Using the past: Authenticity, reliability, and the role of archives in Barclays plc's use of the past strategies

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by

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Recent scholarship in organisation studies has begun to address how organisations perceive and use their history. However, how organisations preserve and access their history, and how this affects how they are able to use their history is less researched. This thesis investigates how Barclays Group Archives (BGA) contribute to Barclays plc delivering its strategic objectives. It asks, how does BGA, as a specific unit of the organisation, facilitate the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives? The researcher was embedded in the archives, enabling the gathering of observational data on how BGA operate as well as a unique level of access to archival organisational records. These were used to target and gain access to Barclays plc employees to conduct interviews to ascertain how they used BGA's resources and what benefits they felt BGA brought. Using interviews, observation, and other qualitative research methods, this thesis introduces archival science theory to the study of how organisations can benefit from using their history, introducing the archival science ideas of authenticity, reliability, usability, and integrity to inform the research on organisational memory and use of the past strategies.

The thesis focuses on the period between 2012 and 2015, a time when Barclays plc made extensive use of their past in an attempt to manage and recover from the various scandals. It argues that BGA, and the archivists in particular, are integral to Barclays plc's use of the past strategies, enabling Barclays plc to bolster their claims to be returning to a historically 'authentic' corporate culture that would inform the organisation's strategies and behaviour going forward. Additionally, the archivists themselves act as the link between the information in the archives that forms part of Barclays plc's organisational memory, enabling users to utilise this information and transforming the static memory held into the archives into dynamic memory that is then utilised by employees. The thesis highlights the importance of how organisations access the historical information that they use to inform their historical narratives, and the importance of the individuals that act as the link between those who are using the past in some way, and the repositories of historical information. The research findings presented in this thesis will be of interest to organisation studies scholars interested in how managers use history as well as to researchers who study corporate archives.

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1. Introduction

Recent scholarship has shown how organisations can use their past as a resource to pursue their strategic objectives. How organisations use their pasts is varied: some use their past to construct their organisational identity in external marketing and branding, organisations can use their past to shape their organisational culture, and organisations can also use their past to combat damaging narratives and seek legitimacy.[1] Unfortunately, previous research into how organisations use their pasts has have not been directed into understanding those functions of the corporation which have the most direct links with its history – the corporate archive departments. This thesis will explore how corporate archives can facilitate the delivery of an organisation's strategic objectives. It does this by using Barclays Group Archives (BGA), and Barclays plc as the case study.

This introductory chapter discusses how the research problem developed out of the context of the research project before moving on to discuss the research problem, and research design, in more detail. Whilst extant scholarship impacted the construction of the research problem, the specific context of the research project heavily influenced the construction of the research problem. It will end by giving an overview of the structure of the rest of the thesis.

1.1. Research context

This project was conceived as an interdisciplinary project bringing together archive studies, and organisational studies, and one which was supported by a research funding stream explicitly encouraging such interdisciplinary work sited outside the academic context.

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[1] See Michael Rowlinson and John Hassard, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury', *Human Relations,* 46, no. 3 (1993): 299–326; Douglas B. Holt, 'Jack Daniel's America Iconic Brands as Ideological Parasites and Proselytizers', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 6, no. 3 (2006): 355–377; Suddaby, William M. Foster, and Chris Quinn Trank. 'Rhetorical History as a Source of Competitive Advantage.' In *Advances in Strategic Management*, edited by Baum Joel A.C. and Joseph Lampel, 27:147–73. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2010; William Foster et al., 'History as Social Memory Assets: The Example of Tim Hortons', *Management & Organizational History* 6, no. 1 (2011): 101–120; Michel Anteby and Virág Molnár, 'Collective Memory Meets Organizational Identity: Remembering to Forget in a Firm's Rhetorical History', *Academy of Management Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 515–540; Mairi Maclean et al., 'Intertextuality, Rhetorical History and the Uses of the Past in Organizational Transition', *Organization Studies* 39, no. 12 (2018): 1733–55; Andrew Smith and Daniel Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company', *Management & Organizational History* 12, no. 4 (2017): 334–356; Wim Van Lent and Andrew Smith, 'Using Versus Excusing: The Hudson's Bay Company's Long-Term Engagement with Its (Problematic) Past', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-019-04320-7. These ideas are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

The research was carried out as part of an AHRC CDA awarded in 2015 to Dr Margaret Procter, Centre for Archive Studies, University of Liverpool (UoL) in collaboration with Maria Sienkiewicz, BGA; this research was also supervised by Dr Andrew Smith from the UoL Management School. The successful application, made from the discipline of archive studies, proposed BGA itself as the site of investigation, with two successful PhD students 'embedded' in the organisation rather than merely visiting to collect data. The scope of the research was somewhat predetermined before the researcher came onto the project in that BGA was to be the focus of the research; however, there was still freedom in the project to determine a viable research problem to be studied. A review of the literature (see Chapter 2) and the initial observation at BGA (see Chapter 3), identified that neither archival studies nor organisation studies had adequately explained how corporate archives, as a distinct type of organisational function, can facilitate the delivery of an organisation's strategic objectives. Whilst there is literature on how corporate archives can benefit specific organisations, much of this literature is focuses on the activities of specific archives and rarely discusses how the corporate archive as a distinct function of an organisation, can facilitate the delivery of an organisation's strategic objectives (see Section 2.2). Additionally, these two bodies of literature, whilst sharing some common areas of research, rarely intersected.

The lack of interdisciplinary research on the role of the corporate archive emerged during the construction of the research problem. Despite a large amount of scholarly literature available, there was little to suggest how the corporate archival function contributes to delivering the strategic objectives of its parent organisations. Instead, corporate archives are normally depicted as only facilitating other departments who may then contribute to the wider organisation's strategic objectives. However, how these activities actually contribute to the wider goal of delivering the strategic objectives of the organisation is unclear. As the literature review will show, although the archive studies literature has some examples which draw on BGA's own experiences as a corporate archive these were from the point of view of the archive and archivists and do not necessarily highlight its value in a way that actual or potential users would find meaningful.[2] Therefore, from the archive studies literature perspective, there may be a potential disconnect between the benefits as described or

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[2] See Jessie Campbell, '"Things Will Not Stop There": Barclays Centenary 1896 to 1996', *Business Archives* 72 (1996): 31–42; Nicholas Webb, '"If Only the Bank Had Listened to Me. . ." The Purpose and Value of an Oral History Programme', *Business Archives* 85 (2003): 24–41; Maria Sienkiewicz, 'Asset or Liability: The Value of an Archive to a Company's Reputation', *Business Archives* 95 (2008): 32–43. See Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion on archival studies literature.

conceived by archivists, and the reasons that Barclays plc employees choose to contact BGA. This disconnect potentially creates other problems, such as whether the current practices at BGA are optimal in promoting the benefits that Barclays plc employees are in search of, and how BGA can maintain these benefits, and build on them going forward as the nature of the records that Barclays plc produces increasingly becomes digital. Additionally, a better understanding of what the benefits are that BGA provides would enable them to promote their services to other areas of the organisation.

The lack of discussion on how the activities of corporate archives facilitate the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives is a problem for both archival studies and organisation studies as it endangers the continuing existence of corporate archives and lessens our understanding of how organisations can benefit from an archival programme. Archive studies literature, which mirrors the concerns of practitioners, does recognise the need for corporate archives to justify their existence in a profit-making organisation.[3] However, it has been criticised for being self-referential and not always engaging with ideas and literature from other disciplines that could be relevant for ongoing debates.[4] Similarly, organisation studies literature has generally neglected the role of the corporate archive in organisations. However, there is substantial research within organisation studies on concepts that would appear to be relevant to corporate archives such as the use of the past by organisations and organisational memory. Bringing these two disciplines together to understand how corporate archives contribute to delivering their parent organisations' strategic objectives will enhance our understanding of their role within their parent organisations and suggest how organisations can make the best use of their archives to facilitate achieving their strategic objectives. Showing how corporate archives contribute to delivering the strategic objectives of their parent organisations may prompt more organisations to dedicate resources to the preservation and utilisation of their past, preserving resources that are both valuable corporate

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[3] See George David Smith and Laurence Steadman, 'Present Value of Corporate History', *Harvard Business. Review* 59, no. 6 (1981): 164-173; Elizabeth Adkins and Karen Benedict, 'Archival Advocacy: Institutional Archives in Corporations', in *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development of Archives*, ed. Larry Hackman (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 45–66; Larry Hackman, 'Advocacy for Archives and Archivists', in *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development of Archives*, ed. Larry Hackman (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 3–40; Gregory Sanford, 'Advocacy in the Service of Archives: A Continuing Issue at the Vermont State Archives', in *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development of Archives*, ed. Larry Hackman (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 232–249; Paul Lasewicz, 'Advocacy, Outreach and the Archivist', in *The International Business Archives Handbook: Understanding and Managing the Historical Records of Business*, ed. A Turton (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 385–427. See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on archival studies literature.

[4] Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret L. Hedstrom, 'Invoking "Collective Memory": Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science', *Archival Science* 13, no. 2 (2013): 217–251.

resources and of potential interest to academics and the public more generally. In addition to this, it will enhance our understanding of concepts that are common to both disciplines, benefitting future research.

1.2.   Barclays Group Archives

BGA came into existence as a distinct department of Barclays plc in 1989 when the bank centralised their collections on an industrial estate in Wythenshawe, Manchester; and employed a professional archivist to manage them. Whilst Barclays plc had previously employed an 'archivist' at the headquarters in London, they were only responsible for the holdings there. BGA was initially part of Barclays Record Services, with the Records Storage Centre (RSC) and Records Management Team (RMT). Barclays Records Services was later disbanded, with the RSC outsourced and RMT functions devolved to individual business units, and BGA transferred to Barclays Corporate Secretariat (BCS) (see Section 7.2).

BGA preserves the records of Barclays plc and its predecessors dating from 1567 until the present day. The historical records of BGA include customer records until 1900, partnership records, correspondence, premises records, board minutes, and some personnel records. The modern records include board and committee minutes, policies and procedures, records relating to Barclays plc's products and services, and a wide range of Barclays plc's publications. All records are catalogued on a digital database which ensures information about the provenance and content of all items is recorded and searchable.

As mentioned above, BGA is located in Wythenshawe, Manchester, occupying a warehouse building with purpose-built strongrooms than contain approximately two miles of shelving. These strongrooms are air-conditioned and maintain a constant temperature and humidity to preserve the archives, as well as fire detectors and inert gas fire suppression. BGA also contains additional warehouse space where artefacts of historical interest are stored. These artefacts include things such as signs, artwork, trophies, and uniforms.

BGA is available to all employees of Barclays plc, although BCS is one of the most regular, and most important users. BCS is considered particularly important not only because of their regular use of BGA's services, but also because the records that BCS create *must* be preserved by BGA and therefore forms the core of its work. BCS is responsible for recording the minutes of the Board of Directors of Barclays plc, and manage a large number of subsidiary companies. BGA is responsible for the preservation and retrieval of the records

associated with these actives, aiming to provide a same-day request service to BCS enquiries. Records created by other departments that have ongoing value or are of potential historical value are also preserved, but this is up to the discretion of the archivists. Regular users and contributors to the archives other than BCS include Corporate Banking, Customer Relations, Communications, and the Legal Department. BGA is also open to the public by prior appointment.

Whilst the enquiries that BGA receive are hugely varied, certain departments, such as Customer Relations and the Legal Department, tend to make urgent known-item requests. Conversely, departments such as Corporate Banking and Communications often make broader requests for information on a particular topic. Enquiries to BGA can be made via phone or email, with internal enquiries aimed to have an initial response within 24-hours that provides the enquirer with an idea of what resources are likely to be available. Once relevant information has been located, it can be scanned and emailed to the enquirer; hard copies can be sent via courier if required. For larger enquiries, clients may visit BGA to examine the records in person, although in practice it is normally only external users that utilise this service.

1.3.   The research problem

This research was carried out with the knowledge that corporate archives are embedded within an organisation whose primary purpose is to make a profit for its shareholders; therefore, each department within an organisation has a specific purpose that contributes to the fulfilment of the aims of that organisation. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that each department of Barclays plc contributes in some way to this aim, either through generating profits for Barclays plc or contributing to the delivery of the strategic objectives of the overall organisation directly or by providing services to other departments. However, it was not immediately obvious to this researcher how BGA contribute to this aim as the services that BGA provides to Barclays plc, and the impact these services have on Barclays plc's operations, are hard to define. Yet it is also the case that Barclays plc maintains BGA, dedicating resources to it that could be used elsewhere. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that BGA contributes in some way to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives, even if this contribution is not explicit.

Considering the extensive literature on how organisations use the past (see Section 2.2), a consideration of how BGA contributes to Barclays plc's use of the past strategies emerged as a reasonable place to start when exploring how corporate archives can contribute to the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives. This research project was ideally placed to study how corporate archives can contribute to use of the past strategies due to the embedded status of the research which provided him with a high level of access the researcher had to internal records and Barclays plc employees as potential interviewees.

It became clear as the research progressed that BGA is used for more than just Barclays plc's use of the past strategies. As data collection progressed, it became clear that existing organisation studies concepts could help to explain how BGA are contributing to Barclays plc, concepts which had rarely, if ever, been applied to corporate archives. The researcher was therefore well placed to bring together the extant literature from archival studies on the benefits a corporate archive can bring with organisation studies concepts that are appropriate but had not been applied to corporate archives. These concepts could then be applied to the data gathered at BGA to explore how they contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives.

1.4.   The thesis

This thesis will argue that it is specific archival science concepts that allow us to understand the processes by which corporate archives, such as BGA, contribute to the delivery of their parent company's strategic objectives. The first of these concepts is authenticity. Whilst there are multiple understandings of the concept of authenticity, discussed in Section 2.3, this thesis argues Barclays plc were able to harness the authenticity that is preserved in the archive to bolster the authenticity claims made at the corporate level during their use of the past strategy. Barclays plc's use of the past strategy was conceived during an existential crisis for the company which followed severe damage to its reputation in a series of scandals between the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and LIBOR rate-rigging scandal in 2012 (see Section 4.6). Barclays plc needed to implement operational changes as well as an organisational culture change; their past was one of the resources they used to implement these changes. A key part of implementing this strategy was portraying the recent bad behaviour of some Barclays plc employees as a historical aberration, arguing that the authentic Barclays plc is a moral, responsible, dynamic, and progressive organisation. The material artefacts preserved in the archives was another resource that Barclays plc drew on,

with the value of artefacts connected to their authenticity. Whilst Barclays plc utilised BGA's resources to construct an authentic narrative that fulfilled their strategic objectives; the ability to present the material evidence was also an important part of their use of the past strategy as the material artefacts could generate emotional reactions and capture the attention of audiences in a way that the narrative alone could not.

This thesis further explores the archival concepts of reliability, usability, and the more general concept of organisational memory. It argues that BGA is crucial to preserving Barclays plc's long-term organisational memory, ensuring the reliability of the information that is preserved in the records. It is the archivists themselves who are a critical part of this, implementing procedures that ensure the information and documents are preserved, being responsible for what enters and does not enter the archives, and acting as the link between users and the information held in the archives. Through constructing, preserving, and facilitating access to Barclays plc's organisational memory, the archivists at BGA contribute by enabling the bank to retain and utilise its accrued knowledge.

1.5. The structure of the thesis

Following the introduction, Chapter 2 of the thesis reviews the literature that was relevant for exploring the problem of how corporate archives contribute to the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives. Section 2.1 gives an overview of the archival studies literature, specifically relating to the purpose of corporate archives within their parent organisations and the services they can offer that are beneficial to their parent organisations. Section 2.2 discusses organisation studies literature that focuses on understandings of how organisations are affected by their past, and how they use their past as a resource. The chapter then moves on to review the literature on the value of materiality artefacts and organisational memory in both organisation studies and archival studies. The review shows that while both disciplines have been exploring similar concepts, they have mostly done this independently of one another. Additionally, organisation studies has neglected the role of corporate archives in discussions on how organisations use their past and organisational memory. Chapter 3 of the thesis discusses the methodological approach of the research with a particular focus on the interviews which provided an important dataset for this research.

Chapter 4 is a brief introduction to the history of Barclays plc, from its founding in 1690 to the appointment of Antony Jenkins as CEO in 2012. Importantly, the chapter recounts the

history of Barclays plc as they themselves tell it, showing the narratives being drawn on when they began their use of the past strategies. Particular focus is paid to the period between 1986 and 2012 as it is these years that are seen as the period when Barclays plc's organisational culture began to move away from its historical roots and would lead, albeit indirectly, to the scandals that engulfed Barclays plc after 2008.[5] This chapter provides the context for Barclays plc's situation in 2012 when Jenkins would begin the use of the past strategy that is of particular interest for this thesis.

Chapter 5 of the thesis explores the concept of authenticity and, in particular, how Barclays plc utilised the authenticity of the archive to bolster the authenticity claims as part of its 2012 Transform Programme. It was crucial for Barclays plc that the Transform Programme, which aimed to implement significant cultural change following the scandals that had badly damaged their reputation, was seen to create a new, *authentic* representation of Barclays plc's identity. The historical narrative that was constructed and disseminated as part of this cultural change relied on research carried out at BGA by the archivists using the authentic documents that they also preserve. In this case in particular, BGA was not merely a repository of information for managers to draw on, the archivists at BGA were active researchers and fact-checkers, ensuring that the resulting narrative was factually accurate, bolstering the corporate authenticity claims.

Chapter 6 highlights the importance of the material artefacts preserved in the archives for Barclays plc's use of the past strategy, focusing on the use of material artefacts during the 2015 325th-anniversary celebrations. Whilst there was some use of material artefacts during the 2012 launch event for the Transform Programme, both artefacts and the archivists of BGA were more prominent during the 2015 anniversary celebrations. Material artefacts were seen as important for Barclays plc content creators as they were seen as being able to produce an emotional reaction in a way that the historical narrative alone could not, capture the attention of audiences and could be used as symbols that demonstrated and embodied the corporate values that Barclays plc were promoting. Additionally, presenting the preserved artefacts and showcasing the archivists themselves, capturing the attention of audiences, and forcing them to be historically conscious by showing the past and present of Barclays plc together as well as highlighting the continuity that Barclays plc were promoting. If BGA did

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[5] Anthony Salz and Russell Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices' (Barclays plc, 2013), 25–27.

not actively preserve these artefacts, Barclays plc would not be able to pursue a use of the past strategy that highlighted their material artefacts.

Chapter 7 shows how BGA acts as the organisational memory of Barclays plc. It argues that the archivists play a pivotal role in constructing, preserving, and enabling access to Barclays plc's organisational memory. They are responsible for performing the functions that preserve the reliability, usability, and integrity of the archives, ensuring that the information that is preserved at BGA is useful for users. In addition to this, given the geographical dispersal of bank personnel, it is the archivists who perform the research in the archives for users, with internal users rarely able to visit BGA and see the records for themselves. The archivists are the link between the information that they have preserved in the archives and the internal users who operationalise the information, enabling Barclays plc to retain and access their accrued knowledge.

