Papa prefers Visa" demonstrates the overtly commercialised approach to the exhibition, arguably to the point that the exhibition itself is commodified, seen as a sponsored product to bring in revenue for the museum. Even the fact that the poster was placed at the back of a magazine emphasises commercialisation, serving to reach a wide (and perhaps incidental) audience. This advertising poster format is therefore commonly used for 'blockbuster' exhibitions, especially those based around popular culture, entertainment and interactivity. In the case of the *Te Papa – Game Masters* text, then, not only is the marketisation and democratisation of museum and gallery discourse evident, the commercialisation and

commodification of the museum exhibition is seen too, in the effort to promote the 'museum experience' as being accessible, entertaining and 'fun'.



Figure 7.4 'Te Papa – Game Masters'

In addition to the poster format, there is also the leaflet, which is likewise used for blockbuster or special feature exhibitions. An example of this is the Auckland Art Gallery leaflet for *Degas to Dali*, a more 'scholarly' blockbuster exhibition (see Figure 7.5). In the case of the text, the *ART – Degas to Dali* also demonstrates the marketised museum experience. The details given on the front page of the leaflet are restricted to the title of the exhibit, "Meet the masters from the National Gallery of Scotland", the date of the programme (3 Mar-

10 Jun) and the Auckland Art Gallery logo. The information given is simplified, focusing on central elements of a blockbuster exhibit, namely that it is a temporary exhibition programme and contains material from a travelling collection. The name of the institution the artworks come from is also emphasised on the pamphlet, giving credibility to the Auckland Art Gallery and prestige to the exhibit. On the back of the leaflet, some additional information is provided about the exhibition and the artworks that will feature, but the emphasis is on the visual, with representations of part of a Vincent van Gogh painting and an Ernst Ludwig Kirchner work, thereby drawing the readers' gaze to the imagery and not the writing. Additionally, the logos of the sponsors are featured on the back of the leaflet, and again in consideration of the size of the page, the space afforded to the sponsors indicates the 'blockbuster' and commercialised nature of the exhibition.

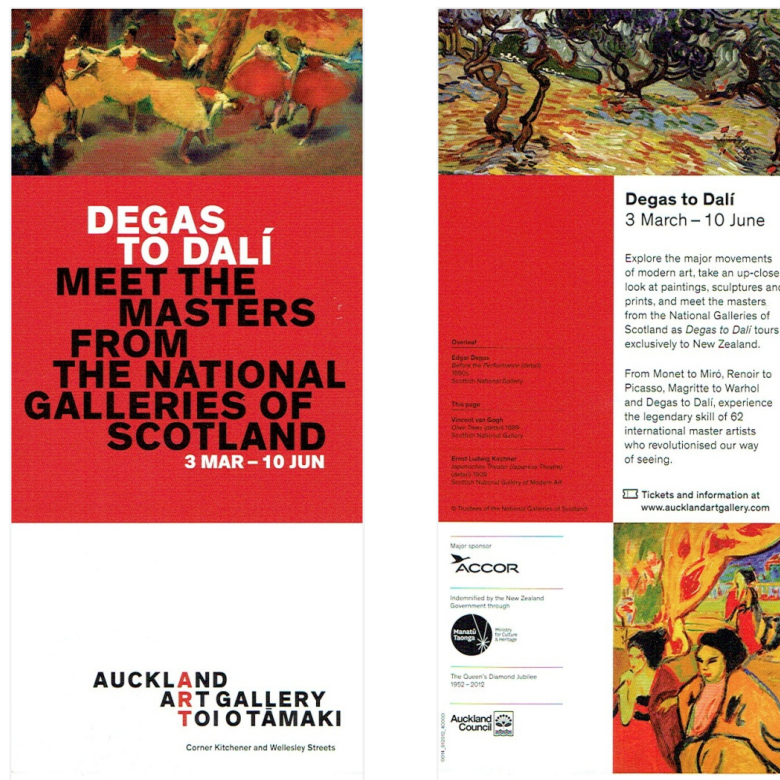


Figure 7.5 ART – 'Degas to Dali' leaflet, front and back

7.3 Hybridised text structure: online formats

In terms of the online formats, the selected texts also demonstrate the hybridised text structure, combining information about the museum or gallery activity with promotional material. The hybridised structure is evident in exhibition/event pages, as well as social media posts, both of which are formats accessible from the museum or gallery 'homepage'.

Depending on the nature of the exhibit or event, the link to the information page is either prominently featured on the homepage or listed more generally under the “What’s on” section of the website. For social media pages, the links to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other social networks are often shown by the logo of the social network site and listed on the homepage near the museum or gallery contact information.

An example of the exhibition or event page format is the *Degas to Dali* information page on the Auckland Art Gallery website (see Figure 7.6)

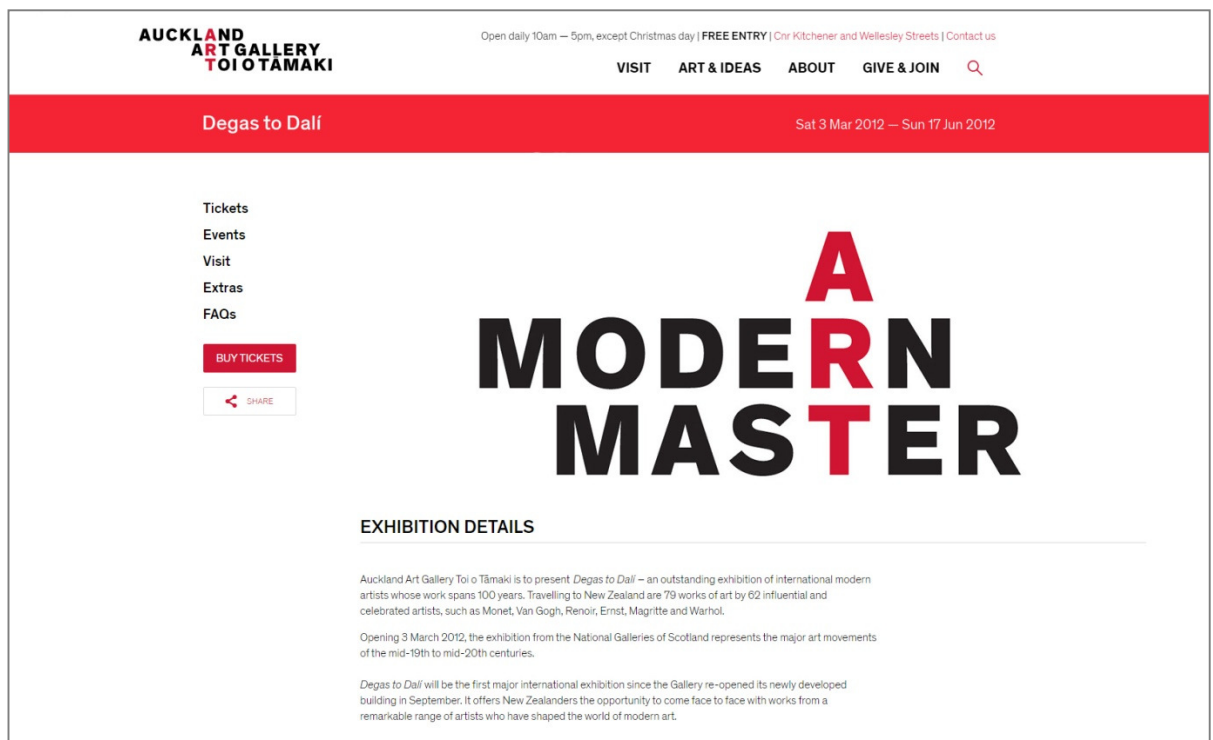


Figure 7.6 ART – ‘Degas to Dali’ online exhibition page

The page contains all of the typical information details, including the dates, location and option to buy tickets, as well as an ‘Exhibition Details’ section, which introduces the visitor to the exhibition. This section serves to give information about what the visitor can expect (“79 works of art by 62 influential and celebrated artists”), but also specifically promotes the ‘blockbuster’ nature of the event:

“Degas to Dali” will be the first major international exhibition since the Gallery re-opened its newly developed building in September.”

The text focuses the readers’ attention on the scale and reputation of the exhibition, which is in line with the marketable appeal of blockbusters, that they will generate a wide interest and

bring in visitors for the sake of the exhibit being an 'attraction'. Furthermore, by juxtaposing the exhibition next to the gallery re-opening, the text also draws attention to the refurbishment of the Auckland Art Gallery, which is likewise a feature that can serve as an attraction for prospective visitors, and become part of the 'experience' as visitors explore the building (Falk & Dierking, 2012). The online information page, therefore, is similar to the print format in the way that the text provides visitor information, but simultaneously promotes the democratised and marketised museum or gallery, and the 'visitor experience'.

Because the information page is online, though, the new media technology affords additional features that give visitors wider access to information sources, and the option to interact with the site. For example, under the "Visit" information, there are iCal and Outlook links, so that visitors can save the exhibition as an event in their diaries. Under "Events" and "Extras" there are links to related 'activities', 'articles' and 'downloads', which gives the visitor the opportunity to see what else the gallery has in connection with *Degas to Dali*. These 'extras' serve as suggestions to cater to and further the visitor's interest-field. These 'suggestions', though, are made by the Auckland Art Gallery, meaning that the gallery sets the agenda for the reader's interaction with the material on the site, as well as the cultural activity that gets featured. Making these suggestions, therefore, is a way for the gallery to promote its other exhibitions and events, and also extend the visitor's stay on the website, and by extension, in the gallery itself.

The online format also enables and encourages prospective visitors to 'interact' with the organisation in an interpersonal manner. For example, there are "comment" and "like" functions on the *Degas to Dali* page, as well as a "share" tab on the website menu, which give visitors the opportunity to 'engage' with the information presented: visitors can leave a 'comment', such as by contributing their opinion or asking the gallery a question; they can register their support or interest by 'liking' the exhibition page; or they may choose to 'share' the exhibition information with others through one of the listed communication channels or social network links. These online features contribute towards constructing an interpersonal relationship between 'the visitor' and 'the gallery', one in which the organisation comes across as a personable and engaging entity. The online texts encourage visitors to interact with the museum or gallery, in such a way, that the organisation positions itself as the visitor's "friend". Fairclough (1989) describes this process as 'synthetic personalisation', where the text producer aims to construct a 'personal' relationship with the reader, so as to give the

impression that the text interaction with the reader is individual, even though the text is produced for an audience *en masse*.

Such synthetic personalisation is clearly demonstrated through the interaction in the social media texts. Of all the text formats, social media posts are most explicit when it comes to fostering the 'interpersonal relationship' between the museum or gallery and its visitors. The 'social media post' is an extension of the information page, as it also provides visitor information, but the focus of the material is 'social': exhibitions are 'events', the museum is a 'person', and visitors are 'friends' or 'followers'. While each social media site has its own idiosyncrasies, there are similarities across the range of social network sites, which include a profile page, friends and followers, connected sites and links, as well as regular 'posts' made by the museum or gallery. These social media platforms are by nature interactive and encourage visitors to engage with the museum or gallery by commenting on the regular posts or updates.

An example of a social media text is the Auckland War Memorial Museum's Facebook page for the *AQUA* exhibition (see Figure 7.7). The *AQUA* exhibition is a collaboration between the Auckland Museum and Cirque de Soleil, and therefore, a high-profile 'blockbuster' exhibition for the museum. Some of the social media promotion of *AQUA* consists of short, regular posts that occur on the Auckland Museum's Facebook 'newsfeed', which creates a timeline of events surrounding the development of the exhibition: there are updates about the lead up to the exhibit; information about the exhibition itself; favourable reviews by the New Zealand Herald, as well as external links to those reviews; and then ticket information, as well as updates about visitor discounts (see Appendix B for the full collection of texts). Additionally, related exhibitions and events concurrently held by the museum are also linked to the social media posts: for example, the museum's river education work is tied in with the *AQUA* exhibition, thereby furthering the promotion of museum activity by using the 'hype' associated with the blockbuster exhibition. Visitors to the Facebook page can show their support through the "Like" function, and are also able to leave comments.

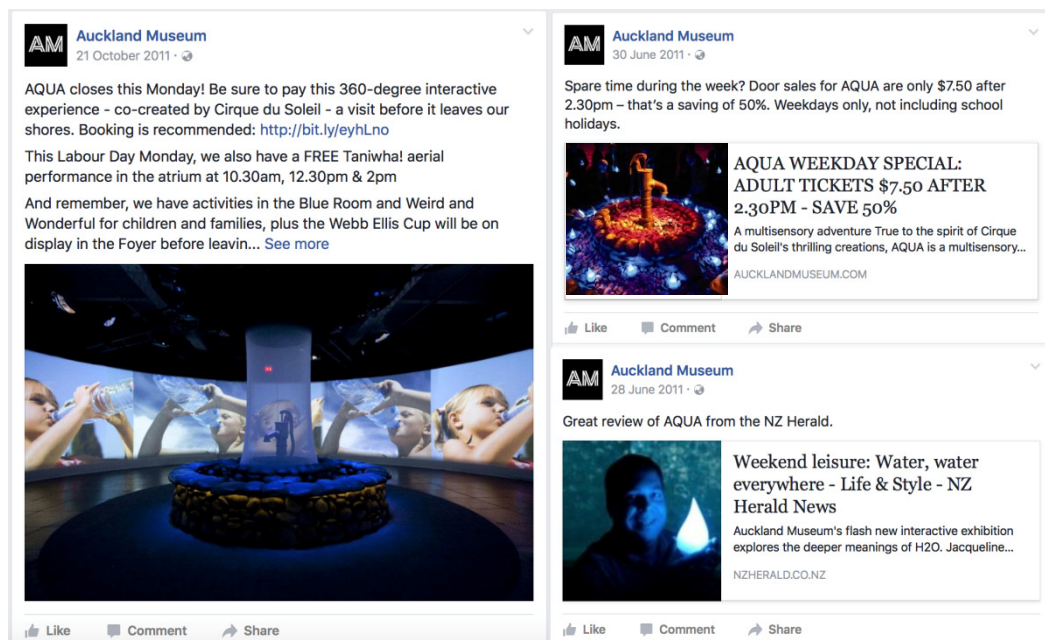


Figure 7.7 Sample of AQUA Facebook posts

These interactions, and the regular posts made by the museum, serve to keep visitors 'up to date' with museum activity, which is typical of the communication on social media platforms. Those who participate in social networking come to expect this continuous supply of information (Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Brown, 2012; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). However, the type of information on these sites is typically designed to go beyond the material that would be on the website or a printed brochure: 'behind-the-scenes' photos, videos and stories are added to social media 'updates', so as to provide readers with a seemingly privileged view into the museum or gallery's activities. To illustrate, Figure 7.8 is an example of the type of update posted on the Auckland Museum Facebook page about the AQUA exhibition:



Figure 7.8 Auckland Museum status update for 'AQUA' exhibition

This social media post is considered a 'status update', a feature of Facebook that allows individuals to 'update' their profile and let others know what they are currently doing. This

type of posting is, therefore, an interaction typically between 'friends'. In the context of the Auckland Museum Facebook page, this post gives readers the impression that they are interacting with the museum organisation on a personal level, thereby reinforcing the synthetic personalisation by positioning the 'museum' as the visitor's 'friend'.

The production and distribution of the social media texts are also different from the museum or gallery information page because the social media platform is not owned by the curatorial organisation. As a result, the texts must conform to conventions established by the social media site, which means that some of the production control is relinquished by the museum or gallery. At the same time, though, these 'new' platforms can introduce the museum or gallery to a potentially 'new' audience. These texts, therefore, epitomise the discourses of accessibility and democratisation, increasing the 'personable' profile of the museum or gallery amongst social media users, some of whom may not have had an interest in curatorial organisations before. Additionally, the social media platform also democratises the position of the curatorial organisation, and affords a measure of power to the social media users. By expressing their views and opinions through commenting on the social media page, visitors are essentially taking on a role similar to that on a cultural 'critic', reviewing what the curatorial organisation has to offer. The social media platform, then, positions the audience as the critics, a function traditionally reserved for 'experts' in the field (Hekkert & Van Wieringen, 1996; Shrum, 1996), and gives voice to visitors' views on museum and gallery activity.

On Facebook profile pages, for example, there is a "Reviews" section where visitors can 'rate' the museum or gallery (1 – 5 stars) and can comment on their visitor experience. On the Auckland Art Gallery Facebook page, the gallery is given a rating of "4.4 of 5 stars", based on "1.2k reviews." Readers can also choose to view the comments according to the ratings given. In amongst the '5 star' reviews, one visitor wrote the following (Figure 7.9):



Figure 7.9 Facebook user review of the Auckland Art Gallery

In this comment, the visitor acts as a reviewer: she provides her opinion on the gallery, a positive assessment of the activity, as well as a possible suggestion for improvement. However, she does this through personal language, referring to the gallery as “you guys”, indicating that she feels comfortable enough to informally address the gallery in the manner one would use with friends or acquaintances. These social media texts therefore demonstrate an apparent equalising between the curatorial organisation and the visitor, and reinforce the building of the ‘interpersonal’, albeit synthetic, relationship between the groups.

In these social media texts, this interpersonal relationship is furthered in the ‘call to action’ format of some of the posts. For example, Figure 7.10 shows a post from the ‘Auckland Museum’ that calls on prospective visitors to provide ‘feedback’ about the exhibition. In itself, feedback is not a new concept in museums and galleries because visitor studies and audience research are commonplace in the sector (Coffee, 2007; Goulding, 2000; Hood, 1992; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999, 2006). However, the emphasis of the Auckland Museum feedback is commercial: visitors doing the tour must gauge the ‘experience’ value and interactivity elements of *AQUA*. The focus here makes the ‘visitor feedback’ more like ‘market research’, and just like incentivised market research, the ‘participants’ are rewarded for their efforts, which in this case is the voucher and ‘free’ visit to the *AQUA* exhibition.



Figure 7.10 Auckland Museum *AQUA* exhibition Facebook post request for audience feedback

The above social media interaction between the visitors and the museum demonstrates the marketisation and democratisation of curatorial discourse in a number of ways: the market research feedback can be seen as a form of “crowdsourcing” (Brabham, 2008; Kleeman & Voß, 2008), drawing on visitors to provide ‘free labour’ to review the exhibition and interactive gallery tour. Yet, by giving visitors a chance to do this review, the museum is also promoting the audience as critic, thereby contributing towards democratisation and increased cultural accessibility of the museum or gallery visit. The Auckland Museum AQUA Facebook page also continues to demonstrate synthetic personalisation by using personal pronouns and addressing the visitor as “you”, but in the *AQUA* text, this relationship is also commercialised, positioning the ‘visitor’ as a ‘consumer’ in the curatorial ‘marketplace’.

When looking for information online, the prospective visitor will most likely encounter the “Homepage” for the museum or gallery, which can also be seen as a hybridised text in its own right. On the homepage the visitor can see the ‘featured’ exhibits and events, as well as ‘general information’ to help plan a visit, such as opening hours and admission fees. However, the information is nonetheless presented in a promotional manner, often with a strong emphasis on the museum or gallery ‘brand’. For example, the museum’s fingerprint logo features prominently on the Te Papa homepage, and the logo colouring is carried throughout the design of the website. Similarly, the Auckland War Memorial Museum and Auckland Art Gallery homepages are characterised by the “AM” and “ART” brands, respectively. The logos, colouring and imagery used on these homepages contribute towards an identifiable brand for the organisations (see Figure 7.11):

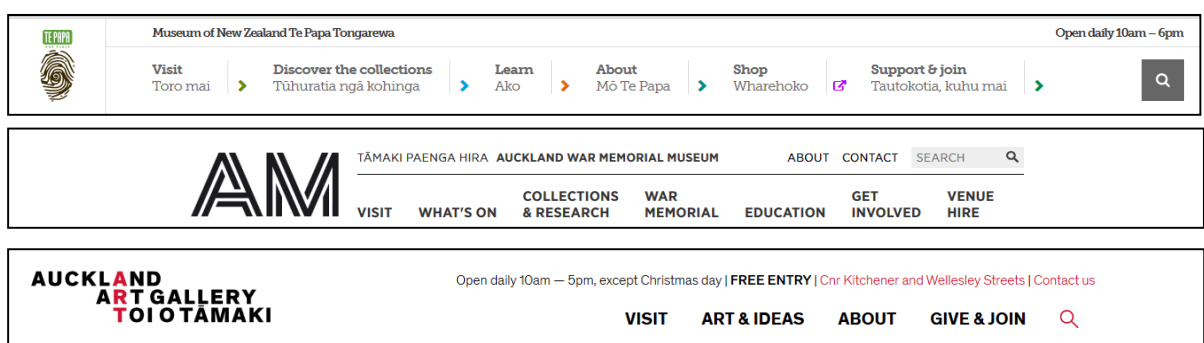


Figure 7.11 Top banners from museum and gallery ‘Homepages’

The prominence of the branding on these sites is telling of the priority given to the marketing of these organisations, particularly in the case of the ‘Auckland Museum’. In an effort to create a memorable and marketable brand, Auckland War Memorial Museum dropped ‘war memorial’ so that their brand reads ‘AM’. While this makes the brand ‘catchy’, it also

minimises the focus on the war memorial role of the museum, which is arguably a less marketable element. This conscious branding decision demonstrates the prioritisation of commercial concerns in the running of the museum. Brands, furthermore, help curatorial organisations stand out in the cultural marketplace (Twitchell, 2004), so familiarising the public with the museum or gallery brand is considered key to remaining competitive. Therefore, while looking for information on the museum or gallery homepages, visitors are advertised the brand so that it can be synonymous with the organisation. In essence, visitors become as familiar with the brand as they are with the museum or gallery activity.

7.4 Activity type: the 'primary' reading

Much of the meaning and interpretation of a hybridised text structure has to do with the way that readers are expected to 'read' the text, which Fairclough (1992) calls the 'activity type': a break-down of the specifics in a discourse interaction. In the case of the information guides, analysing the activity type involves breaking down the 'expected reading' of the text in terms of the reading process and the purposed meaning, both from the text producers' and the readers' point of view, so as to ascertain the 'primary' meaning and interpretation of the text. In both the print and online formats, the information guides follow a particular reading structure: it starts with the headlines, then proceeds with a 'welcome' or introductory message, followed by exhibition and event details, a 'call to action' for the visitors reading the text. The texts tend to conclude with general information about the museum or gallery. I will now discuss each of these features, analysing the selected texts to demonstrate the 'primary' reading of the museum and gallery information guides.

In terms of headlines, the guides contain such general titles as "What's on" and "Exhibition and Event Programme", or the exhibition and event titles themselves, such as "Game Masters" and "Degas to Dali". These headlines are bold and located prominently near the top of the front cover or top of the website page. Near these headlines, or sometimes included within, is a specified time period, for example "November at Te Papa", which indicates the running length of the exhibition programme or the 'season' of museum activity. For some readers, this headline information is as far as their engagement will go, as they may not be interested in that particular exhibition or subject field. This potentially limited engagement is also why, from the text producer's point of view, the initial headlines need to be memorable and branded, so that the reader may either be enticed to continue reading, or at the very least, is likely to remember the organisation brand.

In terms of the print material, the headlines and cover page are followed by a summary of the activity for that time period, either on the first page inside the brochure, or in a 'welcome message'. For example, the March – May 2012 Auckland Art Gallery "What's on Guide" has the following welcome message:



Figure 7.12 'Welcome' message from the ART What's On brochure

The above text serves the dual purpose of giving readers a glimpse of what to expect in terms of exhibitions and events, and to "welcome" them to the gallery. In welcoming the visitors, the message is polite and inviting, almost as if the invitation is being extended 'in person'. This politeness is conveyed in such phrases as "Here's just a small taste" and "If this is your first time here" – the text demonstrates the use of 'positive politeness', which is used to show consideration for, or solidarity with, the addressee. Fairclough (1992, p. 163) says that "particular politeness conventions embody, and their use implicitly acknowledges, particular social and power relations," but also, that "under certain conditions" by "creatively rearticulating" these politeness conventions, they can be transformed. So in the case of the ART welcome message the positive politeness strategy minimises the power distance between the gallery organisation and the visitor. The organisation therefore sets itself up as the visitor's "friend", so it could be argued, that the visitor is being 'welcomed' to the gallery as a friend, building on the supposed interpersonal relationship between the gallery and the visitor.

This interpersonal relationship is further emphasised in the text by the use of personal pronouns such as "you" and "we". The visitor is directly addressed as "you" six times in the text and another three times as understood by the verb. In this regard, Fairclough (1992, p. 178) explains that the "thematization of 'you'" in the text adopts the perspective of the consumer, as it foregrounds the "you-centredness" of the text, giving the impression that the consumer has agency in the discourse. However, while the consumer is given this apparent

power as an agent in the discourse, the reality remains that the organisation is the agent constructing, or producing, the discourse (namely, the museum), so in reality, the 'power' given to the visitor is an illusion. The use of "you", though, contributes towards a warm and informal tone, which makes the organisation seem more personable. The use of "we" also contributes towards this personalisation, constructing the author of the text as a participant in the discourse and making it seem like the gallery is in conversation with the visitor.

The remainder of the ART information guide brochure format contains further headlines pertaining to museum activity, as well as more detailed paragraphs or pages following these headlines, which also provide further information about each of the exhibits and events. The passages of text that contain the information about the exhibit or event tend to have the following structure: title (which is often in bold type and eye-catching) and are followed by an invitation for the prospective visitor to 'discover', 'experience' or 'enjoy'. The latter sentences are often in the imperative form, which comes across as a command, albeit a polite one, and reinforces the 'sell-mode' of the gallery in the language used in the material. But the imperative clause also draws attention to "the implicit theme" of 'you' in the text (Fairclough, 1992, p. 178) which again makes the text personalised to the visitor.

In terms of the exhibition and event details, these segments in the guides vary in length, but all provide a summary of the main features, which is enough to give visitors some idea of what to expect. Generally, a 'special' exhibition is afforded more space and a more prominent placing in the pamphlet, often at or near the front of the brochure. For example, in *November at Te Papa* (see Figure 7.13) the special exhibition "Angels and Aristocrats" is given prominent placing at the top left of the inside cover and is also listed as the first item on the "Top 5 at Te Papa this Month". In contrast, the long-term and permanent exhibitions, such as "Awesome forces", are located in a less prominent place, embedded amongst other museum exhibits. Even though special exhibitions are given more advertising and marketing, the permanent exhibitions are not exempt from marketing influences: for example, "Awesome forces" is the New Zealand geology exhibition, demonstrating how even in the naming of an exhibit there is a marketisation presence, drawing on discourses of interactivity and 'fun' to promote what could otherwise be considered a 'standard' natural history exhibition.

Exhibitions on now

Angels & Aristocrats: Early European art in New Zealand public collections



An Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki touring exhibition
Until 27 January 2013
 Angels & Aristocrats showcases five centuries of European art, drawn from New Zealand's finest public collections. Curated by Mary Kiser, this major exhibition includes works by Brueghel the Younger, Hobbema, Turner, Reynolds, and Gainsborough.
Level 5. Free entry.

Deep NZ: Our underwater wilderness

Opens 30 November
 Discover the creatures that have adapted to life in one of the world's most extreme environments – the deep sea. **Level 3. Free entry.**
 Juvenile king crab (*Oreolithodes breddeni*).
 Photograph courtesy of NZMA.



Slice of Heaven: 20th Century Aotearoa

The 1900s saw Māori, women, and gay people all stand up for their rights. The country fought in two world wars – and then took a stand against nuclear weapons. The state grew – then shrank again. Enter Te Papa's extraordinary view of New Zealand life from the century that was. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Buller's Birds: The art of Keulemans and Buchanan



Until February 2013
 See the exquisite illustrations that brought Walter Buller's iconic books to life, alongside bird skins and specimens from the Victorian ornithologist's extraordinary collection. **The Hott Room, Level 4. Free entry.**

J. & Keulemans, *Synge's New Zealand: Illustrations of the birds*, 1872. Illustration of laughing gull (*Scolopax alaudacea*) from *A History of the Birds of New Zealand*, 1st edition, hand-coloured lithograph. Te Papa (1992-0035-1091/4)

Uniformity: Cracking the dress code



Uniforms unite. They define. They convey power and control. Explore the stories behind the All Black jersey, the combat gear of Corporal Willie Apiata, VC, and other expressions of group identity.

Eyeflights Gallery, Level 4. Free entry.

Royal Horse Artillery dress jacket, 1899, maker unknown. Gift of Mrs W H Stallard, 1957. Te Papa (PC000065)

Mana Whenua

Mana Whenua celebrates Māori as the tangata whenua (original people) of Aotearoa New Zealand. Stories of voyaging, adaptation, survival, conflict, trial, and triumph are told through a powerful mix of ancestral treasures and contemporary artworks. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Tai timu, tai pari, Tainui: Journey of a people

The Tainui people invite you to journey with them from their origins in the eastern Pacific to their lives in present-day Aotearoa and beyond. Through arresting artworks and other cultural treasures, you'll experience a people's courage, resourcefulness, and resilience. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Walter Cook: A collector's quest

A diverse collection of ceramics and metalwork tells the story of modern design in the decorative arts – and of a collector's driving passion. **Level 6. Free entry.**
 Jug, 1879-82, designed by Christopher Dresser for Lanthorn Art Pottery. Gift of Walter Cook, 1992. Te Papa (G0001806)



The Mixing Room

Bursting with creativity, over 70 young refugees to New Zealand tell their extraordinary stories – through art, film, poetry, performance, and digital media. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Tangata o le Moana

This exhibition tells stories of Pacific people past and present, in all areas of life – on the street, on the sports field, in the recording studio, on the political stage, and beyond. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Toi Te Papa Art of the Nation

Experience the richness and diversity of New Zealand's artistic heritage through more than 300 impressive artworks. **Level 5. Free entry.**

A one-hour whistle stop

Running desperately low on history, art, and science? You could benefit from an emergency top-up! In just one hour, you'll have time for a quick fix from two, or possibly more, of the following favourites.

OurSpace

Take the plunge on The Deep Ride to explore an undersea volcano. And buckle up for The High Ride, the wildest aerial tour ever! **Level 2. Charges apply.**

TelstraClear

In partnership with TVNZ

Awesome Forces

Feel the power! Appreciate the staggering forces that shape our land. Rather than the rattle and hum of a real tremor, many visitors opt for the Earthquake House! **Level 2. Free entry.**

Colossal Squid

It's big. It's weird. It's creepy. And it's here at Te Papa! **Level 2. Free entry.**

Mountains to Sea

In just a few long strides, you can sample New Zealand's stunningly diverse animal and plant life. **Level 2. Free entry.**

Golden Days

This amazing junk shop comes alive with kaleidoscopic visions of Kiwi culture and history. **Level 4. Free entry. Bookings essential.**

Britten Bike

Vroom! Check out John Britten's revolutionary racing bike, right next to **Level 4 Espresso. Free entry.**

The Marae

Come and wonder at this beautiful meeting place, designed and created by masters of Māori art. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Take a guided tour

Introducing Te Papa

A 60-minute tour of Museum highlights. Daily: 10.15am, 11am, 12 noon, 1pm, 2pm, and 3pm, with an extra tour on Thursdays at 7pm. Adult \$14, child (15 years and under) \$7. Book on the day at the Information Desk, Level 2.