This thesis explores how BGA contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. It shows that it is the specific processes undertaken by an archive that enables it to offer a unique contribution, within the context of the organisation, to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. These processes are underpinned by archival science concepts of preserving the authenticity, reliability, usability, and integrity of archives. Through showing how these concepts benefit Barclays plc, the thesis highlights the value which a corporate archive, properly utilised, can bring to an organisation.

2. Literature Review

This chapter will review the literature that is relevant to answering the question of how BGA contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. It will first assess the current state of the archival studies literature that discusses the purpose and potential benefits to organisations of maintaining an archival programme. This section will also cover the literature on the different ways corporate archival programs operate, either externally or internally. This review will not be looking at archival studies literature that focuses more generally on the social purpose of archives. This omission is because it is clear from the literature that, although corporate archival institutions are not a wholly separate form of archival institution, they are distinct enough to warrant being researched as a distinct form of archival programme. This section finds that whilst the importance of the corporate archival institution is regularly addressed; the literature varies between specific examples of how corporate archival institutions can benefit their organisations – with little theoretical development on what it is about archives and archival institutions that provides the value – and general arguments about the value of preserving the past that does not show how that would provide value for the parent organisation that offsets the cost.

The chapter will then move on to analyse how organisation studies literature has conceptualised how organisations perceive, understand, are affected by, and use their past. This section will give an overview of the developing schools of thought within organisation studies research beginning with imprinting, moving on to path dependence, and reviewing the use of history literature, finishing with a discussion on research that has used the ANTi-history methodology.

The review will then move on to a comparison of the concept of authenticity, a concept central to this research, as it is treated in organisation studies literature and archival science literature. Following a brief high-level overview of some general philosophical positions which have influenced organisational studies scholars, the chapter will show that the current state of research in organisation studies perceives authenticity as a multidimensional concept, interpreted by individuals differently depending on their prior experiences and knowledge. In contrast, authenticity in archival science is a more clearly defined concept, something that can be judged in relation to the record and also something that can be preserved by the archival institutions.

This chapter will then review the literature on organisational memory, linking it to the archival concept of reliability. This section will show that reliability is a key concept for the discipline which has a well-defined concept of what it means for a record to be reliable, with reliability linked with other archival science concepts such as authenticity, usability, and integrity. Conversely, organisational memory lacks a clear definition, with recent works moving towards understandings that focus on individuals as the key nodes in the process. However, organisational memory has also ignored the role of the corporate archives and archivists in organisational memory processes.

2.1.   The purpose of corporate archives

In the UK, interest in the preservation of corporate archives, as a distinct type of archive, can be traced back to the 1930s with the formation of the Council for the Preservation of Business Archives (CPBA).[6] This council was formed by a mix of academics, librarians, and businessmen, and drew public support from notable figures such as the former Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and Barclays plc Chairman Frederick Goodenough. Initially, the CPBA limited its aims to gathering information on the current state of corporate archives and offering advice to organisations to aid them in preserving their records. The CPBA became the Business Archives Council (BAC) in 1952. After a leadership change in 1968, the BAC increased the scope of its operations, hosting important annual conferences, revitalising the BAC journal, and launching the Wadsworth Prize for Business History.

Interest in preserving corporate archives elsewhere also grew during the same period, with the creation of the Business History Society in 1926 highlighting the increasing interest in studying business history in the US. By the 1980s, the interest and awareness of the differences and specific challenges and requirements of corporate archival institutions when compared to the traditional conception of archival institutions had raised considerably. This interest coincided with the recognition of an increase in the number of corporate archival institutions in the US, a trend that had begun in the 1960s.

The reasons for this sudden increase in the number of corporate archival institutions are unclear, but various scholars have put forward suggestions of what may have driven the increasing number of corporate archival institutions and their corresponding increase in

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[6] Mike Anson, '"History in Firms" Documents': 75 Years of the Business Archives Council', *Business Archives* 100 (2010): 1–11.

visibility. David Smith argued that it might have been to do with the increasing desire for historical collectables and nostalgia, an increase in lawsuits requiring easier and faster access to company records, a rise in interest in company history in order to produce company histories to coincide with the upcoming US bicentennial, and the large number of unemployed history graduates advocating for their skill sets to businesses in search of employment.[7] Elizabeth Adkins also cites the bicentennial of the US as a key factor in the increasing interest in preserving corporate archives, as well as the expanding economy providing additional funds for projects not seen as critical.[8] Adkins also cites the increase in employee turnover as staff retired and new staff became less likely to be lifelong employees, as well as better arguments from historians and archivists in favour of preserving records as reasons for this increase. George Smith and Laurence Steadman highlighted the increase in interest in preserving corporate archives and the belief that they could provide present-day value.[9] Smith and Steadman concentrated on the benefits that an appreciation of history and historical thinking can bring to a corporation, such as better analytical thinking from managers and better employee relations; they also highlighted the need to establish a corporate archival institution or connections with expert archival advice in order to benefit from the corporation's history.

Building on the increasing number of corporate archival institutions and their increased visibility, *The American Archivist* produced a corporate archives special issue. Whilst the articles discussed various issues, Karen Benedict highlighted the previous lack of literature on corporate archives up until this point in North America.[10] Much of what did exist either focused on a single corporate archival institution and was an internal production or tended to be pragmatic in nature, documenting policies and practices for others to learn from. Benedict called for more literature on theoretical issues to further develop the field, and for the pragmatic pieces to be aimed towards business journals and thereby engage the business community. Although Benedict was writing primarily for a North American audience, the BAC was following a similar path during the 1980s by publishing more material on theoretical issues, as well as articles that aimed to interest business historians and highlighted available resources. Therefore, the BAC split their journal into two series: *Principles and*

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[7] David Smith, 'An Historical Look at Business Archives', *American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 273–278.
[8] Elizabeth W Adkins, 'The Development of Business Archives in the United States: An Overview and a Personal Perspective', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 8–33.
[9] Smith and Steadman, 'Present Value of Corporate History'.
[10] Karen Benedict, 'Business Archives Literature', *The American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 312–314.

Practice, which addressed the technical aspects of managing archives, and *Sources and History,* which covered business archives as sources for business historians.[11]

Many US authors are especially conscious of the precarious existence of corporate archives and the need to justify their existence by demonstrating the value archives bring to their organisations. Harold Anderson, Deborah Gardner, Phillip Mooney, and George David Smith all argue for the importance of corporate archival institutions and corporate archivists, stating that archivists must advocate for the archives, demonstrating their contemporary uses rather than just their importance for recording the history of the organisation.[12] Bakken reiterates this, stating that a corporate archival institution should be treated like any other facilitative function within the business in that it must have a purpose and must be given the support to accomplish its purpose; it is only with the support of senior management that the number of corporate archival institutions will continue to increase.[13]

Proving to corporations that archives do bring value has been difficult.[14] In 2015 Paul Lasewicz noted that while 'for seventy-five years, it has been axiomatic in corporate archival literature that organisational pasts have strategic value [...] it is equally clear that business executives do not consider this fact to be an axiom.'[15] Furthermore, as archival services are often a low profile department, they may be an easy target for budgets cut or being removed entirely, making justifying their role within the business a crucial part of their existence.[16] Indeed, Gord Rabchuk chastised the corporate archivists for being too passive in formulating arguments and services that promoted the importance of corporate archives to their parent organisations, stating that archivists 'who are comfortable with the simple responsibility of baby-sitting corporate records should recognise that such services may be attainable

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[11] Anson, '"History in Firms" Documents': 75 Years of the Business Archives Council'.

[12] Harold Anderson, 'Business Archives: A Corporate Asset', *The American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 264–266; Deborah Gardner, 'Commentary II', *American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 294–295; Phillip Mooney, 'Commentary I', *American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 291–293; George David Smith, 'Dusting Off the Cobwebs: Turning the Business Archives into a Managerial Tool', *American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 264–266.

[13] Douglas Bakken, 'Corporate Archives Today', *The American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982): 279–286.

[14] Katey Logan, 'Raising the Profile of the Archive Service', *Business Archives* 63 (1993): 12–26; Paula Sigman, 'Putting the Mouse to Work: Management Strategies at the Walt Disney Archives', in *Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work*, ed. Arnita Jones and Phillip Cantelon (Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1993), 53–60; Elizabeth Adkins and Karen Benedict, 'Archival Advocacy: Institutional Archives in Corporations', in *Many Happy Returns: Advocacy and the Development of Archives*, ed. Larry Hackman (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 45–66; Clare Ravenwood and Tim Zijlstra, 'Business Archives and Local Communities: Corporate Heritage in Loughborough, UK', *Archives and Records* 39, no. 2 (2018): 211–223.

[15] Paul Lasewicz, 'Forget the Past? Or History Matters? Selected Academic Perspectives on the Strategic Value of Organizational Pasts', *The American Archivist* 78, no. 1 (2015): 74–75.

[16] Lasewicz, 'Advocacy, Outreach and the Archivist'.

elsewhere for less cost without sacrificing quality.'[17] Rabchuk listed some of the benefits that corporate archives can provide to their parent organisation such as the potential public relations and advertising uses of the historical records, differentiating the brand from competitors, their use in the recruitment or retention of employees, and their potential use as evidence whether during litigation or to confront negative media coverage.[18]

One of the main purposes of archives, corporate or otherwise, is to preserve authentic and reliable records as evidence of transactions.[19] Indeed, Wei Gou, Yun Fang, Weimei Pai, and Dekun Li show how the ability to preserve records that can be later used as evidence that an organisation has correctly fulfilled its duties can be a valuable service that public archive can offer to corporations.[20] The inability of companies to maintain authentic and reliable records as evidence of their transactions can have catastrophic consequence for organisations as Victoria Lemieux's study of Jamaican banks shows.[21] Preserving records, or destroying records when appropriate, is vital to ensure organisational compliance with the regulatory environment and to avoid litigation.[22] Indeed, Mooney notes that one of the main reasons that Coca-Cola set up an archival programme was due to the need to have records available

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[17] Gord Rabchuk, 'Life After the "Big Bang": Business Archives in an Era of Disorder', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 34–43.

[18] Rabchuk, 'Life After the "Big Bang": Business Archives in an Era of Disorder'; Sienkiewicz, 'Asset or Liability: The Value of an Archive to a Company's Reputation'; Naomi Aohi, 'Japanese Traditional Industries and Archives: The Case of Toraya Confectionery', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 11–26; Katey Logan, 'An Introduction to Business Archives', in *The International Business Archives Handbook: Understanding and Managing the Historical Records of Business*, ed. Alison Turton (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 3–31.

[19] Terry Cook, 'What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift', *Archivaria* 42 (1997): 17–63; Jennifer Meehan, 'Towards an Archival Concept of Evidence', *Archivaria* 61 (2006): 127–146; Brien Brothman, 'Afterglow: Conceptions of Record and Evidence in Archival Discourse', *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 311–342; Elizabeth Shepherd, 'Culture and Evidence: Or What Good Are the Archives? Archives and Archivists in Twentieth Century England', *Archival Science* 9, no. 3 (2009): 173–185; Kimberly Anderson, 'The Footprint and the Stepping Foot: Archival Records, Evidence, and Time', *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 349–371. See below for a discussion on the concepts of authenticity and reliability.

[20] Wei Guo et al., 'Archives as a Trusted Third Party in Maintaining and Preserving Digital Records in the Cloud Environment', *Records Management Journal* 26, no. 2 (2016): 170–184.

[21] Victoria Lemieux, 'Let the Ghosts Speak: An Empirical Exploration of the "Nature" of the Record', *Archivaria* 1, no. 51 (2001): 81-111.

[22] S Bookspan, 'Corporate Records and Environmental Liability in the Era of the Superfund', in *Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work*, ed. Arnita Jones and Phillip Cantelon (Malabar, FL: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1993), 109–113; Wendy Duff, 'Harnessing the Power of Warrant', *American Archivist* 61, no. 1 (1998); Caroline Brown, 'Keeping or Destroying Records: Some Current Issues in Retention', *Business Archives* 77 (1999): 31–46; Vic Gray, 'Developing the Corporate Memory: The Potential of Business Archives', *Business Information Review* 19, no. 1 (2002): 32–37; Donald Force, 'The Admissibility of Business Records as Legal Evidence: A Review of the Business Records Exception to the Hearsay Rule in Canada', *Archivaria* 78 (2014): 25–51.

during ongoing litigation.[23] Additionally, the ability for organisations to quickly and accurately retrieve records can be important in fulfilling other regulatory requirements.[24]

One of the main ways for corporate archival institutions to advocate for their worth is to demonstrate their value, either through monetary returns through charging for their services or by demonstrating their 'soft' returns on the investment of an archive. Indeed, Bruce Brummer argues that being able to demonstrate the value corporate archives bring to their parent organisation has grown in importance with the unique threats corporate archives face such as potential competition from external archives, both academic and private, that can offer similar services for a lower price.[25] One way that corporate archives have used to demonstrate their value is internal charges for their services, with the paid fees acting as evidence of their value to the departments that have paid for their services.[26]

Charging for services is not the only way to measure the financial contribution that corporate archives make to their parent organisations. Michael Moss and David Thomas offer various other methods including measuring contingent value, the value people would be willing to pay for a free service, as well as non-monetary measurements such as their value as a source of narratives or identity.[27] Kemal Ataman attempted to measure the value that the archival institution of the Yapi Kredi Bank (YKB) provided by attempting to measure the costs that would have been incurred to purchase the same media attention that their activities raised, such as providing photos to news outlets or creating exhibitions on historical topics that were reported on by newspapers.[28] Ataman admits that these calculations cannot be regarded as completely accurate for a variety of reasons; however, his calculations suggest that the YKB

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[23] Phillip Mooney, 'The Practice of History in Corporate America: Business Archives in the United States', in *Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work*, ed. Arnita Jones and Phillip Cantelon (Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1993), 9–20.

[24] Ashok Kapoor, 'Reserve Bank of India Archives: A Historical Resource and Corporate Asset', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 117–128.

[25] Bruce Bruemmer, 'Brown Shoes in a World of Tuxedos: Corporate Archives and the Archival Profession', in *Controlling the Past: Documenting Society and Institutions*, ed. Terry Cook (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2011), 151–170.

[26] Didier Bondue, 'Business Archives in France, a Tool Serving Management: The Saint-Gobain Case', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 53–68.

[27] Michael Moss and David Thomas, 'Introduction', in *Do Archives Have Value?*, ed. Michael Moss and David Thomas (London: Facet, 2019), 1–17.

[28] Bekir Kemal Ataman, 'Archives Mean Money: How to Make the Most of Archives for Public Relations Public Relations Purposes -The Yapi Kredi Bank Example', *The American Archivist* 72, no. 1 (2009): 197–213.

archives routinely created value for the bank, ranging between \$29,350 and \$3,963,315 in the period from 1998 to 2006.[29]

One of the most common ways for corporate archives to contribute to their parent organisation is through contributing to communications and marketing activities. Corporate archives can contribute in various ways to these efforts, demonstrating organisational commitments to sustainability, engaging in activities that strengthen the brand, or contributing to digital marketing strategies that can promote the corporate identity and improving the visibility of both the corporation and the archives.[30] Corporate archives can also be used in developing and branding products, with Naomi Aohi showing how the archives of Toraya, a Japanese based confectionery company, allow the corporation to link their product to famous historical figures and provide inspiration for new product and packaging designs.[31] The use of corporate archives as inspiration for new products is also something common in the world of fashion. Federica Vacca shows how some Italian fashion brands use their archives and corporate museums as part of their creative processes, inspiring their designers to create new designs.[32] Indeed, this use of historical resources as part of an organisation's marketing strategy is a common use for corporate archives, with the *Managing Business Archives* website showing numerous case studies that show the use of corporate archives for marketing purposes, including by Sainsbury, Diageo, and BT.[33]

Corporate archives can also be a resource for internal communication strategies. Both Lasewicz and Anthony Bieri show how organisations have used the resources of their corporate archives to construct organisational identities that would appeal to their employees as part of a strategy to restore trust in management or by providing material to construct an authentic organisational identity.[34] A similar strategy can also be applied following a

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[29] Kemal Ataman, 'Archives Mean Money: How to Make the Most of Archives for Public Relations Public Relations Purposes -The Yapi Kredi Bank Example', 208.

[30] Gray, 'Developing the Corporate Memory: The Potential of Business Archives'; Gregory Markley, 'The Coca-Cola Company Archives: Thriving Where Dilbert, Not Schellenberg, Matters', *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 26, no. 1 (2008): 3-23; Marie Force, 'Company History: Corporate Archives' Public Outreach on Fortune 100 Company Websites', *Provenance, Journal of the Society of Georgia Archivists* 27, no. 1 (2009): 24–50; Henning Morgon, 'A Broader Perspective: Supporting Communications with Historical Facts', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 3–10.

[31] Aohi, 'Japanese Traditional Industries and Archives: The Case of Toraya Confectionery'.

[32] Federica Vacca, 'Knowledge in Memory: Corporate and Museum Archives', *Fashion Practice* 6, no. 2 (2014): 273–288.

[33] 'Case Studies Archive - Managing Business Archives', Managing Business Archives, accessed 6 Augusst 2019, https://managingbusinessarchives.co.uk/case-studies/.

[34] Alexander Bieri, 'The DNA of Corporations: A Key Enabler for Success', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012),

corporate acquisition, with Becky Haglund Tousey showing how Kraft utilised stories from their archives to show the similarities between Kraft and Cadbury to encourage employees to find common ground and 'overcome some of the anxiety and suspicion an acquisition can bring.'[35] Francesca Pino focuses on the aftermath of a large number of mergers, showing how corporate archives can be used to protect the unique history and heritage of the various corporations that have been acquired so they can maintain their local networks and links, while also benefiting from the experiences and accrued knowledge of the corporation as a whole.[36]

Corporate archives can also offer benefits for their parent corporation through opening up their holdings to academic research. Ann Van Camp, Julia Eulenberg, and Linda Edgerly criticised the closed nature of most corporate archives, calling for corporations to make as much of their holdings as available possible, whilst recognising that internal reasons may necessitate keeping some records closed.[37] Donald Coleman and Stefan Schwarzkopf have both called for business historians to advocate for the opening up of corporate archives, arguing that the lack of publicly accessible corporate archives is damaging to the field of business history, leading to the field being dominated by narrative histories of individual organisations that have been successful and therefore been able to preserve their archives.[38] This imbalance also acts to focus the knowledge of the field in favour of particular corporations that preserved their records and produce work that contributes little to a deeper understanding of the workings of business. Through opening up corporate archives to business historians freely rather than by commission, business history could contribute to a better understanding of the role of business in society and thereby improve the functioning of contemporary organisations. Recent work by Alix Green and Erin Lee echoes these calls,

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39–52; Paul Lasewciz, 'Rooted in the Archives: The Contribution of Corporate Heritage', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 27–36.

[35] Becky Haglund Tousey, 'Proud Heritage: The Use of Heritage Stories in the Past', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 85–86.

[36] Francesca Pino, 'After the Mergers Wave: Change Management and the Building of the Intesa Sanpaolo Group Archives', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 87–94.

[37] Ann Van Camp, 'Access Policies for Corporate Archives', *The American Archivist* 45, no. 3 (1982); Julia Niebuhr Eulenberg, 'The Corporate Archives: Management Tool and Historical Resource', *The Public Historian* 6, no. 1 (1984): 21–37; Linda Edgerly, 'The Present and Future of Corporate Archives: A Golden Age?', *Business and Economic History: Papers Presented at the ... Annual Meeting of the Business History Conference. Business History Conference* 15 (1986): 197–203.

[38] Donald Coleman, 'The Uses and Abuses of Business History', *Business History* 29, no. 2 (1987): 141–156; Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'What Is and Archive - and Where Is It? Why Business Historians Need a Constructive Theory of the Archive', *Business Archives* 105 (2012): 1–9.

arguing for the value of mutually beneficial collaborations between business historians, higher education institutions, and corporate archives.[39]

In-house corporate archives are not the only option for corporations that wish to preserve their archives, although they are the most common method used by corporations in the UK. Jeannette Strickland discusses other methods organisations could choose to preserve their archives such as an in-house archival institution, charitable trusts, regional or national business archives.[40] This decision is a particular issue for multinational corporations that must also factor in the geographic location of their archives, having to consider the potential benefits and drawbacks of a strategy centralising their archives or operating local archives.[41] Organisations that look to outsource their corporate archives have various options including depositing the archives at university archives, constructing a purpose-built archive at a university as Marks & Spencer's have done at Leeds University, or depositing the archives a national corporate archive such as the Danish National Business Archives.[42]

2.2.   Organisations and the past

The topic of how organisations are affected by history, and how they use it has received much research attention in organisation studies. One of the major strands to the discussion on how the past affects organisations, and one of the earliest, is Arthur Stinchcombe's argument for organisational imprinting.[43] Stinchcombe argues from a deterministic perspective, arguing that the history of an organisation affects its organisational structure and identity due to the

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[39] Alix R. Green and Erin Lee, 'From Transaction to Collaboration: Redefining the Academic-Archivist Relationship in Business Collections', *Archives and Records* 41, no. 1 (2020): 32–51.

[40] Jeannette Strickland, 'Organisation and Objectives', in *The International Business Archives Handbook: Understanding and Managing the Historical Records of Business*, ed. Alison Turton (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 151–173.

[41] Edwin Green, 'Multi-National, Multi-Archival: The Business Records of the HSBC Group', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 100–110; Lesley Richmond, 'The Memory of Society: Businesses', *Comma: International Journal of Archives* 1–2 (2001): 113–120.

[42] Grant Mitchell, 'Canadian Archives and the Corporate Memory', *Archivaria* 28 (1989): 48–67; Henrik Fode and Jørgen Fink, 'The Business Records of a Nation: The Case of Denmark', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 72–86; James Fogerty, 'Archival Brinkmanship: Downsizing, Outsourcing, and the Records of Corporate America', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 44–55; Ellen G Gartrell, '"Some Things We Have Learned...": Managing Advertising Archives for Business and Non-Business Users', *The American Archivist* 60, no. 1 (1997): 56–70; Lesley Richmond, 'Securities, Whisky, Tourism and Co-Operation: Business Archives in Scotland at the End of the Twentieth Century', *Archives and Manuscripts* 27, no. 2 (1999): 68–75; Alex Ritchie, 'The National Business Archives Strategy: England and Wales', in *Leveraging Corporate Assets: New Global Directions for Business Archives* (Tokyo, Japan: Shibusawa Eiichi Memorial Foundation, 2012), 129–138.

[43] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, 'Social Structure and Organizations', in *Handbook of Organizations*, ed. James G. March, vol. 7 (Chicago, IL: Rand McNally., 1965), 142–193; George P. Huber, 'Organizational Learning: The Contributing Processes and the Literatures', *Organization Science* 2, no. 1 (1991): 88–115.

contextual conditions of its founding necessitating a certain structure to enable it to successfully access resources and the labour force at that time, in that industry. History, therefore, is seen as the events surrounding an organisation's founding, events that have long-lasting effects on the organisation and that continue to have effects for the remaining lifetime of the organisation. However, that is not to say that organisations and industries cannot evolve or reorganise to take on different structures as past ones become inefficient and threaten to make them uncompetitive against newer industries and organisational structures. Indeed, scholars who subscribe to the idea of organisational imprinting have shown how factors such as pre-founding experience or challenges to the organisation or the industry can affect the structure of the organisations.[44] At the same time, such innovations and responses to challenges are curtailed by the organisation's imprinting, limiting the scope of action available to managers at the organisation, with innovation mostly coming from newcomers to the industry that had different pre-founding experiences.

Another way that organisation studies scholars have viewed how the past affects organisations is path dependency. Scholars who use the concept of path dependency generally argue that the decisions made by organisations act to constrain their options for the future. Although path dependency gives more importance to the role of ongoing decisions and actions from corporations and individuals in shaping the final structure of the corporation rather than emphasising the context of the organisation's founding, both perspectives tend to have similar views on how the history of the corporations affects its structure and chances of

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[44] See Kathleen M. Eisenhardt and Claudia Bird Schoonhoven, 'Organizational Growth: Linking Founding Team, Strategy, Environment, and Growth Among U.S. Semiconductor Ventures, 1978-1988', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (1990): 504-529; Glenn Carroll and Jacques Delacroix, 'Organizational Mortality in the Newspaper Industries of Argentina and Ireland: An Ecological Approach', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1982): 169–198; Michael Hannan, Diane Burton, and James Baron, 'Inertia and Change in the Early Years: Employment Relations in Young, High Technology Firms', *Industrial and Corporate Change* 5, no. 2 (1996): 503–536; Lloyd C Harris and Emmanuel Ogbonna, 'The Strategic Legacy of Company Founders', *Long Range Planning* 32, no. 3 (1999): 333–343; Antti Ainamo, 'Coevolution of Individual and Firm-Specific Competences: The Imprinting Conditions and Globalization of the Jaakko Pöyry Group, 1946–1980', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* 53, no. 1 (2005): 19–43; Tal Simons and Peter W Roberts, 'Local and Non-Local Pre-Founding Experience and New Organizational Form Penetration: The Case of the Israeli Wine Industry', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2008): 235–265; M. Diane Burton and Christine M. Beckman, 'Leaving a Legacy: Position Imprints and Successor Turnover in Young Firms', *American Sociological Review* 72, no. 2 (2007): 239–266; Aldas Kriauciunas and Prashant Kale, 'The Impact of Socialist Imprinting and Search on Resource Change: A Study of Firms in Lithuania', *Strategic Management Journal* 27, no. 7 (2006): 659–679; Stanislav D Dobrev and Aleksios Gotsopoulos, 'Legitimacy Vacuum, Structural Imprinting, and the First Mover Disadvantage', *Academy of Management Journal* 53, no. 5 (2010): 1153–1174; Simon Oertel, Kirsten Thommes, and Peter Walgenbach, 'Shadows of the Past: The Effect of Communist Heritage on Employee Consultation', *Industrial & Labor Relations Review* 69, no. 3 (2016): 683–713; Zeki Simsek, Brian Curtis Fox, and Ciaran Heavey, 'What's Past Is Prologue: A Framework, Review, and Future Directions for Organizational Research on Imprinting', *Journal of Management* 41, no. 1 (2015): 288–317.

success. Both see the weight of history as a restraint on corporations, preventing them from acting in certain ways and affecting their structures and competencies.[45] However, path dependency is not always seen as detrimental; it may be important to the success of organisations and their products despite there being alternatives that would appear to have superior design or features.[46]

Both path dependency and imprinting as approaches to understanding how the past affects organisations share the view that the history of an organization is an objective set of events that affect organisations, rather than history being a narrative of past event constructed by individuals to make sense of the past. These interpretations of how history affects organisations limit the scope for managers and firms to act, simplifying a process of multiple decisions made over time, decisions that were subject to numerous competing and complex influences, into one clear chain of events.[47] Despite the focus on past decisions directing further developments and constraining the decision making scope for managers, there is little discussion in imprinting and path dependency literature on how the archive could contribute to this process.

A third perspective on how the past affects organisations focuses on how organisations use their pasts rather than just how they are affected by the past. Perhaps the earliest work to discuss how organisations reinterpret and use history was Michael Rowlinson and John Hassard's account of the use of history by Cadbury when celebrating their centenary in 1931.[48] Rowlinson and Hassard demonstrate how Cadbury used their history to pursue their contemporary goals, selecting certain themes and events to highlight the identity of the

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[45] Arthur L. Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Mary Tripsas and Giovanni Gavetti, 'Capabilities, Cognition, and Inertia: Evidence from Digital Imaging', *Strategic Management Journal* 21, no. 10/11 (2000): 1147–1161; Georg Schreyögg and Jörg Sydow, 'Organizational Path Dependence: A Process View', *Organization Studies* 32, no. 3 (2011): 321–335.

[46] Paul A David, 'Clio and the Economics of QWERTY', *The American Economic Review* 75, no. 2 (1985): 332–337; Brian Arthur, 'Competing Technologies, Increasing Returns, and Lock-In by Historical Events', *The Economic Journal* 99, no. 394 (1989): 116-131; Robin Cowan, 'Nuclear Power Reactors: A Study in Technological Lock-In', *The Journal of Economic History* 50, no. 3 (1990): 541–567; Robin Cowan and Philip Gunby, 'Sprayed to Death: Path Dependence, Lock-in and Pest Control Strategies', *The Economic Journal* 106 (1996): 521–542; Martin Stack and Myles P Gartland, 'Path Creation, Path Dependency, and Alternative Theories of the Firm', *Journal of Economic Issues* 37, no. 2 (2003): 487-494.

[47] Stack and Gartland, 'Path Creation, Path Dependency, and Alternative Theories of the Firm'; Thomas Hutzschenreuter, Torben Pedersen, and Henk Volberda, 'The Role of Path Dependency and Managerial Intentionality: A Perspective on International Business Research', *Journal of International Business Studies* 38, no. 7 (2007): 1055–1068; Suddaby, Foster, and Quinn Trank, 'Rhetorical History as a Source of Competitive Advantage'; Roy Suddaby, William M. Foster, and Albert J. Mills, 'Historical Institutionalisation', in *Organizations in Time*, ed. Marcelo Bucheli and Daniel Wadhwani (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 100–123.

[48] Rowlinson and Hassard, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury'.

organisation that they wish to transmit. Through their selective use of history, Cadbury was able to use the history of their founders and their Quaker roots to bolster legitimacy and aid in the process of institutionalisation.[49]

Rowlinson and Hassard's work in 1993 would help define use of the past research for the next generation of organisation studies scholarship. It formed part of the 'historical turn' that called for the integration of history into organisation studies to help further the disciplines, helping to create 'a more reflexive accommodation of narrative and contingency' and helping to combat the salience of determinism in business schools and organisation studies. [50] At the same time, it would also equip organisation studies scholars with better tools to understand context and how individuals make sense of events. Understanding how organisations use the past began to be formalised in the work of Roy Suddaby, William Foster, and Chris Quinn Trank in 2010.[51] Arguing that history is not a deterministic chain of events or an objective account of reality, but instead, a constructed narrative that can be shaped for a multitude of reasons and that managing history can be a source of competitive advantage for businesses. Setting out how history could be *used* by organisations rather than merely affecting them, they summarised the generalisable principles that the prior works had discussed, developed the terminology of 'rhetorical history', and set the agenda for many of the works that followed.[52]

Case studies on how organisations use their history as a resource have been performed on a wide variety of industries. Typically, such case studies concentrated on the way history is used to give particular advantages. Many works show how organisations can reinterpret their history as part of constructing, or reconstructing, their corporate identity, a common and effective use of history for organisations.[53] Organisations such as Cadbury and Pan American Airlines have used occasions for remembering, such as anniversaries or the creation of a published company history, as an opportunity to reinterpret their history to either create an

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[49] Rowlinson and Hassard, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury', 313.

[50] Peter Clark and Michael Rowlinson, 'The Treatment of History in Organisation Studies: Towards an "Historic Turn"?', *Business History* 46, no. 3 (2004): 334.

[51] Suddaby, Foster, and Quinn Trank, 'Rhetorical History as a Source of Competitive Advantage'.

[52] Alfred Kieser, 'Why Organization Theory Needs Historical Analyses—And How This Should Be Performed', *Organization Science* 5, no. 4 (1994): 608–620; Craig Carroll, 'Introduction', *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 15, no. 6 (2002): 556–562; Dennis Gioia, Kevin Corley, and Tommaso Fabbri, 'Revising the Past (While Thinking in the Future Perfect Tense)', *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 15, no. 6 (2002): 622–634; Can-Seng Ooi, 'Persuasive Histories: Decentering, Recentering and the Emotional Crafting of the Past', *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 15, no. 6 (2002): 606–621.

[53] Mike Zundel, Robin Holt, and Andrew Popp, 'Using History in the Creation of Organizational Identity', *Management & Organizational History* 11, no. 2 (2016): 211–235.

organisational identity that fits with their prior actions and beliefs or to reinterpret their history in a way that conforms to the organisation's contemporary beliefs.[54] The role of the founder in use of the past strategies has also been discussed, being seen as a powerful force that can act as a constraint on the identity creation process. Although the founder's identity is potentially a powerful resource, they can leave the organisation sharing identity claims with a person whose importance transcends the organisation itself and can leave managers with little scope for action.[55] 'Identity work' is a common way for organisations to use their past and can be done for various reasons: to change perceptions of the organisation to appeal to different customers, to seek legitimacy from various audiences, to strategically forget aspects of their past, or to combat damaging narratives about the organisation.[56]

Use of the past strategies need not rely on the organisation's own history or historical resources; organisations can use history and cultural identities outside of their own as part of their identity creation process. Organisations that have used this type of strategy include Tim Hortons, an international coffee house company from Canada that has associated themselves with national cultural symbols to intertwine themselves with the nation's history to increase competitiveness.[57] Canadian banks have also associated themselves and their employees with the nation-building project of Canada to establish legitimacy and political capital, whilst

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[54] Rowlinson and Hassard, 'The Invention of Corporate Culture: A History of the Histories of Cadbury'; Gabrielle Durepos, Albert J Mills, and Jean Helms Mills, 'Tales in the Manufacture of Knowledge: Writing a Company History of Pan American World Airways', *Management & Organizational History* 3, no. 1 (2008): 63–80.

[55] Joëlle Basque and Ann Langley, 'Invoking Alphonse: The Founder Figure as a Historical Resource for Organizational Identity Work', *Organization Studies* 39, no. 12 (2018): 1685–1708; Ludovic Cailluet, Hélène Gorge, and Nil Özçağlar-Toulouse, '"Do Not Expect Me to Stay Quiet": Challenges in Managing a Historical Strategic Resource', *Organization Studies* 39, no. 12 (2018): 1811–1835.

[56] Holt, 'Jack Daniel's America Iconic Brands as Ideological Parasites and Proselytizers'; Charles Booth et al., 'Accounting for the Dark Side of Corporate History: Organizational Culture Perspectives and the Bertelsmann Case', *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 18, no. 6 (2007): 625–644; Anteby and Molnár, 'Collective Memory Meets Organizational Identity: Remembering to Forget in a Firm's Rhetorical History'; Maxim Voronov, Dirk De Clercq, and C. R. Hinings, 'Conformity and Distinctiveness in a Global Institutional Framework: The Legitimation of Ontario Fine Wine', *Journal of Management Studies* 50, no. 4 (2013): 607–645; Mads Mordhorst, 'Arla and Danish National Identity – Business History as Cultural History', *Business History* 56, no. 1 (2014): 116–133; Kai Lamertz et al., 'New Identities from Remnants of the Past: An Examination of the History of Beer Brewing in Ontario and the Recent Emergence of Craft Breweries', *Business History* 58, no. 5 (2016): 796–828; Mary Jo Hatch and Majken Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 62, no. 4 (2017): 1–41; Smith and Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company'; Simon Oertel and Kirsten Thommes, 'History as a Source of Organizational Identity Creation', *Organization Studies* 39, no. 12 (2018): 1709–1731.

[57] Foster et al., 'History as Social Memory Assets: The Example of Tim Hortons'.

German watchmaking companies use, or do not use as the case may be, the history of the region as a watchmaking industrial hub to help legitimise their operations.[58]

Little use of the past literature takes the role of corporate archives into account. Some exceptions to this include work by Andrew Smith and Daniel Simeone, and Mary Jo Hatch and Majken Shultz's which both discuss the archive in reference to the rhetorical history strategies of the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) and Carlsberg respectively.[59] Hatch and Shultz show how Carlsberg uses the archive as a source of authentic inspiration for their new product line, whereas Smith and Simeone take a different approach, highlighting how the creation of the corporate archive at HBC was a key part of its the use of the past strategy, with the archive created specifically to cater to the understanding of what constituted correct and authentic historical research at the time.

ANTi-history is a smaller section of the literature that also discusses how organisations use their history, sharing similarities with use of the past literature but with a distinct methodology that separates it. Various works take an ANTi-history approach such as work by Gabrielle Durepos, Albert Mills, and Jean Mills on Pan American Airlines Kim Myrick, Mills, and Mills on the Academy of Management respectively.[60] ANTi-history methodology borrows from Actor-Network Theory (ANT), developed by Bruno Latour, and primarily used in sociology.[61] ANT looks to study how certain types of knowledge become privileged over others and how this process operates through the various actors and networks being studied, focusing on the relationality between the actors that form networks. ANT also takes into account non-human operatives to be actors within these networks, therefore allowing records,

[58] Simon Oertel and Kirsten Thommes, 'Making History: Sources of Organizational History and Its Rhetorical Construction', *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 31, no. 4 (2015): 549–560; Simarjit S. Bal, 'Banking on Identity: Constructing a Canadian Banking Identity One Branch at a Time', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2018): 196–212.

[59] Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Smith and Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company'.

[60] Durepos, Mills, and Mills, 'Tales in the Manufacture of Knowledge: Writing a Company History of Pan American World Airways'; Gabrielle Durepos and Albert J Mills, 'Actor-Network Theory, ANTi-History and Critical Organizational Historiography', *Organization* 19, no. 6 (2012): 703–721; Kim Myrick, Jean Helms Mills, and Albert J Mills, 'History-Making and the Academy of Management: An ANTi-History Perspective', *Management & Organizational History* 8, no. 4 (2013): 345–370.