Private group tours

Private group tours are easy to arrange. Choose from a variety of options or tailor your own!

For details

See tepapa.govt.nz/tours
 Phone (04) 381 7111
 Email tours@tepapa.govt.nz

Maps

Te Papa Explorer is a handy booklet with floor maps and suggested themed tours. Available from the Information Desk, Level 2. \$3.



tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions

Entry to Te Papa is free. Charges apply to some exhibitions and events.

All funds help support our exhibitions, research, conservation, and education programmes – now and into the future. Thank you for supporting Te Papa.

Figure 7.13 'November at Te Papa' information guide centrefold

In the same information guide, there is also "A one-hour whistle stop", which features a list of exhibitions that represent the 'top attractions' or 'highlights' of the museum. This section of the text again demonstrates the mix of genres (advertising and information), but also constructs what the museum has to offer as products for quick consumption. This point is evident in the accompanying text:

A one-hour whistle stop

Running desperately low on history, art, and science? You could benefit from an emergency top-up! In just one hour, you'll have time for a quick fix from two, or possibly more, of the following favourites.

Figure 7.14 'A one-hour whistle stop' Te Papa highlights information

In this text, the museum visit is portrayed as a "quick fix", which has the connotation of something that is 'fast' and 'easy'. In traditional curatorial discourse, the museum visit was of an educational and instructive nature (Knell, 2003) which would have required a decent or reasonable amount of time. In the contemporary curatorial organisation, the museum visit and its attractions can be quickly and easily 'consumed'. This construction is partly due to the

discourses of accessibility and democratisation in the contemporary curatorial sector, but in the context of the “one hour”- “quick fix” museum text, it is also evidence of the advertising discourse, shaping the museum visit into a marketable product. The text also simplifies the nature of a trip to the museum, making it seem like any other leisure or recreational experience. Fairclough (1992, p. 196) talks about the use of ‘metaphor’ as a language feature that “reduces complexity” and this text arguably makes the trip to the museum appear to be like a trip to the mall: ‘a quick fix’, to get ‘one or two’ experiences, a ‘top up’ to set you right. However, this construction creates the potential for the museum to live up to a basic and simplified experience, only then providing visitors with ‘quick fix’ exhibits and appealing ‘attractions’. The latter is also a criticism of the democratisation discourse, that it causes a ‘dumbing down’ of content (Templer, 2008) satisfying the masses, but falling short on cultural and curatorial responsibility.

A “quick fix” can also imply that there is a problem to be fixed, and that this problem could be rapidly alleviated. The ‘problem’ in the context of this material is the fact that the prospective visitor is “running desperately low” on culture, which conveys a ‘need’ for the museum visit with a sense of urgency. The prospective visitor is furthermore constructed as a culturally savvy consumer, as the opening question asks whether the visitor needs “history, art and science”, implying that he or she already has an interest in these fields. But the text again shows how the text producer, the museum, is in the position of authority: the discourse is almost pseudo-medical, with the museum constructed as being in the position to ‘cure’ the ‘ailing’ visitor of their lack of cultural consumption. The overall tone is ‘fun’, though, further positioning the museum as place of entertainment and recreation.

A similar structure is found in the Auckland War Memorial Museum *September – October 2011 What’s on* guide (see Figure 7.15), where the ‘blockbuster’ exhibition *AQUA* is featured prominently throughout the booklet, from the welcome message through to the two-page spread in the centre of the brochure, as well as in the additional programmes, such as for the school holidays. The *AQUA* exhibition itself is presented as being both educational and entertaining – the kind of ‘edutainment’ (Addis, 2005; Lepouras & Vassilakis, 2005) that appeals to a wide audience, and is easily marketed in connection with a wide range of museum activity. To illustrate, *AQUA* is connected to the museum and visitor ‘experience’, but also to more ‘serious’ concerns, such as environmental preservation and water conservation, and the work the museum is doing in connection with these.



AQUA
Thousands of Aucklanders have experienced this spectacular interactive exhibition created by ONE DROP in collaboration with Cirque du Soleil – don't miss your chance.

MUST END 24 OCT 2011
HALF HOUR SESSIONS DAILY FROM 10AM

Special Exhibitions Hall
Adults \$15, Children \$5, (Rush pricing after 2.30pm \$7.50 - excluding school holidays and weekends)

AQUA uses massive 360° projections, interactive digital screens, music and visual effects and actual water displays to draw visitors into the experience and bring the story of water to life. Auckland Museum is the first international museum to host AQUA outside Canada where it was created. Throughout the 30-minute guided experience, you carry your own water drop and interact with the digital screens – changing a calm ocean to a stormy sea or revealing messages about what water means to people in other countries. AQUA is about water around the world; how it's distributed, how it's used and how we can protect this vital resource.

HOW IS AUCKLAND MUSEUM SAVING WATER?
Changing people's attitudes towards water is at the heart of the AQUA experience. Auckland Museum has begun making changes to look after this precious resource and has become the first museum in the world to achieve CEMARS (Certified Emissions Measurement and Reduction Scheme) certification. We're taking steps to reduce our emissions and have curbed water usage:

- a new water meter allows the building and facilities team to closely monitor water consumption and address leaks or unexpected spikes in water use
- the Welcome Lounge for visitors uses hi-tech sensors for taps and toilets to dramatically reduce water consumption
- outdoor sensors mean whenever it rains the Museum's irrigation system is set to skip a day.

WORLD WATER DAY
SUN 18 SEP, 10AM - 3PM
Atrium & The Blue Room
FREE

Auckland Museum is marking World Water Monitoring Day and Conservation Week by diving into our own water and seeing what we discover. In conjunction with Waikare & Landcare, come along to find out everything you wanted to know about our water but were afraid to ask. Water from our region will be examined and tested by scientists with the results shared firsthand with our visitors. You can even have a go at 'dipping' for water at the site of Auckland's first water source; the Domain ponds and streams. Watercare's Great Drain Game will also be set up outside so you can explore the curious workings of the storm water drain system. Come and see the diversity of plant and marine life living in our waterways and decide whether New Zealand's water deserves the "100% pure" label.

AQUA TRAIL
Museum-wide
FREE

Follow our first mobile trail to uncover the water stories behind some of the incredible objects in our galleries – from Wild Child to Maori Court, Origins to the Armoury. Find the 22 objects dotted along the AQUA TRAIL and discover 'behind-the-scenes' information about this museum's incredible collections. Connect to the free AQUA Wi-Fi (wireless internet) network in the Museum to follow the mobile trail. Made for iPhone, iPod Touch and iPad, mobile devices available from information desks. For more information visit aucklandmuseum.com/aqua

Figure 7.15 Auckland Museum What's On guide AQUA information centre pages

In all of these information guide texts, the emphasis on 'experience' and 'interactivity' is seen in the way that the texts are 'overworded' (Fairclough, 1992) for these discourses: for example, "discover", "explore", "experience", "meet", "join" and "connect" are all words in the information guides that contribute towards constructing the museum visit as an active and participatory one. For the museum or gallery, the organisation is setting itself up as the deliverer of experience, and as the prospective visitors' "friend". For the visitors, the trip to the museum is not only an experience, it is also seen as a place to engage with the community, as a place to have fun in, and a place for the family. These latter connections are even more evident in the online information guides for museums and galleries.

In terms of the information guides online, the exhibition and event materials demonstrate a similar pattern to the print guides described above, namely that the headlines are followed by the more detailed pages with specific exhibition or event information. For example, the material on the *Degas to Dali* online information page features the 'highlights' of the exhibition at the outset, drawing attention to the names of the artists that will be on display, but also features the "kids' programmes" and "open late" evenings, which further the emphasis on accessibility and 'edutainment' in the democratised museum. However, the online pages are interactive and 'live', so readers are presented with moving content, image-

loops and active hyper-links that encourage them to 'explore' the information. As a result, readers are given a measure of control over the reading process: they may choose to follow the links, or stay on the selected page; they may choose to save the information to later; or they may invite others to read the text by sharing the information via email or social media.

The interaction and 'engagement' afforded by the online formats mean that some of the material presented actually constitutes an 'exhibition' in its own right. An example of such an 'online exhibition' is *Treaty 2U*, an interactive website about the Treaty of Waitangi hosted by Te Papa (see Figure 7.16).

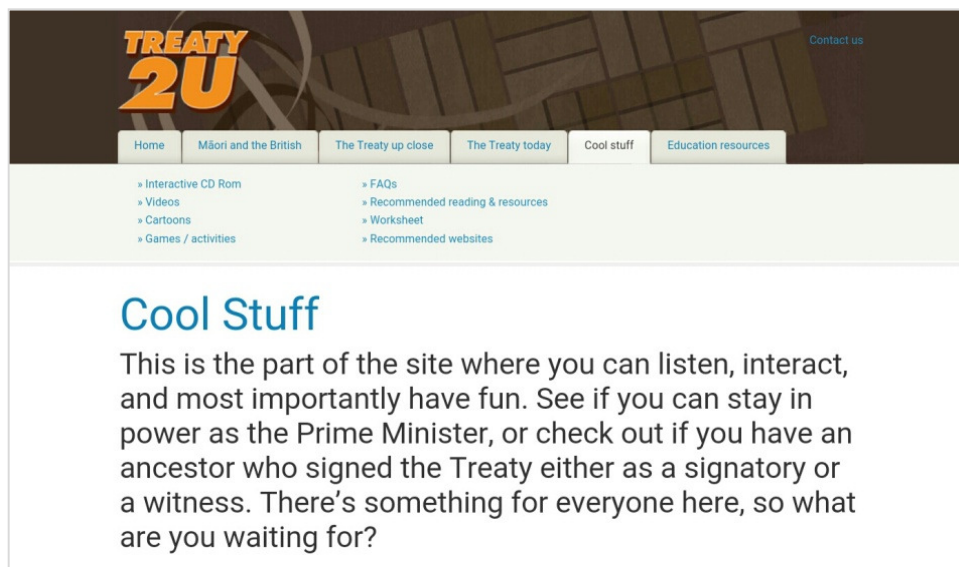


Figure 7.16 'Treaty 2U' online exhibition 'Cool stuff' interactive section

The *Treaty 2U* webpage can be accessed from the Te Papa website, and provides information about the *Treaty 2U* exhibition held at the museum, but also, details about the travelling component to the exhibition, which is a mobile display that travels around New Zealand visiting secondary schools. However, the online format gives the museum the opportunity to present the *Treaty 2U* exhibition online too, through digitised images of artefacts and historical documents, as well as interactive games and videos. As a result, the exhibition information page also serves as a marketised and democratised museum exhibit: one that features 'edutainment', interactivity and the use of new media and digital technologies.

While an exhibition like *Treaty 2U* is certainly an exemplary case of increasing accessibility, it again raises concerns about the simplification of museum materials in favour of 'popular' and marketable products. For example, while the games and videos in *Treaty 2U* present the early history of New Zealand and the Treaty signing in an accessible and engaging manner, it also

arguably 'over-simplifies' a very complex and layered subject matter. Furthermore, the name "Treaty 2U" can also be considered accessible and engaging, drawing on 'texting' vernacular in the use of the abbreviated "2" (to) and "U" (you), making the title of the exhibition appealing to the school-aged audience and in theory, captivating their interest in the subject. However, the popularised title could well encourage a simplistic view of the material at hand, that the exhibition is more about the 'edutainment' and less about dealing with the constitutional formation of New Zealand. The online format, therefore, while affording a wide range of opportunities for museums and galleries and their visitors, also places the spotlight on the potential ramifications of 'accessibility' the presentation of content, the nature of the museum visit, and the marketing at visitors.

The exhibition and event information segments tend to conclude with a 'call to action' for the visitor. Sometimes this call to action is as simple as the exhibition and location dates themselves, while at other times the call is more personally directed to the visitor, such as "Don't miss your chance to..." The call to action is also often accompanied by commercial information, such as the cost of exhibitions or admission fees, as well as the inclusion of event or exhibition sponsors. The overt inclusion of this information reinforces the commercialisation of the museum or gallery visit, and reiterates to 'visitors' their role as 'customers' in the museum experience. Additionally, there is also usually a final section of general information about the museum or gallery, which include: opening hours, accessibility, parking, an address or map indicating where the museum or gallery is located, contact details and other facility information. The latter also specifies the museum or gallery's research libraries and their opening hours, as well as the cafe, shop and touring details. This 'general' information material section not only provides the prospective visitor with all of the 'relevant' information needed to plan a visit, but also, has the effect of presenting the museum or gallery as a multi-functional facility, not 'just' a cultural repository.

An example of the way the museum is constructed as a 'facility' is in the *Te Papa – More than a museum* brochure. The concept of experience makes the museum visit more marketable, and reinforces the marketisation idea that the museum visit is a 'product' that can be 'sold'. In this framework too, the 'visitor' can be seen as the 'customer' in relation to the museum visit. Rowley (1999, p. 303) refers to the museum visit as the 'total customer experience': "from the moment that the customer seeks to park their car or make a connection through the telephone network to the moment the customer leaves the museum with the appropriate information, or leisure experience." The *More than a Museum* pamphlet offers "Coats and

bags”, “Parking” and other amenities information, as well as “Connect with us”, showing a link to the Te Papa website and social media sites (see Figure 7.3). Such information shows awareness of the customer experience concept and also encourages the longer term connection with those who have visited, by directing them to the online material.

The integration between advertising discourse and museum information is also evident (see Figure 7.17). For example, under the heading “Te Papa Cafe”, the brochure says the following:

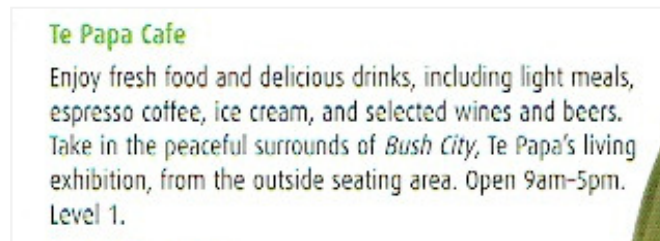


Figure 7.17 'Te Papa – More than a museum' cafe information

The text structure is information giving, and fits with the conventions of museum exhibit information: key features, opening times, location in the museum. However, the information is about the cafe, not an exhibit. The text references an exhibition ('Bush City'), but that is secondary to the description of the food. Furthermore, the text indicates that visitors can see, or “take in”, the exhibit *while* spending time at the cafe. Combining these two actions constructs the museum visit as a predominantly leisure-based activity, and feeds into the wider construction the museum and gallery as an 'experience'.

7.5 Activity type: other features

As part of the analysis of activity type, Fairclough (1992) explains that the 'style' of the text gives insight into the genre, but also, insight into the constituting and positioning of subjects in the text. Style can be analysed in terms of rhetorical mode, tenor and mode (Fairclough, 1992). For the museum information guides, both online and in print form, the rhetorical mode is that of 'giving information'. In these texts, the museum is the source of information, and the potential visitor is the recipient, which creates an unequal power relationship between the museum or gallery organisation and the visitor. The latter is particularly evident in the information guides through the use of categorical assertions, which place the museum or gallery organisation in a position of power or authority. However, the style overall is 'friendly'

in tenor: the tone of the text is informal, and the writing draws on 'lifeworld' discourse, and often the visitor is addressed through pronouns. The style of the text, therefore, gives the impression that the museum and the visitors were, in fact, in a symmetrical relationship, even so far as to suggest that the visitors are in control (of their visit), which is potentially contradictory.

Fairclough (1992, p. 120) also comments on presuppositions in the text, which are "propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or 'given'." One aspect of analysing presuppositions is in terms of member resources, as in, what the reader brings to the interpretation of the text. So on the one hand, the readers of the museum and gallery texts are expecting 'information' when they see "What's on", or "November at Te Papa", and in all likelihood, information-seeking would be the dominant reading or interpretation of the text. On the other hand, though, readers expect a level of 'promotion' too: "More than a museum" or "A curious visit" can be read as promotional texts, with the material designed to 'sell' what the museum or gallery has to offer to the visitor. However, in the latter interpretation, readers are likely to unconsciously internalise the promotional elements in the text. While they perhaps anticipate a level of 'advertising', they are unlikely to overtly critique the promotion, as their main purpose for reading the text is to gather information.

Presuppositions can also be analysed in terms of the agent in the text, which in the case of the museum and gallery texts, is the museum or gallery organisation itself. The agent makes the decisions as to what information is included, what is excluded and the manner in which that information is presented in the text. The material included in the information guides tend to emphasise 'feature' exhibitions and events taking place at the museums or galleries, more so than the 'permanent' collections or installations. The exception to the latter is in the case of the prominence given to 'visitor experience' features, such as information about opening hours, the shop or cafe. Examining the material for these agency features is useful in terms of seeing the way the readership is constructed in the text: the hybridised text format encourages a reading of the text which accepts the promotion alongside the information, meaning that the 'reader' is constructed as both potential 'visitor' and 'consumer'. Fairclough (1992, p. 194) comments on such positioning of readers as "the constitution of subjects as consumers." He continues, explaining that these hybridised "discursive practices simultaneously generate a (consumerist) view of the world, and a community (of consumers) associated with such a view" (Fairclough, 1992, p.134).

The latter 'consumerist view' is evident in the online material, where the 'customer experience' is promoted through website options such as "Store" and "Venues". Taking venues as an example of customer service, Te Papa offers the opportunity for venue hire: there are eight spaces in the museum which are available to hire for events, conferences and weddings. In addition to the spaces themselves, Te Papa also has an events management team and full catering service (see Figure 7.18). The discourse in these online texts demonstrate how marketing strategies encourage visitors to view the museum and gallery as an 'experience' and to view the organisation in the wider context of the marketplace, as an organisation that offers "more than" what has traditionally been expected of a curatorial organisation. The marketisation of the discourse in museum information and the promotion of other 'services' by curatorial organisations show that, all in all, the type of marketing strategy that is developed promotes the museum as an organisation that transcends the collection.

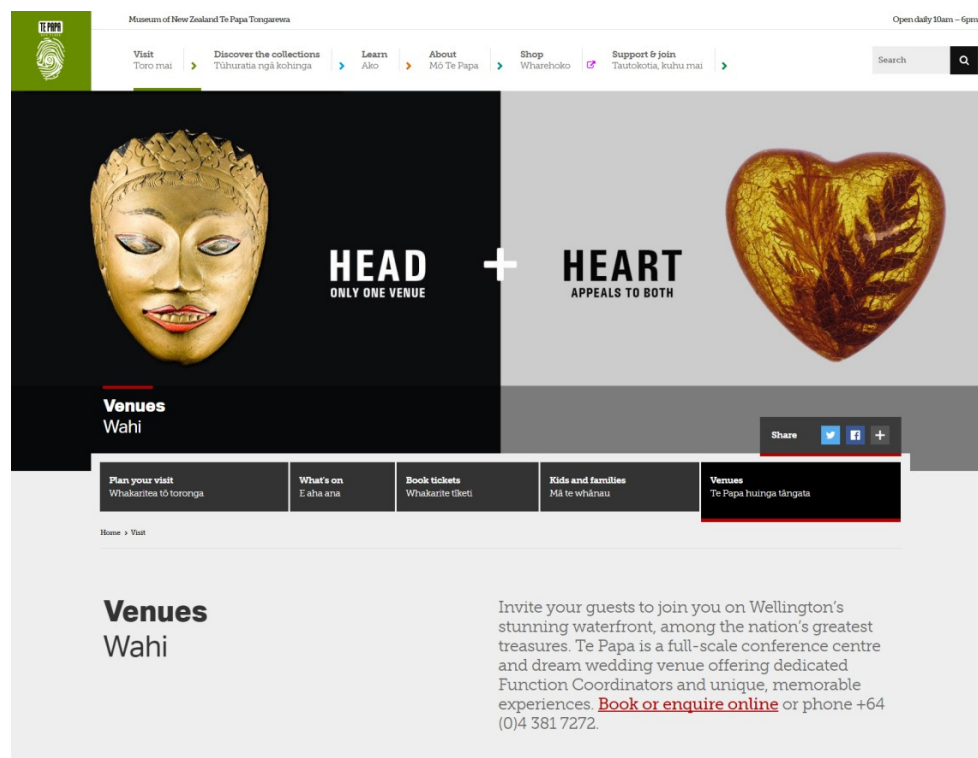


Figure 7.18 Te Papa 'Venues' information webpage

7.6 Social relations: interactional control

Fairclough (1992, p. 137) explains that the analysis of social relations is concerned with the "interpersonal function of language and interpersonal meanings", which show the way social

identities are exercised and manifested in the discourse, but also, how they are constructed in the text. These social relations can be analysed through interactional control features, including turn-taking, exchange structure, topic control and the setting and policing of agendas. For the museum and gallery texts, these social relations are evident in the online and social media interactions on the museum and gallery websites and related pages. Analysing the interactional control features in these texts gives insight into the relationship between the participants in the discourse, namely the relationship between the curatorial organisation and the prospective visitors. Fairclough (1992, p. 152) explains that this form of analysis "is therefore a means of explicating the concrete enactment and negotiation of social relations in social practice."

Fairclough (1992) identifies the interactional control features as being genre-specific. Social media, as a genre, has specific conventions which govern the interaction that takes place on the networking pages and sites. Social networking sites, such as Facebook or Twitter, establish a "newsfeed" which constitutes the central 'conversation' between the participants in the discourse. It is in the newsfeed that the participants are identified: for the most part, the museum or gallery is identified by organisation name ("Auckland Art Gallery" or "Auckland Museum"), and the visitors to the sites are identified by their social media profiles (usually their names and a profile picture). The newsfeed also shows the turn-taking systems that exist on these pages. The turn-taking systems give insight into the relationship between the participants, especially which participants are in a position of power (Fairclough, 1992). On the museum and gallery social media sites, the newsfeed is characterised by official posts made by the organisation, which initiate the conversation with the site visitors. Visitors take their turn by responding to the posts, either through a 'comment' or 'like' feature. They can choose to further the interaction, by 'sharing' the official posts in their own profiles, in the same way they would a "friend's" post.

Some of the latter interaction gives the impression that the curatorial organisations and the visitors are in a symmetrical relationship: the synthetic personalisation and the sharing of posts suggest a relationship where the museum and the visitor are "friends". However, the curatorial organisations control the turn-taking systems: they decide whether or not to give credence to visitor's replies, and whether or not to 'terminate' the conversation by moving onto another topic or official line of posting. Therefore, the museum is the powerful participant and the social media visitor the non-powerful participant in the interactions taking place. For example, in the Auckland Museum AQUA Facebook interactions, there are a

number of individuals who register their support for the museum's feedback request: "keen as"; "I'll help"; "Awesome". The conversation is concluded by the museum, though, with the following post: "Thanks so much for your support - make sure you send an email through to Adrienne at vresearch@aucklandmuseum.com and she'll send you details of how to be part of this research" (see Figure 7.10). The above type of interaction demonstrates that the power to control the conversation lies with the museum or gallery organisation.

The asymmetrical power relationship between the museum and the visitor is also evident in the 'exchange structure'. Fairclough (1992) identifies different types of 'adjacency pairs' in exchange structure that could be represented in conversation: question-answer, greeting-greeting, complaint-apology, invitation-acceptance or rejection. In terms of the museum and gallery social media pages, the exchanges are characterised by the following structure: the museum or gallery will 'post' the question, the greeting or the invitation, and the social media visitors will respond, by answering or 'liking' the posts. However, in the social media exchange structure, the visitor is afforded some more interactional control in the 'furthered' conversation. For example, in the forwarding or re-posting of the message, the visitor transforms the initial interaction between the museum and the visitor. This 'new' interaction has the potential to transform the meaning of the text, as the context would have changed and consequent interpreters could 'read' the text differently.

For example, the Auckland Art Gallery posted an image of jewellery being sold at the gallery store, accompanied by the following message: "Check out these fun, vibrant, hand-formed polymer clay necklaces by Melbourne-based designer Emily Green. \$79 from our ground floor shop" (see Figure 7.19). This post was 'shared' three times and commented on by the social media users who forwarded the message (see Appendix B11 for all of the shared posts). In their comments, though, these users remarked somewhat negatively about the Auckland Art Gallery store: the choice to stock Australian artists instead of New Zealand artists, and also the idea of 'polymer clay' being considered 'fine art'. These comments and responses are available for view on the Auckland Art Gallery's public page, which is one of the risks associated with social media sites, namely that, the organisation does not have full control over what is said by the site users (Leavesley, 2014).

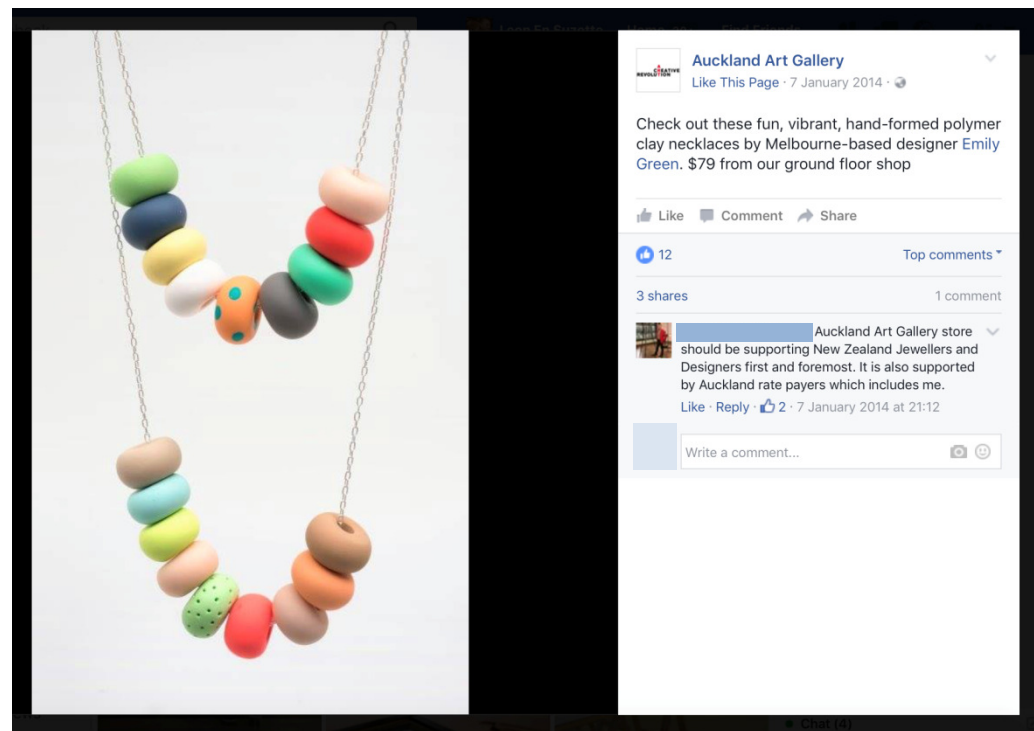


Figure 7.19 Auckland Art Gallery Shop post and commentary

However, in terms of topic control, the social media interactions demonstrate the curatorial organisation's advantage. The museum or gallery sets the topic for discussion, and can choose whether or not to further the subject matter. In this way too, the curatorial organisation sets the agenda for the interactions that take place on the social media sites. Fairclough (1992, p. 155) says regarding agendas, that they "are often explicitly set at the beginning of an interaction by P," namely, the powerful participant. Fairclough (1992) furthermore points out that these agendas are 'policed' by the powerful participant in the interaction. On the museum or gallery social media page, the curatorial organisations set and police the agenda: through the official newsfeed, they set the topic, but also control the interaction by choosing to end discussion forums or remove posts.

In the social media format, though, there are nonetheless ways for non-powerful participants to counter or resist the agenda, even if they do so inadvertently. For instance, there is room for social media users to 'get off topic' when it comes to their interactions with the museum or gallery. An example of this off-topic discussion is evident in the 'Reviews' section of the Auckland Art Gallery Facebook page. Listed among the 4-star reviews, one user posted the following message: "Looks fantastic! If you are interested in art from Peru, please check my facebook page, Paolo Cordano Art. Thank you!" The initial part of the message conforms to the set agenda, namely a review of the Auckland Art Gallery. However, the second part of the

post demonstrates how the social media user diverts the interaction towards a new subject: his art page on Facebook. The new topic directs attention away from the official agenda and could develop into further interactions which steer the topic even further away from the Gallery review section. These kinds of off-topic discussions are part of what constitutes social relations on the social media sites and something that the museums and galleries must contend with.



Figure 7.20 Auckland Art Gallery user review and off-topic comment

7.7 Summary

New Zealand museums and art galleries produce and distribute a range of marketing materials, both in print and online form, that are designed to provide the prospective visitor with information about the curatorial organisation and the exhibitions and events taking place. While the primary purpose of these texts is to provide information, the materials themselves are of a promotional nature and can therefore be considered 'hybridised' as a blend between 'advertising' and 'information'. As the materials are hybridised, there is an assumption that when readers consume these texts, they will be able to 'make sense' of the material by drawing on their understanding of advertising conventions in the reading of the texts, which also implies that readers will, to a greater or lesser extent, be expecting some form of marketing when they look at museum or gallery information. The production, distribution and consumption of these texts, then, demonstrate the naturalisation of promotion in the discourse associated with museum or gallery information, and facilitates an expectation on the readers' behalf, that the 'information' provided by the curatorial organisation constitutes the 'recommended' museum or gallery 'visit'.

What is 'recommended' for the museum or gallery visit is all about "the experience": the marketing materials are focused on promoting the curatorial organisation, not as a custodial

institution, but rather as a place of 'fun', leisure and entertainment. This promotion can be seen by the over-wording (Fairclough, 1992) in the texts for the concept of "interactivity": visitors are encouraged to 'discover', 'explore', 'enjoy', 'experience', 'meet', 'join', 'connect' and 'share', all of which are words that contribute towards the view of the museum or gallery visit as an interactive one, similar to that of a leisure or recreational experience. This view is also evident in the promotion of the range of services and activities offered by the museum or gallery, including the cafes and restaurants, the shops (both online and in-house) and the 'special events' such as film and music evenings, talks, panels and other activities and programmes not traditionally associated with a museum or gallery. The promotion of the museum or gallery visit as an interactive experience constructs the "visitor experience" as being active and participatory, and the "visitor" as the active participant, thereby constructing and perpetuating the view that the 'recommended' museum or gallery visit is 'all about experience'.

This construction of the museum or gallery as a multi-functional place of fun is partly due to discourses of democratisation, making the curatorial organisation an open and accessible place, and encouraging of community activity and involvement (Knell, 2003; Templer, 2008; Sandell, 2003) but it is also due to the commercialisation and commodification of the "visitor experience". The latter is especially evident in the promotion of 'blockbuster' exhibitions like the Te Papa *Game Masters* exhibit or the Auckland Museum's *AQUA* experience; ticketed shows and events like the Auckland Art Gallery's *Degas to Dali* exhibition and related programme of talks, panels and event evenings; commercial services such as Te Papa's venue hire and function catering; as well as the prominent placement of sponsors in the marketing material and the overt branding of the museum or gallery, such as the Auckland Art Gallery's "ART" or the Auckland Museum's "AM". This commercialisation in the content of the marketing materials not only demonstrates an acceptance of commercialisation in the visitor experience, but also constructs and positions the "visitor" as a "customer" in relation to the museum or gallery, expecting them to engage with the organisation in a commercial way.