[61] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

artefacts, and historical narratives to be analysed as part of the process of making certain types of knowledge accepted over others.[62]

ANTi-history looks to understand how historical narratives are constructed and how particular narratives go on to become dominant over others. From this perspective, the archive can be both a repository of information and an actor in the process of creating and perpetuating historical narratives.[63] An exceptional example of this is the work by Kristene Coller, Mills, and Mills on the archive of British Airways which uses ANTi-history and ethnography to research how the archive was constructed and the effects the archive and archivists had on the construction of British Airway's history and understanding of its history.[64]

2.3.   Organisations, archives, and authenticity

The literature on the nature of authenticity as it relates to organisations and producers of goods has often perceived authenticity as a multidimensional concept, with different perceptions of authenticity important to different audiences. Being perceived as authentic, in whatever way, benefits organisations, even when these perceptions are built on myths, with different perceptions of authenticity varying in importance depending on the industry.[65] One type of perceived authenticity is 'category authenticity' which is when the organization or product meets the cultural expectations that audiences have for that type of organization or product. Being perceived as possessing category authenticity can be beneficial in a wide variety of industries such as the restaurant industry, professional sports, brewing, and among

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[62] See Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*; Durepos, Mills, and Mills, 'Tales in the Manufacture of Knowledge: Writing a Company History of Pan American World Airways'; Edwin Sayes, 'Actor-Network Theory and Methodology: Just What Does It Mean to Say That Nonhumans Have Agency?', *Social Studies of Science* 44, no. 1 (2014): 134–149; René van der Duim, Carina Ren, and Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson, 'ANT: A Decade of Interfering with Tourism', *Annals Of Tourism Research* 64 (2017): 139–149; Tom Mills, 'What Has Become of Critique? Reassembling Sociology after Latour', *The British Journal of Sociology* 69, no. 2 (2018): 286–305.

[63] Chris Hartt, Jean Helms Mills, and Albert J Mills, 'Reading between the Lines: Gender, Work and History: The Case of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union', *Journal of Management History* 18, no. 1 (2012): 82–95; Talia Pfefferman, 'Reassembling the Archives: Business History Knowledge Production from an Actor-Network Perspective', *Management & Organizational History* 11, no. 4 (2016): 380–398; Peter Secord and Lawrence T Corrigan, 'ANTi-History and the Entrepreneurial Work of Privateers', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 12, no. 2 (2017): 94–110.

[64] Kristene E. Coller, Jean Helms Mills, and Albert J. Mills, 'The British Airways Heritage Collection: An Ethnographic `history'', *Business History* 58, no. 4 (2016): 547–570.

[65] Michael Beverland, 'Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*', *Journal of Management Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005): 1003–1029; Olof Brunninge and Benjamin Julien Hartmann, 'Inventing a Past: Corporate Heritage as Dialectical Relationships of Past and Present', *Marketing Theory* 19, no. 2 (2019): 229–234.

artists and politicians. [66] Being perceived as authentic to a category can also increase the likelihood of receiving investment and influence how attractive an organisation's shares are to brokers.[67] Organisations can be punished for failing to fulfil the category expectations of their targeted audiences, particularly when they span multiple categories which can confuse audiences and create difficulties in acquiring expertise.[68] These categories are not static; actors within the market can affect how categories are interpreted by audiences, either helping to shift understandings of what should be expected of a particular category, or maintaining their rigidity in the face of potential sources of competition.[69]

Moral authenticity is another way of understanding perceived authenticity. Concepts of moral authenticity derive from a variety of philosophical traditions, with the work of Martin

[66] Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France', *The American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 3 (1998): 597–641; Oliver Hahl and Ezra W. Zuckerman, 'The Denigration of Heroes? How the Status Attainment Process Shapes Attributions of Considerateness and Authenticity', *AJS; American Journal of Sociology* 120, no. 2 (2014): 504–554; Balázs Kovács, Glenn Carroll, and David Lehman, 'Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain', *Organization Science* 25, no. 2 (2014): 458–478; David Lehman, Balázs Kovács, and Glenn Carroll, 'Conflicting Social Codes and Organizations: Hygiene and Authenticity in Consumer Evaluations of Restaurants', *Management Science* 60, no. 10 (2014): 2602–2617; David G. McKendrick and Michael T. Hannan, 'Oppositional Identities and Resource Partitioning: Distillery Ownership in Scotch Whisky, 1826–2009', *Organization Science* 25, no. 4 (2014): 1272–1286; J. Cameron Verhaal, Olga M. Khessina, and Stanislav D. Dobrev, 'Oppositional Product Names, Organizational Identities, and Product Appeal', *Organization Science* 26, no. 5 (2015): 1466–1484; Oliver Hahl, 'Turning Back the Clock in Baseball: The Increased Prominence of Extrinsic Rewards and Demand for Authenticity', *Organization Science* 27, no. 4 (2016): 929–953; Iszatt-White, M., Whittle, A., Gadelshina, G., & Mueller, F, 'The "Corbyn Phenomenon": Media Representations of Authentic Leadership and the Discourse of Ethics Versus Effectiveness', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 2018, 1–15.
[67] Ezra Zuckerman, 'The Categorical Imperative: Securities Analysts and the Illegitimacy Discount', *The American Journal of Sociology* 104, no. 5 (1999): 1398–1438; Ezra W. Zuckerman, 'Focusing the Corporate Product: Securities Analysts and De-Diversification', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (2000): 591; Ezra Zuckerman, 'Structural Incoherence and Stock Market Activity', *American Sociological Review* 69, no. 3 (2004): 405–432; Nevena Radoynovska and Brayden G King, 'To Whom Are You True? Audience Perceptions of Authenticity in Nascent Crowdfunding Ventures', *Organization Science* 30, no. 4 (2019): 781-802.
[68] Zuckerman, 'The Categorical Imperative: Securities Analysts and the Illegitimacy Discount'; Greta Hsu, 'Jacks of All Trades and Masters of None: Audiences' Reactions to Spanning Genres in Feature Film Production', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (2006): 420–450; Greta Hsu, Michael T. Hannan, and Özgecan Koçak, 'Multiple Category Memberships in Markets: An Integrative Theory and Two Empirical Tests', *American Sociological Review* 74, no. 1 (2009): 150–169; Martin Ruef and Kelly Patterson, 'Credit and Classification: The Impact of Industry Boundaries in Nineteenth-Century America', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 54, no. 3 (2009): 486–520; Giacomo Negro, Michael T. Hannan, and Hayagreeva Rao, 'Categorical Contrast and Audience Appeal: Niche Width and Critical Success in Winemaking', *Industrial and Corporate Change* 19, no. 5 (2010): 1397–1425; however, a small amount of research has suggested that spanning multiple categories can help to create new categories and products, see Hayagreeva Rao, Philippe Monin, and Rodolphe Durand, 'Institutional Change in Toque Ville: Nouvelle Cuisine as an Identity Movement in French Gastronomy', *The American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 4 (2003): 795–843.
[69] Mary Ann Glynn and Michael Lounsbury, 'From the Critics' Corner: Logic Blending, Discursive Change and Authenticity in a Cultural Production System', *Journal of Management Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005): 1031–1055; Lehman, Kovács, and Carroll, 'Conflicting Social Codes and Organizations: Hygiene and Authenticity in Consumer Evaluations of Restaurants'; McKendrick and Hannan, 'Oppositional Identities and Resource Partitioning: Distillery Ownership in Scotch Whisky, 1826–2009'.

Heidegger a heavy influence. Heidegger argued for a concept of the authentic person as one who takes ownership of their life and their actions, in order to realise their own life project of being human. In contrast, the inauthentic life is when a person's actions are directed towards their current situation only, with those actions performed according to the historical, social conditions that have constructed what the 'appropriate' action should be.[70] The authentic person must, therefore, attend to the circumstances they find themselves in, but they do so with the knowledge that each action they take builds towards the creation of themselves in the future, allowing them to express their authentic selves in the lives they live rather than having their lives be the result of historical circumstances. Despite the name, this concept of authenticity does not imply a particular moral imperative in how one *should* act, only that those actions are in accordance with themselves.

Heidegger's concept has been applied to organisations and producers of goods, although how organisations signal moral authenticity can differ from how individuals signal moral authenticity. Glenn Carroll and Dennis Wheaton show that embodying the morals or values of an organisation's founder, owners or members can help it be perceived as authentic.[71] The purchasing of a service or product can also act as the expressions of a consumer's life project, benefiting organisations that expound similar values to their customers.[72] Individuals who produce goods or offer services can also benefit from being perceived as morally authentic; however, this is achieved differently from organisations. For example, David Grazian argues that for Blues musicians it is the sincerity of the performance and ease of execution that is important, Denis Dutton argues that for artists, it is important for their work to express the beliefs of an individual or society, whilst Frederick Wherry examines four different ways that local artisans who produce handicrafts for tourists can be perceived as authentic.[73]

Recent work by Kieran O'Conner, Carroll, and Balažas Kovács has highlighted the lack of coherence in how authenticity is understood and discussed within social sciences.[74] They

[70] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1962).

[71] Glenn Carroll and Dennis Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', *Research in Organizational Behavior* 29 (2009): 255–282.

[72] Michael Beverland, Adam Lindgreen, and Michiel Vink, 'Projecting Authenticity Through Advertising: Consumer Judgments of Advertisers' Claims', *Journal of Advertising* 37, no. 1 (2008): 5–15.

[73] Denis Dutton, 'Authenticity in Art', in *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*, ed. Jerrold Levinson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 258–274; David Grazian, *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs* (London, United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Frederick F. Wherry, 'The Social Sources of Authenticity in Global Handicraft Markets: Evidence from Northern Thailand', *Journal of Consumer Culture* 6, no. 1 (2006): 5–32.

[74] Kieran O'Connor, Glenn Carroll, and Balázs Kovács, 'Disambiguating Authenticity: Interpretations of Value and Appeal', *PloS One* 12, no. 6 (2017): 1272–1286.

build on the earlier multidimensional model created by Carroll and Wheaton whose work on the restaurant industry led them to create a theoretical framework that described four specific understandings of how audiences understand authenticity: categorical, moral, craft, and idiosyncratic.[75] Nevena Radoynovska and Brayden King utilise this framework, analysing how potential backers of start-up companies perceive the authenticity claims of entrepreneurs and how this affects their willingness to contribute.[76] The four types of authenticity they use all contribute positively to the chances of an organisation being viewed favourably, more so than being perceived only as competent.

Archival science has a more clearly defined concept of authenticity: indeed, for archives and archivists, it is one of the central constructs of archival studies.[77] Scholars such as Luciana Duranti and Heather MacNeil have argued that the preservation of the authenticity of records is the key responsibility of archival services and archivists and links back to the original purpose of archives as repositories of state documents.[78] This authenticity that archivists are tasked with preserving is similar to how Dutton describes nominal authenticity in art, that an object is what it appears to be.[79] However, ISO 15489, Information and Documentation – Records management – which was the first standard devoted specifically to records management and provides an outline for the assessment of archival services – defines authenticity more clearly as a record being what it purports to be, to have been created or sent by the person purported to have created or sent it, and to have been created or sent at the time purported.[80]

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[75] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'. Although Carroll and Wheaton use the term 'type' authenticity rather than category authenticity, the definition is the same.

[76] Radoynovska and King, 'To Whom Are You True? Audience Perceptions of Authenticity in Nascent Crowdfunding Ventures'.

[77] Archival science scholars are aware that this concept of authenticity is a construction designed for their purposes and that other disciplines have their own concepts of authenticity. For discussions on this see Heather MacNeil, 'Trusting Records in a Postmodern World', *Archivaria* 51 (2001): 36–47; Heather MacNeil and Bonnie Mak, 'Constructions of Authenticity', *Library Trends* 56, no. 1 (2007): 26–52; Chris Duncan, 'Authenticity or Bust', *Archivaria* 68 (2010): 97–118; Bonnie Mak, 'On the Uses of Authenticity', *Archivaria* 73 (2012): 1–17.

[78] Luciana Duranti, 'Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications', *Archivaria* 39 (1995): 5–10; Heather MacNeil, *Trusting Records: Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives* (AH Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kuwer Academic Publishers, 2000); Heather MacNeil, 'Trusting Description: Authenticity, Accountability, and Archival Description Standards', *Journal of Archival Organization* 7, no. 3 (2009): 89–107.

[79] Dutton, 'Authenticity in Art'.

[80] 'ISO 15489-1' (Switzerland: International Organization for Standardization, 2015), http://www.wgarm.net/ccarm/docs-repository/doc/doc402817.PDF.

The ability of archival services and archivists to preserve authenticity has led to attempts to deposit forgeries in archives, to give the forgeries a degree of authenticity and reliability.[81] Users of archival records trust that the records held in archives are authentic and have had their authenticity reserved by the processes in place.[82] Indeed, this trust in the archives can extend to users being willing to accept only having access to copies of original documents in exchange for improved ease of access.[83]

2.4.   Material artefacts

There has been growing acknowledgement, and discussion, of the importance of the material nature of archives in archival studies literature. Arguably, this has been encouraged by the growing number of born-digital records and the ability to digitise analogue ones.[84] This discussion raised questions such as the 'meaning' of archives once they are removed from their context; whether the digitisation of archives can preserve the authenticity and 'recordness' of the record; and even whether digitised archives can maintain their usefulness, as many historians prefer to see original records where possible instead of their digital copies unless these copies allow substantially easier access.[85]

Archives have, until the advent of digitisation, been physical entities that can be considered as having artefactual characteristics. Ralph Kingston argues that whilst concepts such as law and legitimacy were important to the development of archival practice; issues surrounding the physical nature of the archives such as the physical space needed and the costs associated were also important factors in how archival practice evolved.[86] Indeed, even practices that contribute to the completeness of the archive and make it easier to use, such as maintaining

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[81] Randolph Starn, 'Truths in the Archives', *Common Knowledge* 8, no. 2 (2002): 387–401; Julia Kastenhofer, 'The Logic of Archival Authenticity: ISO 15489 and the Varieties of Forgeries in Archives', *Archives and Manuscripts* 43, no. 3 (2015): 166–180.

[82] Wendy Duff, Barbara Craig, and Joan Cherry, 'Finding and Using Archival Resources: A Cross-Canada Survey of Historians Studying Canadian History', *Archivaria* 58 (2004): 51–80; Bob Usherwood, Kerry Wilson, and Jared Bryson, 'Relevant Repositories of Public Knowledge? Libraries, Museums and Archives in "the Information Age"', *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* 37, no. 372 (2005): 89–98.

[83] Margaret L Hedstrom et al., '"The Old Version Flickers More": Digital Preservation from the User's Perspective', *The American Archivist* 69 (2006).

[84] Peter Lester, 'Of Mind and Matter: The Archive as Object', *Archives and Records* 39, no. 1 (2018): 73–87.

[85] Ala Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance: Materiality and Meaning in Historical Records and Their Digital Images', *Archives and Manuscripts* 42, no. 3 (2014): 238–247; Hedstrom et al., '"The Old Version Flickers More": Digital Preservation from the User's Perspective'.

[86] Ralph Kingston, 'The French Revolution and the Materiality of the Modern Archive', *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 46, no. 1 (2011): 1–25.

the original order of the records, can be linked to their physical attributes, with respecting the original order being a useful way to manage the volume of records.

Whilst the material nature of archives has affected how archival practice has developed, it is also a factor in how individuals utilise and interpret them. Whilst archives are normally used for their informational content, their material nature is important, often eliciting particular emotional reactions.[87] Although discussing objects and artefacts in the context of museum settings, Dudley discusses how the setting of the objects, the choice of objects, and how they connect with each other can affect the emotional response of audiences. In this way, the material artefacts and the experience of the audience can respond in accordance with the informational content that is normally presented with them, allowing viewers to 'reflect creatively on, even transformatively, upon both things and themselves.'[88]

Lowenthal argues that there are three main ways that we access the past: through memory, history as written by historians, and artefacts or relics of the past, with Lowenthal seeming to define artefacts as historical items that do not contain written information.[89] However, it is artefacts that confer legitimacy on memory and history by providing tangible remains of the past that can be interpreted. These artefacts, whether they maintain their original use or not, force the viewer to be historically conscious due to them being so 'incongruously out of date.'[90] The importance of artefacts to displaying history has increased as more visual mediums have become available to display them, either as artefacts themselves or merely as a way of transmitting the image. Photographs can be both an artefact of the past and a way of bringing them to a greater audience; for example, television allows mass audiences to see and hear the past in a way previously impossible.[91] As Lowenthal argues, 'history seen rather than read does not have to be translated into the mind's eye or thought about in the context of previous learning; it is immediately accessible to anyone.'[92] The appeal of photographs as a

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[87] Hugh A. Taylor, '"Heritage" Revisited: Documents as Artifacts in the Context of Museums and Material Culture', *Archivaria* 40 (1995); Carolyn Steadman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 17–37; Sandra Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese Horse', in *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*, ed. Sandra Dudley (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 1–14; Kathy Michelle Carbone, 'Artists and Records: Moving History and Memory', *Archives and Records* 38, no. 1 (2017): 100–118; Victoria Tischler and Sophie Clapp, 'Multi-Sensory Potential of Archives in Dementia Care', *Archives and Records* 41, no. 1 (2020): 20–31.
[88] Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese Horse', 13.
[89] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[90] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*, 388.
[91] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*, 407–8.
[92] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*, 409.

visual link to the past is something that Tina Staples at HSBC archives recognised, reflecting on the project at HSBC to create a 'history wall' of four thousand photographs that document HSBC's history at their head office in London.[93]

Despite there being more ways that people can interact with artefacts visually without being in their physical proximity, Ala Rekrut argues for the value in physically interacting with the artefacts as an important element in interpreting the information of any archival record or artefact.[94] Indeed, archives are one of the few places where people can interact physically with delicate historical artefacts, allowing the audience an experience of deeper engagement with the artefact and, hopefully, a deeper understanding of it due to these physical interactions that cannot be reproduced when utilising copies or reproductions.

The importance of the physical object as the carrier of the historical message is rarely discussed in the uses of the past literature. Instead, much of this literature focuses on the narratives created by elites to disseminate though the organisation in pursuit of their contemporary goals, whether this is improving the corporate image and improving employee loyalty, promoting the organisation in certain markets, or as a way of combatting hostile interpretations of their past (see Section 2.2). However, the work of Hatch and Shultz on Carlsberg does offer some evidence of the importance of material artefacts in the creation and dissemination of historical narratives as part of a use-of-the past strategy.[95] Discussing Carlsberg's use of the phrase *Semper Ardens* as part of marketing a product line, and as part of the organisation's group identity;[96] Hatch and Shultz show that the idea for using the phrase came from a group of employees who had seen it above the door to the old headquarters of Carlsberg. Whilst not initially looking to Carlsberg's history as inspiration for the product line's branding, exposure to this phrase through this historical artefact led to Carlsberg's 'history suddenly insert[ing] itself' into their consciousness as inspiration for the branding of these products.[97]

Another way for organisations to use their historical artefacts to educate their employees is through company museums. Nick Nissley and Andrea Casey argue that corporate museums are a powerful tool that managers can use to shape corporate identity and memory through

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[93] Tina Staples, 'The HSBC History Wall', *Business Archives* 87 (2004): 84–97.
[94] Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance: Materiality and Meaning in Historical Records and Their Digital Images'.
[95] Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'.
[96] 'Always Burning'
[97] Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group', 670.

the purposeful inclusion, exclusion, and reinterpretation of historical events that are displayed.[98] When properly utilised the historical artefacts of an organisation can be an important asset in shaping the historical narratives that underpin its organisational identity. Paola Castellani and Chiara Rossato add to this idea, showing the importance of company museums in fifty-two Italian companies. They show that these organisations believe that their museums were most useful in disseminating corporate values, ideals, and other intangibles through personal experience and through providing a multi-sensory experience via the 'viewing of the objects, listening to the accounts, touching, smelling, and tasting the product[s].'[99] However, the material qualities of the artefacts affect how organisations can use their past. Blagoy Blagoev, Sebastian Felton, and Rebecca Kahn's work showed how the physical nature of the British Museum's holdings, previous ways of recoding their holdings, organisational structures, and technological development that was happening alongside the digitisation project created new opportunities and constrained employees in these digitisation efforts.[100]

Corporate museums are not the only way that organisation have used material artefacts to transmit values, and identity claims. Work by Stephanie Decker showed how multinational banks used the architecture of their buildings in Nigeria and Ghana as visible, material symbols that demonstrated these company's investment in the country and willingness to be a legitimate part of their post-colonial futures.[101] Later work by Victoria Barnes and Lucy Newton built on this, showing how the National Provincial Bank of England, a British based bank, performed a similar strategy during the 19th century with the building and internal decoration of its headquarters in London, with the messages displayed later becoming part of the organisation's identity.[102] This article built on their earlier work that highlighted the role of artefacts, such as portraits, as a non-verbal means of communicating values and organisational norms internally, giving them the legitimacy of appearing to be 'age-old' and

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[98] Nick Nissley and Andrea Casey, 'The Politics of the Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory', *British Journal of Management* 13 (2002): 35–45. See below for a discussion on company museums and organisational memory.

[99] Paola Castellani and Chiara Rossato, 'On the Communication Value of the Company Museum and Archives', *Journal of Communication Management* 18, no. 3 (2014): 240–253.

[100] Blagoy Blagoev, Sebastian Felten, and Rebecca Kahn, 'The Career of a Catalogue: Organizational Memory, Materiality and the Dual Nature of the Past at the British Museum (1970–Today)', *Organization Studies* 39, no. 12 (2018): 1757–1783.

[101] Stephanie Decker, 'Solid Intentions: An Archival Ethnography of Corporate Architecture and Organizational Remembering', *Organization* 21, no. 4 (2014): 514–542.

[102] Victoria Barnes and Lucy Newton, 'Symbolism in Bank Marketing and Architecture: The Headquarters of National Provincial Bank of England', *Management & Organizational History* 14, no. 3 (2019): 213–244.

'embedded within the fibre of the organisation.'[103] Richard Scott also argues that artefacts are one of the main ways that institutions pass on ideas, norms, and values as they can transmit regulative information, how things should be based on mandated specification; normative information, how things should be based on conventions and internal standards; and cultural-cognitive information, how things should be understood and expected behaviours.[104]

Artefacts are not only a way of passing on pre-existing norms and values as they can also be used as representations of strategic intent and management intentions of what the organisation's identity should be.[105] Artefacts can also be targeted at external audiences as Rossella Cappetta and Dennis Gioia argue, showing how the fine fashion industry use artefacts in a sense-giving and sense-making capacity, with artefacts used to shape the perceived image of an organisation so that it can shape the sense-making of key external audiences such as customers or critics, influencing the dominant fashion style to be in their image and thereby strengthening the brand.[106]

Iris Vilnai-Yavetz and Anat Rafaeli argue that there are three interconnected qualities of an artefact that are important to address when analysing artefacts to understand how they will be interpreted. These are their instrumentality, which is how they affect people's ability to perform a task; their aesthetic qualities that elicit emotional responses due to their sensory appeal; and their symbolic qualities, the meanings and associations they elicit in audiences which include both those intended by designers and the unintended meanings that audiences generate themselves.[107] Kim Elsbach builds on these ideas, arguing that the meaning of artefacts that are displayed as part of identity building is often misinterpreted due to various biases of the observers or displayers creating a disconnect in meaning between the groups, and because these artefacts are often salient in their environments and are often viewed

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[103] Victoria Barnes and Lucy Newton, 'Visualizing Organizational Identity: The History of a Capitalist Enterprise', *Management & Organizational History* 13, no. 1 (2018): 46.

[104] W. Richard Scott, 'Institutional Carriers: Reviewing Modes of Transporting Ideas over Time and Space and Considering Their Consequences', *Industrial and Corporate Change* 12, no. 4 (2003): 879–894.

[105] Majken Schultz, Mary Jo Hatch, and Francesco Ciccolella, 'Brand Life in Symbols and Artifacts: The LEGO Company', in *Artifacts and Organizations: Beyond Mere Symbolism*, ed. Anat Rafaeli and Michael Pratt (New York: Psychology Press, 2006), 141–160.

[106] Rossella Cappetta and Dennis Gioia, 'Fine Fashion: Using Symbolic Artifacts, Sensemaking and Sensegiving to Construct Identity and Image', in *Artifacts and Organizations: Beyond Mere Symbolism*, ed. Anat Rafaeli and Michael Pratt (New York: Psychology Press, 2006), 199–219.

[107] Iris Vilnai-Yavetz and Anat Rafaeli, 'Managing Artifacts to Avoid Artifact Myopia', in *Artifacts and Organizations: Beyond Mere Symbolism*, ed. Anat Rafaeli and Michael Pratt (New York: Psychology Press, 2006), 9–21; Antonio Strati, 'Organizational Artifacts and the Aesthetic Approach', in *Artifacts and Organizations: Beyond Mere Symbolism*, ed. Anat Rafaeli and Michael Pratt (New York: Psychology Press, 2006), 23–39.

without the creator present.[108] Regardless of whether the meaning is misinterpreted or not, exposure to these artefacts generates emotional responses from the viewer, with the viewer likely to confer these emotions to the organisation or person who created them.[109]

2.5. Organisational memory

One of the most influential and heavily cited works on organisational memory is the work of James Walsh and Gerardo Ungson.[110] Walsh and Ungson created a model for understanding organisational memory that consisted of five internal 'retention bins' for organisational memory, consisting of individuals, culture, transformations, structures, ecology, and external sources of information such as external archives. Employees acquire, store, and retrieve information held in these retention bins as needed to fulfil their tasks. This influential model has been described as the *functional* perspective.[111] Research by Marina Fiedler and Isabell Welpe has shown that standardisation of procedures and specialisation of activities can help organisations ensure that knowledge is codified and becomes part of the organisation's memory.[112] Research has also shown how organisational memory can benefit organisations such as product design firms and in the IT industry, helping employees to create new products for clients utilising information from their organisational memory, or to create new knowledge that can then be applied within the organisation.[113] Additionally, Karl Weick has argued that it is important for an organisation to be able to rely on the accuracy of this memory, as well as making sure it is distributed across the organisation and does not act as a constraint on the organisation for it to be beneficial.[114]

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[108] Kim Elsbach, 'Perceptual Biases and Misinterpretations of Artifacts', in *Artifacts and Organizations: Beyond Mere Symbolism*, ed. Anat Rafaeli and Michael Pratt (New York: Psychology Press, 2006), 61–81.

[109] Anat Rafaeli and Iris Vilnai-Yavetz, 'Emotion as a Connection of Physical Artifacts and Organizations', *Organization Science* 15, no. 6 (2004): 671–686.

[110] James P. James Walsh and Gerardo Rivera Ungson, 'Organizational Memory', *Academy of Management Review* 16, no. 1 (1991): 57–91; Fernando Olivera, 'Memory Systems in Organisations an Empirical Investigation of Mechanisms for Knowledge Collection, Storage Access', *Journal of Management Studies* 37, no. 6 (2000): 811–832; Marc H. Anderson and Peter Y. T. Sun, 'What Have Scholars Retrieved from Walsh and Ungson (1991)? A Citation Context Study', *Management Learning* 41, no. 2 (2010): 131–145.

[111] Foroughi, Hamid, Diego M. Coraiola, Jukka Rintamäki, Sébastien Mena, and William M. Foster. 'Organizational Memory Studies.' *Organization Studies* 41, no. 12 (2020): 1725–1748.

[112] Marina Fiedler and Isabell Welpe, 'How Do Organizations Remember? The Influence of Organizational Structure on Organizational Memory', *Organization Studies* 31, no. 4 (2010): 381–407.

[113] Andrew Hargadon and Robert Sutton, 'Technology Brokering and Innovation in a Product Development Firm', *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1997): 716–749; Shih-Wei Chou, 'Knowledge Creation: Absorptive Capacity, Organizational Mechanisms, and Knowledge Storage/Retrieval Capabilities', *Journal of Information Science and Engineering* 31, no. 6 (2005): 453–465.

[114] Karl E. Weick, *The Social Psychology of Organizing,* 2nd ed. (New York: Random House, 1979), 206.

Scholars have criticised Walsh and Ungson's model for being too mechanistic, taking the complex process of remembering and reducing them to 'neat storage bins' that are left unstudied, with the relationships between the bins, and the human element of remembering also left unstudied.[115] Regina Feldman and Steven Feldman call for more focus on how individuals affect organisational memory, how they form connections between events, interpret this information based on their sense of self, and the role of emotions in memory. This approach would also take into account power dynamics when creating memory, analysing who has the power to create and pass on information through rules, procedures, and traditions that can lead to the organisational forgetting of other ways of doing things.[116] Research has shown how emotions such as emotional connections to co-workers or fear of losing social status can affect how individuals within organisations access information from the organisational memory.[117] Focusing on the role of the individual also allows researchers to focus on the tacit knowledge lost when employees leave an organisation and how organisations can try to mitigate this knowledge loss through things such as oral history programmes.[118] This has been described as the *interpretive* model.[119]

Focusing on how individuals access and operationalise memory is an approach that Jack Corbett et al. take, separating organizational memory into two types, static memory and dynamic memory.[120] Static memory is the information that has been recorded in some way, such as in documents, records, and other forms, whether physical or electronic. Dynamic memory is the knowledge held by people that is utilised and recreated as people operationalize the knowledge in their working activities. Corbett et al. argue that for static

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[115] Regina M. Feldman and Steven P. Feldman, 'What Links the Chain: An Essay on Organizational Remembering as Practice', *Organization* 13, no. 6 (2006): 866–67; Anna Linda Musacchio Adorisio, 'Organizational Remembering as Narrative: "Storying" the Past in Banking', *Organization* 21, no. 4 (2014): 463–476.

[116] Andrea J. Casey and Fernando Olivera, 'Reflections on Organizational Memory and Forgetting', *Journal of Management Inquiry* 20, no. 3 (2011): 305–310; Diane M. Rodgers, Jessica Petersen, and Jill Sanderson, 'Commemorating Alternative Organizations and Marginalized Spaces: The Case of Forgotten Finntowns', *Organization* 23, no. 1 (2016): 90–113.

[117] Mark S Ackerman, 'Augmenting Organizational Memory: A Field Study of Answer Garden', *Association for Computing Machinery* 3, no. 16 (1998): 203–224; Jacob D. Vakkayil, 'Dynamics of Multiple Memories: Reflections from an Inquiry', *Journal of Management Inquiry* 18, no. 3 (2009): 220–227.

[118] Linda Argote, *Organizational Learning: Creating, Retaining and Transferring Knowledge*, 2nd ed. (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), 104–5; Webb, '"If Only the Bank Had Listened to Me. . ." The Purpose and Value of an Oral History Programme'; Achim Schmitt, Stefano Borzillo, and Gilbert Probst, 'Don't Let Knowledge Walk Away: Knowledge Retention during Employee Downsizing', *Management Learning* 43, no. 1 (2012): 53–74; Carmel Joe, Pak Yoong, and Kapila Patel, 'Knowledge Loss When Older Experts Leave Knowledge-Intensive Organisations', *Journal of Knowledge Management* 17, no. 6 (2013): 913–927.

[119] Foroughi et al., 'Organizational Memory Studies'.

[120] Jack Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach', *Governance* 31, no. 3 (2018): 555–573.

memory to be operationalised that it must 'be brought to life by actors seeking to use them as a formative tool.'[121] This approach acknowledges the importance of documents for organisational memory whilst also emphasising the importance of the individual in making these documents part of the active memory and activities of the organisation.

Other scholars have approached the study of organisational memory by focusing on how powerful actors attempt to enforce one interpretation of events and thereby control the memory, taking a *critical* perspective.[122] Scholars have demonstrated how organisations instruct audiences to view things in particular ways in an attempt to construct a dominant interpretation, and therefore memory, that acts marginalise counter-narratives. This instruction can happen through things such as branding, organisational forgetting to hide past misdeeds, or through actively remembering and celebrating people and events that reinforce existing power structures.[123] However, marginalised groups can use narratives to shape the memory of events as an act of resistance against imposed interpretations. Work by Ramaswami Mahalingam, Srinath Jagannathan, and Patturaia Selvaria shows how Dalit workers constructed counter-narratives that remembered their work during the 2015 floods in Chennai, India as valuable and as a source of dignity.[124] These narratives contradicted popular narratives that depicted the Dalit works as lazy and perpetuated their poor treatment and dangerous working conditions.

In a rare instance of organisational memory studies focusing on archives, Andrew Popp and Susanna Fellman have shown the differences in power and value that various stakeholders place on the corporate archives. Popp and Fellman highlight how users, such as historians, are the least powerful group whilst simultaneously having the most interest in having access to it, whereas organisations possess the most power but relatively little interest in its contents.[125] Popp and Fellman also highlight the archivists as an actor, constructing the archive and facilitating or hindering access depending on their judgement, with decisions

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[121] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach', 568.

[122] Foroughi et al., 'Organizational Memory Studies'.

[123] Sørensen, Bent Meier. "Changing the Memory of Suffering: An Organizational Aesthetics of the Dark Side." *Organization Studies* 35, no. 2 (2014): 279–302; Leanne Cutcher, Karen Dale, and Melissa Tyler, '`Remembering as Forgetting': Organizational Commemoration as a Politics of Recognition', *Organization Studies* 40, no. 2 (2019): 267–290; Coraiola, Diego M., and Robbin Derry. 'Remembering to Forget: The Historic Irresponsibility of U.S. Big Tobacco.' *Journal of Business Ethics*, 166, no. 2 (2020): 233-252.

[124] Mahalingam, Ramaswami, Srinath Jagannathan, and Patturaja Selvaraj. 'Decasticization, Dignity, and "Dirty Work" at the Intersections of Caste, Memory, and Disaster.' *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 29, no. 2 (2019): 213–39.

[125] Popp, Andrew, and Susanna Fellman. 'Power, Archives and the Making of Rhetorical Organizational Histories: A Stakeholder Perspective.' *Organization Studies* 41, no. 11 (2020): 1531–49.

over access often largely delegated to them. However, whilst highlighting their capacity for action, the fact that corporate archivists are often employees and are, therefore, limited in their scope for action, represent the organisation, and may have conflicting loyalties and interests, is only discussed briefly.

Relatively few works from organisational studies address the role of the corporate archive or other corporate sites of history as part of the organisational memory or discuss how they contribute to the organisation overall. Studies by Nissley and Casey, and Castellani and Rossato are exceptions, arguing that corporate history, and corporate sites of history, are important tools for organisational memory and corporate communications efforts.[126] Both argue that corporate museums are sites of organisational memory where organisations can create and display their corporate identity and priorities to potential shareholders, with Nissley and Casey arguing that this allows organisations to strategically forget historical events in order to portray themselves in the best possible light and shape their corporate identity. Rowlinson et al., criticise Nissley and Casey's 'collected memory' approach when studying corporate museums which focused on the accumulation of individual memories from the organisation.[127] Instead, they argued in favour of a 'collective memory' approach that takes a social constructionist approach to organisational memory, analysing how organisations create memory through narrative, language, traditions, rituals, symbols, and commemorative sites of history whilst also putting it into context with professional historical research. Various scholars have taken this approach, studying how organisations, such as Cadbury and Ford, or ethnic and cultural groups remember their pasts, how they construct narratives, and how these narratives are perpetuated through commemoration events and sites of memory.[128]

Rowlinson et al. also argue that social memory studies need to put a greater focus on organisational memory and corporate memory spaces to better understand how organisations remember historical events.[129] This focus would also help organisation studies in

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[126] Nissley and Casey, 'The Politics of the Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory'; Castellani and Rossato, 'On the Communication Value of the Company Museum and Archives'.

[127] Michael Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory', *Organization Studies* 31, no. 1 (2010): 69–87.

[128] Michael Rowlinson, 'Cadbury World', *Labour History Review* 67, no. 1 (2002): 101–119; Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Kerstin Barndt, 'Fordist Nostalgia: History and Experience at the Henry Ford', *Rethinking History* 11, no. 3 (2007): 379–410.

[129] Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'.

understanding how organisations deal with the darker sides of their history, and how the corporate creation of history can affect popular understandings of events. This focus would also allow scholars to take a constructivist approach that is not so narrowly focused on organisational memory as merely 'retention of useful knowledge, and the forgetting of redundant knowledge, within an individual organisation.'[130] Indeed, Leanne Cutcher, Karen Dale, and Melissa Tyler take this approach in their study of two corporate commemorative spaces, arguing that the layouts and artefacts used in these spaces can generate particular understandings of organisational culture and membership.[131]

Archival science has also discussed the concepts of memory in relation to archives at length. However, archival science discussions of memory are often connected with social memory, identity, and social justice, with these discussions often discussing archives as evidence and the nature of evidence.[132] Michael Piggott criticises these varied uses of the concept of memory in archival studies. In archival studies, memory can refer to Jenkinson's definition of archival records as an artificial memory to aid in the functioning of complex organisations; it can also refer to everyday consciousness of past events, organisational memory, or even national identity and memory.[133] Piggott shows that although archives are important in the memory processes of individuals, organisations, and wider society, they are only a part of the systems of memory and forgetting that they employ.

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[130] Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory', 76.

[131] Cutcher, Dale, and Tyler, '"Remembering as Forgetting": Organizational Commemoration as a Politics of Recognition'.