However, visitors are not only expected to engage with the museum or gallery on a commercial level, they are also encouraged to engage with the organisation on a "friendship" level. Both the print and online marketing materials demonstrate 'synthetic personalisation' (Fairclough, 1992), seen the 'you-centredness' of the texts and the use of personal pronouns when referring to either the visitor or the museum or gallery. This synthetic personalisation fosters an artificial relationship between the visitor and the museum or gallery, constructing

the two groups as “friends”. When I speak here of an ‘artificial’ relationship, I am describing a construct that on the surface bears the appearance of a ‘friendship’, but on closer examination, is a ‘connection’ from which the organisation derives far more material benefits than the visitor. The personalisation that occurs is seen especially in the social media interactions between curatorial organisations and their visitors, which not only facilitates an informal and ‘friendly’ conversation between the two groups, but also constructs the visitor as being on the same level as the organisation, with an equal power balance in the relationship. However, this power balance is really an illusion because the museum or gallery organisation is still the entity that sets the agenda for these interactions, and the interactions themselves nonetheless have an economic or market-driven imperative: whether it is as ‘customers’ or as ‘friends’, readers of museum or gallery information materials are still seen as potential or actual ‘visitors’, and the end-goal for the organisation is to encourage as many visitors as possible to come to the museum or gallery.

The purpose of this chapter has been to address the research question: in what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct members of the public and the “visitor experience”? To answer this question, I have conducted a critical discourse analysis of selected marketing texts produced by New Zealand curatorial organisations, examining printed information guides, brochures and leaflets, as well as exhibition web-pages, museum and gallery homepages and corresponding social network interactions. In the next chapter I address my third and final research question: what themes emerge from workers’ lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work?

Chapter 8

Telling tales: Curatorial stories

The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of creative industries discourses on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In line with that purpose, this research aims to explore the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the sector, and also, changes in the discursive construction of both curatorial work and the concept of “the visitor”. Chapters five to seven have addressed the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand since 1992, as well as show a case study of the influence of creative industries policies on a contemporary curatorial organisation, and demonstrate the ways in which promotional materials position and construct the members of the public and their ‘visitor experience’.

This final data chapter answers the third question in my research: “What themes emerge from workers’ lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of curatorial work?” The chapter is built from the thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006) of the data that I gathered from conducting semi-structured interviews with individuals working in the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. There were five participants involved in my research, each with a different background coming into and working in the curatorial sector. My participants therefore span a range of curatorial roles and encompass a wide variety of curatorial expertise. For my participants, the interview process afforded them an opportunity to tell their stories of working within the curatorial sector, providing, as it were, a snapshot of their working lives. In this chapter, I document that ‘snapshot’ through the six themes that have emerged from the analysis of the data.

In the write-up of this analysis, I was faced with the challenge of trying to convey the spoken word in written form: sometimes a participant would recount their view with speed and enthusiasm, while at other times a view would be presented in a more ponderous way. To illustrate the differences in style and substance, I have presented the quotes from my interviews in different ways: some of the quotes are embedded as part of a 'running-thought' of evidence, while other quotes are indented to show significance, both to the participant's viewpoint and to the theme in the research. I have aimed for consistency, especially in accord with the protocol of APA 6th, but I have also used personal judgement in determining the write-up of the interview data and participant quotes, so as to best relay my participants' "lived experience" of working in the curatorial sector, their understandings of creativity and performance of curatorial work.

In as much as the participants themselves were telling me their own stories in their interviews, their work itself involves the telling of different stories: the story of collected materials and constructed exhibitions; the background story of artists' work, or the tales of artists themselves, told on their behalf; stories even of the policies that govern curatorial organisations, conveying the role such policy has in the organisation and the impact of these on the curatorial function. This chapter, therefore, captures these participant stories, documenting a representation of lived experience working within the curatorial sector: essentially, telling the tale of these storytellers.

8.1 'For the love of...': guardians, guides and gurus

The tale told is one dominated by the passion and enthusiasm the participants had for their work and 'curatorship'. In all of the interviews conducted, the participants expressed zeal for what they do: they spoke excitedly about curating large exhibitions, staging commercial showcases, and displaying artwork in abstract spaces. They discussed, at length, their sources for inspiration, what it was that made them pursue a line of research, campaign for a cultural artefact, or advocate for an artist. They enjoyed the multifaceted nature of curatorial work, taking pride in every aspect of their work, from tasks that involved a more administrative focus, to responsibilities that involved community outreach or public involvement. All in all, the participants painted the proverbial picture of curatorial work as something which they 'loved to do'. To show the participants' passion and enthusiasm for their work, I have chosen to frame the discussion around the different ways they fulfil their curatorial role: as 'guardians' of heritage, 'guides' for the public, and 'gurus' in their respective fields.

In telling me about their work, participants demonstrated a strong commitment to the curatorial function, expressing a sense of guardianship over the history and heritage in their care. In all of the interviews, participants were eager to comment on the 'greater good' of curatorial activity: they discussed how it preserves heritage for future generations, provides forum for discussion and debate on current issues, encourages creativity and creative people, and engages the wider public in an accessible manner. The participants, therefore, took very seriously the definition of 'curator' which means 'to care for': they were committed to their roles, to the point where they referred to themselves as 'champions' of the collections and works in their sector. This commitment was evident in the way participants talked extensively about their projects and exhibitions, using such phrases as "I love it"; "that's what makes it so fascinating"; "that's what makes it so enriching" (personal communication, Participant #3).

Participants saw themselves as guardians in the way they served, not only as enthusiasts for the collected heritage, but also as supporters of the collectors and contributors to the sector. For example, there was the unrelenting support for artists as explained by Participant #2: "I see myself as an advocate, as a champion of the people who I show...I believe in them, and I want other people to take them as seriously as I do...I wanna give them every opportunity I can." For Participant #3, this advocacy also extended towards the curatorial organisation itself, as well as the community or public it serviced: "...the object has needs, the community has needs, the gallery has needs. And it's just constantly being aware of that kind of thing." In a similar vein, Participant #4 also commented on the need of supporting artists, organisations and communities, so that all three contributing groups were actively considered: "...you wanna engage them on a level of critique." Such affirmations helped illustrate the participants' commitment to the contributors to, and supporters of, the curatorial sector and the curatorial function.

A significant factor that also influenced participants' commitment was the sense of responsibility to 'guide' people through the culture and heritage in curatorial care. For those participants in the public sector, much of their curatorial work involved 'telling the tale' of history or interpreting heritage material for the public. For those working in the commercial side of the sector, their work too involved interpretation, such as in the writing of descriptions for the artworks for auction or sale. Central to this aspect of their work was the concept of engagement, both for the participants themselves, as well as for the public or audience. Participant #1 found the exhibition stage of the curatorial process particularly engaging: she explained, "My favourite part of it is the staging and the dressing of the room and I suppose

the curating of a space...It's the most exciting part, because, it's where the magic happens." Likewise for Participant #3, the work of staging exhibits kept her motivated, to the point where she had turned down jobs in gallery management, so that she could remain working with the artworks entrusted to her care, engaging with the curatorial sector at the level of the object. She mused, "You know I have been offered managerial positions and yeah actually I don't want them because I wanna work for me, my love is working with objects and you learn, you know I love that whole learning process."

Another factor that also influenced participants' commitment and enthusiasm for their work was the concept of integrity. Participant #3 expressed this concept in her work in that she maintained integrity towards the objects she was curating, towards the creator of those objects, as well as to the organisation that employed her. She explained, "...you've got to show integrity towards the artists. You've got to show, you've got to demonstrate the integrity of the institution, you've got to think about your audience...it's also a way of enriching the object, if you are sensitive to those needs" (personal communication, Participant #3). In this sense, integrity was equated with sincerity in dealings: the interactions between the participants and the materials in their care, as well as the organisations they worked for and the attending public. The aim of this integrity was also well summarised by Participant #3, when she stated: "That's that thing about integrity, you know, you gotta be able to justify what you do."

The latter perspective on integrity and sincerity in dealings was also picked up by Participant #2, who focused on the need for curatorial organisations, and those who work in them, "to be point of view driven." She explained:

I think, you know the biggest benchmark of whether a public art museum is doing a really, really good job is probably that, not only it's engaging a wide public, but that it enjoys the respect of those who are most involved in the production and early reception of art. So, I mean I think if you alienate your core audience of artists, collectors, critics, gallerists, dealers, students – if those people aren't excited by what you're doing, then you know, I think it's a mistake to think you could excite other people. (personal communication, Participant #2)

For Participant #2, part of what made a curatorial organisation 'really good' was when those working in the museum or gallery were 'excited' and 'driven', ready to present to the public something they themselves felt strongly about. In this sense too, integrity in the work was

also about respect, and earning respect, in the curatorial sector. Participant #1 also drew on this concept when she spoke of authenticity in her work. She remarked, "I think, you know, that there's a need for authenticity, exhibits need to be authentic" (personal communication, Participant #1). Integrity, authenticity and sincerity, along with passion and enthusiasm were all key characteristics that emerged from analysis of the interview data: all of these qualities were 'key elements' to curatorial work and therefore, give insight into the nature of the "lived experience" of working in the curatorial sector.

The participants' passion and enthusiasm for their work in the curatorial sector also meant that it placed them in a forefront position in their respective fields. Some participants had been in their roles for many years, demonstrating their commitment to their curatorial work: as Participant #3 observed of her role as a curator, "none of my other jobs have lasted that long!" By virtue of their advocacy and experience, many of the participants could conceivably be thought of as 'experts' in their fields, 'gurus' of the curatorial sector. As experts, the participants could, not only inform through their interpretation of curatorial material, but rather, craft a curatorial experience for the visitors to the museum or gallery, or indeed 'sell' the story for an artwork or decorative piece up for auction. As Participant #3 explained, it was not just about the collection: a good curator had "to bring the collection to life." But in order for the participants to be able to craft such an experience, expertly interpreting the collection, they needed knowledge and experience in their respective fields: the question was raised as to whether these 'gurus' also needed to be 'graduates'.

8.2 Education: necessity or nicety?

All of my participants, to some extent, spoke about education in the curatorial sector. In terms of capturing their views, I have chosen to pose a question about the relationship between formal education & curatorial work, because the role of education in the curatorial sector saw such an even split in the responses my participants gave. On the one hand, some of my participants felt that formal, tertiary education was a 'necessity' for everyone wishing to work in the curatorial sector. On the other hand, some of my participants placed greater emphasis on informal training and practical experience, therefore viewing formalised education as more of a 'nicety'. Regardless of their views, though, all of my participants had a strong opinion on the nature of education in the curatorial realm, and that 'education' was a key theme in the lived experience of those working in the sector.

For some of my participants, 'education' meant formalised, tertiary qualification. This education was seen as an essential first step for working within the curatorial sector: my participants commented on needing to have the academic knowledge for the field that they would be curating, or background knowledge of the field they would working around. Participant #3, for example, spoke of the need for tertiary education to work as a curator in an art gallery, when she affirmed: "You've got to have the art history...you've got to have that knowledge." The latter perspective of formal education as a necessity situates the idea of the curator as an 'expert', who can, and who does, interpret field-specific material in an expert fashion to the potential audience (Brenson, 1998; Charlesworth, 2007; O'Neill, 2007). It was, therefore, not surprising to find some participants drawing on those ideas when referring to education in the curatorial field.

In addition to the academic knowledge, participants also commented on the importance of the reputation that comes with formal, tertiary education. For some, that formalised qualification was seen as necessary for individuals to gain respect and authority in the work environment. The latter view was commented on particularly by Participant #1, who explained: "...especially in the public sector of the museums, [I] would say that you need education for credibility, to be taken seriously, if you don't have those credentials, then you're overlooked" (personal communication, Participant #1). For Participant #1, tertiary qualification, or the lack thereof, was seen as the difference between being granted, or denied, access to work within certain sectors of the curatorial field. Formal education was therefore seen, not only in terms of knowledge needed for participants to work in the sector, but also as that which promoted status in, and admittance to, the work environment.

However, in discussing the role of formal education in the field, participants also commented on changes that had taken place in the education sector and the resultant impact on the curatorial sector in New Zealand. In particular, participants spoke of the increased development in tertiary study, both in the range of courses available, but also in the number of students pursuing university qualifications, especially in formerly less popular fields. Participant #2 discussed these points specifically in reference to visual arts, noting how in the past, "[visual arts education] was a pretty select activity", but that now, there were "five or six degree conferring institutions in Auckland alone" all offering "a raft of programmes." Participant #3 also commented on the increased popularity of tertiary study in the arts field, reflecting on the fact that "...particularly in the last ten years, the number of students doing art history has really increased" (personal communication, Participant #3). In this regard,

participants commented on the changes they saw in tertiary education, that it was becoming increasingly popular, and that as a result, there were increased numbers of students pursuing careers taking them into curatorial fields.

Furthermore, participants also showed that these increases in the tertiary sector did not correlate with increases in employment in the public sector. In fact, they observed the opposite: Participant #3 spoke about decreasing employment opportunities in the curatorial sector, stating that “there are a lot of students now...and of course there are very few jobs.” Participant #2 also touched on the matter when referring to one Auckland gallery organisation, namely that while the gallery itself was “terrific” and “wonderful”, the organisation did not encourage “enough development of young people into curators for the future.” Therefore, the general feeling was that there was an oversupply of students, not enough employment opportunities, and that the curatorial sector was not able to keep pace with the advancing education infrastructure and that there was a disjuncture between the tertiary education and the curatorial work environment.

This perceived disjoin between tertiary education and the curatorial environment was also articulated by other participants, who drew on wider critique regarding formal education in the sector. For example, Participant #2 commented on the growth of tertiary education, but in terms of what had not been developed as thoroughly: she says “...some things haven’t really, the critical infrastructure, I don’t think, has kept pace.” Participant #2 felt strongly about the matter, explaining: “I’m quite dismayed by the way in which art education has moved during this period. I think that there is not nearly enough focus on skills and not nearly enough focus on the individual anymore.” For Participant #2, the developments in tertiary education represented growth in quantity, but not necessarily in corresponding quality, and she expressed concern for the future impact of such standardised education.

Formal education in the curatorial sector was also critiqued for promoting quite a narrow view of the heritage materials under curatorial care. In particular, ‘traditional’ curatorial education (such as ‘art history’ or ‘natural history’) was criticised for being very Westernised, and that it followed a European model that precluded the wider acceptance of other cultural ways of learning and interpretation. Participant #4 voiced this critique specifically in regards to art education:

...the thing around art education, that philosophically it's kind of dependent on a Western canon, in terms of specific philosophers and the history of, and how we build the focus of what art means, to an education, or from an education point of view.

In Participant #4's opinion, formalised tertiary education was quite restrictive, imposing a particular way of thinking about 'art' and 'art history'. He went on to suggest that, rather than being a governing principle of work in the curatorial sector, education was better seen as a way to "open the mind": to serve as a way to expose people to wider ideas and concepts, so that both the reception and interpretation of curatorial materials would be informed from a broader perspective. In light of such critique, then, formalised education was seen as being only somewhat useful to curatorial work. This latter idea was also picked up by Participant #3, who drew specific attention to the distinction between academic knowledge and the practice of curating. She explained: "Now, you can be an academic, and you can have all the knowledge, and it doesn't mean you can be a curator. And that's where creativity comes in" (personal communication, Participant #3). For Participant #3, the scholastic function of formal education came secondary to other elements, in this case, the creativity needed as part of the curatorial process. Formal education, therefore, while necessary in some respects, was nonetheless ancillary to other elements.

One of these other elements was the priority of gaining experience, as opposed to tertiary qualification. Participant #1 relayed this point of view from the perspective of one who worked within the commercial side of the curatorial sector. She commented: "...if you walk into some place off the street and say I'm prepared to work and put in the hours and learn on the job, you can climb the ladder so to speak, and gain knowledge and experience and position that way" (personal communication, Participant #1). In this view, gaining experience was the equivalent of formal education, because it was through experience that the individual working in the curatorial sector would gain 'knowledge' and 'position'. Similarly, Participant #2 voiced the opinion that, for curators in particular, 'on the job' training was preferable to formalised education: "there's very little specialist training of curators in New Zealand, and I mean, I think probably the best kind of training for curators is practice-based." Overall, then, education was seen both as necessary in a formal and academic sense, but also seen as somewhat restrictive and in other ways, inferior to informal 'know-how' and knowledge gained through the practice of working in the curatorial field. As Participant #3 pointed out, "there is no straight-forward path, no one way into the curatorial field." Therefore, 'education'

was seen as only partly informing curatorial work, and oftentimes quite secondary to other elements, such as 'creativity'.

8.3 'Creativity in every form'

As an underpinning concept in my research, I have reviewed much literature on creativity and creative work, which has shown that the concept of 'creativity' is widely defined, and has many different connotations (Amabile, 2001; Bain, 2001; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; McRobbie, 1998). These different approaches to creativity range from more historical and artistic perspectives (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; McRobbie, 1998) to fairly practical and utilitarian views of creativity (Amabile, 2001). The theme that has emerged from my interview data confirms the literature, in that a similar wide range of understanding proved true for my participants. 'Creativity' meant something different to each individual. Participants had their own understanding of the term, a particular experience of it in their work environment, and also, a personal experience of the role that creativity played in their lives. I have, therefore, chosen to present the data under the theme of 'Creativity in every form', because the participants' views tell a tale of creativity that demonstrates the wide-ranging nature and experience of creativity in the curatorial sector.

When asked about their definition or understanding of 'creativity', participants often equated the concept with art or artistic expression, and used the term in reference to activity that required lateral thinking and originality. As Participant #1 explained, creativity to her meant

...artistic flair...to think outside of the box, in a sense, and also to transform something that's maybe mundane, into something that's more exciting and enticing and capturing.

Participant #1's perspective is illustrative of the somewhat more 'typical' views of creativity held by participants, that creativity involved 'inventive' and 'experimental' activity that pushed boundaries and opened new fields. In line with this perspective, Participant #2 considered creativity to be about "going deep" and that creative activity placed individuals "at the frontier of knowledge." For Participant #2, creativity was about breaking new ground. In speaking about art and artistic pursuits, she commented: "As far as I'm concerned, anything could be art, if it was done in the most extreme and fantastic way; there's nothing I'm going to rule out." In addition, then, to viewing creativity in line with originality, some participants

also viewed that originality as being closely related to artistic fields, and the possibilities that came from those artistic pursuits.

In this view of creativity, participants conceived of creativity much in the same way as DH Lawrence (1955) wrote of the ability of creativity and the creative person, to open a window on the “wild chaos” of the universe and reveal new visions of society. Akin to the ‘window’, Participant #3 likened her understanding of creativity to a ‘door’ – to her, creativity was “a door that opens, rather than a door that shuts” and that “the creative experience” was about “being open to possibilities.” For her, too, such creativity was vested in a person who could see these possibilities, even if these possibilities were not initially apparent. She explains that “...a creative person has to be lateral. So whatever your idea is, you’ve got to be prepared to change” (personal communication, Participant #3). Similarly, Participant #2 also drew on the concept of lateral thinking, explaining that creativity was “not a top of the head idea.” Instead, creativity was “a serious activity” where artists had “to get really immersed to do some really good thinking.” In this sense, creativity required much commitment, perseverance and often times, hard work.

Creativity was also thought of in its literal sense of ‘creation’, ‘to make’ or ‘to produce’. In this capacity, the term was used when referring to both the ‘process’ and the ‘product’ of artists and creative people. Participant #2 was especially passionate about the practical side of creativity, explaining that nowadays, “art has become all about ideas; it’s been about thinking, not about making.” She continues:

...most students are not very productive, they don’t actually make very much work. And I’m highly opinionated and extreme on this topic, but, you know, I believe that the most important factor in terms of developing anyone’s criticality is to practice.
(personal communication, Participant #2)

For Participant #2, the concept of creativity was closely linked to the actual process of making. She also says of the creative person, that “you have to actually do a lot, you have to make a lot, to get good at it” (personal communication, Participant #2). These views on the practice of creativity were resonant with other participants too, such as Participant #1, who conceived of creativity as “...being able to produce something out of nothing, or out of limited resources.” Participant #3 likewise emphasised the practical sense of creativity, stating of the creative experience that “...you are making something. In the end, you are making something, and you try to do it as creatively as possible.”

However, even in its literal sense, the concept of 'creativity' was still seen as distinct from 'creation'. As Participant #3 explained: "to create means to make, first of all. But to be creative, means to make in a different way." In this sense, creativity was viewed as a separate entity, different from the ability to create, and could conceivably be thought of as something unique or special. In fact, despite focusing on the importance of practice, Participant #2 still thought of creativity as a rare talent. She explains, that "it's very rare that people really manage to give artistic expression in an astute sort of way." Therefore, some participants thought of creativity as an artistic and rare talent, the purview of 'creatives', who were able to channel and give voice to inspiration.

In addition to giving their own understandings of the term, participants also described 'creativity' as connected to their work experience. All of the participants saw their work as a form of creative expression, though some expressed a stronger connection to creativity than others. Participant #3 felt that creativity formed a definitional part of her work as a curator:

Well the word 'curare', which is what 'curator' comes from means really 'to care for', but creativity, it seems to me is an essential part of it." (personal communication, Participant #3)

In this sense, creativity was linked closely to the objects and material in curatorial care and as being part of the 'lived experience' of working in the curatorial sector. Some participants also expressed affinity with a more artistic view of creativity when they referred to their work with exhibitions. For these individuals, it was an artistic perspective on creativity that best depicted the collating together of collection material to form an exhibit. Participant #2 even went so far as to say that "To be a really good curator you are going to have to be like an artist," thereby linking curatorial processes to artistic views of creativity.

Furthermore, 'creativity', as part of the curatorial workplace was also seen as an outcome in its own right. For some, the exhibition generated was a creative artefact in itself, but with the aim of serving as a platform for inspiration. For example, Participant #1 referred to her work with staging an auction house exhibit as a "transformation", turning the exhibit space from "warehouse into an actual showroom", so that the audience "can envision things the way they would in their own home." In this case, the staged exhibit takes on the role of art itself, in the sense that it can motivate or stir the viewer into action. As Participant #4 commented, "that's why art is important...the product, if you can look at it and be inspired by it, then that's of

huge benefit." Participant #4 went on to liken the exhibitions he has staged to the aforementioned role of art:

...it's this idea of what we need to show, that sparks people's imagination, for me that is what being a curator, producer, director, engager of creative product is all about, that you inspire the viewer, into an impulse of creation. (personal communication, Participant #4)

From Participant #4's comments, it is possible to see how some participants viewed creativity, not only as part of the processes in the workplace, but also as an outcome of curatorial work, especially as a source of inspiration and the impact on the audience or viewer.

Beyond expressing their understandings of the term and their experience of it in the workplace, participants also expressed their personal philosophies on wider concepts of creativity. For example, Participant #4 commented:

I mean, creativity to me is, the fact that we breathe, you know?" It's really core to being human. And being human is a social thing, we are social beings and the creativity comes in how we place ourselves within that social environment, how we live our lives. (personal communication, Participant #4)

In this sense, creativity was seen as a social and cultural concept, a way to interact with people. This interaction was seen, both as taking place between those making the exhibit and those viewing it, and as a way 'to be open' to new forms of thinking and intercultural communication. The latter capacity therefore moved Participant #4 to express the viewpoint, that everyone was, in fact, 'creative': "I think it should be open, you know, the idea of being creative is just what we do, whenever we go anywhere, whatever we do, we're being creative as humans."

Participant #4's idea that 'everyone is creative' is a view expressed by such writers as Amabile (2001) and Florida (2002), who suggest that that most intellectual pursuits can be classed as 'creative', and that creativity is a skill-set that can be learnt. However, much in the same way that this popularised view of creativity critiqued in the literature (Peck, 2007; Prichard, 2002) not all of my participants shared the Florida-esque view: in fact, most of my participants were unconvinced of the rhetoric that promoted the idea of 'every man a creative'. Participant #2, in particular, expressed this view:

I suppose I am a little bit kind of sceptical and scared of the word 'creativity' because it's kind of, well, everyone's creative these days...creativity is kind of like the language of cell phones, you dial somebody and it's creative... (personal communication, Participant #2)

As a result, she felt that "the language of the creative individual" had essentially been "sold out" (personal communication, Participant #2). Therefore, despite the popularised perspectives on creativity as the purview of all, and the range of understandings of 'creativity' expressed by my participants, the interview data shows that there is still a sense that creativity is a unique quality in its own right.

Participants also spoke of the role of creativity in their personal lives, giving insight into their personal philosophies on creativity. For example, Participant #5 expressed how his identity (in terms of culture, background, work and interests) was bound to creativity. For him, creativity was tied in with "Who you are, and what comes from who you are" (personal communication, Participant #5). Beyond such 'creativity identity', participants also commented on their identifying with creativity on a level of personal fulfilment. In this vein, Participant #1 commented: "I like to think of myself as a creative worker. Personally, I need to be doing something creative and intellectual to be fulfilled." Other participants also commented that creativity, and identifying themselves as creative workers, is what kept them in their line of work. As if to summarise the role of creativity, Participant #3 explained, "I think that's why people love working in the sector": the work with other creative people or with creative objects, and also the process of 'creation' by themselves, encouraged participants stay in their jobs, often for many years. However, despite the centrality of creativity to the participants' lived experience in the sector, there were also more pragmatic considerations that were discussed as part of the experience of curatorial work. As central as creativity was, it was well-encompassed by the business of the curatorial sector: that which was monetised, marketised and commercialised.

8.4 'Money matters': the business of creativity

As I began the write-up of this theme, I wondered whether I should call it "Money makes the world go round? Commercialised creativity", because of the increasingly tight relationship between money and the marketisation of creative work, especially in the discourses of creative industries and the economic value of creativity (Caves, 2000; Howkins, 2001; Florida,

2002). However, I decided instead to call this theme “Money matters: the business of creativity”, because it best encapsulated the ‘lived experience’ of marketisation and commercialisation for my participants. Regardless of whether public or private, curatorial organisations needed money to keep their operations going: to build collections, to conserve and preserve artefacts, to sponsor artists, to stage exhibitions. For some of my participants, their everyday was somewhat more governed by business concerns, because they either worked in the management side of museum operations, or in a commercial gallery or auction house, where ‘money matters’. For other participants, ‘money matters’ were less central to their role in the organisation, because their work was more focused around the museum or gallery collection.

Interestingly, though, irrespective of their individual roles in the curatorial sector, all of my participants expressed an awareness, and even acceptance of, marketing and democratisation as a ‘reality’ of curatorial work. Of all the findings in the thematic analysis of my interview data, this view of business and marketing in the curatorial sector is most poignant in connection with the data from chapters five to seven, because it shows how the marketisation and democratisation of curatorial work has come to be naturalised and accepted as part of the ‘lived experience’ of those working in the sector. This theme also serves as further confirmation of the data from the critical discourse analysis, that the curatorial sector has indeed been commercialised and ‘monetised’ for business, and that this is a reality for those working in the sector, regardless of whether they agree or disagree with the changes that have occurred.

Participants acknowledged the changes that had taken place in the curatorial sector that brought about a perceived need for marketing and commercialisation. Participant #2 mentioned the “notions of accountability” that have influenced the running of museum and gallery organisations, while Participant #3 commented on the global impact of such change: “I think the traditional structures of galleries have broken down in many cases, internationally, I don’t think it’s just a thing in New Zealand.” Participant #2 also stated that “a new right...political and economic perspective [had] been absorbed into art galleries and museums during this period” which, she suggested, is what has made it “a very complex undertaking obviously to run a museum in this day and age”, largely influencing the increased emphasis placed on marketing and commercial imperatives in the curatorial sector.

In their views on the marketisation and democratisation of the sector, some participants reflected mainly on the positives, discussing the benefits that came from a more

commercialised approach to curatorial activity. For example, more visitors meant viability for the organisation and increased revenue through paid exhibitions. As Participant #5 mentioned, "...museums all over the world find different ways to make people pay for things." Marketing and promotion was also seen as encouraging accessibility to arts and opening up new audiences for a curatorial organisation. In this regard, Participant #1 noted about marketing, that "...you've got to encourage an interest in the public, you need to be able to market it to people and bring it to people's attention and reach out to the public, unless people have an innate, you know, interest in museums, they're not gonna look for it themselves." As a result, Participant #1 suggested "...there definitely needs to be marketing associated with exhibits," thereby reflecting the affirmation associated with marketisation and democratisation demonstrated by some participants.

Other participants did more than just reflect on the positive, and instead, really embraced the marketing developments and commercial potential. An example of such enthusiasm for commercialisation is evident in comments made by Participant #5, who viewed museum visitors as 'customers' and described at length, "the customer experience", which began "when the customer walks through the door, or before they walk through the door, the feeling they have before they come in, the feeling they have getting there." The customer journey continued with "...the feelings they have as they conduct the activities that create the experience, and then the feeling after they walk out the door, and the feeling they get when they interact with the organisation in some way shape or form, in their own environment" (personal communication, Participant #5). Such 'marketing-speak' also included terms and phrases as, "automate those activities"; "cut out time wastage"; "redeploy people" and "manage administration" (personal communication, Participant #5). While the above terminology was less evident in the comments made by participants overall, but they were nonetheless present, demonstrating at least to some extent, the enthusiasm for a customer-focused approach to curatorial activity.

Still, other participants viewed the marketisation and democratisation of curatorial activity with a critical perspective. Participant #2, for example, critiqued: "So it's not surprising, but...during this period, probably you'll find that the marketing department of public institutions, they have grown, the education kinda area may have grown a little as well, but essentially the curatorial area has probably shrunk." She added, that nowadays "It's all about quantity not quality" and that:

the major performance measures have probably always boiled down to 'numbers through the door'. And while 'numbers through the door' is a very good measure, it doesn't really tell you whether you're kind of moving the culture forward or driving it backwards. I mean I don't think it's a good sign if no one goes to your art gallery, I'm not being an extremist like that [laughter], but I do think it has to be a bit more energetic, put a bit more out there, be a bit more engaged. (personal communication, Participant #2)

In discussing the marketisation and commercialisation of the curatorial sector, participants also commented on the creative industries, which generated a mixed response: some expressed a lack of knowledge regarding the creative industries concept, but expressed affinity with the ideas promoted in the discourse. Others knew of the concept, but were somewhat critical of the discourse. For example, as Participant #4 explained:

...there were a lot of plusses and minuses to those ideas, generating creativity from the point of view of Florida's idea of creativity, was for some problematic given that it kind of honed in on a specific bourgeois kind of middle-class, white-oriented, male-oriented idea of creativity...[however] the idea of creativity has become more um, what would you say, people have become more aware of the creative nature of humans and the art-making.

Overall, participants discussed the creative industries concept much in the same way as they discussed the marketisation and commercialisation of the curatorial sector: they acknowledged the reality value of marketing and a democratising of the curatorial sector, but also viewed the discourse with some scepticism. The scepticism influenced their critique of the marketisation, on the level of how (or if) it affected the integrity of their own work.