[132] See Cook, 'What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift'; Elisabeth Kaplan, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *The American Archivist* 63, no. 1 (2000): 126–151; Verne Harris, 'The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa', *Archival Science* 2, no. 1–2 (2002): 63–86; Eric Ketelaar, 'Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection', *Archival Science* 2, no. 3–4 (2002): 221–238; Graham Dominy, '"We Must Remember Our Past so That We Do Not Repeat It": Archiving and Accessing the Records of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission', *Comma* 2005, no. 1 (2005): 1–7; Brian Owens, 'The Archives: Centre and Transmitter of Memory', *Comma* 2005, no. 1 (2005): 1–6; Meehan, 'Towards an Archival Concept of Evidence'; Eric Ketelaar, 'Archives as Spaces of Memory', *J. Soc. Arch.* 29, no. 1 (2008): 9–27; A Flinn, 'Independent Community Archives and Community-Generated Content: "Writing, Saving and Sharing Our Histories"', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 16, no. 1 (2010): 39–51; Jeannette A Bastian, 'The Records of Memory, the Archives of Identity: Celebrations, Texts and Archival Sensibilities', *Archival Science* 13, no. 2–3 (2013): 121–131; Terry Cook, 'Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms', *Archival Science* 13, no. 2 (2013): 95–120; Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom, 'Invoking "Collective Memory": Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Science'; Diana K. Wakimoto, Christine Bruce, and Helen Partridge, 'Archivist as Activist: Lessons from Three Queer Community Archives in California', *Archival Science* 13, no. 4 (2013): 293–316; Berthold Molden, 'Resistant Pasts versus Mnemonic Hegemony: On the Power Relations of Collective Memory', *Memory Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 125–142; Alan Galey, 'Looking for a Place to Happen: Collective Memory, Digital Music Archiving, and the Tragically Hip', *Archivaria* 86 (2018): 6–43.

[133] Michael Piggott, 'Archives and Memory', in *Archives: Recordkeeping in Society*, ed. Sue McKemish et al. (New South Wales, Australia: Chandos Publishing, 2005), 299–329.

Whilst how corporate archives contribute to organisational memory has received less attention than the connection between archives and other concepts of memory, it has not been ignored completely. Brien Brothman has argued that corporate archives can act to keep records as part of 'a network of present centred information' so that 'even the aged records of a 'distant' past may emerge as a resource worthy of sustained organisational investment.'[134] Others have emphasised the importance of corporate archives and archivists as part of the organisation's memory, able to preserve important commercial, legal, and administrative records, and help fill gaps in the organisation's memory.[135]

As mentioned above, Weick has argued that it is important for organisations to be able to rely on their organisational memory to be accurate.[136] Maintaining reliable records is another core archival responsibility, with MacNeil stating that it is crucial that archives maintain the authenticity and reliability of their records in order for them to be trustworthy.[137] Indeed, as mentioned above, being able to preserve reliable records can be important for organisations as evidence of their activities, both for the proper functioning of the organisation and to assure external stakeholders that they are fulfilling their regulatory and social commitments.[138] Like authenticity, these concepts are defined in ISO 15489, with a reliable record being a record 'whose contents can be trusted as a full and accurate representation of the transactions, activities or facts to which they attest' and 'which can be depended upon in the course of subsequent transactions or activities.' A record with integrity 'is one that is complete and unaltered' whilst its usability is connected to it being able to be 'located, retrieved, presented and interpreted within a time period deemed reasonable by stakeholders.'[139] However, Decker has highlighted the fact that archives will inevitably contain 'silences', and that the social sciences could benefit from a greater recognition of

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[134] Brien Brothman, 'The Past That Archives Keep: Memory, History, and the Preservation of Archival Records', *Archivaria* 51 (2001): 66.
[135] Eric Ketelaar, 'The Archival Image', *American Archivist* 58 (1995): 454–456; Alison Turton, 'Connecting with Schools: Corporate Archives as Providers of Educational Resources', *Business Archives* 79 (2000): 1–23; Lesley Richmond, 'Balancing Rights and Interests: The Ethics of Business Archives', *Business Archives* 79 (2000): 29–42; Webb, '"If Only the Bank Had Listened to Me. . ." The Purpose and Value of an Oral History Programme'; Nigel Hardman, Maria Sienkiewicz, and Jeannette Strickland, 'A Model Archivist', *Business Archives* 95 (2008): 1–9.
[136] Weick, *The Social Psychology of Organizing,* 206.
[137] Duranti, 'Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications'; MacNeil, *Trusting Records: Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives*, 1; for a discussion of postmodern critiques of the concepts of authenticity and reliability see MacNeil, 'Trusting Records in a Postmodern World'.
[138] Lemieux, 'Let the Ghosts Speak: An Empirical Exploration of the "Nature" of the Record'; Guo et al., 'Archives as a Trusted Third Party in Maintaining and Preserving Digital Records in the Cloud Environment'.
[139] 'ISO 15489-1', 4-5.

how archives are constructed, and historians and archivists' attempts to mitigate the effects of these silences in their work.[140]

2.6.   Contribution

This thesis will add to these bodies of literature in several ways. Firstly, this thesis will situate the archive in the wider organisation, showing how the archive contributes to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. Few works from the use of the past literature, such Smith and Simeone's work on HBC or Coller, Mills, and Mills work on British Airways, take into account the role of the archive within the organisation as an ongoing, active department with a defined role that contributes to the organisation and delivering its strategic objectives. Although some of the ANTi-history literature does consider the role of the archive when discussing the use of the past strategies and the creation and dissemination of historical narratives, it rarely focuses on the activities within the archive that constitute what the archive is and does, instead seeing the archive in the whole as an actor.[141] This thesis will show how BGA functions as an actor in the process of creating historical narratives as part of Barclays plc's use of the past strategies, highlighting the internal processes and activities that constitute the department's activities, showing how BGA is not merely a passive repository of historical information used by managers construct these narratives. BGA contributes to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives through *actively* contributing to its use of the past strategies.

Secondly, this thesis will show how Barclays plc was able to utilise BGA in their use of the past strategies to gain benefits that could not be generated by other departments in the organisation. As indicated above, being perceived as authentic is beneficial for organisations in various industries. Additionally, how organisations understand what it means to be authentic also impact their decisions as it is their understandings of authenticity that affect decisions regarding identity claims, branding, and pricing. Therefore, understanding how organisations can construct their understanding of authenticity and project it, internally and externally, is important in understanding why organisations pursue certain strategies and authenticity claims over others. This thesis will bring together the literature on authenticity

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[140] Stephanie Decker, 'The Silence of the Archives: Business History, Post-Colonialism and Archival Ethnography', *Management & Organizational History* 8, no. 2 (2013): 155–173.
[141] An excpetion to this is Coller, Mills, and Mills, 'The British Airways Heritage Collection: An Ethnographic "History"'

from archival science and perceived authenticity from organisation studies to show how Barclays plc was able to bolster their authenticity claims by utilising the authenticity of their archives preserved at BGA to construct a historical narrative that would be perceived by internal and external audiences as authentic. This thesis will address a gap in the uses of the past literature, which has focused on the contemporary goals of the organisation as the main factor when constructing an organisation's historical narrative. This thesis will show that being able to assert the authenticity of this historical narrative is also an important part of the process for organisations when constructing these historical narratives, and how corporate archives can be an important part of this process.

Thirdly, this thesis will contribute to the literature on the importance of the material artefacts preserved in the archives. Literature has shown the importance of material artefacts in organisations as symbolic objects that transmit ideas, values, and norms. Literature in organisation studies and archival studies has also shown that artefacts can generate emotional reactions in their audiences and that these emotions can be reflected onto the artefact's creators. However, use of the past literature has only looked at historical artefacts and archives insofar as they can be used to construct historical narratives or how they can be used as inspiration for designers of new products. This thesis will add to this literature by showing how the material artefacts held at BGA was an important resource in Barclays plc's use of the past strategies, providing Barclays plc with tangible, visible evidence of the historical narrative. Material artefacts used by both Barclays plc and their employees in the employees' own use of the past strategies to generate emotional reactions in their targeted audiences in a way that the narratives alone had not managed. This thesis will show how BGA was a vital resource in Barclays plc's use of the past strategies, in part due to acting as a repository of material artefacts that could be utilised.

This thesis will also contribute to the literature on organisational memory by showing how the corporate archive functions as part of organisational memory. Whilst much of the literature is not so narrow that corporate archives and archivists are excluded from consideration in this process, they are also often ignored as actors within it. In particular, the role of the corporate archivist in preserving records and information and performing the research that brings this information back into the dynamic memory of the organisation is often overlooked. By highlighting the role of the archivists at BGA in preserving records, conducting research in the archives, and acting as the bridge between Barclays plc employees and the information preserved in the archives, this thesis will contribute to a better

understanding of how corporate archivist facilitate organisational memory and thus contribute to the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives.

3. Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodology that was used for this thesis. Unlike the rest of this thesis, this chapter will be written in the first person. I decided to write this chapter in the first person as it better reflects the research process and the decisions that I made to explore the research problem. If a different researcher had approached this research problem, they would likely have made different decisions and potentially used different methods.

This chapter first introduces the research problem that this thesis explores and discusses how the nature of the project shaped this. The chapter then describes the data collection, sources, and methods. It will then discuss my use of observation, then move onto the interviews, and discuss my use of internal documents. It will then conclude with a discussion on the weaknesses of the methods applied.

3.1.   Research problem

The lack of interdisciplinary research on the role of the corporate archive guided the construction of the research problem. Despite the amount of literature, there was little literature that could help demonstrate how corporate archives help their parent organisations to deliver their strategic objectives. This is not to say that corporate archives such as BGA do not provide services that provided potential benefits to their parent organisations, or that there was no previous work on what services BGA specifically provided that could be of value to Barclays plc.[142] However, these were from the archive and archivists' point of view, which, while important, does not show what value the internal users received, or what it was that they were looking for when approaching BGA and using their services. Therefore, there is a potential disconnect between the benefits that archivists at BGA believe are desired by the internal users of their services, and the reasons that Barclays plc employees choose to contact BGA. This potential disconnect creates other problems, such as whether the current practices at BGA are optimal in promoting the benefits that Barclays plc employees are in search of, and how BGA can maintain these benefits, and potentially build on them, going forward as the nature of the records that Barclays plc produces increasingly becomes digital.

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[142] See Campbell, '"Things Will Not Stop There": Barclays Centenary 1896 to 1996'; Webb, '"If Only the Bank Had Listened to Me. . ." The Purpose and Value of an Oral History Programme'; Sienkiewicz, 'Asset or Liability: The Value of an Archive to a Company's Reputation'.

Additionally, a better understanding of what the benefits are that BGA provides would enable them to promote their services to other areas of the organisation.

The funding for the project also influenced the construction of the research problem. The research was carried out as part of an AHRC CDA awarded in 2015 to Dr Margaret Procter, Centre for Archive Studies, University of Liverpool (UoL) in collaboration with Maria Sienkiewicz, BGA. The successful application, made from the discipline of archive studies, proposed BGA itself as the site of investigation, with two successful PhD students 'embedded' in the organisation rather than merely visiting to collect data. Whilst the scope of the research was somewhat predetermined before I came onto the project in that BGA was to be the focus of the research; there was still freedom in the project for me to determine a viable research problem to be studied. Having reviewed the literature (see Chapter 2) and having begun the observation at BGA (see Section 3.2), I identified that neither archival studies nor organisation studies had adequately explained how corporate archives as a type of department within an organisation contribute to the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives. Whilst archival studies literature did present various case studies that showed how particular activities at specific archives had contributed to delivering their parent organisation's strategic objectives, the value of a corporate archive had not been generalised to explain how corporate archives, as a type of department, do this. Additionally, while sharing some common areas of research, organisation studies and archival studies literature rarely intersect.

To address this problem, I decided to take a qualitative approach. There were two main reasons for this: firstly, my earlier training and education as a historian meant that I was more comfortable with implementing qualitative methods that I was with quantitative methods. This is not to say that I would have been unable to learn and apply a quantitative methodology. However, my skills and experience coming into the research process shaped my initial approach to the research project. Secondly, the nature of the research problem suggested a qualitative approach would be best to produce an answer. There is a lack of data on how corporate archives, as a type of department within an organisation, contribute to delivering the organisation's strategic objectives. However, the archival studies literature shows that organisations make use of their archives and appear to believe that they can contribute to delivering their strategic objectives.[143] Therefore, a qualitative approach would

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[143] See Anderson, 'Business Archives: A Corporate Asset'; Harold Anderson, 'Banking on the Past: Wells Fargo & Company', in *Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work*, ed. Arnita Jones and Phillip Cantelon

be able to explain what it was about BGA's activities and services that contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives and how these resources were used within the organisation.

The three main types of data that I used to explore this problem required different qualitative methods: observation, interviews, and documentary research. Firstly, I was embedded in the archive so that I could observe both the archivists and the users who visited BGA. Secondly, I used targeted interviews with key individuals who could discuss how BGA had contributed to their business activities and therefore contributed to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. Thirdly, I used internal documents held at BGA to show how BGA's resources were used. These sources included both internal documents from Barclays plc that have entered the archives and internal records from BGA that are not currently part of the archives but are used as operational records.

3.2.   Observation

Initial research for the project began by embedding me within BGA in order to understand the role the department plays within the wider structure of Barclays plc. Being embedded in the archive would bring benefits and insights that would be unavailable if I were to remain an 'outsider' to the organisation. The benefits of being an 'insider' are summarised by Robert Labaree and include: being part of a shared experience with the department being studied, having greater access to information and employees, having a greater ability to interpret the culture of the group, and having a deeper understanding of what is being observed.[144] Improved access to information and employees proved one of the most important benefits of being embedded at BGA. Understanding the processes that lead to information being acquired, preserved, and accessed by BGA, and being able to gain interview access to users of BGA would prove to be pivotal to the research project. Being embedded at BGA allowed me to learn, to some extent, the corporate culture of Barclays plc and to be aware of the social

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(Malabar: Kreiger Publishing Company, 1993), 37–44; Gray, 'Developing the Corporate Memory: The Potential of Business Archives'; Aohi, 'Japanese Traditional Industries and Archives: The Case of Toraya Confectionery'; Bieri, 'The DNA of Corporations: A Key Enabler for Success'; Lasewciz, 'Rooted in the Archives: The Contribution of Corporate Heritage'.

[144] Robert Labaree, 'The Risk of "going Observationalist": Negotiating the Hidden Dilemmas of Being an Insider Participant Observer', *Qualitative Research* 2, no. 1 (2002): 97–122.

norms and shared understandings in Barclays plc, which allowed me to build a better rapport with the interviewees than would overwise have been possible.[145]

Despite being an insider at BGA, it is important to note that this was not an ethnographic study: the research was focused on the role of BGA within Barclays plc. Whilst the people and culture are relevant to this research, and the organisational logics that affected these may be relevant, they were not the focus of the research. Therefore, some of the issues that Labaree argues need to be taken into account, such as where to locate the author within the text as they become part of the thing that is being studied, are not relevant. However, other issues, such as maintaining a degree of accuracy and objectivity, rejecting the familiarity of the experiences to maintain perspective on potential areas of research, and dealing with concepts of 'truth' that will have been affected by insider knowledge and therefore constructed differently had I been an outsider, remained important.[146] Maintaining a level of objectivity was potentially more difficult for me due to my lack of prior experiences in archives. However, this lack of experience also meant that I had few preconceptions on how corporate archives contribute to delivering their parent organisation's strategic objectives, with my experience of archives being limited to using them as a repository of historical resources. Although I had some experience conducting historical research in archives, I had no prior experience working in an archive or had any disciplinary background in archives studies before this research project. Therefore, it was important for me to compare what I was seeing with the experience of others, such as my supervisors and others with experience working in archives, and what the literature had to say about how archival programmes operate. This comparison was so that I would be able to judge the extent to which BGA's ways of operating represent the 'normal' or 'standard' way of running a corporate archival programme and the extent to which they respond to the specific organisational pressure and demands of Barclays plc.

The main period of observation was during year one of the PhD process, where I spent approximately two days per week at BGA and one two-week period where I attended every working day. During this year, I also completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Archive Studies at the UoL to familiarise myself with current literature, theory, and practices in archival

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[145] Nesha Z. Haniff, 'Toward a Native Anthropology: Methodological Notes on a Study of Successful Caribbean Women by an Insider', *Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (1985): 107–113.

[146] Labaree, 'The Risk of "going Observationalist": Negotiating the Hidden Dilemmas of Being an Insider Participant Observer', 106–9.

studies. During this period of observation at BGA, I attempted to gain an understanding of the activities of BGA and the procedures and organisational logics that underpinned these activities. To do this, I observed how the archivists performed their tasks, discussed with them what they were doing, why they had chosen to perform their tasks in particular ways, and how they expected the results to be used. I also underwent BGA's induction training and performed cataloguing of some recent accessions and re-cataloguing of some older accessions.

The observation continued into year two of the PhD at a frequency of approximately one day per week. At this point, I also had to travel to conduct the interviews (see Section 3.3). In year three and year four, I spent less time on-site at BGA as much of the data I wanted to gather had been obtained. However, the on-site visits proved useful to make sense of the information I had gathered during the interviews.

During the observation period, I also kept memos on what I had observed and of the conversations I had with the BGA archivists and other visitors to BGA. The memos enabled me to compare what I observed to the literature, theory, and practise gained during the Postgraduate Diploma in Archives Studies. I was also able to compare the memos to previous memos as I was writing them, allowing me to identify themes and ideas that merited further exploration. The memos also proved to be useful when constructing the interview schedules as I was able to ensure that I asked the relevant questions and compare the answers to what I had observed.

3.3.   The interviews

Whilst a more wide-ranging data collection method, such as surveys or questionnaires, would have gathered useful data and shown a wide range of opinions on how BGA contribute to Barclays plc, there was also a greater chance of repeating the creation of a dataset that already existed in the enquiry records. Whilst surveys and questionnaires would have added to the enquiry data that BGA had collated, much of the information that could be gathered by a standardised questionnaire was already available through the enquiry database (see Section 3.4) and other internal documents at BGA that was used to track their performance, for example, the topic of enquiry, completion date, and searches performed.

3.3.1.   Planning the interviews

I decided that face-to-face interviews would be my preferred method of conducting the interviews; this decision to conduct face-to-face interviews where possible was guided by literature on the value of in-person interviews over other methods such as phone or video call. Whilst it is still unclear whether phone interviews generate less useful data than face-to-face interviews, there is a substantial amount of literature that discusses various drawbacks to phone interviews. These drawbacks include greater difficulty in creating a rapport with the interviewee, greater difficulty in conveying meaning between interviewer and interviewee, difficulty maintaining attention and interest and consequently shorter interview length, and greater difficulty in monitoring interviewees' emotional response.[147] Whilst much of the literature is based on the experiences of researchers when conducting interviews, there has also been empirical work that has investigated the differences between face-to-face and telephone interviews. Indeed, work by Annie Irvine, Paul Drew, and Roy Sainsbury has shown that there are differences in how interviewees respond during phone interviews, being more likely to request clarification on what was being asked of them more often and checking that their answers were adequate more regularly than in face-to-face interviews.[148]

Nevertheless, phone interviews have been shown to be useful for certain research projects. Judith Sturges and Kathleen Hanrahan discuss their use of phone interviews in their project on how correction officers and visitors experience theirs, and each other's, roles during visitation periods at county jails.[149] Sturges and Hanrahan argue that there were positives for them as researchers in using phone interview such as the safety of the researchers being better protected through this method, the interview environment being superior for the interviewer than the face-to-face interviews at the county jails would have been, and the ability to make notes without distracting the interviewee. Moira Cachia also argues in favour of phone interviews as a methodological approach that should be viewed as a distinct approach rather

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[147] Linda Sweet, 'Telephone Interviewing: Is It Compatible with Interpretive Phenomenological Research?', *Contemporary Nurse* 12, no. 1 (2002): 58–63; Bill Gillham, *Research Interviewing : The Range of Techniques* (Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education, 2005); Neil Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists', *Qualitative Research* 7, no. 2 (2007): 203–216; Gina Novick, 'Is There a Bias against Telephone Interviews in Qualitative Research?', *Research in Nursing & Health* 31, no. 4 (2008): 391–398.