For example, this integrity was discussed in relation to quality control in marketing and 'staying true' irrespective of the market and commercial imperatives, particularly in terms of what gets sold in the shop, sponsorship of exhibitions and the involvement of city councils (personal communication, Participant #3). The interesting point to note in relation to this integrity is the way participants implied the 'keeping' of integrity: not being swayed by fashions, staying true to yourself and to the works you are in charge of. Despite any critique of marketing and commercial influences in the public sector, the awareness and acceptance of marketisation and democratisation as a reality demonstrated a certain level of pragmatism, the latter of which was also evident in curatorial processes.

8.5 Pragmatism meets creativity: the curatorial process

Whether they were directly involved in curating exhibitions, or advocating for artists, or involved in museum management, my participants all drew attention to curatorial processes. These processes ranged from smaller, everyday tasks pertaining to their individual work, to larger processes more akin to organisational procedure. In analysing the comments made, I found that participant views centred around a dichotomy: the division between pragmatism and creativity when it came to making curatorial decisions. I have therefore chosen to frame the discussion of curatorial processes around this tension, looking at the way participants negotiated the balance between organisational constraints and creative decisions.

From a curatorial perspective, there are some arguably 'obvious' practicalities that needed to be taken into consideration in order to fulfil the curatorial role. For example, there were some pragmatic decisions that would need to have been made regarding exhibitions, displays and showcases. Participant #3 discussed some of these practicalities in her description of the exhibition process: she commented on the timeframe of the exhibition, whether it was "a show for a year from now", or "suddenly there's something falls over and there's a gap, and you think 'ok, dancing on my toes, what can I do in two months? Will it be on the wall and ready?'" A further practical consideration in this regard involved the artefacts too, such as the list of things that needed to be "accessed by the conservators" and checked over before the exhibition could take place. As Participant #3 explained, "all of those hands-on things need to be taken into account," thereby demonstrating the pragmatic side of the curatorial process.

Other participants also discussed pragmatism in the curatorial sector, but more in terms of constraints. For example, some expressed the view that the curatorial process was, in fact, quite constrained within the organisation, but also at times, in the curators' own ideas and perspectives. In terms of organisational constraint, Participant #5 cited bureaucracy and hierarchy as restrictive elements towards the creation of exhibits, that the curatorial process was slowed-down by organisational procedure. Participant #5 also said that in his organisation, the fact that curators and collection managers were individuals "set in their ways" also contributed to the slowness of procedure and the slow rate of exhibition turn over. He pointed out, that when travelling exhibitions were mounted, these were more quickly accomplished than locally staged ones, because the external team worked more effectively than the in-house curatorial staff (personal communication, Participant #5).

Concern was also highlighted by Participant #1, who conceived of the constraint as 'restraint' in the public sector museum she used to work in. She commented on a certain 'correctness' exuded by the curators at this particular organisation: "...my experience with the curator has been an awareness of where things should go in terms of layout and placing, but it's been taught. You know, the correct level to place a painting, is something that I was taught...as opposed to design and artistic expression" (personal communication, Participant #1).

Similarly, Participant #2 also explained that, at times, curators suffered from the fear of taking ownership of exhibitions. She made a comparison between curators and artists, that both must 'put their work out there' and run the risk of public criticism, only "I guess curators are sort of more likely to dive for cover, to do things that kind of make that authorship a little less risky" (personal communication, Participant #2).

Participant #2 furthermore suggested that "there is a total analogy between being an artist and being a curator," particularly in terms of curatorial processes: the "organic" process of idea generation, as well as accepting authorship of the work and subsequent public response. Therefore, Participant #2 compared the curator to an artist, not only because of the complexity of the nature of the work, but also the risks associated with, and ownership needed in, the work. In those terms, the curatorial role was seen as being quite pragmatic, but nonetheless, a role that could be framed within a 'creative' or 'artistic' perspective. Most of my participants agreed that curatorial processes were closely linked with creativity, and in one way or another, expressed the view that curatorial processes were akin to creative processes.

For example, Participant #3 saw the process of curating an exhibition as a creative act, whereby she was able to use her creativity and curatorial knowledge to present material that she was deeply interested in. She explained every stage of her curating an exhibit, from the idea, through the development phases, to the presentation, and final execution of the exhibition. In relating her curatorial process, she animatedly explained: "I have an idea, or I find an artwork, and I think 'hmm'" (personal communication, Participant #3). For her, the inspiration for the exhibition can come from something she had been reading, or from an artwork she would have found in storage, and therefore, she always had "a folio of possible exhibition ideas" to draw on (personal communication, Participant #3). She discussed at length how she was involved in every stage, immersed in the work, constantly analysing how the exhibition will work, crafting the "the flavour" of an exhibit (personal communication, Participant #3). In her description of the curation process, Participant #3 drew on notions of 'gaining inspiration'

and 'intrinsic motivation', as aspects that contributed towards bringing an exhibition together. She also explained, that while preparing and planning the exhibit, she would still be "researching the kind of conversations I want to have, and you start off with an idea, but that always grows." In this sense, Participant #3 viewed her exhibition in quite an organic way, willing to let it develop, much in the way that an artist would let a work of art develop.

Participant #3 was not the only person to describe the curation process as a creative one – Participant #4 likewise viewed curatorial processes through a creative lens. He likened the act of curating an exhibition to a "theatrical performance" (personal communication, Participant #4), describing the processes as being quite alike:

So similarly, you work with different individuals, different creatives, and you create an exhibition, or a performance, that the public comes and looks at, and...acknowledges the creativity in the things that you're doing. (personal communication, Participant #4)

In Participant #4's comparison, he demonstrated how the impact or outcome of an exhibition was similar to that of a theatre piece, namely that the audience or public would be drawn into the creative act. In this sense too, curatorial work was seen as creative product in the way that the exhibition needed to be engaging towards an audience. The latter concept was also suggested by Participant #3 who asserted: "I believe, strongly, that a good curator has to develop an eye. You need all of that knowledge, but it's how you then make that knowledge accessible to the public." In these comments, curatorial work was about developing a sense for exhibition, akin to the way artists develop a sense for, or 'signature style' in, their work (see Elsbach, 2009). But in as much as the exhibition process was about the creativity and style, it was also about making the heritage material accessible to the public.

The idea of 'engaging with the public' and making the content accessible to the public is a view expressed by more than one of my participants. It highlights a reality of the 'lived experience' of those working in the sector, that curatorial work needs to take the audience and visitors into consideration. However, this finding is also of interest to the wider purpose of my research, because it again confirms and reinforces the findings of the critical discourse analysis in chapters five and seven, showing how the contemporary curatorial sector is governed by accessibility and how museums and galleries are becoming increasing 'community service'-driven. For those working in the contemporary curatorial sector,

accessibility and a focus on museum and gallery visitors are now part of their 'lived experience' and performance of curatorial work.

For example, this reality of accessibility was expressed by Participant #3, who explained: "...an art gallery is not an academy, it's not a university...it's very important that curators understand that they have the broadest audience possible." For Participant #3, it was not just the reality of making the exhibition accessible to the public, it was also an acceptance that curatorial work 'needed' to fulfil this role, again showing the naturalisation of accommodating the audience in the contemporary curatorial sector. In this context, participants expressed the view that curatorial work had to 'go beyond' the exhibition in balancing the range of visitor and organisational priorities. This finding in the data reinforces the discussion in the literature about the complex and multi-faceted nature of contemporary curatorial work: in fact, Participant #2 even stated it plainly, that curators and heritage professionals "occupy a really complex kind of role." Participant #4 also commented on the complexity of curation, said that "Curating is a big project", and that for him, the curator acted as a coordinator: "So the job 'curator', I see as more of a 'coordinator'. Coordinator, as in someone that's drawing out creativity. So producing, promoting, exhibiting, displaying creativity, across all its forms, not just necessarily the arts or the visual arts." For these participants, their 'lived experience' of working in the curatorial sector was characterised by balancing a multitude of roles, both creative and pragmatic, showing how the performance of curatorial work is multi-faceted.

What became evident in the comments from participants too, was a sense that the dichotomy between pragmatism and creativity could be somewhat bridged in the form of 'bounded creativity' (see Bilton, 2007). While practical considerations came into the frame too, but these were nonetheless subordinate to the creativity involved in the work. For example, Participant #3's focus on the exhibit would always extend beyond the practicality into the creativity, and type of experience being created in the exhibition. She explained, that while all practical preparations for an exhibition would be taking place, "I'm researching the kind of conversations I want to have, and you start off with an idea, but that always grows." These conversations and connections are what became central to her work: "It's just a fresh way of looking, making people look at things. And it's a fresh way for me to look at things. So that's what makes the job creative for me as well." Participant #3 saw the opportunities associated with 'bounded creativity', that it afforded her a chance to be creative in a 'different' way, and that it was a further way to find fulfilment in her work.

Overall, the nature of curatorial processes led many participants to comment on the need for flexibility. Participant #3 commented that, when it came to curating an exhibition, 'you just did the best you could, that you were flexible, and that there would always be a "next time" where you could do things in another way.' Other participants spoke about accommodating change in the curatorial field, to be flexible and open to new ideas and methods. It was also interesting to find that when flexibility was mentioned in the negative, it was in reference to the lack of flexibility within a certain curatorial organisation and how that inflexible approach to curatorial work was deemed detrimental to the organisation and the processes as a whole. Flexibility served as a pivotal quality for the participants: by being flexible, they were able to exercise their creativity within their work, while a lack of flexibility was restrictive towards curatorial processes. Additionally, such flexibility afforded the participants greater opportunity to negotiate curatorial spaces, build relationships and involve communities: in other words, 'to connect'.

8.6 Connections, community and connectivity

For the participants in this research, connectivity was a recurring element in every aspect of their work in the curatorial sector: participants spoke about the connections that they needed to make in the curatorial process itself, between the objects under their care and in exhibition, as well as the collaboration needed between curatorial workers, and the involvement of community when it came to interacting with the public. Participants also spoke of their use of 'space' and 'technology' in their curatorial processes, and how the latter elements also contribute towards connectivity.

Participants commented on the importance of space, both practically and figuratively. For example, the 'white space' of an art gallery was discussed because of its use for exhibitions, but also that it had an institutional connotation that could either enhance or inhibit the type of exhibition being planned. Furthermore, the concept of space was also used when referring to the creative process, such as Participant's #3 explanation of her most creative moments occurring to her were when she was "in the space". In her interview, she referred to the actual and the figurative space simultaneously, that the space determined how she could or would display material, but that being in the space also contributed towards her 'feeling' about the exhibit: "it's weird, I can't explain it, you just know when it's right." Such comments illustrate the centrality of the concept of space to the connectivity: how space affects the type and manner of exhibition and collection, but also the processes of curation themselves.

Technology too was a topic that emerged from within the discussion on curatorial processes and one of the affordances of technology is heightened connectivity. The term 'technology' was viewed and approached differently among the participants, but despite these differences, an underlying principle was common to most: the role of technology in communication. For some, technology was the CAD programme that allowed them to map out exhibits and therefore communicate the display layout to 'properterers'. For others, technology was the exhibit itself, communicating vision and meaning to the visiting public or 'audience'. Yet others also conceived of technology in terms of more recent technological developments, and there was general excitement about digital technology and digitisation as a way to make the curatorial organisation and curatorial collections more readily available and accessible.

In terms of the curatorial process and connectivity, participants spoke about the connections made for each stage of curatorial work, for example, making sure of the connections between each phase of exhibition development. Likewise, regarding the materials in the collection or in exhibition, participants commented on drawing connections between objects, even where sometimes there appears to be none. For Participant #3, the latter in particular was an inherent joy of the work. For Participant #2, drawing those connections is what made the work creative for her, "to find unexpected things in unexpected places."

Participants also spoke about the importance of connectivity between people. In particular, the connections made between people collaborating on projects and working together in teams on exhibitions. Participant #3 explained that 'a good curator is a good team player'. Even though curators were often in a leadership position regarding exhibitions, the latter was almost always commented on as ultimately being a collaborative effort. Collaboration was also seen as a form of encouraging creativity, because the bringing together of many viewpoints was seen as a way to generate new ideas and perspectives.

There was also strong mention of the need to be connected with the visiting public and the community where the curatorial organisation was situated in. Participant #4 explained, 'you needed to have an audience focus, because without the audience, you wouldn't have a job.' This viewpoint was expressed particularly in reference to community, in that without the involvement or engaging of those in the organisation's local community, then the value and relevance of the organisation starts to be questioned. Therefore, other participants also commented on the importance 'community curation', involving local artists, members of local societies or other members of the public to participate in the curation of specific exhibitions

or projects that concerned them directly. That way, the collaboration gave ownership to the community and reinforced the relevance of the curatorial organisation. Other participants furthermore suggested viewing all who entered the organisation as visitors, including those who were not stereotypically, or by market measures, determined as 'visitors', so that the potential to make connections and build relationships was not lost.

8.7 Summary

The thematic analysis of my interview data produced six themes that give insight into my third research question about the 'lived experience' of those working in the curatorial sector. Each one of these themes tells an aspect of the 'tale' of contemporary curation, and the nature of performing curatorial work. The data gathered from my interview participants show commonalities across the curatorial work spectrum, and reinforce findings that have previously been established in the literature. However, the findings from my thematic analysis also show that there are clearly differences in the perceptions held about contemporary curatorial work and a range of understandings about the performance of the curatorial role. I will delineate these similarities and differences in this section of the chapter, summarising the key findings in relation to my third research question.

My interview data show and confirm that there has been significant change in the curatorial sector and the nature of curatorial work, especially in terms of accessibility, democratisation, marketisation and commercialisation. My participants all expressed an awareness of the changes that had taken place in the sector, and either embraced or critiqued the developments in their work. No one, however, denied that these changes had occurred and in fact, spoke of them as part of the 'reality' of curatorial work, thereby confirming the data gathered in chapters five to seven that show the naturalisation of marketisation and democratisation in the contemporary curatorial sector. Of course, there were differing viewpoints on the implications of the changes and how they affected the nature of curatorial work, but these opinions were still formed on the basis that the sector had fundamentally changed.

My data furthermore show that contemporary curatorial work is also influenced by creative industries discourses and policies. My participants showed knowledge and experience of creative industries concepts, even if they did not always make mention of 'creative industries' by name. My participants spoke of the creative processes in their work, but also of the

increasing emphasis on the economic view of creativity and the role of the museum and gallery in the cultural marketplace. They spoke of these developments in positive terms, for example, how by embracing the cultural marketplace, museums and galleries could bring in more visitors and be more accessible to audiences, or how the 'hype' associated with creative industries concepts has raised the profile of creative work, which is reflective of the 'boosterish' view of creativity promoted by individuals such as Florida (2002). However, my interview participants also extended caution about these ideas: for example, that if marketing is done poorly, it can isolate the core audience and confuse potential new visitors, and that just because 'creativity' has been given a spotlight, it does not account for the complexity of understanding associated with the concept.

In terms of 'creativity', my data also show the wide-ranging understanding and appreciation of the concept in the curatorial sector. All of my participants expressed their views on creativity, what it meant to them personally and how they experienced it as part of their work environment. Some viewpoints were more closely aligned to traditional and artistic perspectives on creativity and the creative process, while others viewed creativity through a more pragmatic lens and also subscribed to the popularised idea that 'everyone is creative' (Amabile, 2001; Florida, 2002). Despite their differences, though, all of my participants confirmed that 'creativity', in one way or another, was an essential part of their curatorial work. The data shows, therefore, that creativity plays a role in the performance of contemporary curatorial work and that creativity is of personal and professional value to those working in the sector, thereby informing their "lived experience".

The data also demonstrate certain characteristics as commonalities among curatorial workers. All of my research participants expressed an enthusiasm and 'passion' for the work at hand: they had all chosen to work in the curatorial sector and were eagerly pursuing their fields of interest. They expressed strong views about integrity, authenticity and sincerity in the accomplishment of their work, and operated on the basis that their work contribution was culturally 'worthwhile'. These characteristics are also ideological traits associated with 'creative workers': that they are passionate, enthusiastic and intrinsically driven by the fulfilment associated with their creative work (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, 1997, 2002; McRobbie, 1998). My data in this case shows how 'curatorial workers' can therefore be ideologically constructed as 'creative workers'. However, as creative workers, curators and heritage professionals are also then subject to the challenges faced by those working in creative industries, such as the exploitation of 'passion' in the work environment to benefit the

organisation, or even the 'creative labour' problem of 'self-exploitation' in the pursuit of creative expression (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; McRobbie, 2002). These issues, then, are some of the contemporary realities in the "lived experience" of those working in the curatorial sector.

In line with these latter concerns, my data also confirm the complex and multi-faceted nature of contemporary curatorial work. My participants all described to me their diversified work portfolios, balancing the different priorities associated with curation, administration, marketing and organisation. They also explained their work in building relationships and industry connections, facilitating discussions with artists and other curatorial stakeholders, and reaching out into the wider community, encouraging engagement with museum and gallery visitors. Again, this data reinforce the analysis in my other data chapters about the accessibility and democratisation trends in the sector, but it also serves as evidence to specifically show how the "lived experience" of workers has been influenced by these changes, making the contemporary 'curatorial story' a 'telling tale' indeed.

In this chapter I have presented the findings from the thematic analysis of the data gathered from my semi-structured interviews, giving insight into the "lived experience" of those working the curatorial sector. The data show how the performance of curatorial work is complex and multi-faceted, and how changes in the curatorial sector have informed the nature of the "lived experience" of contemporary curatorial workers. As this chapter is the final of my data chapters, I now move on into the discussion of the significance of my research findings.

Chapter 9

Discussion Chapter

The primary purpose of this research was to examine the impact of the discourses of the creative industries on the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In relation to this overarching aim, I have explored two associated ideas: first, the positioning and interpolation of creativity in the sector, and second, changes in the discursive constructions of both curatorial work and the concept of “the visitor”. In chapters one to three, I introduced the concept of my research and examined the literature associated with the research field. In chapter four I discussed the methodology and methods employed in my research, and chapters five to eight contain the data and analysis in answer to my three research questions. The aim of this final chapter is to discuss how the purpose of my research has been achieved, as well as the significance of my research findings.

9.1 Design of the study and research questions

The purpose of the first chapter was to outline the development of my research idea and to give insight into why I was interested in researching this topic in the first place. The literature chapters were designed to provide context to my research idea: the literature in chapter two situates the research in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand and gives the cultural background to the rise of the creative industries concept in New Zealand. In chapter three, the literature review outlines the developments in the contemporary curatorial sector and the challenges faced by curators and heritage professionals working in the sector. The purpose of these chapters was to give an introduction to the research and to demonstrate why my research idea was filling a gap in the broad field covered within the literature.

The discussion of the methodology and method showed the mixed-methods approach to the research, and outlined the specific method used for each research question. On the whole, I decided to take a critical interpretive approach to my research questions and my choice of methods reflects that. I decided to use critical discourse analysis for the first two research questions, because I was interested in the ideologies of the contemporary curatorial sector and how this affected those working in the sector, as well as the view of visitors and the 'visitor experience'. To address the third research question, I decided to use semi-structured interviewing and examine the data using thematic analysis, which produced six themes. The methodology and methods give the details as to how the data were gathered and analysed in relation to the research questions.

I have largely answered each of my research questions in the discussion sections at the end of each data chapter, but here I will reiterate my research questions:

- (1) What are the controlling discourses that have informed and shaped the curatorial sector in Aotearoa-New Zealand, with particular attention to the period between 1992 and 2015?
- (2) In what ways do online and print materials for the curatorial sector position and construct members of the public and the "visitor experience"?
- (3) What themes emerge from workers' lived experience with regard to creativity and the performance of the curatorial work?

9.2 Curatorship, commercialisation and community

As I move into this final part of my thesis and consider the data that I have analysed, some major ideas have emerged from the analysis, the first of which is that 'It happened here too'. My research is situated in Aotearoa-New Zealand and exists, therefore, as an empirical study that demonstrates how the changes that have occurred in the curatorial sector internationally have also taken place locally in New Zealand. The marketisation and democratisation of museums and galleries (Alexander, 1996, 1999; Flemming, 2004; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002; Kotler et al, 2008; Templer, 2008) have prioritised commercial and organisational concerns above traditionally curatorial ones, including the idea of running the museum or gallery like a business by offering commercial services and competing with other leisure and tourism operations (Ames, 2005; Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Janes, 1999, 2016; Rentschler & Gilmore,

2002). Also, the increased and intensified focus on accessibility has turned the museum or gallery visit into an 'experience' which serves to 'entertain' and reinforces the museum or gallery 'brand' (Alexander, 1999; Muller & Edmonds, 2006; Rowley, 1999; Twitchell, 2004). These changes have not only affected those working in the sector as they attempt to balance the curatorial with the commercial (Boylan, 2006; Brown & Tepper, 2013), but have also affected visitors, who have come to expect a particular kind 'experience' when they visit a museum or gallery (Prentice, 2001; Scott, 2004; Voase, 2002).

While I was not surprised that the curatorial sector in New Zealand had followed the trends reported in overseas research, the data serves as confirmation that these developments did occur in Aotearoa-New Zealand, showing that this country was not immune to the forces of globalisation, nor to changes in the cultural marketplace. In fact, the comprehensive way that these policies were adopted and implemented inevitably recalls the wholesale way in which New Zealand moved into neo-liberalism in the 1980s (Hawke, 1992; Roper, 1997). My data confirm that the curatorial sector in New Zealand is forever changed, that marketisation, democratisation and commercialisation have been naturalised as 'common sense', and that the 'experiential' museum or gallery is now accepted as the 'status quo'.

My research furthermore demonstrates how this new status quo is also due to the influence of creative industries discourses (Caves, 2000; Cunningham, 2003; Flew, 2002, 2012; Hartley, 2005; Howkins, 2001). My research shows the wide-scale adoption of the creative industries concept in New Zealand under the fifth Labour government (Clark, 2000a, 2002, 2008c; Lawn, 2006; Prince, 2010; Volkerling, 2001, 2010) and the data provide evidence of the influence of these creative industries policies in the curatorial sector, which, as seen in chapters five and six, is not only demonstrated in the language of the policy documents associated with museums and galleries, but also in the application of creative industries strategies within the management of these organisations. Again, these developments show how New Zealand is not invulnerable to international trends and such travelling policy discourses as the creative industries, especially when these discourses, despite receiving significant criticism (Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2002, 2007; Klein, 2004; Malanga, 2004; Oakley, 2009; Peck, 2005, 2007; Skilling, 2005), are adopted for their promises in the way of social, cultural and economic gain. It is, then, almost unsurprising that the New Zealand curatorial sector has been redesigned to accommodate the notions of seminal works of people like Florida (2002, 2005) and Landry (2000), and that these creative industries concepts are now accepted as standard practice in New Zealand museums and galleries.

These developments have had significant impact on work and workers in the curatorial sector, and it is the flow-on effect of creative industries discourses, or what I consider 'the creative industries ripple' that is of great significance: it is not just the overt influence of creative industries policies that is evident, but also the implied understanding and use of creative industries ideas and 'thinking' that is clear in the data. For example, the data from my interviews in chapter eight show that while my participants engage with ideas and concepts that stem from creative industries discourses, they do not always demonstrate explicit knowledge of specific creative industries policies. Similarly, there is a continuation of creative industries concepts, strategies and initiatives in both the cultural and curatorial sectors (Finlayson, 2012a, 2012b, 2013b; Finlayson & Foss, 2014; Joyce & Barry, 2015), despite the change from Labour to National governments and the radically different policy manifestos held by the two parties. The continuation of creative industries thinking at policy level shows the naturalisation of creative industries discourses and the continuing influence of the concept, and that the comprehensive and intense adoption of the creative industries concept in New Zealand has brought about permanent change, which is so fundamental, that the past can only now be resurrected in irony or in nostalgia.

There has also been significant change in the relationship between curatorial organisations and the community. My data show that 'it's all about the community', that there has been a clear shift in curatorial priorities so that the focus now centres 'community involvement' in a way that goes beyond that which was traditionally associated with curatorial work, or the role of the museum or gallery. Whereas in the past, 'community involvement' for the museum or gallery was primarily in connection with education and exhibition programmes (Canby, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Knell, 2003; Macdonald, 2006), in the contemporary curatorial sector, community involvement is characterised by 'community outreach': as seen in chapter six, this includes social inclusion initiatives, school and holiday programmes, activities for children and families, and other projects that 'go beyond the walls', so to speak, encouraging the widest possible range of people to engage with the museum or gallery.

Overall, the effort that curatorial organisations put into community involvement is framed positively, seen as a way for museums and galleries to remain 'relevant' (Boylan, 2006; Sandell, 2003) and appealing to contemporary curatorial visitors, and it also gives visitors a chance to 'connect' with the museum or gallery. Therefore, 'community involvement' for visitors is not mere lip service in organisational policy to an attractive idea, but rather, is an active and participatory engagement. However, while this engagement is presented as a

positive social action on account of the museum or gallery, I contend that it is also a way for the organisation to control its visitors. Visitors to museums and galleries are essentially 'required' to 'get involved', and in as much as curatorial organisations cannot return to the way they were before the enactment of creative industries policies, neither can visitors ever again be passive viewers. 'Visitors' have become 'participants': the interactivity in exhibitions, the active participation in the 'museum experience' and the engagement through social media are all aspects of the interaction that is now expected of visitors. Furthermore, this 'participation' and 'interaction' can be seen as free labour for the organisation, because the efforts put in by visitors as they interact with the museum or gallery and report on their experiences through social media basically constitutes free marketing and promotion for the institution. So while the contemporary curatorial focus is indeed "all about the community", it is not purely altruistic: it is not just about 'involving the people', but it is also 'getting the people involved' in the viability of the organisation.

An equally significant discovery is the way that visitors to museums or galleries have been conceptualised and positioned by the curatorial organisations. As seen in chapter seven, the data from the print and online marketing materials of museums and galleries show how visitors are encouraged to engage with the organisation on a "friendship" level, demonstrated by the 'synthetic personalisation' (Fairclough, 1992) found in the texts. This personalisation aims to foster a supposed interpersonal relationship between the visitor and the museum or gallery, constructing the two groups as "friends" on equal terms. However, this interpersonal connection is really only illusory, because it is still the 'organisational agenda' that sets the terms for interaction, with an end-goal of trying to get as many visitors to the museum or gallery as possible. Therefore, while there is an overt and explicit focus on 'community', 'visitor experience' and 'friendship', I argue that when it comes to the museum or gallery agenda, the emphasis is really on the commercial and organisational value of the visitor, that increased visitor numbers and 'positive' social interactions can be used as markers to determine organisational 'success'. This determination of success, though, is only really dependent on having people come through the door, meaning that the organisation has constructed museum or gallery visitors as 'foot traffic', reducing 'people' to just the part that is 'relevant' to the organisational agenda. This conceptualisation of visitors as foot traffic is a metonymic reduction of a part of the entity for the full being, which in this case means that visitors are only so relevant to the organisation as their trip to the museum or gallery.

Overall, the changes that have taken place, both in terms of the curatorial organisations themselves and the construction and positioning of visitors, demonstrate a standardisation and homogenisation of culture and experience in the curatorial sector. As the data show, museums and galleries are expected, in accordance with policy, to perform particular cultural roles, such as by being attractions in the 'creative city' (Florida, 2002, 2005; Landry, 2000), or by competing with other leisure and recreational services (Davidson & Sibley, 2011; Rentschler & Gilmore, 2002), or by producing a 'museum experience' governed by interactivity and 'edutainment' (Addis, 2005; Alexander, 1999; Lepouras & Vassilakas, 2005; Rowley, 1999). The homogenisation that has taken place means there is really only one type of museum or gallery experience that exists, and visitors are expected to participate in and engage with this experience, or not bother at all.

On the one hand, it is almost ironic that this homogenisation has occurred, because on the surface it seems like everything in the curatorial sector has changed and is different from the past, and that visitors are now presented more variety than what they were given under the traditional museum or gallery model. However, upon closer inspection the 'museum visit' today is actually the same as the museum visit from the past in that visitors are still presented with a standardised trip: traditionally, visitors were presented with 'culture' and 'culture'; today, they are presented with 'edutainment' and 'edutainment'. Even though visitors are given supposed 'variety', the variety exists only within organisationally-determined bounds: the culturally homogenised 'museum experience'.

The contemporary museum experience actually leads my discussion back to the underpinning concept of my research: 'creativity'. I started this project reflecting on creativity, and so it is fitting that my findings lead me back here in finishing the research. In the contemporary curatorial sector, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the changes brought about by creative industries concepts have forever changed the presentation of culture and have produced a form of 'bounded creativity' that exists within, and is legitimised by, the policy environment. The changes that have been wrought by policy affect the work and work environment of curators and heritage professionals, because their creative expression, such as in the design of exhibitions and creation of the museum experience, is bound within the constraints afforded by this legitimised 'creativity'. This bounded creativity can, therefore, be seen as a tool of orthodoxy, promoting the 'boosterish' view of creativity as the legitimate and 'appropriate' form of creativity in the curatorial sector.

I am suggesting this view of creativity as an orthodoxy, not only because it has become the accepted and naturalised view of 'creativity' through creative industries discourses, but also because it limits the range of creative expression and experience in the contemporary museum or gallery. Contemporary exhibitions are designed to present visitors with a 'guided' experience, not just in a literal sense as the visitors make their way through, but also in an emotional sense, limiting the range of responses that visitors can, and will, have to the cultural material. The same can be said for the 'museum experience' as a whole, whereby visitors really only have the organisationally approved visit to participate in, restricting the nature of the museum or gallery visit to that which conforms to the culturally homogenised museum experience.

It would be interesting to know how contemporary curatorial organisations deal with people who actively reject such ideologically-driven positioning, but sadly my data do not permit this discussion. What I can say, however, is that contemporary curation faces the challenge of fulfilling traditional cultural expectations, while simultaneously increasing their 'popularity' through accessibility and interactivity, and as a result, the sector is being driven towards a middle-ground between these priorities. This centre point, though, is governed by the appropriate and desirable form of bounded creativity, and so the more the curatorial sector is driven towards the centre, the less likely it is for true variety to exist. In fact, if contemporary curation remains in the centre, the power of extreme reaction and confronting creative expression is lost forever, with the result that there is a move away from "art" (which can be confrontational by nature and intention) to "cultural product" (which is classifiable within pre-existing norms and values).

9.3 Delimitations, limitations and areas for future research

As I explained in chapter one, I conceptualised the curatorial sector in a hierarchy of three tiers: a top tier of public sector curatorial organisations, followed by a second tier of privately owned and operated museums and galleries, and a third tier of curators and heritage professionals working independently on contract. I focused my research on the top two tiers in the sector, gathering data from and about public sector museums and galleries, such as Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Auckland Art Gallery, as well as gathering data from privately-owned and commercial curatorial organisations in the sector. Structuring my research in this way best served my research purpose, because I was able to examine the impact of creative industries discourses

on the organisations and individuals whose work was most directly affected by changes in cultural policy and the adoption of the creative industries concept. However, I feel that there is much to be said for those curators and heritage professionals working in a more freelance capacity in the curatorial sector, especially in terms of the nature of their work, the challenges they likely face in the work environment, and how changes in the sector influence their own curatorial work. These are all aspects of curatorial work that can be further researched, and could well be analysed through the lens of creative labour (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2010; McKinlay & Smith, 2009; Rossiter, 2006), which would make an interesting and worthwhile contribution to the fields of creative and curatorial work and is certainly an area of consideration for future research.

Similarly, the research on curatorial work and workers can also be expanded to include an investigation of 'curatorial identity', and in particular, curatorial identity as situated within the creative industries. While literature on identity formation, regulation and capital is extensive (see for example, Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Deetz, 1994; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Pullen & Linstead, 2005; Stets & Burke, 2000) comparatively little research on these subjects has been done in the context of the creative sector, and practically no work exists on the construction, affirmation and legitimisation of curatorial identity. Therefore, future research can be conducted to investigate curatorial identity formation in the contemporary curatorial sector, finding out from curators how they perceive and affirm their worker identity. To accomplish such research, a large sample of interviews with curators would be needed, which is a limitation of my own research, that due to difficulties in the process of setting up interviews, I was unable to acquire a large enough sample to be able to conduct a study of this kind. It would best be set up as a collaborative longitudinal study across a number of institutions and countries, so as to generate sufficient data for analysis.

My research is situated in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The location of the research is actually both a strength and a limitation, because while restricting the scope of the research to New Zealand narrows the field of enquiry, it also means that the research conducted is specifically designed for the local context and provides a detailed and empirical study that contributes to the literature on curatorial work in New Zealand, which is in and of itself, an under-researched field. However, there is significant potential to expand the scope of the research on curatorial work in a cross-cultural context. For example, my research enquiry could be conducted on a wider scale to include museums and galleries in Australia, to compare and contrast the research findings here in New Zealand with the data gathered overseas. Such research would

serve to verify and validate the research findings from New Zealand, highlighting the similarities and differences between the cultural contexts, and therefore, enrich the literature field pertaining to curatorial work.

A further area for future research on curatorial work is in the field of “difficult heritage” (Bonnell & Simon, 2007; Fengqi, 2009; Leopold, 2007; Logan and Reeves, 2009), which is itself a growing area of research interest internationally. As a colonised country, there are events in New Zealand’s history that can be analysed as ‘difficult heritage’, and would serve as valuable case studies to examine the way in which this heritage is presented by those in the curatorial sector. There is also ample opportunity to examine the curation of such heritage in other colonial countries, such as a cross-cultural look at difficult heritage in New Zealand and South Africa, especially because the difficult heritage field in the latter country is now opening up in terms of the history and events connected to apartheid (Crooke, 2005; Meskell, 2011; Nieves, 2009). Such research would further contribute to the literature that exists on difficult heritage, but also serve to deepen the understanding of the process of curating this heritage and the challenges faced by those working in the field. I share a personal connection to this field, because in my childhood in South Africa I was part of the first expression of the ‘Rainbow Nation’, and I believe that the history so fraught with tension and conflict, should not be lost, but rather, used for growth and, therefore, I have an interest in wanting to see this kind of research take place.

9.4 Exit...through the gift shop

The heading above is a nod to my supervisor, because as we worked on the research together we used this expression to capture the critical, and even cynical, reaction we had to the effect of creative industries policies in the curatorial sector. Now that the research is over, however, I realise that “exit through the gift shop” does not fully express the complexity of the understanding I’ve achieved. In fact, my perception has changed, and as I reflect on the experience of carrying out my research, I am reminded of a poster I own of a famous artwork – I’ve owned this picture for years, but had never seen the original myself until recently. Earlier this year, I had the opportunity to visit the museum where the original artwork is displayed, and I was able to stand and admire the creativity, skill and craftsmanship of the piece, and to cherish the experience of having seen one of the greatest works in the art world. Now when I look at my poster, I find myself agreeing with Walter Benjamin in his essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”: I have ‘been there’, I have ‘done that’, and my

experience of my poster is now enriched. I feel the same way about my research experience: I have always enjoyed visiting museums and galleries, and I have always admired 'creativity' and creative people, and those sentiments still exist. However, having now been on this research journey, I feel both a deepened and a more critical and self-reflexive appreciation for the creative and the curatorial.

I started off my research as quite the purist. I viewed creativity as the "wild chaos" spoken of by DH Lawrence, and supported the culture industry theory like a true Adorno and Horkheimer 'groupie'. Overall, my research reinforced my critical perspective, because my data show the commercialised and economically-driven creative industries, and the overt marketisation and democratisation of museums and galleries. On the other hand, my research also made me realise that I, too, cannot avoid buying into the creative industries discourses, whether I do it by participating in the interactive 'museum experience' or by purchasing a poster at the gift shop, the discourse is totalising and resistance is futile. My research demonstrated to me, that regardless of how one feels about the discourses of the creative industries and their effect on the curatorial sector, the changes they have brought about are now accepted and naturalised. Museums and art galleries have been fundamentally changed. Of course, there is bound to be change again in the future and it will be interesting to see what it is and what forces will bring it about.

Personally, I will always feel a strong connection to the romantic idea that creativity motivates artists who are starving in the garret for the sake of their art: what might be called a "purist" view of creativity. I now understand that this is a non-marketised view and at the completion of this research, I have expanded my understanding of both sides of the creativity argument. My position now is therefore like the experience of my poster: I still have the poster, and it looks the same as it did before, but now that I have seen the real thing, the creativity it captures and represents means much more.

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Appendix A: Archive of policy documents

A1: Arts, Culture and Heritage Acts

1. Archives, Culture, and Heritage Reform Act 2000	Act	2000 No 32
2. Cultural Property (Protection in Armed Conflict)	Bill	2008 No 275
3. Canterbury Society of Arts Reserve Act 1889 Extension	Act	1891 No
4. Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga	Bill	2011 No 327-1
5. Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa Act 1994	Act	1994 No 19
6. Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa	Bill	2010 No 167
7. Guidelines for Cultural Assessment—Māori	Deemed Reg	2004
8. Privileges and Immunities (Taipei Economic and Cultural Office) Order 1998	Regulation	SR 1998/339
9. UNESCO Name and Emblem Notice 1966	Regulation	SR 1966/12
10. Resource Management (Approval of Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand Incorporated as Heritage Protection Authority) Order 1993	Regulation	SR 1993/166
11. Resource Management (Approval of The Save Erskine College Trust as Heritage Protection Authority) Order 1992	Regulation	SR 1992/352
12. Waitakere Ranges Heritage Area Act 2008	Act	2008 No 1
13. New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act 1963	Act	1963 No 51
14. Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute Act 1963	Act	1963 No 51

A2: Museum and Gallery Acts

1. Bishop Suter Art Gallery Governance Restructuring	Act	2008 No 4
2. Auckland City and Auckland Museum Empowering	Act	1924 No 1
3. Auckland War Memorial Museum Act 1996	Act	1996 No 4
4. Auckland War Memorial Museum Site Empowering	Act	2003 No 3
5. Canterbury Museum Trust Board Act 1993	Act	1993 No 4
6. Local Government (Canterbury Museum Trust Board) Exemption Order 2006	Regulation	SR 2006/130
7. Local Government (Otago Museum Trust Board) Exemption Order 2005	Regulation	SR 2005/80
8. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa	Act	1992 No 19
9. Museum of Transport and Technology Act 2000	Act	2000 No 1
10. Otago Museum Act 1877	Act	1877 No 56
11. Otago Museum Trust Board Act 1996	Act	1996 No 1
12. Christchurch City Council (Robert McDougall Gallery) Land Act 2003	Act	2003 No 4

A3: Organisational Policy Documents

1. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki Collection Management Policy 2009
2. Auckland City Council – ‘Blueprint: Growing Auckland’s Creative Industries’ 2007

3. Auckland City Council: 'Rethinking Auckland as a creative city: Concepts, opportunities and practical steps' 2002
4. Auckland War Memorial Museum 'Future Museum' Plan 2012
5. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2007 – 2008
6. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2008 – 2009
7. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2009 – 2010
8. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2010 – 2011
9. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2011 – 2012
10. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2012 – 2013
11. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Plan 2013 – 2014
12. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2003 – 2004
13. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2004 – 2005
14. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2005 – 2006
15. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2006 – 2007
16. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2007 – 2008
17. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2008 – 2009
18. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2009 – 2010
19. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2010 – 2011
20. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2011 – 2012
21. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2012 – 2013
22. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2013 – 2014
23. Auckland War Memorial Museum Annual Report 2014 – 2015
24. Canterbury Museum Annual Report 2006 – 2007
25. Canterbury Museum Annual Report 2007 – 2008
26. Canterbury Museum Annual Report 2008 – 2009
27. Canterbury Museum Annual Report 2009 – 2010
28. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2008
29. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2009

30. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2010
31. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2011
32. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2012
33. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2013
34. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2014
35. Ministry for Culture and Heritage Annual Report 2015
36. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2000 – 2001
37. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2001 – 2002
38. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2002 – 2003
39. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2003 – 2004
40. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2004 – 2005
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46. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2011 – 2012
47. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2012 – 2013
48. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2013 – 2014
49. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Annual Report 2014 – 2015
50. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2001 – 2002
51. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2003 – 2004
52. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2004 – 2006
53. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2008 – 2010
54. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2010 – 2013
55. Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Statement of Intent 2012 – 2015
56. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2007 – 2008

- 57. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2008 – 2009
- 58. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2009 – 2010
- 59. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2010 – 2011
- 60. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2011 – 2012
- 61. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2012 – 2013
- 62. Museum of Transport and Technology Annual Plan 2013 – 2014
- 63. Regional Facilities Auckland Annual Report 2011
- 64. Regional Facilities Auckland Annual Report 2012
- 65. Regional Facilities Auckland Statement of Intent 2012 – 2015

Appendix B: Corpus of print and online promotional texts

B1: 'Te Papa – More than a museum'

Front and back images of the brochure:



Images of the brochure opened in 'trifold' – front/back and centrefold:

Museum highlights

OurSpace
Enter *OurSpace* – the digital space that you help create. Bring The Map to life with your footsteps and share your images on The Wall. Then buckle up for The Deep Ride and The High Ride – Te Papa's thrilling motion-simulator experiences. Charges apply to rides. Level 2.



Awesome Forces
Experience the powerful geological forces that have shaped New Zealand's landscape and natural life – and get a real shake-up in the Earthquake House! Level 2.

Mountains to Sea
Sample New Zealand's stunningly diverse animal and plant life, and gasp at Te Papa's famous colossal squid – the only complete specimen you'll see anywhere in the world. Level 2.

Mana Whenua
Experience the richness and complexity of Māori culture through a powerful mix of ancestral treasures and contemporary art. Level 4.



Golden Days
This amazing junk shop comes alive with kaleidoscopic visions of Kiwi culture and history. Bookings essential. Level 4.

Art on Level 5
See highlights from New Zealand's national art collection – European and Māori, historical and contemporary. Level 5.



Te Papa
More than a museum

Experience the treasures and stories of Aotearoa New Zealand at our extraordinary, interactive national museum.

Free entry
Charges apply to some exhibitions and activities.

Open 10am–6pm every day of the year
Late night Thursday – closes 9pm

Museum of New Zealand
Te Papa Tongarewa
Cable Street, Wellington
+64 (0)4 381 7000
mail@tepapa.govt.nz
www.tepapa.govt.nz

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Pricing and exhibitions may change.

TE PAPA
OUR PLACE

Absolutely POSITIVELY
Wellington

Energy Assured
Visitor Activity





Cafes

Relax and refuel in one of our two cafes, featuring the best of local food and beverages.

Te Papa Cafe
Enjoy fresh food and delicious drinks, including light meals, espresso coffee, ice cream, and selected wines and beers. Take in the peaceful surrounds of *Bush City*, Te Papa's living exhibition, from the outside seating area. Open 9am–5pm. Level 1.

Level 4 Espresso
Sit back with a coffee or wine and a slice of one of our delicious cakes in the heart of the Museum, surrounded by our national treasures. Open 10am–5.30pm (8.30pm on Thursdays). Level 4.



Shopping

Take home your own treasure! Whether you're shopping for a uniquely New Zealand gift or a memento for yourself, you'll find something special at one of our fabulous stores.

Te Papa Store, Level 1 and Brandon Street
Gifts with soul – Like our Museum, Te Papa Store is filled with amazing items that each have a story to tell. You'll find an inspired collection of jewellery, art, taonga (Māori treasures), books, and prints, showcasing the best of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Shop online at www.tepapastore.co.nz

Te Papa Kids' Store, Level 2
Feed their imaginations – Our fun and educational toys and gifts thrill kids of all ages. We have stunningly presented New Zealand stories, challenging puzzles and science kits, T-shirts, and the cuddliest colossal squid toy available anywhere in the world.



Presented by Hapa Maraweti, carved pouama

Visitor information

Help and information
The Information Desk, Level 2, offers up-to-date information and a range of visitor guides. You can always ask a Te Papa Host for help – keep an eye out for their bright blue or red shirts.

Short-term exhibitions, events, and activities
Pick up a copy of our monthly calendar from the Information Desk for details of short-term exhibitions, floortalks, performances, and more.

Children and families
Our four Discovery Centres are especially for kids and their families. Check the monthly calendar or website for details of Te Papa's activity programme for kids.

Coats and bags
We offer free, secure storage of coats and bags during your visit. Level 1.

Audio guides
Audio guides in English, Māori, and German are available from the Information Desk, Level 2. Charges apply.

Accessibility
All exhibitions are wheelchair accessible. You can borrow wheelchairs from the coat check on Level 1. For more information, call +64 (0)4 381 7000 before your visit.

Parking
Secure covered parking for cars and campervans is available 24 hours a day at competitive rates. The entrance is on Cable Street.

Collections Online
Browse thousands of objects and zoomable images from Te Papa's collection.
collections.tepapa.govt.nz

Connect with us
Be the first to hear the latest at Te Papa.
[f](https://www.facebook.com/te.papa) [tr](https://www.tumblr.com/te.papa) [yt](https://www.youtube.com/te.papa) [YouTube](https://www.youtube.com/te.papa)
www.tepapa.govt.nz

 **Free Wi-Fi hotspot**
powered by [TelstraClear](http://www.telstra.com.au)

B2: 'Te Papa – Game Masters'

Image of whole text:

100+ PLAYABLE GAMES

GAME MASTERS

THE EXHIBITION

**Discover the Gods of Gaming
AT TE PAPA**

15 Dec 2022 – 28 April 2013

VISA PLATINUM GALLERY

Admission charges apply
tepapa.govt.nz/gamemasters

Exhibition organised by the Australian Centre for the Moving Image, Melbourne Australia.

Exhibition partners

acmi
AUSTRALIAN CENTRE FOR THE MOVING IMAGE

hp

MIGHTYape.co.nz

Absolutely
POSITIVELY
WELLINGTON

VISA

TE PAPA

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SPACE INVADERS © TAITO CORPORATION 1978 ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. / *World of Warcraft* © Blizzard Entertainment, Inc.

B3:Auckland Art Gallery 'Degas to Dalí' exhibition leaflet

One-page leaflet, images of the front and back:



B4: Auckland Art Gallery 'What's On' Guide March – May 2012

Images of the front and back of the brochure:

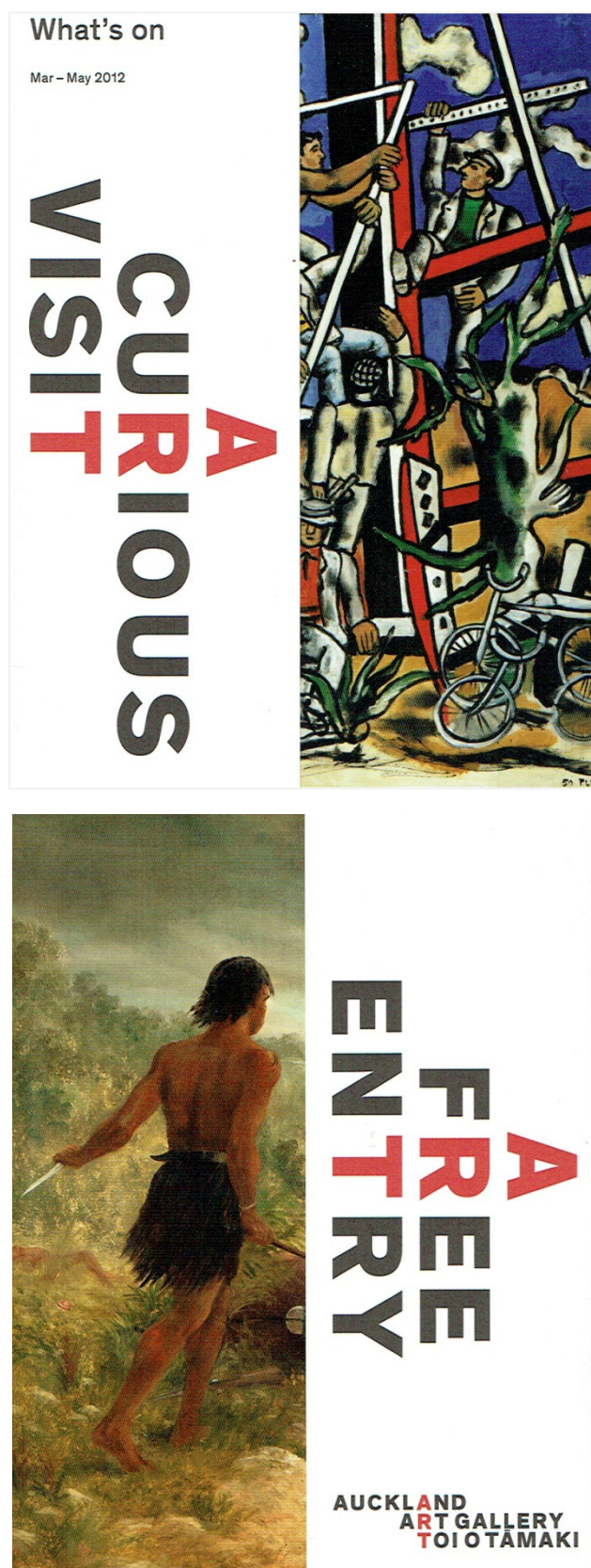
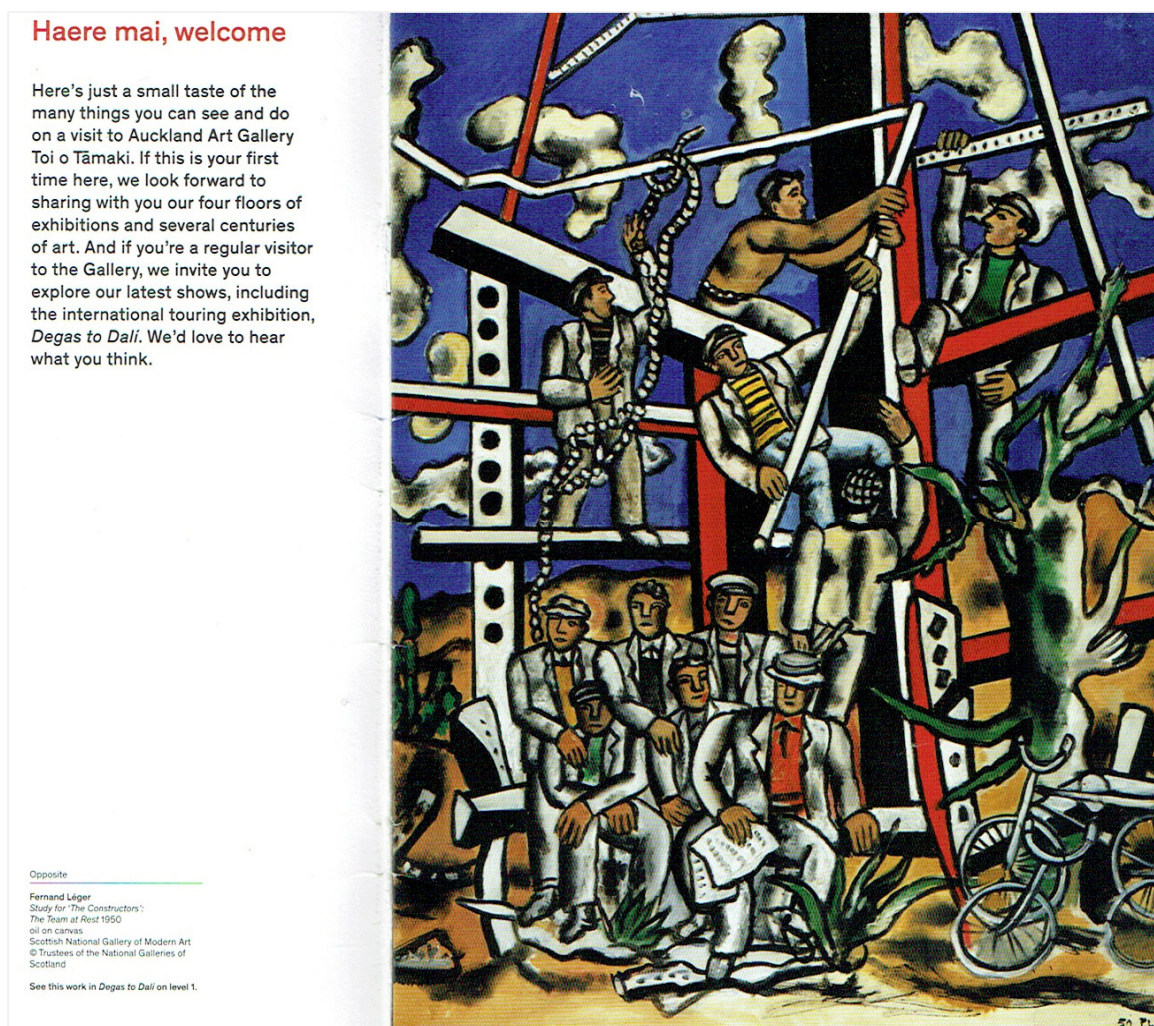
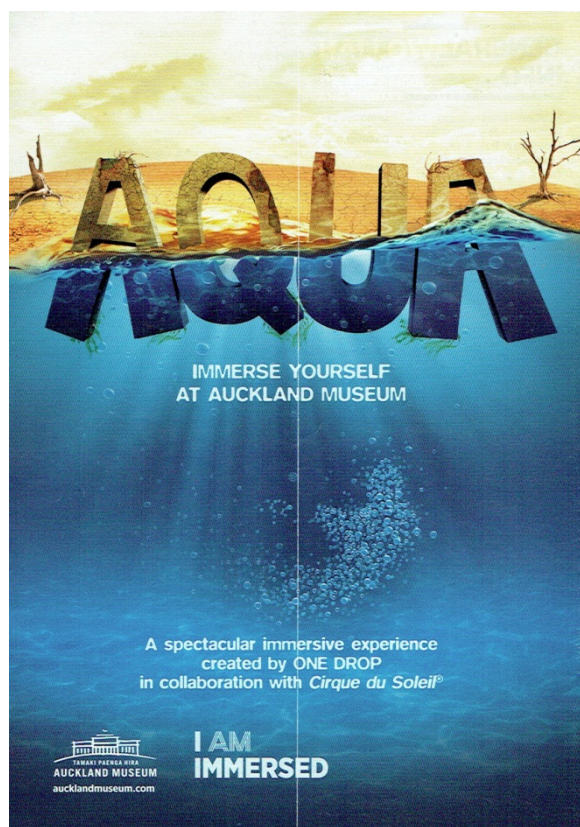
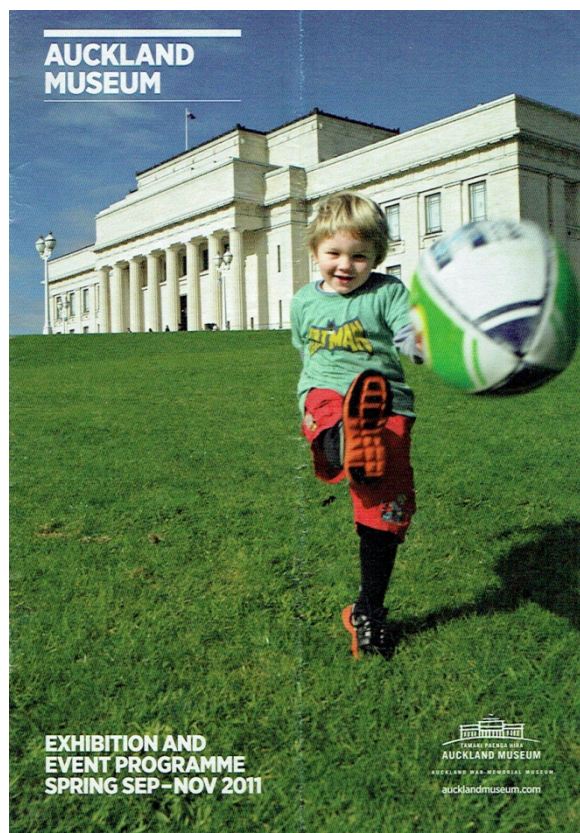


Image of the 'Welcome' message on the inside of the outer cover:



B5: Auckland Museum 'What's On' Guide September – November 2011

Images of the front and back of the brochure:



Inside pages featuring the 'AQUA' exhibition and related activities:



AQUA

Thousands of Aucklanders have experienced this spectacular interactive exhibition created by ONE DROP in collaboration with Cirque du Soleil – don't miss your chance.

MUST END 24 OCT 2011
HALF-HOUR SESSIONS DAILY FROM 10AM
 Special Exhibitions Hall
 Adults \$15, Children \$5, (Rush pricing after 2.30pm \$7.50 – excluding school holidays and weekends)

AQUA uses massive 360° projections, interactive digital screens, music and visual effects and actual water displays to draw visitors into the experience and bring the story of water to life. Auckland Museum is the first international museum to host AQUA outside Canada where it was created. Throughout the 30-minute guided experience, you carry your own water drop and interact with the digital screens – changing a calm ocean to a stormy sea or revealing messages about what water means to people in other countries. AQUA is about water around the world; how it's distributed, how it's used and how we can protect this vital resource.

HOW IS AUCKLAND MUSEUM SAVING WATER?

Changing people's attitudes towards water is at the heart of the AQUA experience. Auckland Museum has begun making changes to look after this precious resource and has become the first museum in the world to achieve CEMARS (Certified Emissions Measurement and Reduction Scheme) certification. We're taking steps to reduce our emissions and have curbed water usage:

- a new water meter allows the building and facilities team to closely monitor water consumption and address leaks or unexpected spikes in water use
- the Welcome Lounge for visitors uses hi-tech sensors for taps and toilets to dramatically reduce water consumption
- outdoor sensors mean whenever it rains the Museum's irrigation system is set to skip a day.

WORLD WATER DAY

SUN 18 SEP, 10AM – 3PM

Atrium & The Blue Room
FREE

Auckland Museum is marking World Water Monitoring Day and Conservation Week by diving into our own water and seeing what we discover. In conjunction with Waikare & Landcare, come along to find out everything you wanted to know about our water but were afraid to ask. Water from our region will be examined and tested by scientists with the results shared firsthand with our visitors. You can even have a go at 'dipping' for water at the site of Auckland's first water source; the Domain ponds and streams. Watercare's Great Drain Game will also be set up outside so you can explore the curious workings of the storm water drain system. Come and see the diversity of plant and marine life living in our waterways and decide whether New Zealand's water deserves the "100% pure" label.



AQUA TRAIL

Museum-wide
FREE

Follow our first mobile trail to uncover the water stories behind some of the incredible objects in our galleries – from Wild Child to Maori Court, Origins to the Armoury. Find the 22 objects dotted along the AQUA TRAIL and discover 'behind-the-scenes' information about this museum's incredible collections. Connect to the free AQUA Wi-Fi (wireless internet) network in the Museum to follow the mobile trail. Made for iPhone, iPod Touch and iPad, mobile devices available from information desks. For more information visit aucklandmuseum.com/aqua



7



TANIWHA!

LIVE THEATRE SHOW
 SCHOOL HOLIDAYS 11 – 21 OCT (SHOWS TUE – FRI)
 10.30AM, 11.30AM & 1PM
 Auditorium
 \$10 per person, \$8 for members and groups of 10 or over

LIVE AERIAL SHOW
 SAT 1 & SUN 2, SAT 8 & SUN 9 & MON 24 OCT.
 10.30AM, 12.30PM & 2PM
 Atrium
FREE

Taniwha! is back by popular demand for a limited season these holidays. Building on our *Taniwha!* show in July, Auckland Museum brings you more stories of Auckland's taniwha and their special places. Dive into the deep and come face-to-face with the power of *Taniwha!* Immerse yourself in the stories of Auckland's physical and cultural landscape in this New Zealand stage show created in collaboration with EARTH, the company behind the internationally successful show *Dinosaur Petting Zoo*. Stories that have been told for hundreds of years are brought to life in *Taniwha!* with traditional and shadow puppetry, live actors and audio visual storytelling. To book visit: aucklandmuseum.com. For groups of 10 and over phone 09 306 7048

Come face to face with our giant, undulating taniwha during weekends at Auckland Museum. These spectacular aerial performances featuring our towering five-metre taniwha bring to life the Maori story of the baskets of knowledge. Our incredible taniwha was created in collaboration with EARTH, the company behind the internationally successful show *Dinosaur Petting Zoo*.



SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

Join us in the Blue Room – our AQUA family space.

THE BLUE ROOM: AQUA FAMILY SPACE

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS 8-24 OCT & WEEKENDS
 10AM – 3PM

The Blue Room, First Floor
FREE

During the school holidays and weekends venture into our AQUA family space to enjoy activities, crafts and stories. What do Christchurch kids think about the water issue after all the big earthquakes? We took a film crew to Christchurch to ask them! Take some time out to walk a mile in somebody else's shoes, and experience how collecting water in some developing countries involves a lot more than turning on a tap.

WHAT'S IN OUR WATER?

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS & WEEKENDS
 10AM – 3PM

Join in our giant art project and add your creation to our wall. Find out what kinds of things we can find in our local waterways, colour and add them to our wall for others to admire.

WATER STORIES

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS & WEEKENDS 12PM

Cosy down with your little ones in the Blue Room and listen to wonderful stories about water from around the world.

SPRING PACIFIC ACTIVITIES

SCHOOL HOLIDAYS & WEEKENDS
 10AM – 12PM & 1PM – 3PM

Weird & Wonderful
 \$2 (Members \$1)

Spring along and join us for our Weird & Wonderful season of the Pacific. Just around the corner from The Blue Room, the award-winning Discovery Centre lets children and families get hands-on. Handle real objects and specimens from the Pacific, enjoy interactive storytelling of tales from Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. Learn the techniques of "tivateas" or quilt making and have a go at creating your own tapa patterns. Then try our family quiz around the gallery – what creatures of the Pacific can you find?