[148] Annie Irvine, Paul Drew, and Roy Sainsbury, '"Am I Not Answering Your Questions Properly?" Clarification, Adequacy and Responsiveness in Semi-Structured Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews', *Qualitative Research* 13, no. 1 (2013): 87–106.

[149] Judith E. Sturges and Kathleen J. Hanrahan, 'Comparing Telephone and Face-to-Face Qualitative Interviewing: A Research Note', *Qualitative Research* 4, no. 1 (2004): 107–118.

than only in comparison to face-to-face interviews.[150] Whilst noting many of the logistical advantages of phone interviews, Cachia also argues that worries about interviewees being unfamiliar with the method are outdated, and that, contrary to Irvine, Drew and Salisbury's work, the verbal-only nature of the exchange leads to greater clarification by interviewer and interviewee as to what they are asking and what they mean in response.

Because of the level of access I had in Barclays plc as an embedded researcher, and the funding that was available for me to travel for research purposes, I decided that face-to-face interviews would be the best way to proceed when possible. Whilst there are advantages to phone interviews as shown by Sturges and Hanrahan, my research has more in common with Neil Stephens' work in terms of who would be interviewed.[151] I would be targeting specific individuals within Barclays plc, many of whom could be considered elites or ultra-elites within the context of Barclays plc. I was not attempting to create a representative dataset from a wide variety of potential interviewees like Sturges and Hanrahan, although I did aim to represent the different types of activities that BGA performed for other departments of Barclays plc. The geographical distance was also less of an issue for my interviews as all the interviews were with British based employees of Barclays plc, with me also being based in Britain. Indeed, many of the interviewees were located in geographically similar areas, such as Barclays plc's London headquarters, thereby allowing me to conduct multiple interviews on the same day in the same location.

As I did not need to fit the interviews into a set time frame to fit in with a fieldwork schedule as Stephens did, I had the flexibility to organise the interviews around mine and the interviewees' schedules, thereby making it less necessary to conduct phone interviews. However, some circumstances did require the interviews to be conducted by phone rather than in person. Phone interviews were only performed when the interviewee requested that they were done this way, with a total of three interviews with four interviewees being conducted by phone on their request. These requests were normally due to a sudden scheduling conflict, with at least one of the phone interviews taking place because the interviewee would no longer be at Barclays plc's head office in London where I had planned

[150] Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'; Moira Cachia, 'The Telephone Medium and Semi-structured Interviews: A Complementary Fit', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 6, no. 3 (2011): 265–277.
[151] Sturges and Hanrahan, 'Comparing Telephone and Face-to-Face Qualitative Interviewing: A Research Note'; Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'.

to interview him and had already travelled to perform the interview. For the other three phone interviews, the interviewees gave no reason for preferring a phone interview, although one of these interviews was a group call with two interviewees, something which should be treated differently from a standard one-to-one phone interview.

I had not expected, nor planned, to perform interviews that included more than one interviewee. However, one of the potential interviewees suggested a group call interview after I approached her, as her interactions with BGA that I wished to discuss was only one part of a larger project. Therefore, they suggested a group call to include a colleague who was also involved in the same project so that they could both answer the relevant questions at the same time so that I would not have to have two separate interviews to ask the same questions. This format created a different dynamic to the interview. Rather than the interviewer and interviewee co-creating the narrative through the questions, answers, and interactions, the addition of a second person who also knew the topic being discussed led to the interviewees creating the response to the interview questions in collaboration with each other.

3.3.2.   Ethics

All interviewees were made aware of how the interviews would be processed to generate transcriptions at the time of the interview and agreed to this process. Additionally, how the interviews would be conducted and how the data would be handled was approved through the UoL's research ethics procedures. Interviewees were provided with an information sheet that gave them further details about the project more and a consent form that allowed them to review how the data would be used, and opt-out of certain areas, such as whether their names could be used. The design and content of the information form and consent forms were approved by the UoL Ethics Committee on 9th May 2018, with the first interviews taking place on 24th May 2018.

As part of the ethics approval process, other risk considerations such as interviewer safety and interviewee privacy needed to be considered. In both cases there were minimal risks attached: I would not be in any potentially dangerous locations while performing interviews, the interviewees were purposefully selected based on their interactions with BGA, and they were not expected to discuss anything personal or confidential. This is not to say that the data was not to be treated with confidentiality. However, I did not plan to discuss anything that could be considered controversial, or that would be likely to have negative ramifications for the interviewees. Although the interviews were semi-structured (see Section 3.3.4), I did

prepare interview schedules for each of the interviews and informed the interviewees that they could request to see these ahead of time and request particular questions not to be asked. In practice, only two out of the 21 interviewees asked to see the interview schedules in advance, and none requested that particular questions be omitted. Interviewees were also informed before the interviews that they were able to request copies of the interview recording and transcripts. They could also be able to withdraw their consent from the research at any time before the final thesis was submitted.

Specifying how the recordings, transcripts, and signed consent forms were to be retained were also part of my ethics process. I retained the signed consent forms in the secure PhD students' office at the UoL in a locked drawer at my desk to which only the PGR Support Administrator and I have a key. Although my office is shared with up to 11 other PhD students, each has their own similar lockable storage, and the risk of the forms being misplaced or removed was minimal. The ethics approval for the recordings was for them to be transferred to the UoL's encrypted servers as soon as was reasonably possible; once secure, they would be deleted from the recording devices. Each student and staff member at the UoL has their own private file store on the university network where data is backed-up regularly and is easily retrievable if accidentally deleted. Therefore, this was the most secure storage method available to me and allowed me to work on the servers remotely without downloading the files, thereby ensuring that the files remained on the secure server, minimising the risk of losing the data or problematic version control. Likewise, the transcripts, once created, were also transferred to these servers and treated the same as the recordings.

The transcripts were produced using YouTube's automatically generated transcription service (see Section 3.3.5). Whilst the issue of having an outside organisation such as YouTube perform the transcription raises questions over data protection and privacy, I assessed the risks as less than, or equal to, using other organisations or individuals to produce transcriptions. Either must follow the same data protection laws, and either may face issues such as the potential of a data breach considering that almost all interviewee recordings are likely to be stored and transmitted as digital files. I discuss this decision in more detail in Section 3.3.5.

3.3.3. Identifying, contacting, and accessing interviewees

Interviewees were identified using the internal enquiry records and database of BGA (see Section 3.4), conversations with the Group Archivist of Barclays plc, and through identifying key individuals at Barclays plc who were involved in projects that had made use of BGA's resources. I had previously analysed the internal enquiries from 2012 onward to identify internal users and departments that made frequent use of BGA's resources. I decided it would be useful to interview these repeat users of BGA's resources because they are repeat users, suggesting that they found value in BGA's services. At the same time, whilst reading through the enquiry records and analysing the uses, I attempted to identify different uses of BGA, for example, requests for information that was unusual compared to most of the enquiries, or from departments that did not normally request BGA's services. This choice was so that the interviews would include the more quotidian uses of BGA and the unique uses of BGA by Barclays plc employees. Once the interviews began, I also used the technique of 'snowballing', asking the interviewees if they knew of anyone that it would be valuable for me to talk to so I could locate anyone that may also have been involved in specific projects but whose name did not appear in the documents I had seen.

Not all enquiries that BGA receive are recorded in the enquiry records for various reasons such as certain work being built off the results of other, earlier projects, with only the initial enquiry being recorded. Therefore, I supplemented this analysis of the enquiry records with discussions with Barclays plc's Group Archivist, using her experience to identify any key users that may not have appeared in the records. Additionally, I tried to identify Barclays plc executives who were responsible for the projects that had made use of BGA. These executives would often not appear in BGA's records as they had often had little or no direct contact with BGA as their correspondence are delegated. However, it was possible to identify executives that were responsible for certain projects, for example, the launch of Barclays plc's values and purpose in 2012, and contact them to attempt to schedule an interview. I also decided to target high-status users within Barclays plc. They could provide rich qualitative data relating to the benefits that BGA provided them and the organisation more generally. This approach would be a better way to understand the experiences, processes and values that

underpinned the users' decision to utilise BGA's resources, whilst also making it more likely that the senior employees at Barclays plc would respond to the enquiry.[152]

Whilst I was embedded in BGA as part of the research, I was still an outsider to the rest of the organisation and therefore still needed to negotiate access to potential interviewees through a gatekeeper. Therefore, contact with the prospective interviewees was negotiated through Barclays plc's Group Archivist on my behalf. The literature on the role of 'gatekeepers' has highlighted the importance of persuading gatekeepers to grant access to potential interviewees and the potential benefits to the research that the observations and input from gatekeepers can bring.[153] For my research, the latter observation that gatekeepers can bring benefits has been more applicable as I was able to utilise the personal contacts and relationship that Barclays plc's Group Archivist had built up to persuade individuals to agree to be interviewed. Additionally, whilst the Group Archivist was important in suggesting potential avenues of research, she was also crucial in preparing the interview schedules for some of the interviews, able to give me more information on exactly what had been requested of BGA, what had been done by BGA to fulfil the request, and then what had resulted from this work from BGA's viewpoint. As an honorary supervisor, the Group Archivist has a stake in the academic success of the research, whilst as a Barclays plc employee, she needed to manage the organisational expectations that could act as barriers to researcher access to executives such as potential worries, however unfounded and unlikely, of any negative implications of the published research.[154] Therefore, whilst she may have acted in a way that helped facilitate the research and was crucial in contacting and securing access to the interviewees, she was also a gatekeeper that could have acted to prevent me from contacting anyone she felt was not relevant to the research, or that would not be willing to speak to me.

Despite having the Group Archivist as my gatekeeper, it was also apparent that she occasionally had to negotiate access with other gatekeepers in order for me to interview some of the more senior executives. Initial contact in all exchanges was by email, with the Group Archivist explaining the purpose of the project, general scope of the interview, and why they

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[152] Jennifer Rowley, 'Conducting Research Interviews', *Management Research Review* 35, no. 3/4 (2012): 260–271.
[153] Ragnhild Lund, Smita Mishra Panda, and Manju Prava Dhal, 'Narrating Spaces of Inclusion and Exclusion in Research Collaboration – Researcher-Gatekeeper Dialogue', *Qualitative Research* 16, no. 3 (2016): 280–292; Alex Marland and Anna Lennox Esselment, 'Negotiating with Gatekeepers to Get Interviews with Politicians: Qualitative Research Recruitment in a Digital Media Environment', *Qualitative Research* 19, no. 6 (2019): 685–702.
[154] Marland and Esselment, 'Negotiating with Gatekeepers to Get Interviews with Politicians: Qualitative Research Recruitment in a Digital Media Environment'.

were selected, then being asked if they were willing to be put in contact with me. If they agreed I would then be included in the conversation and me and the interviewee would arrange details for when and where the interview should take place.

One of the main differences between my research and other researchers who studied and interviewed elites and ultra-elites was my position with respects to Barclays plc. Unlike Stephens, or the researchers studied by Alex Marland and Anna Esselment, I was not a complete outsider to the organisation and, as my main gatekeeper was Barclays plc's Group Archivist who is also officially part of the research project, I could be introduced as a someone who was partnering with Barclays plc and BGA.[155] Additionally, many interviewees expressed their appreciation for the services that BGA had provided and were willing to discuss their positive experiences, making them more willing to be interviewed. Therefore, the prior relationship many of them had with BGA's Group Archivist was beneficial as many of the interviewees began the interview with the desire to express their gratitude to BGA by openly discussing their experiences.

3.3.4.   Conducting the interviews

The interviews were semi-structured, with the anticipated interview length being approximately 45 minutes. In preparing for these interviews, I broadly followed the approach laid out by Bill Gillham for performing semi-structured interviews: my interview schedules were continually developed to ensure that the focus remained on the area of research, supplementary questions were asked to probe for further information rather than sticking to a predesigned schedule, and all interviews were designed to last a similar amount of time.[156] However, there were also differences between my approach and Gillham's, most notably that I did not ask all interviewees the exact same questions. Whilst some questions were asked to all interviewees; each interview schedule was designed around that specific interviewee, their role at Barclays plc, their experiences with BGA based on what I had seen in BGA's internal records, and, where relevant, their work experience before being employed at Barclays plc.

Interviews were designed to be similar in length, although this did not happen in practice as interview length was dictated by the interviewee's availability and their answers, with the

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[155] Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'; Marland and Esselment, 'Negotiating with Gatekeepers to Get Interviews with Politicians: Qualitative Research Recruitment in a Digital Media Environment'.

[156] Gillham, *Research Interviewing : The Range of Techniques*; Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2005).

interview continuing for as long as the interviewee was willing and had things they wished to say. This approach led to variability in interview length, with the longest interview being 61 minutes in length, and the shortest being only 19 minutes long. However, the average length of an interview was 41 minutes, only four minutes shorter than the anticipated length of the interviews when constructing interview schedules.

Phone interviews were treated differently to face-to-face interviews, in a similar manner to Stephens' experience.[157] In practice, I found that whilst there was not the problem of building rapport that Irvine, Drew, and Sainsbury discuss as an often-cited problem with phone interviews, there was certainly less of a flow to the conversation, necessitating a more structured interview.[158] However, this may have been due to my unfamiliarity with this method of interviewing and my prior work experiences of conducting phone interviews, where the phone discussions were structured, specific, and orientated to gathering specific information as opposed to the more open, free-flowing interviews I had planned for this research.

Although planned for 45 minutes, the phone interviews were on average shorter than the face-to-face interviews, averaging 35 minutes. However, this discrepancy could be due to the small number of phone interviews, with only four of the total 21 performed being phone interviews. The longest of the phone interviews lasted 53 minutes and was the group call involving two interviewees, whilst the shortest was 19 minutes long.

At least one of the interviews could be classified as being with an ultra-elite individual, the interviewee being a former CEO of Barclays plc, whilst six of the other interviewees could also be considered as being with elites as these interviewees had achieved the rank of managing director within the organisation. I made this distinction between elite and ultra-elite based on Stephens and Harriet Zuckerman's work, who compare the status of the individual being interviewed either to the researcher, the average citizen, or others who operate in their field.[159] As one interviewee had been the CEO of the bank, the top position within the company, he had achieved a higher position within the bank than all other interviewees,

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[157] Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'.

[158] Irvine, Drew, and Sainsbury, '"Am I Not Answering Your Questions Properly?" Clarification, Adequacy and Responsiveness in Semi-Structured Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews'.

[159] [159] Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'; Zuckerman, Harriet, *Scientific Elite* (New Jersey: Transaction, 1996).

placing him in a select group of people that had been appointed Barclays plc's CEO and, therefore, apart from those that had achieved the position of managing director.

Stephens addresses many of the issues that can arise when interviewing elites or ultra-elites such as having to be flexible with your schedule to match theirs, extra gatekeeping due to their status, and positioning yourself within the power dynamic during the interview.[160] However, other than an extra layer of gatekeeping, there were rarely issues of this kind while performing my research. Whilst gatekeepers of elites and ultra-elites were more likely to request an interview schedule beforehand than other interviewees, there were rarely issues with scheduling or power dynamics with only one of these interviews needing to be rescheduled.

Another potential problem that Stephens mentions is the age gap between interviewer and interviewee. Whilst this could have been an issue with a small number of my interviewees as they were older than me; as a mature student, there was generally not a large gap in age between myself and the interviewee. Indeed, in the case of some of the non-elite interviewees, I was slightly older than the interviewee. Whilst I am still an early career researcher, which could have led to interviewees taking me less seriously, there was little evidence of this, and the lack of a significant age gap and my ability to discuss my previous work history in the financial sector may have proved favourable during these interactions. Additionally, the interview that took place with a former CEO of Barclays plc, the ultra-elite, organised with, and attended by, one of my supervisors. This method was necessary to secure the interview as my junior professional status appeared to be detrimental in securing the interview. However, the interview still proceeded along the ethical guidelines established by me, and I took the role of lead interviewer. Despite this, there was a different dynamic during this interview as their position within academia gave more credibility to the interview than if it had been me alone, but also led to the discussion being structured differently than had it been me alone. In particular, having a second interviewer with their own research agenda necessitated giving time to them to ask their questions. It also meant that my supervisor would occasionally follow up on my questions in a direction that I had not considered or may only be relevant to their own projects. Having a second interviewer was not detrimental to the interview in this instance as there was adequate time to cover all the points I wished to.

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[160] Stephens, 'Collecting Data from Elites and Ultra Elites: Telephone and Face-to-Face Interviews with Macroeconomists'.

However, had circumstances been different it may have resulted in less relevant information being gathered overall.

I recorded the interviews using a Phillips DVT6010 voice recorder and using a smartphone application as a back-up if the DVT6010 recording was corrupted or unclear. Although the back-up was rarely needed, there were occasions where one of the devices did not record, or where the recording on one device was of much better quality than the other, so the decision to use two devices was justified. Phone interviews were performed on my phone's loudspeaker so that they too could be recorded on two devices, the DVT6010 voice recorder and a smartphone application that records phone calls directly.

3.3.5.   Transcription

The interviews were transcribed in order to analyse the data. Initially, I was transcribing manually using either transcription software that allowed me to listen and type up the interview, or using voice recognition so that I could listen to the interview through headphones and speak what I heard to the programme to produce transcriptions. These choices were informed by the literature on transcription productivity. Brian Johnson's use of voice recognition software transcription showed that, although the initial transcription was quicker than typing, and that the use of both methods could help to reduce the stress of the transcriber; the number of errors and editing that was necessary to make the transcription usable led to the process taking longer overall.[161] Others, such as Jennifer Matheson, argue that this type of transcription is preferable and faster than traditional transcription.[162] For me, the ability to switch between the two and thereby 'ease the physical and mental stress' was beneficial in completing the transcriptions.[163] Additionally, transcription using voice recognition software may be preferable for those who had difficulty typing quickly and accurately, allowing them to produce the transcription with fewer errors.