9

B6: Information guide 'November at Te Papa' 2012

Images of the front and back of the brochure:



Images of the brochure opened in 'trifold' – front/back and centefold:

Top 5 at Te Papa this month

Angels & Aristocrats Floortalks
 Explore early European masterpieces from New Zealand's public collections with our free Angels & Aristocrats gallery talks. This month's speakers include artists Dick Frizzell and Peter Ireland, and exhibition curator Mary Kistler. **Angels & Aristocrats, Level 5. Free entry. See overleaf for details.**
 Mary Kistler. Photograph by John McIvor. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Forums for the Future: Design and the Power to Transform
 Sunday 11 November, 11am–12 noon
 In Britain, design-led projects have reduced violence in A&E departments, made built environments safer to live in, and reduced the level of infection in hospitals. David Kester – the former head of Britain's Design Council – explores whether design is the cure-all for the challenges of the 21st century. **Soundings Theatre, Level 2. Free entry.**

National Collections, National Stories: China and New Zealand

 Thursday 15 November, 7pm–8pm
 Duncan Campbell of the Australian National University discusses the politics of collecting and the role of museums in cultural diplomacy. **Soundings Theatre, Level 2. Free entry.**

Abaji – Live in Concert
 Sunday 18 November, 4pm–5pm
 With 250 instruments in his personal collection – from the oud to the bouzouki – Abaji is more than passingly familiar with the world's musical traditions. The Lebanon-born French singer brings his signature fusion of Oriental, blues, and Indian music to Te Papa as part of his Oceania tour. **The Marae, Level 4. Free entry.**

A Long Apprenticeship: Thomas Gainsborough's Early Work
 Thursday 29 November, 6.30pm–7.30pm
 Thomas Gainsborough's remarkable portrait of the Bishop of Exeter is one of the highlights of Angels & Aristocrats. In this Friends of Te Papa event, internationally recognised Gainsborough expert Hugh Belsey discusses the early work of one of 18th-century England's leading portrait painters. **See overleaf for details.**

Cover: Henri Gascar, Louise de Kéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, about 1671 (detail). Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Te Papa is on Wellington's waterfront – an easy walk from anywhere in the central city.



Opening hours
 10am–6pm every day of the year
 Late night Thursday – closes 9pm

Parking at Te Papa 24/7
 Our self-service car park is for everyone, not just for visitors. Take advantage of our super-convenient location – any time, day or night! The car park includes a secure under-cover area, parking for drivers with disabilities, and spaces for tour buses. tepapa.govt.nz/parking

Want to know more about our collections?
Collections Online
 Browse through images of and information about our ever-expanding collections. tepapa.govt.nz/collections
Te Aka Mātua Research Library
 Discover our extensive research library – by appointment only, Monday to Friday, 10am to 5pm.

Museum of New Zealand
 Te Papa Tongarewa
 PO Box 467, Cable Street, Wellington
 Ph: (04) 381 7000
 Fax: (04) 381 7170
mail@tepapa.govt.nz
tepapa.govt.nz

Evening Award Gold **Visitor Activity**



November 2012

NOVEMBER AT TE PAPA



FOUNDING SPONSOR


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Exhibitions on now

Angels & Aristocrats: Early European art in New Zealand public collections



An Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki touring exhibition
Until 27 January 2013
 Angels & Aristocrats showcases five centuries of European art, drawn from New Zealand's finest public collections. Curated by Mary Kistler, this major exhibition includes works by Brueghel the Younger, Hobbema, Turner, Reynolds, and Gainsborough. **Level 5. Free entry.**
 Carlo Ceresa, *A Man with a Child, oil on canvas*, Mackintosh Trust Collection, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Deep NZ: Our underwater wilderness

Opens 30 November
 Discover the creatures that have adapted to life in one of the world's most extreme environments – the deep sea. **Level 3. Free entry.**
 Photograph courtesy of NIWA



Slice of Heaven: 20th Century Aotearoa

The 1900s saw Māori, women, and gay people all stand up for their rights. The country fought in two world wars – and then took a stand against nuclear weapons. The state grew – then shrank again. Enter Te Papa's extraordinary view of New Zealand life from the century that was. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Buller's Birds: The art of Keulemans and Buchanan



Until February 2013
 See the exquisite illustrations that brought Walter Buller's iconic books to life, alongside bird skins and specimens from the Victorian ornithologist's extraordinary collection. **The Mott Room, Level 4. Free entry.**

1 G Keulemans, *Spheniscus Novaehollandiae*, *Spheniscus albigularis*, 1872. Illustration of laughing owl (*Sceloglaux albifacies*) from *A History of the Birds of New Zealand*, 1st edition, hand-coloured lithograph. Te Papa (1992-0035-1093/4)

Uniformity: Cracking the dress code



Uniforms unite. They define. They convey power and control. Explore the stories behind the All Black jersey, the combat gear of Corporal Willie Apiata, VC, and other expressions of group identity.

Eyeflights Gallery, Level 4. Free entry.

Royal Horse Artillery dress jacket, 1899, maker unknown. Gift of Mrs W H Stalder, 1957. Te Papa (PC000065)

Mana Whenua

Mana Whenua celebrates Māori as the tangata whenua (original people) of Aotearoa New Zealand. Stories of voyaging, adaptation, survival, conflict, trial, and triumph are told through a powerful mix of ancestral treasures and contemporary artworks. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Tai timu, tai pari, Tainui: Journey of a people

The Tainui people invite you to journey with them from their origins in the eastern Pacific to their lives in present-day Aotearoa and beyond. Through arresting artworks and other cultural treasures, you'll experience a people's courage, resourcefulness, and resilience. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Walter Cook: A collector's quest

A diverse collection of ceramics and metalwork tells the story of modern design in the decorative arts – and of a collector's driving passion. **Level 6. Free entry.**

Jug, 1879–82, designed by Christopher Dresser for Lenthurpe Art Pottery. Gift of Walter Cook, 1992. Te Papa (CG001806)



The Mixing Room

Bursting with creativity, over 70 young refugees to New Zealand tell their extraordinary stories – through art, film, poetry, performance, and digital media. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Tangata o le Moana

This exhibition tells stories of Pacific people past and present, in all areas of life – on the street, on the sports field, in the recording studio, on the political stage, and beyond. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Toi Te Papa Art of the Nation

Experience the richness and diversity of New Zealand's artistic heritage through more than 300 impressive artworks. **Level 5. Free entry.**

A one-hour whistle stop

Running desperately low on history, art, and science? You could benefit from an emergency top-up! In just one hour, you'll have time for a quick fix from two, or possibly more, of the following favourites.

OurSpace

Take the plunge on The Deep Ride to explore an undersea volcano. And buckle up for The High Ride, the wildest aerial tour ever! **Level 2. Charges apply.**

Mountains to Sea

In just a few long strides, you can sample New Zealand's stunningly diverse animal and plant life. **Level 2. Free entry.**

Golden Days

This amazing junk shop comes alive with kaleidoscopic visions of Kiwi culture and history. **Level 4. Free entry. Bookings essential.**

Britten Bike

Vroom! Check out John Britten's revolutionary racing bike, right next to Level 4 Espresso. **Free entry.**

The Marae

Come and wonder at this beautiful meeting place, designed and created by masters of Māori art. **Level 4. Free entry.**

Colossal Squid

It's big. It's weird. It's creepy. And it's here at Te Papa! **Level 2. Free entry.**

Take a guided tour

Introducing Te Papa

A 60-minute tour of Museum highlights. Daily: 10.15am, 11am, 12 noon, 1pm, 2pm, and 3pm, with an extra tour on Thursdays at 7pm. Adult \$14, child (15 years and under) \$7. Book on the day at the Information Desk, Level 2.

Private group tours

Private group tours are easy to arrange. Choose from a variety of options or tailor your own!

For details

See tepapa.govt.nz/tours
 Phone (04) 381 7111
 Email tours@tepapa.govt.nz



tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions

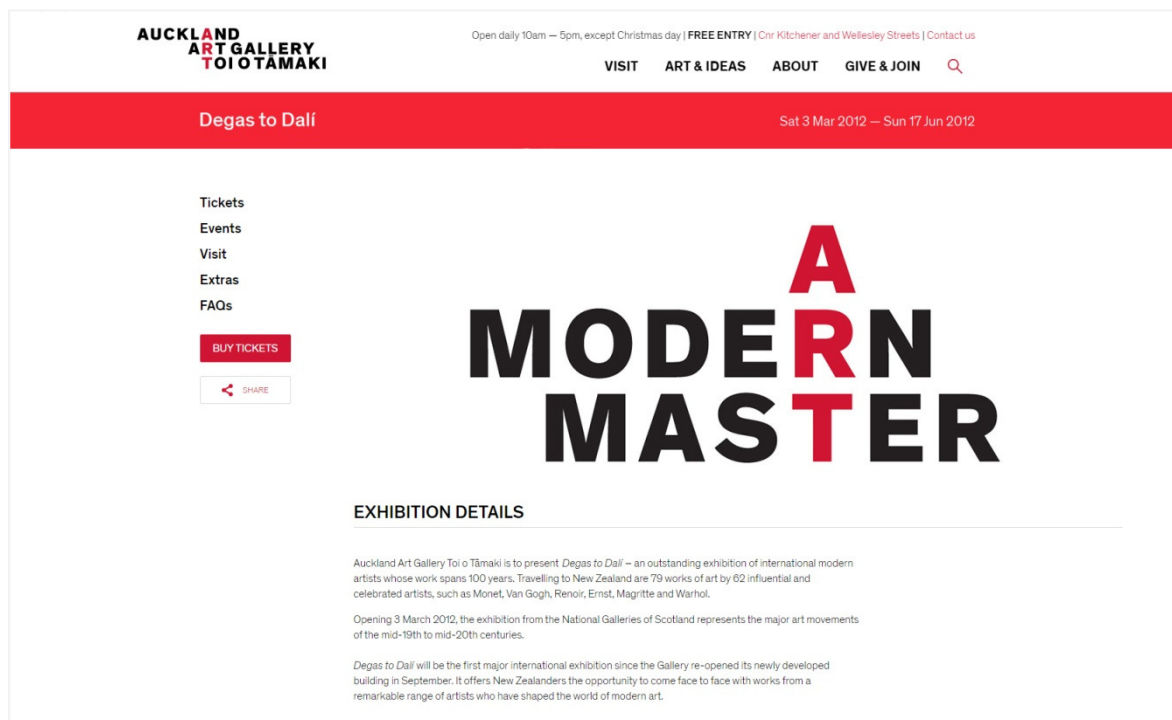
Entry to Te Papa is free. Charges apply to some exhibitions and events.

All funds help support our exhibitions, research, conservation, and education programmes – now and into the future. Thank you for supporting Te Papa.

B7: Auckland Art Gallery 'Degas to Dalí' exhibition homepage

Image (screenshot) of the exhibition homepage, retrieved from Auckland Art Gallery website:

<http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/whats-on/exhibition/degas-to-dali>



B8: Te Papa 'Venues' information page

Image (extended screenshot) of the Te Papa 'Venues' information, retrieved Te Papa website:
<https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/visit/venues>

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Open daily 10am – 5pm

Visit Toro mai Discover the collections Tūhuratia ngā kohinga Learn Ako About Mō Te Papa Shop Wharehoko Support & join Tautuhokoa, kaitiaki mai

Search

HEAD ONLY ONE VENUE

HEART APPEALS TO BOTH

Venues Wahi

Plan your visit Whakaitia te tōronga What's on E aha ana Book tickets Whakaitia tikitahi Kids and families Mā te whānau Venues Te Papa huinga tōronga

Home > Visit

Venues Wahi

Invite your guests to join you on Wellington's stunning waterfront, among the nation's greatest treasures. Te Papa is a full-scale conference centre and dream wedding venue offering dedicated Function Coordinators and unique, memorable experiences. [Book or enquire online](#) or phone +64 (0)4 381 7272.

Spaces
Hire a venue like no other – choose from our range of contemporary and versatile spaces.

Wellington Foyer
Aotearoa Gallery
Ocarina
ECON
Te Marae
[View all](#)

Packages
Book an outstanding, great-value package to enjoy catering, audiovisual equipment, and lots more.

Weddings
Expos/meetings
Christmas functions
School balls

Catering
Treat your guests to delicious food and great service at Te Papa.

Conferences, meetings, and dinners
Make a great event spectacular with high-quality facilities, stress-free planning, and special touches for your guests.

Auditorium (AV)
Packing in and out
Event planning
Why Te Papa venues
Private exhibition viewings
[View all](#)

Book a venue or function
Enquire or request a booking with Te Papa Venues.

Follow Te Papa:

Facebook Twitter YouTube Instagram

Te Papa is open 365 days a year (that's every day)
Hours: 10am–5pm
Free entry. Charges apply to some short-term exhibitions and activities.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
20 Cable Street
PO Box 469
Wellington, 6011
New Zealand
Phone: +64 (0)4 381 7000

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Venues
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New Zealand Government
EQC
FUJI XEROX

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B9: Te Papa 'Treaty2U' online exhibition pages

Image (extended screenshot) of 'Treaty2U' online exhibition homepage, retrieved from 'Treaty2U' website: <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/>

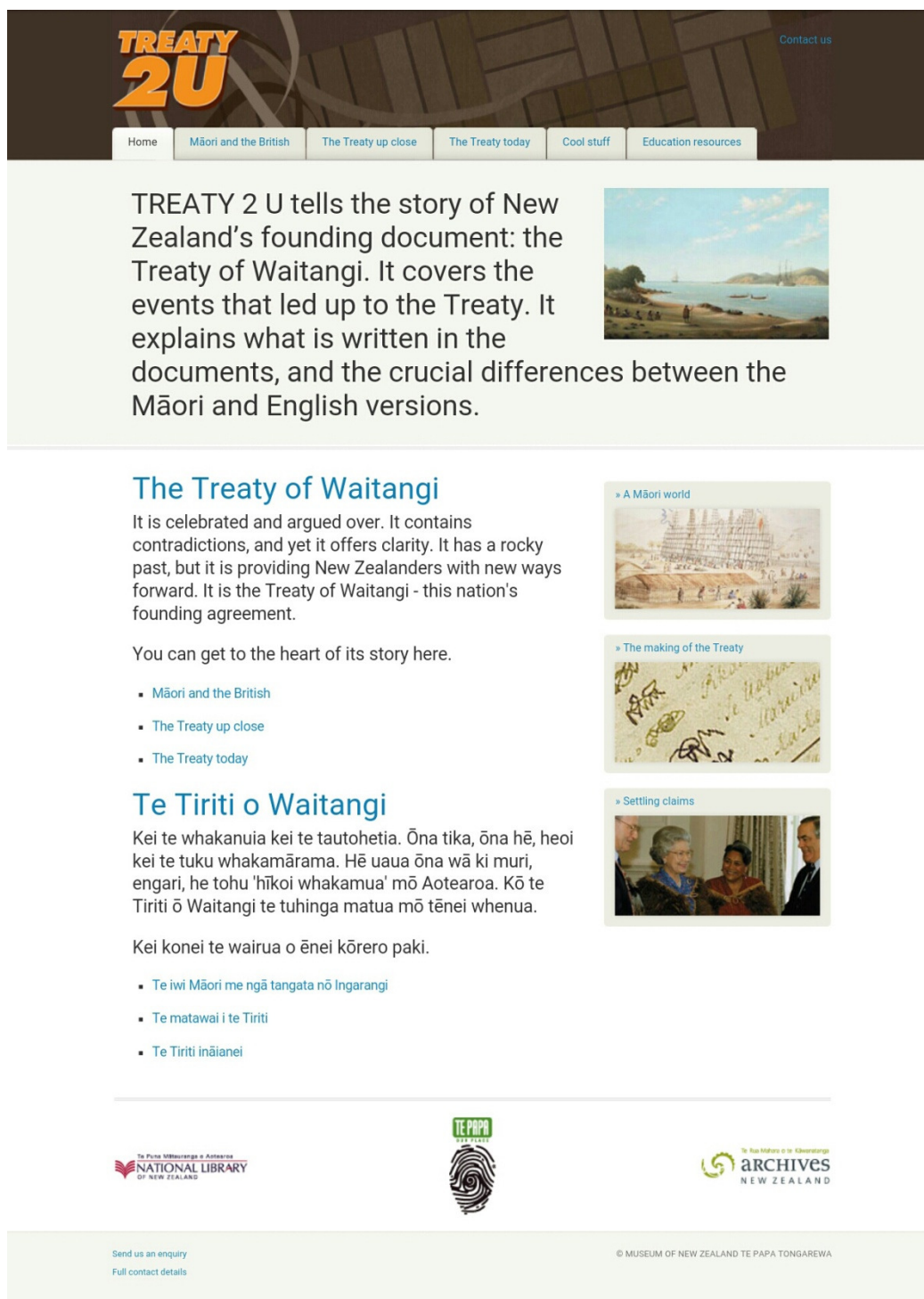
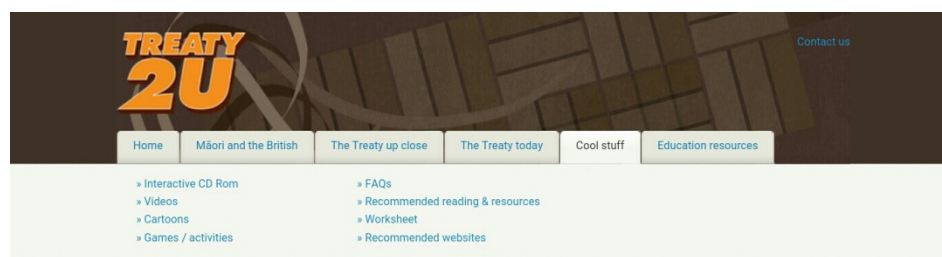



Image (extended screenshot) of 'Treaty2U' online exhibition, 'Cool stuff' section, retrieved from 'Treaty2U' website: <http://www.treaty2u.govt.nz/cool-stuff/index.htm>



Cool Stuff

This is the part of the site where you can listen, interact, and most importantly have fun. See if you can stay in power as the Prime Minister, or check out if you have an ancestor who signed the Treaty either as a signatory or a witness. There's something for everyone here, so what are you waiting for?




» **Step into a world where a nation is born**

This award winning interactive CD Rom provides animated audio information about the Treaty of Waitangi and New Zealand history. It was designed with teenagers in mind, but is ideal for all visual and audio learners aged 10 years upwards.

[See this interactive CD Rom online »](#)

» **Power Game**



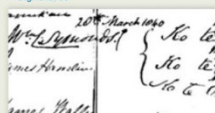
The **Power game** puts you in the seat of the Prime Minister and asks you... [more »](#)

» **Poetry and Waiata**

This interactive enables visitors to make an audio selection from a choice of **poetry and waiata** (songs). This is your opportunity to contemplate cultural identity and contemporary issues through sound.

[listen »](#)

» **Signatures**



The **Signatures Interactive** enables you to explore the signatures on the copies of the Treaty, including names and iwi (tribe) / hapu (sub-tribe). A map also shows the locations where Treaty copies were signed.

[view »](#)

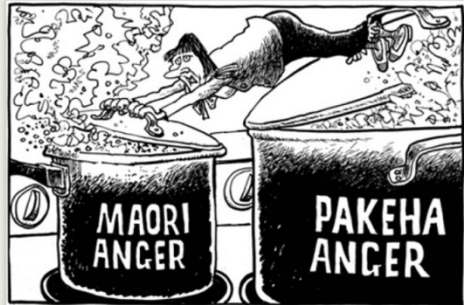
» **FAQ's**

What is the Treaty of Waitangi?

The Treaty of Waitangi is an agreement signed by representatives of the British Crown and by representatives of Māori tribal groups, in 1840.

[view more FAQ 's »](#)

» **Cartoons**

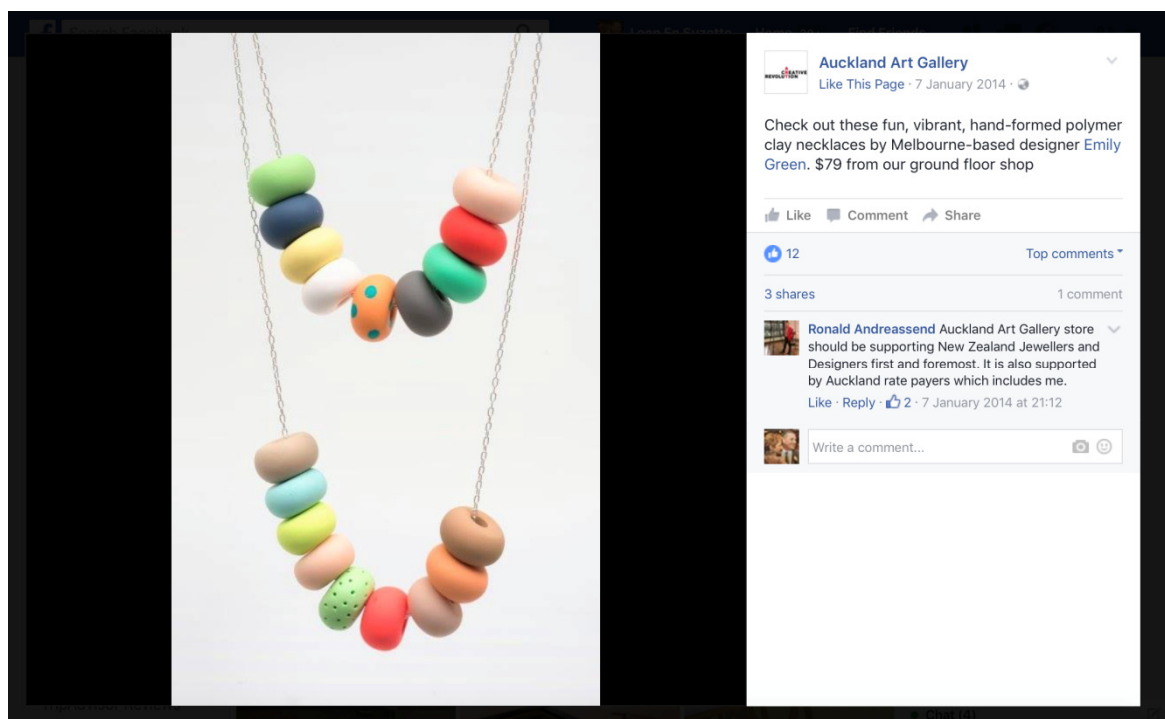


After the Waitangi Tribunal had been established, cartoons about the Treaty of Waitangi began to appear more regularly in publications. The cartoons on this wall use humour to explore some of the issues, events, and points of view relating to the Treaty.

[view »](#)

B10: Auckland Art Gallery Facebook page posts

Images (screenshots) of selected posts on the Auckland Art Gallery Facebook page, retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/aucklandartgallery/?ref=page_internal



B11: Auckland Museum 'AQUA' exhibition Facebook posts

Images (screenshots) of all Auckland Museum Facebook posts about the 'AQUA' exhibition and related activities, retrieved from:

https://www.facebook.com/AucklandMuseum/posts?ref=page_internal#


Auckland Museum
 22 March 2011 · 🌐


Today is World Water Day 2011. First designated by the UN in 1992, this date is observed to raise awareness of the global scarcity of water. An apt day to announce our new exhibition, AQUA, opening on 24 June. This unique interactive experience created by ONE DROP in collaboration with Cirque du Soleil immerses you in the world of water - our most precious resource. More info on World Water Day at worldwaterday.org.

AQUA - A JOURNEY INTO THE WORLD OF WATER


AQUA is an interactive, multisensory experience inviting you to explore water — our planet's most precious resource. AQUA features incredible effects, a water wall and 360-degree projections. You become both spectator and performer, carrying a glowing water drop that unlocks your journey into th...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

 Like
  Comment
  Share


Auckland Museum
 16 June 2011 · 🌐




Installation of AQUA has begun. The incredible technology behind this show is a first for New Zealand and tickets are on sale now!



AQUA: A JOURNEY INTO THE WORLD OF WATER - Opens 24 June

A multisensory adventure true to the spirit of Cirque du Soleil's thrilling creations, AQUA is a multisensory...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

 Like
  Comment
  Share


Auckland Museum
 24 June 2011 · 🌐


AQUA is now open and we've been receiving very positive comments. Check out this great video for a glimpse of the experience.

Fresh water exhibition flows into Auckland | Stuff.co.nz

It might be too chilly for a swim, but Auckland Museum is hoping locals will dive into the latest ground-breaking exhibition to hit the city.

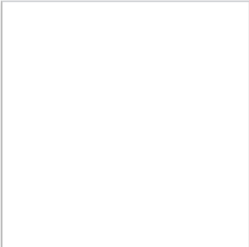
STUFF.CO.NZ

 Like
  Comment
  Share





Auckland Museum

24 June 2011 · 🌐

Join us tomorrow for a journey down the Yangtze River (Chang Jiang) in the our first of our FREE 'River Lives' events. Join the Chinese New Settlers Services Trust to hear a musical performance with traditional instruments and costumes, relive the legends and history of the river, watch a film about the river's role in Chinese culture and take part in a Chinese tea ceremony.



AQUA | Tomorrow 11am - 2pm, River Lives - Stories from the world's greatest rivers
 Take a walk along the rivers of the world - meet the people they sustain,hear the stories they reveal and...
AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

 Like
  Comment
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Auckland Museum

28 June 2011 · 🌐

Great review of AQUA from the NZ Herald.



Weekend leisure: Water, water everywhere - Life & Style - NZ Herald News
 Auckland Museum's flash new interactive exhibition explores the deeper meanings of H2O. Jacqueline...
NZHERALD.CO.NZ

 Like
  Comment
  Share


Auckland Museum


30 June 2011 · 🌐

How will our food and water supply sustain the world's growing population? At next week's LATE, Finlay hosts Professor Julian Cribb to discuss how we will manage this imminent crisis.

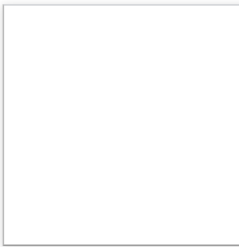


LATE at the Museum | Earth's Gravest Challenge with Dr Julian Cribb, next Thursday
 Special guest author Julian Cribb discusses Earth's Gravest Challenge and whether we can avert the...
AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

 Like
  Comment
  Share


Auckland Museum
 30 June 2011 ·

Spare time during the week? Door sales for AQUA are only \$7.50 after 2.30pm – that's a saving of 50%. Weekdays only, not including school holidays.



**AQUA WEEKDAY SPECIAL:
ADULT TICKETS \$7.50 AFTER
2.30PM - SAVE 50%**

A multisensory adventure True to the spirit of Cirque du Soleil's thrilling creations, AQUA is a multisensory...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

Like
 Comment
 Share


Auckland Museum
 1 July 2011 ·

Chao Phraya River or the "River of Kings" has supported countless Thai livelihoods for centuries and it is this reliance that built the bonds between the river and its people. Tomorrow, join Thai Culture New Zealand for performances of traditional dance, music, stories and exotic beverage tastings from Thailand, each drawing on the river as inspiration.



AQUA Events: River Lives - Chao Phraya River, Thailand, tomorrow, FREE

Take a walk along the rivers of the world - meet the people they sustain, hear the stories they reveal and...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

Like
 Comment
 Share


Auckland Museum
 5 July 2011 ·

Interesting interview with this Thursday's LATE guest, Professor Julian Cribb. Hear Professor Cribb in discussion with Finlay Macdonald at LATE, doors open 6.15pm. Tickets: <http://bit.ly/mNljJm>




Earth's gravest challenge: Not enough food to go round - World - NZ Herald News

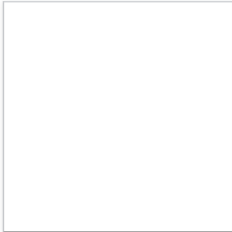
As negotiators sat down this week for another hard round of bargaining at the climate change summit in...

NZHERALD.CO.NZ

Like
 Comment
 Share


Auckland Museum
9 July 2011 ·

Join Waikato Maori today at the museum for a feast of activities including waiata, kapahaka and myths, legends and stories about the mighty Waikato.




RIVER LIVES: Today, 11am - 2pm, FREE


Take a walk along the rivers of the world - meet the people they sustain, hear the stories they reveal and share in the rituals they inspire.

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

Like
Comment
Share


Auckland Museum
2 August 2011 ·

Great news!




Museum sets world standard for energy awareness - National - NZ Herald News

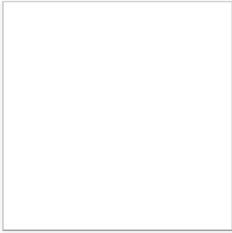
The Auckland Museum is the first in the world to get a carbon-friendly stamp of approval after making big...

NZHERALD.CO.NZ

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Auckland Museum
3 August 2011 ·

LATE is tomorrow night. Following the panel discussion, the first two levels of the museum will be open with a host of talented musicians and artists performing in the galleries and spaces including Gavin Hipkins, Joyce Campbell and Clinton Watkins.




LATE: From a Ripple to a Swell, tomorrow


From a Ripple to a Swell Thursday, 4 August, 6.30pm. In association with The University of Auckland this LATE looks at the importance of New Zealand's...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

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Auckland Museum
4 August 2011 ·

Interesting interview with one of tonight's LATE panel discussion speakers, Dr Alys Longley.




LATE at the Museum - From a Ripple to a Swell | 95bFM

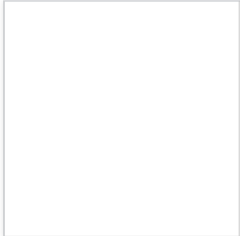
Charlotte talks to Dr Alys Longley and Dr Charlotte Sunde about New Zealand's waterways and the possible marriage of Science and Art to raise...

95BFM.COM | BY CACTUSLAB

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Auckland Museum
5 August 2011 ·

In 1500, an explorer used the words “Mar Dulce” or “sweet sea” to describe the Amazon river referring to its sweet, fresh waters. Tomorrow we are hosting Auckland’s Brazilian community to celebrate the Amazon with music, dance, folklore, stories and environmental insights.



RIVER LIVES: The Amazon, tomorrow, 11am - 2pm, FREE
This winter we invite you to experience AQUA and discover the truth about water - the life that springs from it, the legends it has inspired and the...

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM

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Auckland Museum
11 August 2011 ·

We held the 2011 Hauraki Gulf Forum at the museum this week, with the involvement of our Marine Curator, Tom Trnski. The resultant report State of our Gulf paints a very poor picture of health for our treasured Gulf. Read the full report: <http://bit.ly/qmNagl>



Hauraki Gulf: toxic paradise? - Auckland Region - NZ Herald News
Dwindling fish stocks, toxic metal pollution and unsafe swimming - the Hauraki Gulf jewel has lost its lustre, according to the most comprehensive report into its...

NZHERALD.CO.NZ

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Auckland Museum
12 August 2011 ·

It is believed by many Hindus that life is incomplete without bathing in the Ganges River at least once in their lives, an act which it is said can lead to 'moksha', or salvation. Join us tomorrow 11am - 2pm to celebrate the Ganges with stories, dance, music and tastings. More info: <http://bit.ly/q3mMfK>. © Photo by Tanmoy Das.



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AM

Auckland Museum
12 August 2011 ·

Never been to a River Lives before? Check out videos from last weekend's Amazon event. Includes some interesting stories and myths of the river: <http://bit.ly/p76Go9>



Like
Comment
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AM

Auckland Museum
18 August 2011 ·

Missed 'RIVER LIVES: The Ganges, India' on Saturday? Images and video here: <http://bit.ly/nlgdPN>



Like
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AM

Auckland Museum
19 August 2011 ·

Author Mark Twain wrote of the Mississippi river: "The Great Mississippi, the majestic, the magnificent Mississippi, rolling its mile-wide tide along, shining in the sun."

Join us tomorrow to celebrate the history of the Mississippi with the American Club of Auckland. Experience jazz, blues, country, Memphis and Hillbilly rock, modern dance, Irish clog dancing and readings from American literature. More info: <http://bit.ly/qYog28>



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Auckland Museum
 29 August 2011 ·


Have you heard Nudge? Give their album a listen and join us to experience them live, along with the popular DJ Submariner, this Thursday at LATE. Doors open 6.30pm. A bar and food will also be available and AQUA will be open. Tickets: <http://bit.ly/pPOxbA>



Nudge | Free Music, Tour Dates, Photos, Videos


MYSPACE.COM

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Auckland Museum
 13 September 2011 ·

Alongside its AQUA exhibition, Auckland Museum has created its first mobile trail through its galleries. We want to get feedback on the experience of AQUA and the free mobile trail so we're looking for willing participants. You'll experience AQUA for free and to thank you for your time we'll give you a \$50 gift voucher to the Museum shop and a \$20 petrol voucher. If you're interested please contact vresearch@aucklandmuseum.com or call Adrienne: 309-0443 ext 7111 for more details.


Like
 Comment
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Auckland Museum
 16 September 2011 ·

World Water Day is this Sunday.

Come along 10am - 3pm and discover the diversity of plant life, animal life and micro-organisms that are living in our waterways - such as this specimen - an aquatic snail-eating larvae of a 'marsh fly' that spends its first few weeks in water.

Join our experts on tours to discover what life exists in Auckland's first water source - Auckland Domain's ponds and streams, find out about our region's water quality and more <http://bit.ly/oxU7j4>



© Stephen Moore

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AM Auckland Museum
23 September 2011 · 🌐

This Saturday and Sunday at the Museum:
Join us for Pacific Lifeways Alive and our Military Heritage Weekend - all events are free.

At Pacific Lifeways Alive, learn the art of Pacific weaving, tivaevae, and lei-making - what are the inspirations behind the designs and what is the creative process? <http://bit.ly/p3spXf>

For our Military Heritage Weekend, discover more about Auckland's military history with a series of lectures and a walk-and-talk around a display of military vehicles on the Court of Honour <http://bit.ly/o9D5ps>

And don't forget, AQUA and Ake Ake Kia Kaha: The Spirit of Maori Rugby are on too.



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AM Auckland Museum
8 October 2011 · 🌐

Be sure to come along this Saturday and Sunday for our free Taniwha! aerial show, plus AQUA is open (closes 24 October) as are our free exhibitions Ake Ake Kia Kaha: The Spirit of Maori Rugby and You Are Here: Mapping Auckland.

Taniwha! Free Aerial Show this Weekend

Come face to face with our giant, undulating taniwha this weekend.

AUCKLANDMUSEUM.COM


👍 Like 💬 Comment ➦ Share

AM Auckland Museum
21 October 2011 · 🌐

AQUA closes this Monday! Be sure to pay this 360-degree interactive experience - co-created by Cirque du Soleil - a visit before it leaves our shores. Booking is recommended: <http://bit.ly/eyhLno>

This Labour Day Monday, we also have a FREE Taniwha! aerial performance in the atrium at 10.30am, 12.30pm & 2pm

And remember, we have activities in the Blue Room and Weird and Wonderful for children and families, plus the Webb Ellis Cup will be on display in the Foyer before leavin... [See more](#)



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Appendix C: Indicative interview questions

Background

- How long have you worked in the curatorial sector?
- What was your background coming into this job?
 - What have been some of the highlights in your career as a curator?
- Do you think your particular route into this job is the best way?
 - Do you see education as more important than gained experience?

Curatorial Sector Changes

- What changes have you seen in your line of work?
 - What do you think of the discussions on the marketisation and democratisation of the curatorial sector?
- Have there been changes to your job description?
 - How have developments such as marketisation of museums and galleries affected the role of the curator?
- How do you stay abreast of developments in the curatorial sector?

Curatorial Identity in the Creative Industries

- How does the curatorial sector fit within the creative industries?
- How have creative industries policies affected the role of the curator?
 - How useful are creative industries policies to curators?

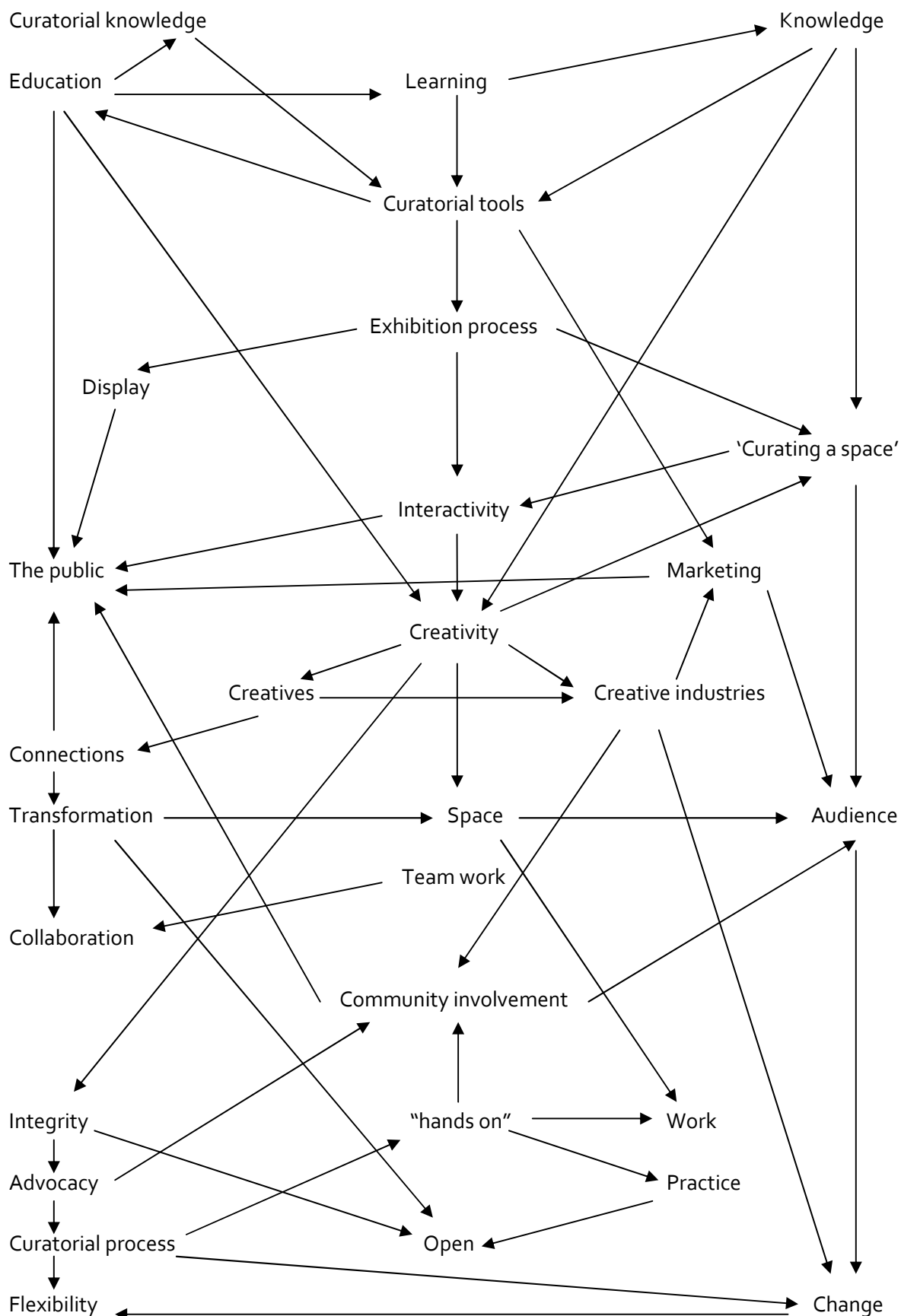
Creativity

- What do you see as the connotations of the word 'creative'?
 - Who are 'creative people' in your opinion?
- What do you view as 'creative work'?
- How would you describe the creative process?

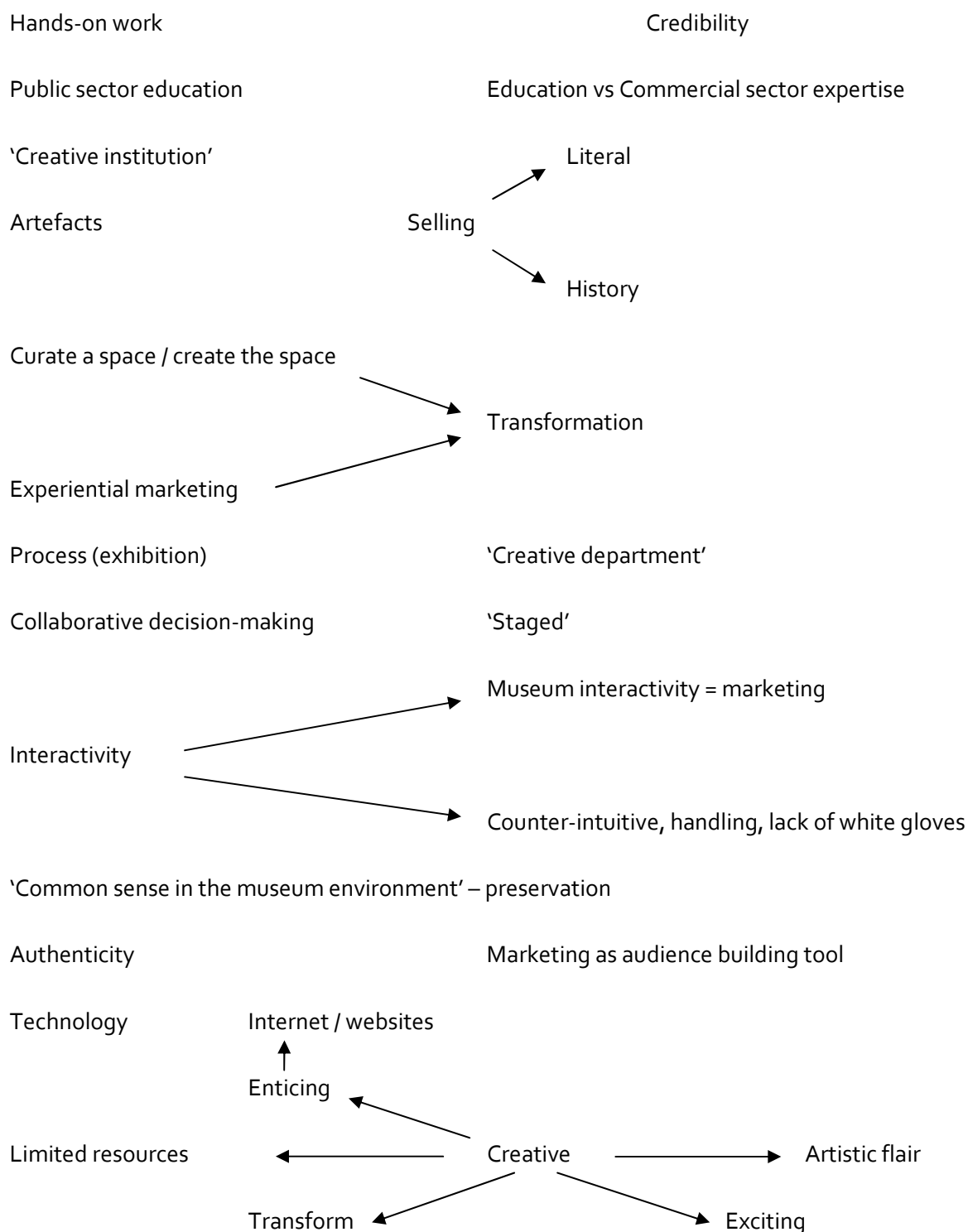
Curators as 'Creative Workers'

- What do you think of curatorial work being viewed as 'creative work'?
- Do you see yourself as a creative worker?
 - How would you describe the curating process? Are there similarities between the curating process and the creative process?
 - Would you say that creativity is a necessary element in the curating process?
- Is the word 'creative' or 'creativity' in your job description? If so, how do you express it?
 - How different is the organisational conception of creativity from your own views?
- What is your process when curating heritage of a difficult nature?
 - What official procedures must be followed?
 - What do you draw on when curating difficult heritage?
 - Would you say that such curation requires the element of creativity?

Appendix D: Coding sheets

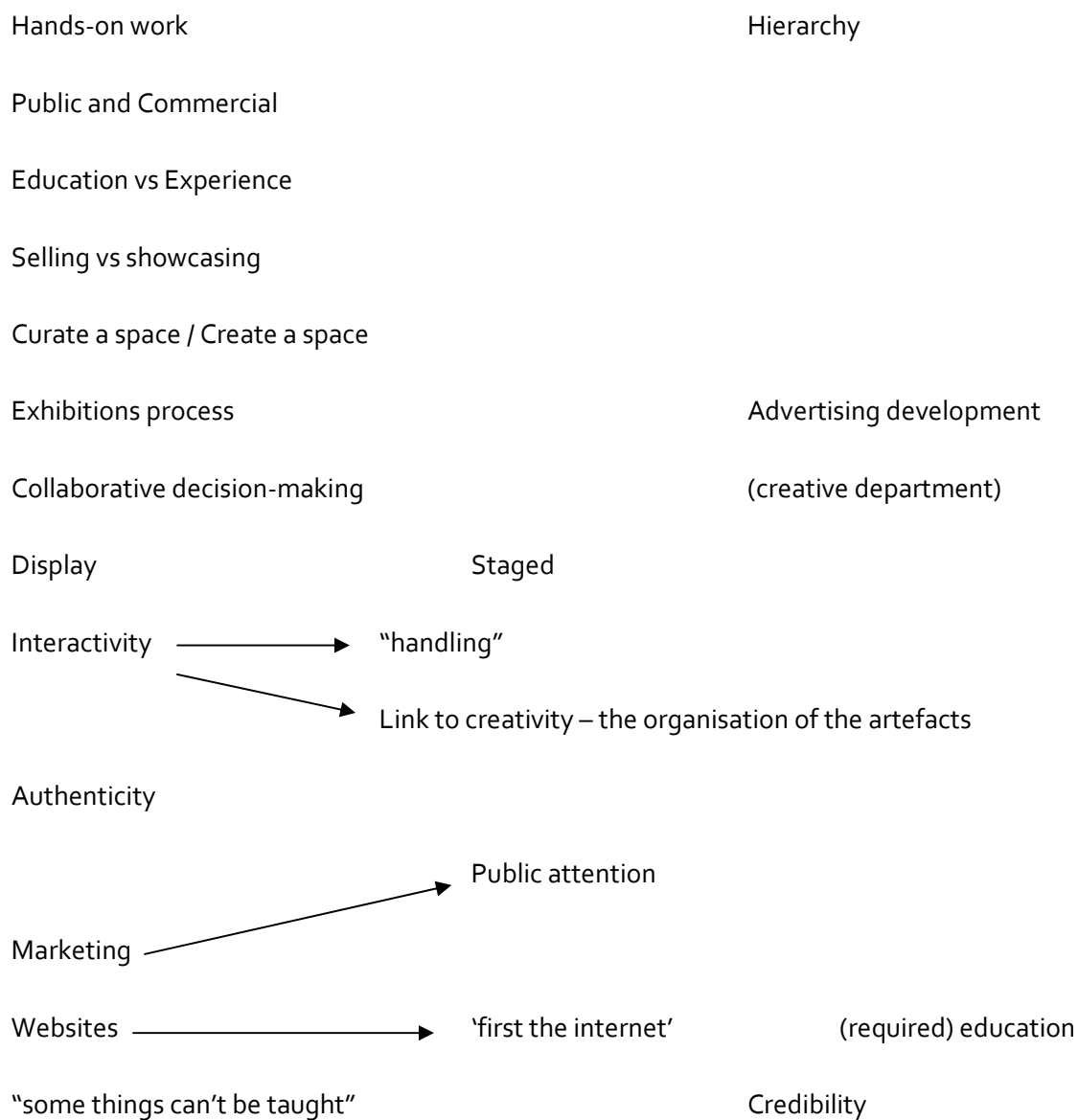


Participant #1 – First Code (page 1)

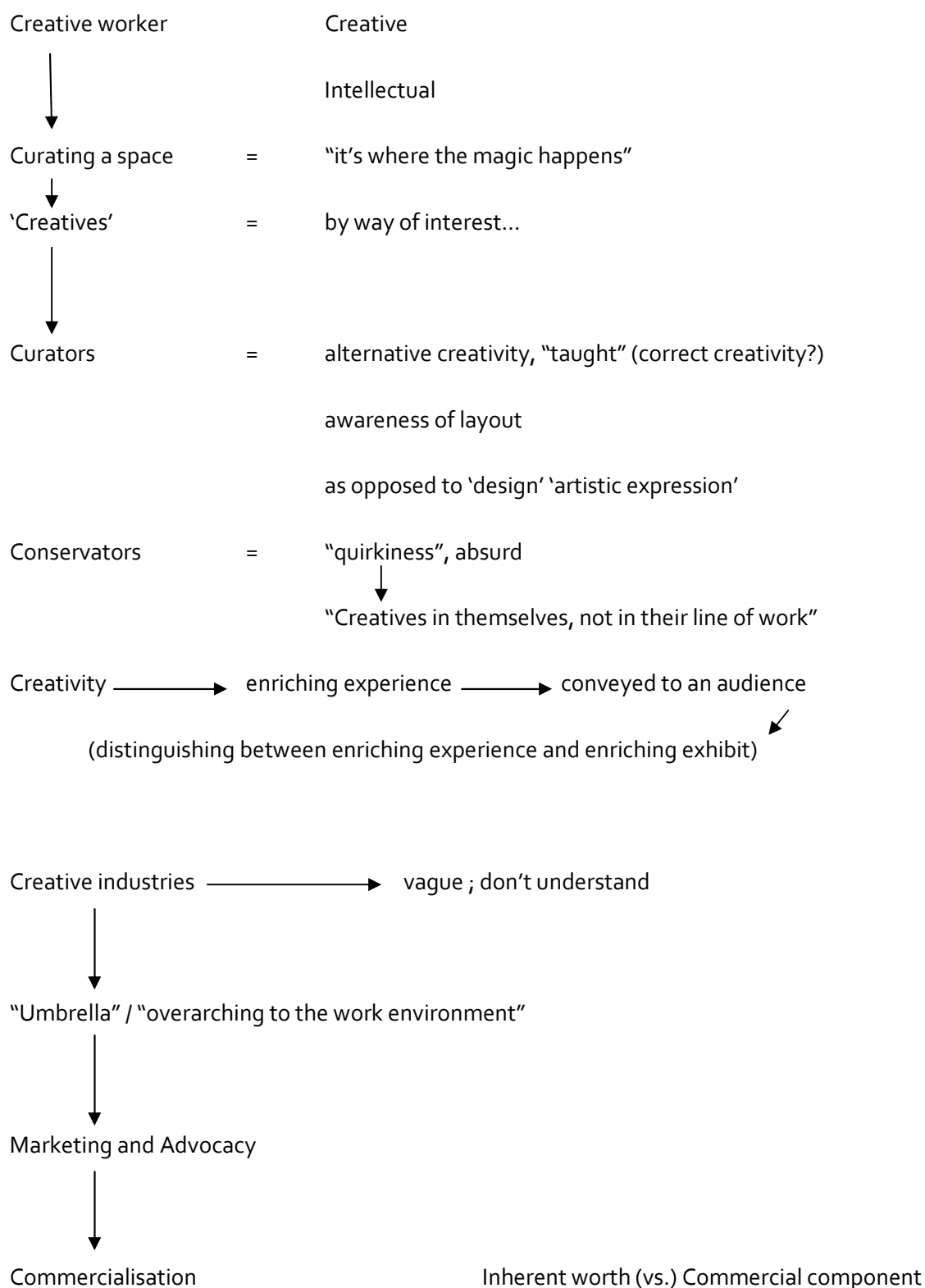


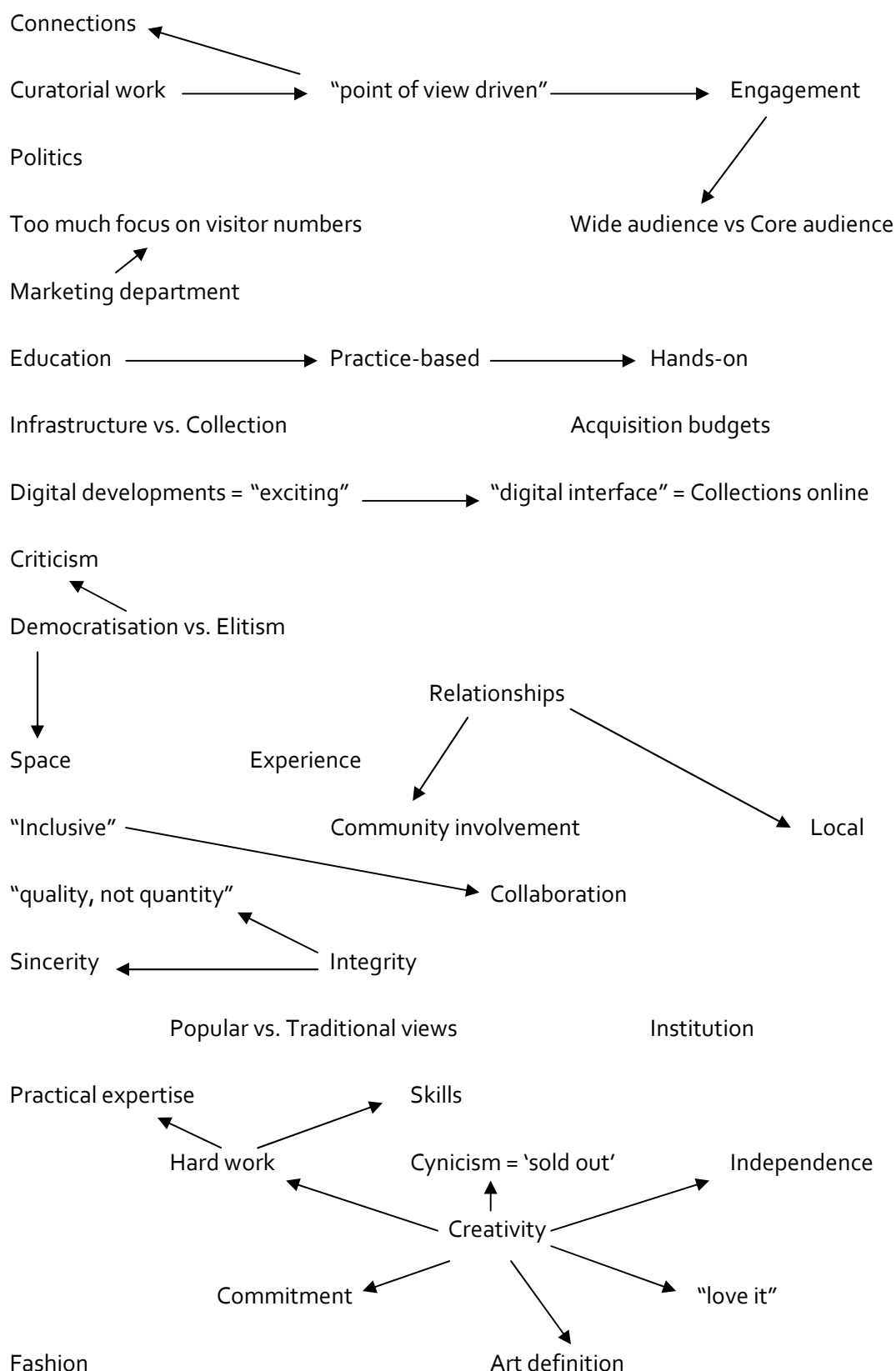
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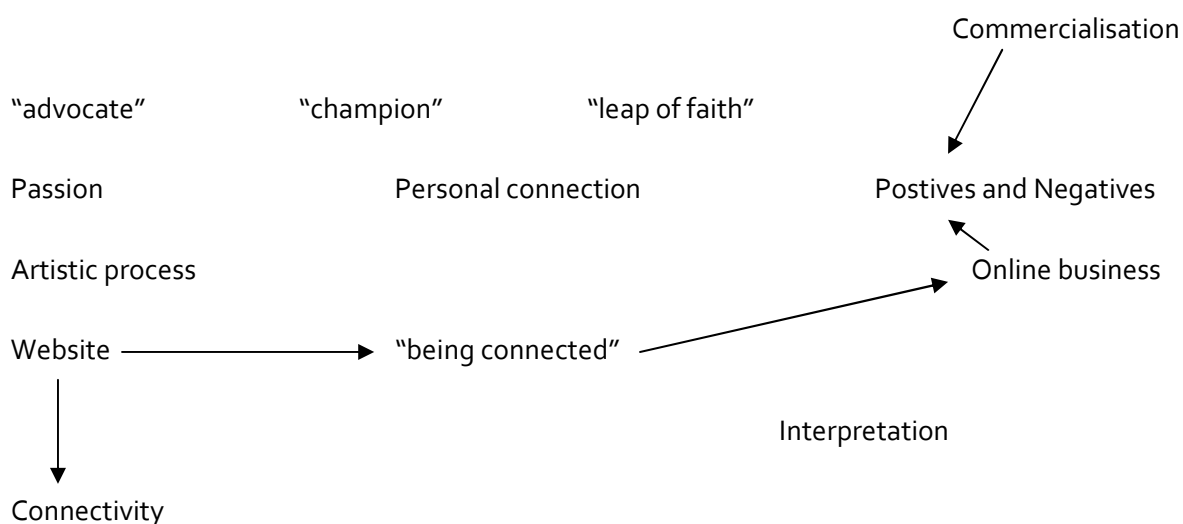
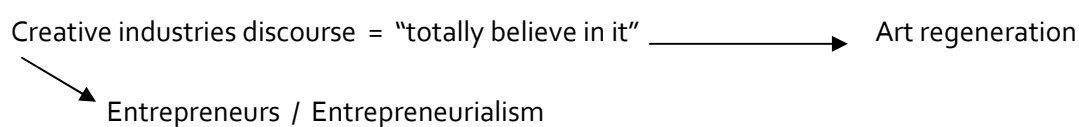
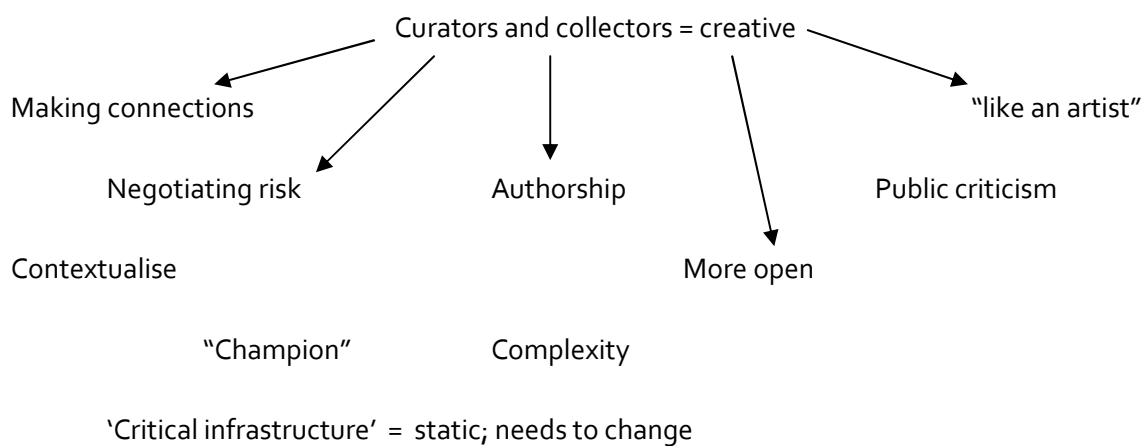


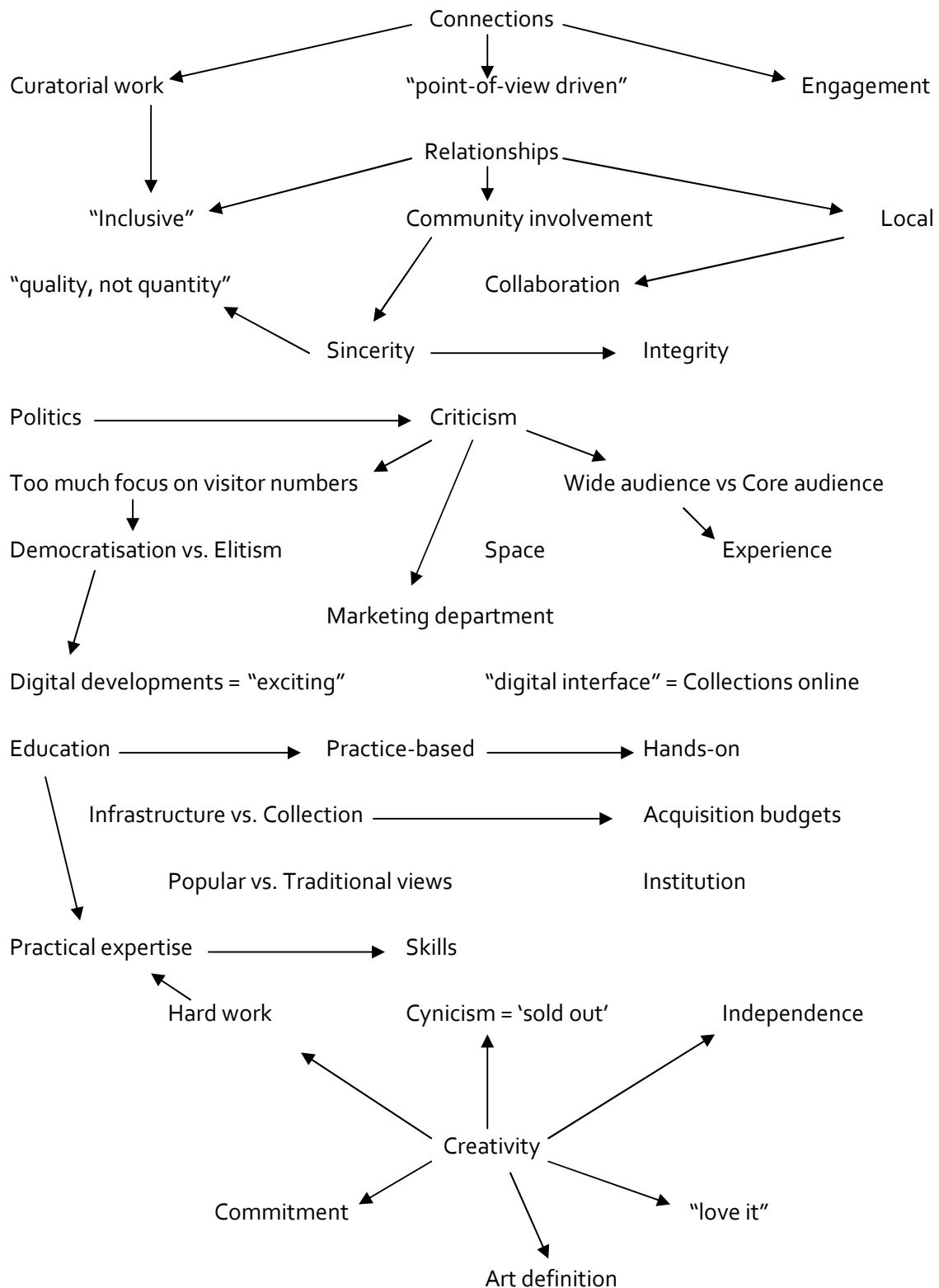
Creativity = artistic flair, produce something out of nothing, think outside of the box, transformation.



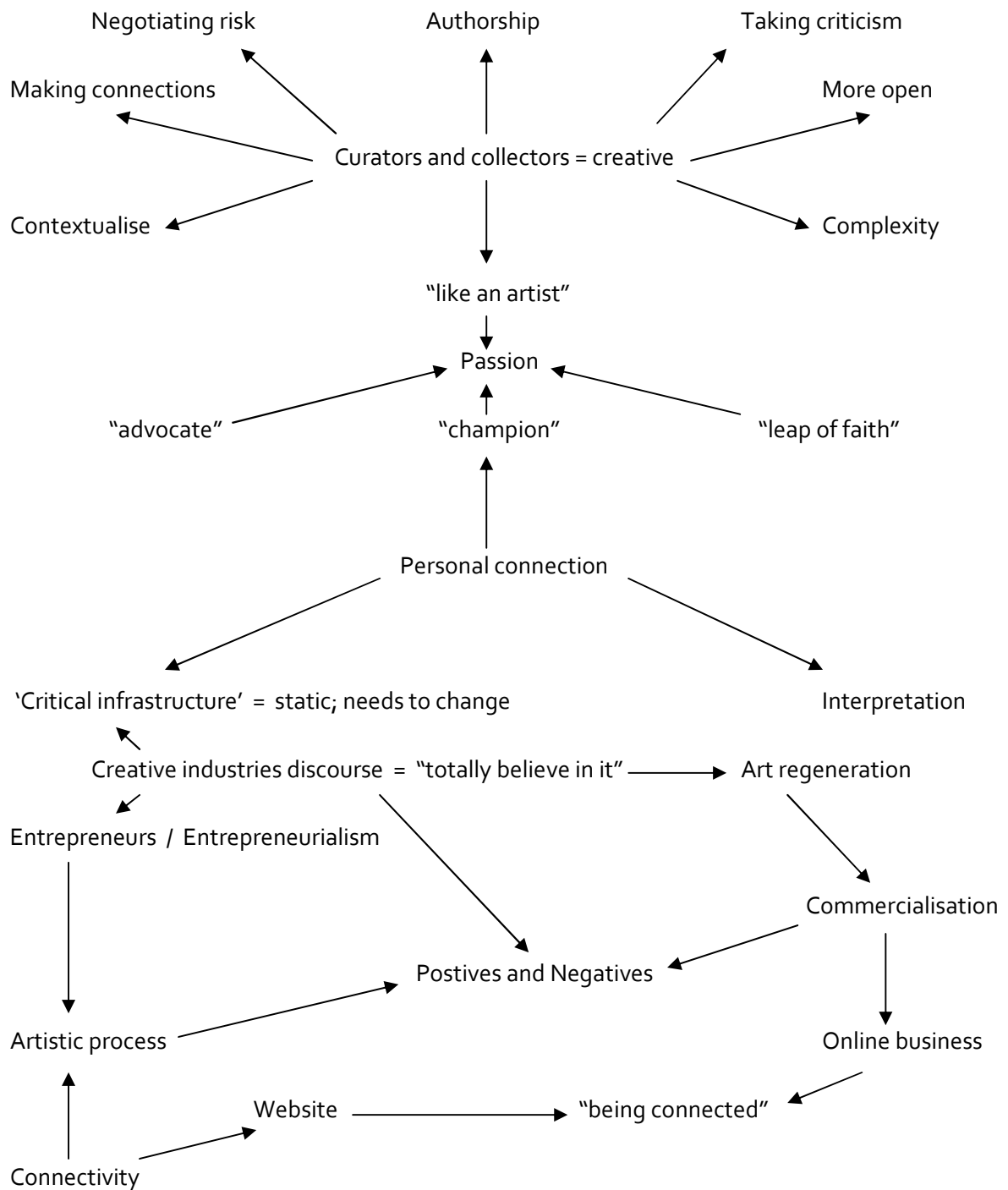


Participant #2 – First Code (page 2)





Participant #2 – Second Code (page 2)



Participant #3 – First Code (page 1)

Education / Education background

Employment in the curatorial sector = More students, less jobs

Learn on the job —————> “that’s what makes the job so enriching...fascinating”

Curatorial support

Curatorial knowledge

Making the material accessible to the public —————> Target audiences

Changes —————> More creativity —————> Use of space (new buildings)

Digital technology —————> Connectivity

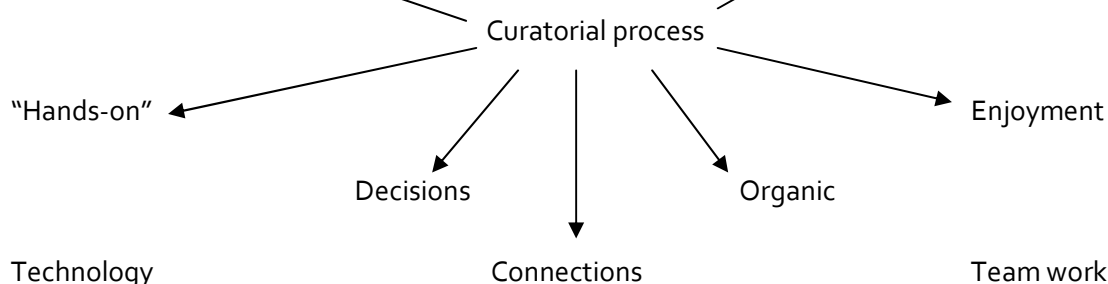
“fresh way to look at things”

Preparation

Curatorial skill —————> “the eye” —————> Curating an exhibit

“I can’t tell you what it is, you know when it’s right”

Curator expert, but collaboration is key

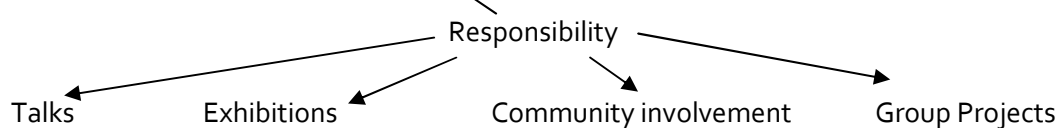


Technology

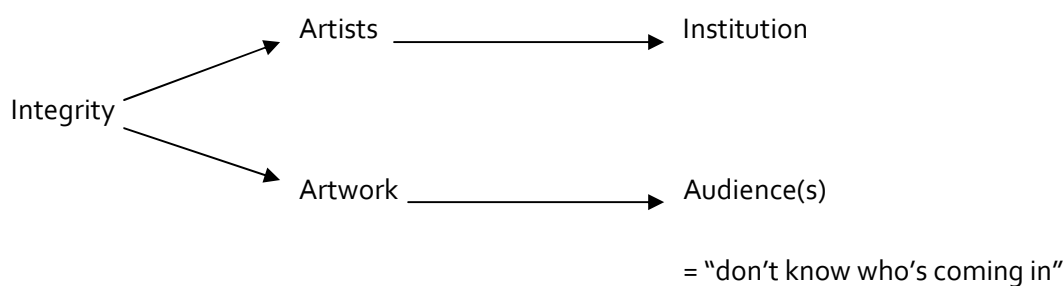
Creative worker = “absolutely”

Engagement

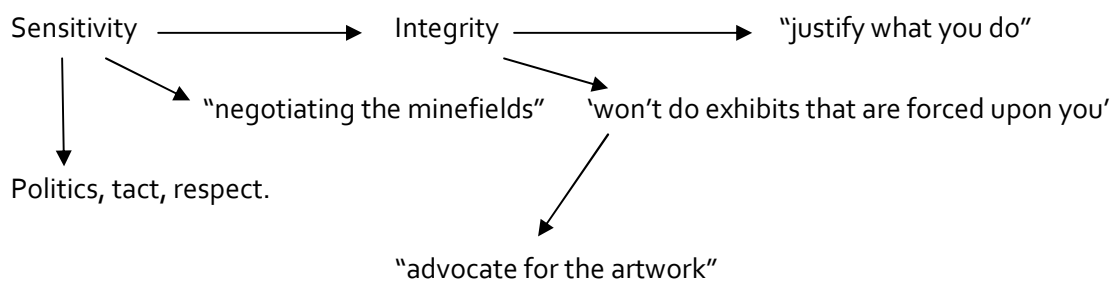
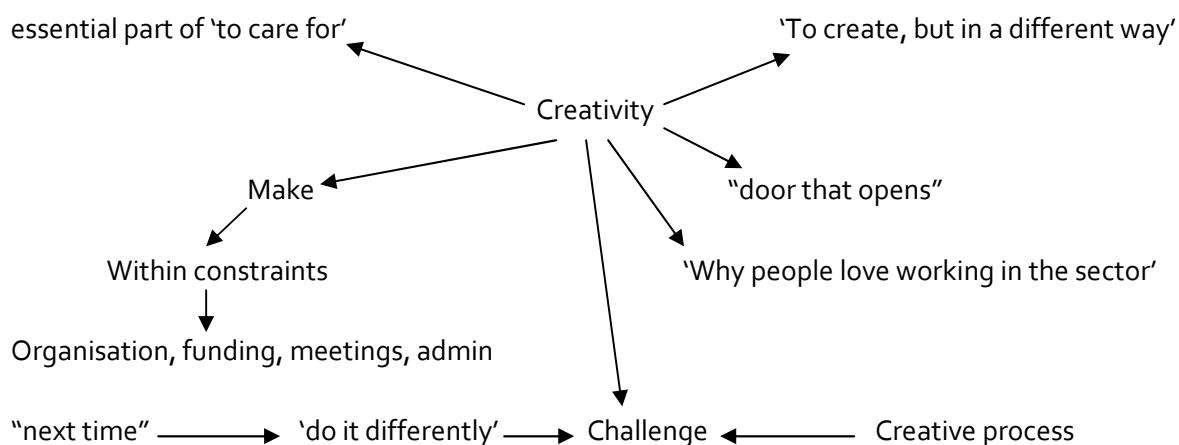
Marketing = Curatorial quality control



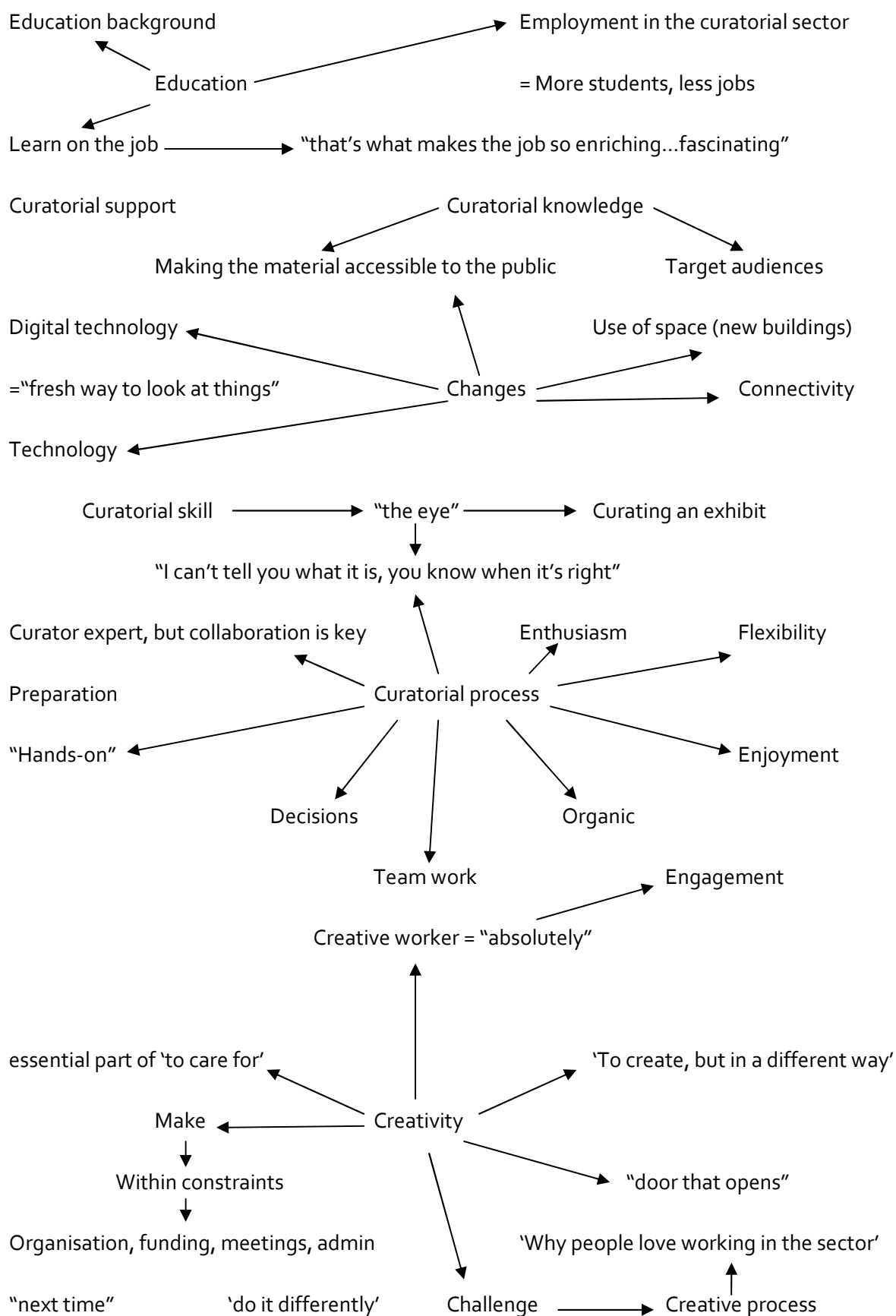
Participant #3 – First Code (page 2)



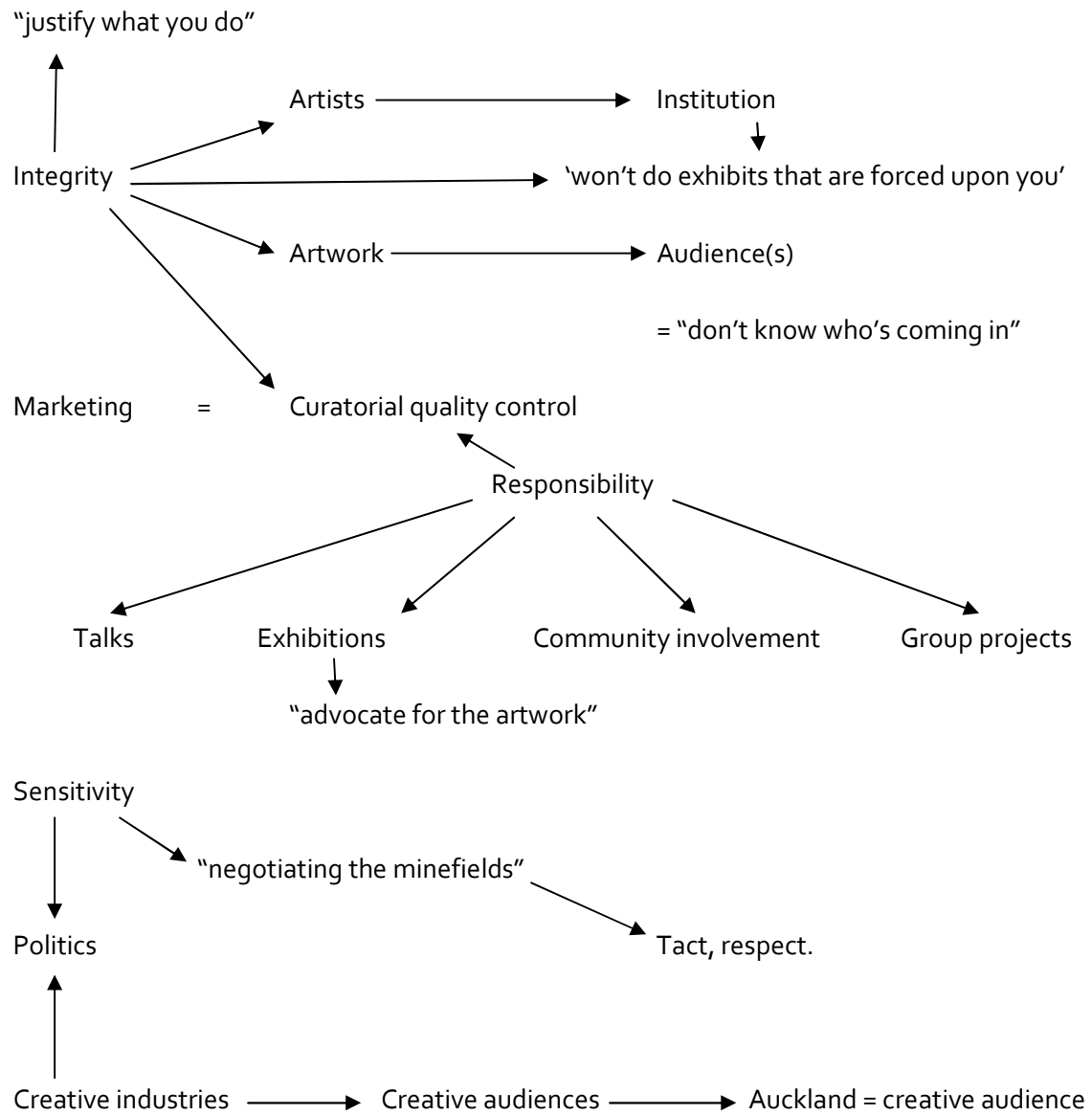
"going beyond the job description"



Participant #3 – Second Code (page1)



Participant #3 – Second Code (page2)



Participant #4 – First Code

Definition of “curator” / Curatorial sector

Mapping space / Spatial constructs

Curating = creating

Hierarchy

Engagement

Culture

Western / Eastern

Collaboration

Core to being human

What we do

Transformation

Creativity

Open

Social

Navigation

Interactivity

Effect change / Bring about inspiration

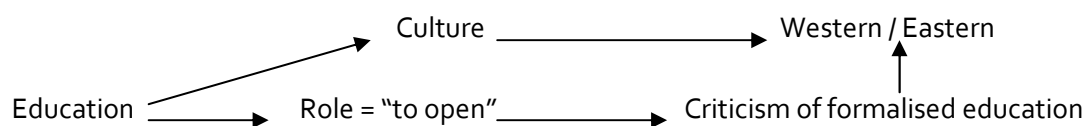
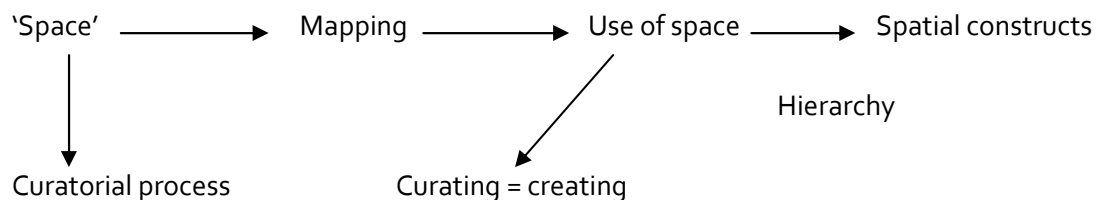
Education = to open

“inspire the viewer into creativity”

Passion

Participant #4 – Second Code

Definitions = 'Curator' Curatorial sector Creative worker



Engagement
↓
Collaboration

Core to being human

What we do

Transformation

Effect change / Bring about inspiration

"inspire the viewer into creativity"

Creativity

Open

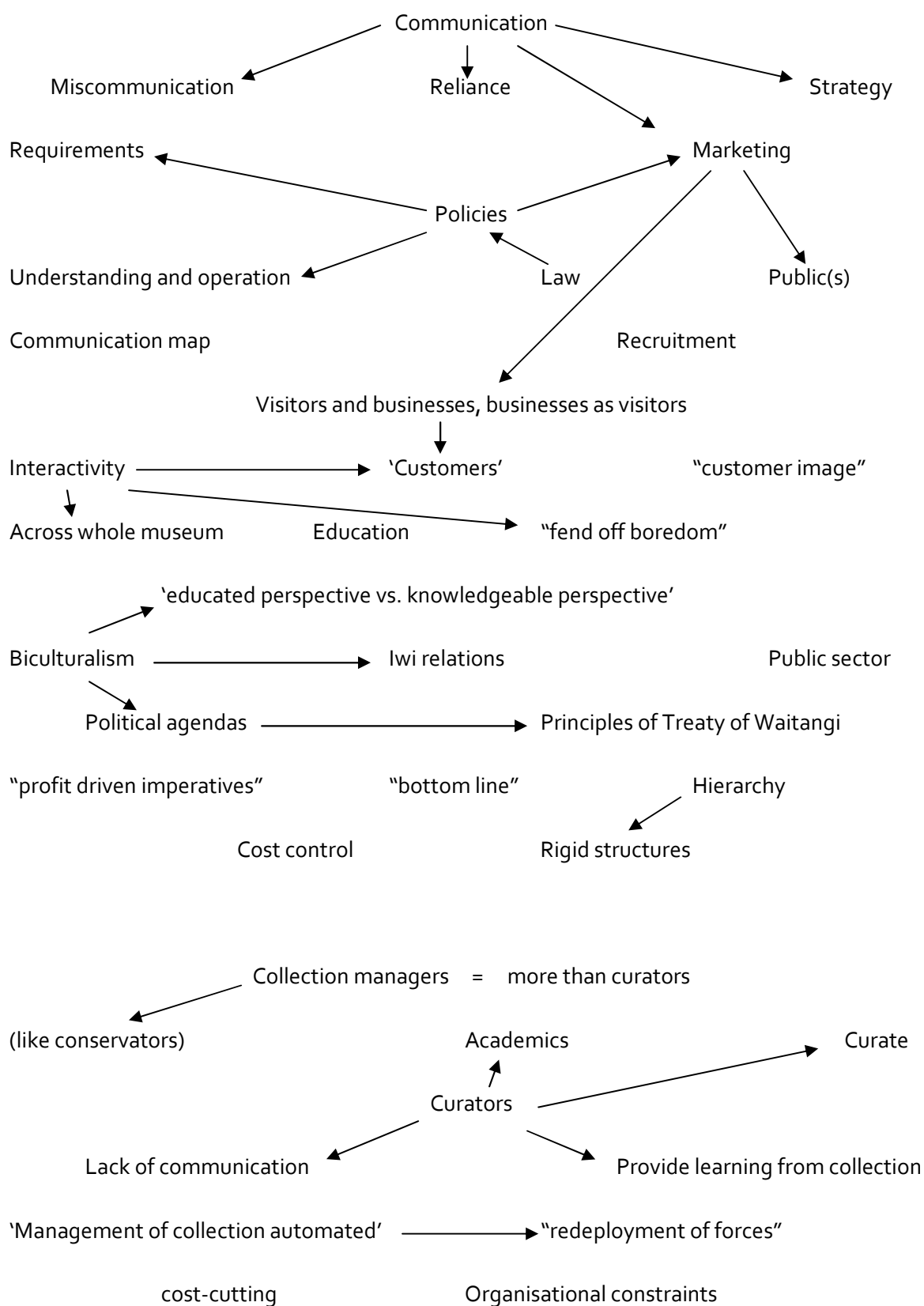
Social

Navigation

Interactivity

Passion

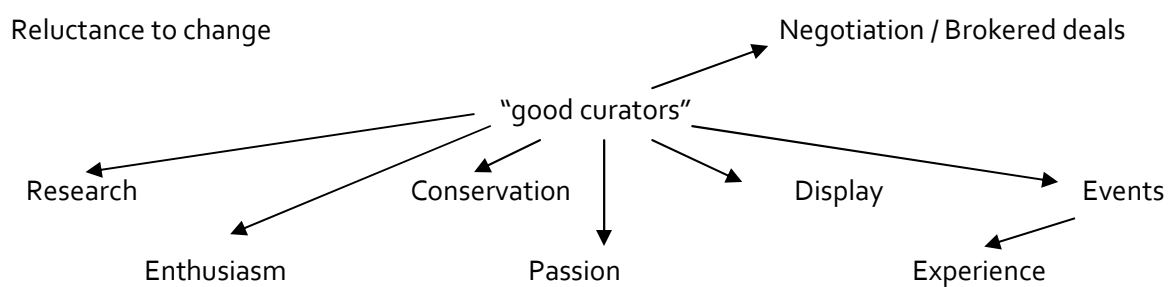
Participant #5 – First Code (page 1)



Participant #5 – First Code (page 2)

Ethnicity and culture

Reluctance to change



Organisational response —————> Slow moving; defensive

Public relations management

GLAM – small in NZ

Curatorial process —————> 'blockbuster exhibits' = "defined product"

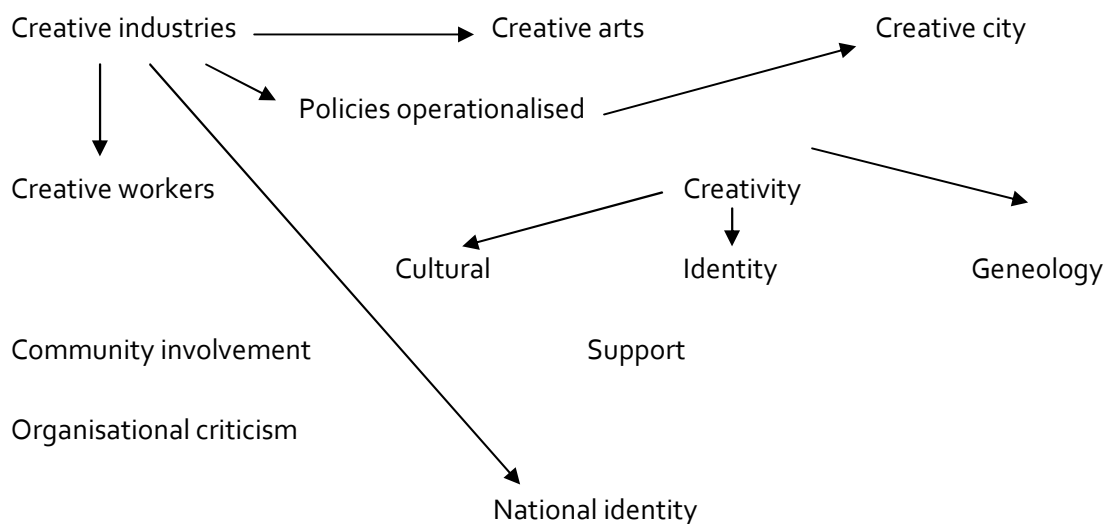
Commercialisation —————> Market research —————> "what people will pay"

Customer experience —————> Organisational priorities

Sponsorship issues

Sustainability issues

= Interference



Community involvement

Organisational criticism

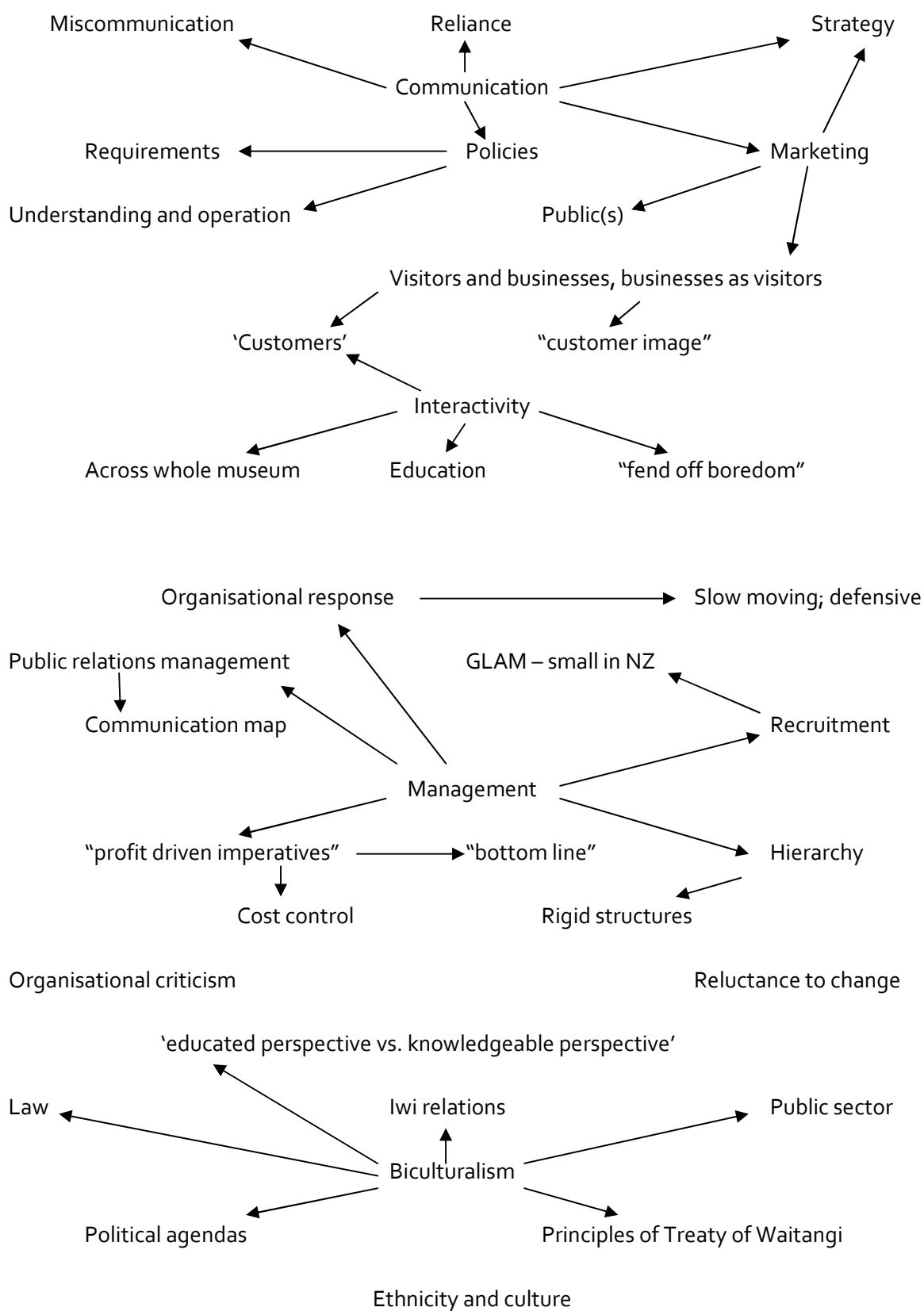
Website

"social media expert"

Commercial arm

Accessibility

Participant #5 – Second Code (page 1)



Participant #5 – Second Code (page 2)