I also considered the use of software that could automatically produce transcriptions. The literature on the use of automatic transcription is sparse. Whilst there is some literature on the use of voice recognition software to produce transcripts manually by using voice recognition

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[161] Brian Edward Johnson, 'The Speed and Accuracy of Voice Recognition Software-Assisted Transcription versus the Listen-and-Type Method: A Research Note', *Qualitative Research* 11, no. 1 (2011): 91–97.
[162] Jennifer L. Matheson, 'The Voice Transcription Technique: Use of Voice Recognition Software to Transcribe Digital Interview Data in Qualitative Research', *The Qualitative Report* 12, no. 4 (2007): 547–560.
[163] Johnson, 'The Speed and Accuracy of Voice Recognition Software-Assisted Transcription versus the Listen-and-Type Method: A Research Note', 96.

software to repeat the interview, there is little literature on attempts to use software to produce transcripts automatically. Julie Park and A. Echo Zeanah attempted to automatically produce interview transcripts, along with others such as having a researcher repeat the interview themselves into the software and training the software to understand the interviewee.[164] However, they found that software at the time struggled to understand multiple voices when they occurred and that the accuracy was too low without training the software to understand the interviewee, something that took too long and would not be feasible in a research situation. Additionally, this is different from the system I would use as they were attempting real-time transcription, whereas I was generating transcripts from previously recorded interviews.

To increase transcription speed, I utilised publicly available software that could generate transcriptions from the voice recording files. I tried various software programmes. While none was so accurate that the transcripts would not require further editing, some software was accurate enough that working from these outputs and correcting them was quicker than manually transcribing them.

From testing various pieces of software, I found the most accurate to be YouTube's automatically generated transcriptions for uploaded videos. In order to use this, I first had to convert the MP3 and WAV sound files into video files. The majority of the files were converted in bulk using Adobe Premiere Pro to which the UoL had access. This programme allowed for the interviews conducted to that point to be converted in a few hours. The remainder of the interviews were converted using free online video editing software called Shotcut. The free version of this programme was not as quick as Adobe Premier Pro although this is likely also due to being used on my home desktop rather than a UoL iMac. Whilst Adobe Premier Pro could bulk convert the files quicker than Shotcut, converting the recordings from home allowed me to generate the transcripts as I conducted the interviews and begin the analysis. Getting regular access to Adobe Premiere Pro would have been time-consuming and unnecessary when I only had one interview to convert at a time and would have required me to transfer the converted file to another computer to upload to my YouTube account to produce the transcription. Therefore, it was easier and more convenient to convert the recordings individually from home.

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[164] Julie Park and A. Echo Zeanah, 'An Evaluation of Voice Recognition Software for Use in Interview-Based Research: A Research Note', *Qualitative Research: QR* 5, no. 2 (2005): 245–251.

The resulting MP4 files were then uploaded to my YouTube account without being made public, thereby only being visible to me. After being uploaded, YouTube generates a timestamped transcription that can be downloaded. These transcripts cannot be trusted to be completely accurate, as the more background noise in the recording the worse the transcript would tend to be, with the speakers' accents also affecting accuracy. However, the automatically generated transcripts were remarkably accurate compared to other software, and the editing process of these transcripts was much quicker for me than attempting to produce them manually. Although there was a considerable amount of time setting this up, converting the files, uploading them, waiting for the transcript to be produced, these processes can be set up and left to operate while the researcher does other tasks, potentially making this process far more efficient overall than manual transcription.

YouTube's privacy policy and policy on data processing make it clear that the person who uploads the content, in this case, the interview recordings, retains ownership of the content and that Google, the owner of YouTube, acts only as a processor of the data in accordance with local, in this case the UK's, data processing laws.[165] Although these have changed slightly since the 31st March, with processing services now offered by Google LLC based in the US rather than Google Ireland Limited, this does not change the terms and conditions applied. Additionally, the recordings were deleted from my YouTube account once I had downloaded the transcripts which were then uploaded on to UoL's encrypted servers.

I transcribed the interviews following what Hammersley calls 'strict transcription' as opposed to 'description.'[166] The interviews aimed to gather information; there was no 'observational' element to them and, indeed, the fact that some interviews were conducted by phone would have made this impossible. Therefore, I did not attempt to transcribe observational data from the interview, such as the tone of voice or physical reactions of the interviewees. Whilst description is an often-used method of analysing interview data, it did not seem relevant to these interviews considering the information I wished to gather. Most of the questions I asked referred to the interviewees' actions, why they choose to interact with BGA as they had, and how BGA had helped in fulfilling their goals. I was not asking about their emotional responses to these interactions or about experiences where such contextual information could

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[165] 'Terms of Service - YouTube', accessed 1 April 2020, https://www.youtube.com/static?template=terms; 'YouTube Data Processing Terms - YouTube', accessed 1 April 2020, https://www.youtube.com/t/terms_dataprocessing.

[166] Martyn Hammersley, 'Reproducing or Constructing? Some Questions about Transcription in Social Research', *Qualitative Research* 10, no. 5 (2010): 553–569.

be relevant. Additionally, I did not attempt to transcribe all the verbal tics of the interviewees, such as the 'ums' and 'ahs' made during speech. This is not to say that no verbal tics were transcribed. However, I only kept them there when I believed that such vocalisations better reflected the thought process of the interviewee in some way, rather than merely being unintentional vocalisations. My decision to maintain some of the verbal tics was based on research by Harry Collins, Willow Leonard-Clarke, and Hannah O'Mahoney who show that such utterances take on a different meaning in textual formats as opposed to verbal formats.[167] Therefore, my decision as to whether to leave them in or not was made during transcription based on whether I, as the interviewer and normally the only other party present, felt these utterances were reflective of the meaning conveyed.

3.3.6. Interview transcript analysis

The analysis of the transcripts was done using NVivo. I performed initial coding to identify key themes that frequently appeared in the interviews.[168] Whilst the interviews were semi-structured around identifying the interviewees' reasons for using the services of BGA, I had not begun the research process with any fixed ideas of how corporate archives can contribute to the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives, nor was I attempting to test extant ideas or theories on how archives may provide benefits to their parent organisations. Instead, I was working under the assumption that those who had made use of BGA's resources had reasons for doing so, reasons that were related to their job roles; and that they had reasons for believing that BGA's resources would be of benefit to the performing of their role, and therefore to Barclays plc more broadly. Open coding seemed to be the best option to identify their reasons for using BGA's services from the semi-structured interviews, and therefore the benefits that BGA provides to Barclays plc more generally.

The first cycle of coding was performed as the interviews were being conducted so that the emerging results could be used to help prepare the subsequent interview schedules for future interviews. Using the transcripts to prepare for later interviews, I was able to identify themes that could be investigated further with other interviewees. This process potentially moved the research down a particular path and made me less open to new ideas, themes, and research directions. However, ignoring themes emerging from prior interviewees risked ignoring

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[167] Harry Collins, Willow Leonard-Clarke, and Hannah O'Mahoney, '"Um, Er": How Meaning Varies between Speech and Its Typed Transcript', *Qualitative Research*, 19, no. 6 (2019): 653-668.
[168] Johnny Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 100–105.

valuable data that could help answer the research problem and could potentially reduce the interviews into a series of disconnected narratives of individual's interactions with BGA.

I later combined these interview schedules with the memo-writing process during the coding process to help me to identify common themes. Therefore, when it came to analysing the results of this initial coding, the interview schedules and memos helped show how my thinking had developed, reminding me of the themes I had seen earlier that may, or may not, still have been present. This process also allowed me to reflect on the direction the research was taking, whether the themes I had identified in earlier interviews were present in later interviews, and whether new themes were emerging that could take the research in a new direction. Memo-writing acted as a check on whether the earlier themes were having an undue influence on later interviews and the research direction. The process did this by making me reflect on whether they were common and prevalent, or whether they had only been present in early interviews and were only appearing in later ones due to the way I had written my interview schedules.

Due to the themes that I identified during the first coding process and memo-writing, I decided the second coding cycle would be eclectic coding.[169] Eclectic coding is the use of two or more types of coding on the data. Whilst this is usually seen as a transitional stage of coding, used to move from first cycle coding to second cycle coding that can reorganise and reanalyse data; I used it part of the second cycle coding as it was the case that the interviews were a significant data source for the thesis and could, therefore, be used in various parts of the work. Much of this eclectic coding involved descriptive coding to establish what it was that interviewees were interested in when they approached BGA.[170] However, descriptive coding did not give the full picture of the content of the interviews, so I combined it with value coding.[171] Coding the value that interviewees placed on the resources of BGA they had used and how they believed that others had valued their use of them helped add depth to the descriptive coding. Value coding enabled me to go beyond subject-based coding to begin to provide evidence for *why* they did what they did and how they believed it had benefitted Barclays plc, both topics central to the overall research problem.

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[169] Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 188–93.
[170] Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 87.
[171] Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 110–15.

The third stage was 'codeweaving', the integrating of the codes into a narrative structure to see how they fit together.[172] Codeweaving is also a process that is undertaken during the first and second cycle coding stages as it is an essential part of the memo-writing process, enabling me to make sense of their results, and respond to the emerging codes and ideas; subsequent data collection can then be more directly targeted at what appears to be the most salient findings.[173] Codeweaving is also a useful process in narrowing down the codes that the researcher has assigned into a manageable and understandable format once the coding cycles are complete, aiding me in converting the data into a format for others to understand without having to follow the same process.

3.4.   Internal documents

Internal corporate documents held at BGA were another important dataset I utilised for my research. These documents were: (a) archives that had been accessioned at BGA as 'archival' and, more significantly in this research, (b) operational records and tools used by BGA as a corporate department. The main operational records that I utilised during year one of my research was the archival catalogue and enquiry records. The catalogue has been built using software called DB/Textworks, which allows the users to create searchable databases. The catalogue includes various pieces of data on the archives such as a unique reference number, the physical location, the creating entity, a description of the record, and additional notes that the BGA staff thought was relevant such as the physical condition or other resources that may be of interest including other research that had been performed using that archive. I used the catalogue to find the resources that others had accessed as part of their interactions with BGA so that I could see first-hand the types of material they had used.

The enquiry database and enquiry records were tools that the archivists use to record enquiries and their performance in responding to them. The enquiry records are a series of Excel spreadsheets that record, on a monthly basis, the information on the internal and external enquiries received. These spreadsheets include the name of the person, email address or other contact details, the department of Barclays plc they worked in where relevant, date of the enquiry and when it was responded to, and a single sentence on the topic of the enquiry. The second tool was an enquiry database constructed using DB/Textworks. The database contained more information on the enquiries than the spreadsheets but was not as complete as

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[172] Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 276.

[173] Saldana, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 48–49.

it did not document all enquiries. Instead, it was used for enquiries that required new or extensive research so that the results and research process were documented so that the knowledge could be captured, and the research not repeated. This database contained information on the enquirer, which of the archivists responded to the enquiry, the date of the enquiry, department of Barclays plc that the enquirer worked for where relevant, information on the enquiry which sometimes included the email exchange and information about which archives were accessed in response to the enquiry. Both these tools proved to be major resources for this research.

As mentioned above (see Section 3.3.3), the spreadsheets and databases were used to identify potential interviewees and to help construct the interview schedules. However, they also proved useful in analysing the interviews, particularly the database that contained the communications between the interviewee and BGA. The prior communications between the interviewee and BGA, documented in the enquiry records, allowed me to compare their interview responses and their discussions with the archivists at BGA. Whilst this comparison was not possible for all the interviewees, as some enquiries had not been recorded in the DB/Textworks database, it proved to be a useful resource for analysing the interview transcripts. Where I did not have the communications exchange in the DB/Textworks database, the Excel spreadsheets could provide some useful data. For example, some repeat users requested similar information indicating the types of material and information that they found valuable. Overall, analysis of these enquiry records proved valuable in showing me part of what BGA did, who used their resources, and what it was they were hoping to gain from contacting BGA.

Other documents that I used were corporate documents that have been formally accessioned to the archives. These records included photographs and recordings of key events held by Barclays plc such as their 2012 launch of the Transform Programme and the 2015 AGM as well as records that were created during the planning and operationalisation of these events, speech scripts and transcripts, presentation material, and display schedules.

3.5.   Weaknesses

Several potential weaknesses in the methodology I have chosen can be observed. There was a potential weakness of insider observation as a method of collecting data, particularly considering the nature of this research project. As mentioned above, this research project was

partially funded by BGA. However, BGA was also the focus of the research. Therefore, whilst BGA and the Group Archivist has an interest in the research being academically successful and producing a completed thesis as they were partially funding it; they might potentially have a vested interest in ensuring that the research presented BGA in a positive light as making a significant contribution to delivering Barclays plc's strategic objectives. Additionally, as I was introduced to potential interviewees by the Group Archivists, my status as an insider was apparent before the interviewees took place which may have affected how willing interviewees were to express criticism with the corporate historical narrative or services they received from BGA (see below). However, it must be stated that at no time during the project did I feel that I was being led in any particular direction or that relevant information was being withheld from me. On the contrary, the nature of the AHRC Collaborative Doctoral programme partnership between BGA and the UoL offered me a unique level of access to the archives and Barclays plc more generally. Therefore, whilst there was the potential that this partnership could negatively affect the research, it was this partnership that made the research possible.

Another of the limitations of this methodology is related to the use of interviews. The interviewees were selected based on their interactions with BGA and their use of BGA's resources. Therefore, these interviewees may have had an interest in presenting these activities as beneficial to Barclays plc to justify, albeit retrospectively, their decision. Whilst that does not mean that BGA did not provide useful services and resources to the interviewees, it does mean that I was unlikely to be told about unsuccessful activities that had made use of BGA's services. The enquiry records at BGA do not show whether the services that BGA provide met the expectations of the enquirer; the DB/Textworks enquiry database also rarely held information that indicated whether the services provided fulfilled the enquirer's expectation unless this was specifically stated in a recorded email exchange. Therefore, it was only through the interviews that I could gather information as to whether BGA's services had provided a benefit to Barclays plc's employees. As I was exploring how BGA contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives, it was important to speak about how it had been beneficial for them, focusing on the activities that had been beneficial in delivering their strategic objectives.

It could be argued that the selection of the interviewees also presents a methodological weakness. As mentioned above, I did not try to represent the whole of Barclays plc when selecting interviewees. Interviewing a representative sample of Barclays plc would have

proven challenging considering the organisation's size and the range of functions it has. Therefore, the interviewees were selected based on their interactions with BGA. However, this led to the majority of the interviewees working at Barclays plc's headquarters, with many also having reached quite a senior position. Indeed, 16 of the 21 interviewees worked in London, 14 of which worked in Barclays plc's headquarters. Whilst this selection method did enable me to gather valuable data on how BGA had been used by individuals and how it had benefitted them, it also meant that I am unable to show how the past is used by different levels of Barclays plc, or how it is used differently in the different regions of the UK by Barclays plc. Barclays plc's website has separate pages documenting their history in different UK regions.[174] There is also some evidence from the interviewees that different regional managers choose to use the history of Barclays plc differently. However, due to the selection of interviewees, I am unable to offer further evidence of this and analyse why this may be or explore how the different regional uses of BGA's services contribute to the delivery of Barclays plc's overall strategic objectives. Additionally, many of the interviewees had used BGA's resources on multiple occasions and had built relationships with the archivists. As they were aware that I was working with the archive, something that was mentioned in the introductory email, they may have been unwilling to discuss problems with the service they received from BGA.

Use of the past literature has been criticised for only showing the historical narratives that are constructed by elites at organisations.[175] As Hamid Foroughi shows, interviews are a valid method of gathering data to construct a polyphonic understanding of historical narratives present in an organisation.[176] My experience performing research for this thesis suggests that for large organisations such as Barclays plc, it may prove more difficult to gather enough data using interviews to adequately represent how different employees in different departments use the organisation's past. Additionally, it may be difficult to locate interviewees that are willing to express their personal views on corporate historical narratives, or their own historical narratives, when the organisation has recently promoted its own historical narrative. Not only was s the corporate version likely to be the main one that employees have been exposed to, with the organisation better able to promote its historical narrative through the

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[174] 'Barclays History', Barclays plc, accessed 5 January 2020, https://home.barclays/who-we-are/our-history/.

[175] Andrew Smith and Jason Russell, 'Toward Polyphonic Constitutive Historicism: A New Research Agenda for Management Historians', *Management & Organizational History* 11, no. 2 (2016): 236–251.

[176] Hamid Foroughi, 'Collective Memories as a Vehicle of Fantasy and Identification: Founding Stories Retold', *Organization Studies*, May 2019, 1–2.

mobilisation of its corporate communications channels; Barclays plc had also linked the corporate historical narrative to its desired culture and behaviours going forward (see Chapter 4). Therefore, not only could interviewees be reluctant to criticise the service they received from BGA, but they may also have been unwilling to criticise the corporate historical narrative that had been linked to their professional behavioural expectations.

Only two of the interviewees (UL17 and UL19) were openly critical of the use of the past strategy that Barclays plc had pursued between 2012 and 2015, with both having left Barclays plc at the time of the interview. Additionally, only one interviewee, UL13, stated that the services they received from BGA had not been useful for the purpose they had envisioned, with one other interviewee, UL9, emphasising that it had a small part of a larger project. This reluctance to be critical of BGA or the corporate historical narrative may have been exacerbated by my status as an insider, as interviewees were made aware before the interview that BGA was partially funding the research and would have access to the findings. However, neither UL13 nor UL9 were upset with the service they received from BGA, merely that the use of the past activity they had planned was either not possible with the information they received or was only a minor part of a larger event. Regardless, for the purposes of exploring how corporate archives can contribute to the delivery of its parent organisation's strategic objectives, it is not necessary to show all the interpretations or uses of the organisation's past. Instead, it is only necessary to show those uses and interpretations that drew on archival resources, and the selective interviews were adequate for this purpose. However, it would have been beneficial to have more data on the failures, as well as successes, of Barclays plc's employees to analyse why BGA's resources had been less useful in those instances. With so few critical voices present in the interviews, the success of Barclays plc in encouraging employees to accept the historical narrative may be overstated in the interviews.

Even taken together, the evidence gained from observation, interviews, and internal documents also presents a weakness in that it does not allow me to assess with a great degree of accuracy whether the use of the past activities had their intended outcomes. At least one of the strategic aims was that stakeholders, customers, and employees would accept the organisational historical narrative as legitimate. A secondary aim was that the historical narrative presented would encourage employees to change their behaviour, if required, in line with a new organisational culture that Barclays plc was promoting. The interview and observational data were too narrow for me to assess whether Barclays plc was successful in

reaching these goals. Whilst there are documents that show the number of Barclays plc's employees that had attested to the new set of corporate values and shows their level of engagement at the organisation, these do not show whether the use of history strategy Barclays plc contributed to that.[177] Additionally, the internal documents I had access to did not measure employee acceptance of this historical narrative, nor did they provide data on employee behaviour and organisational culture that I could use to answer this question. As mentioned above, few interviewees were critical or offered a different historical narrative. Therefore, the data that I gathered was adequate for exploring what Barclays plc managers were attempting to do, but not the extent to which they were successful. I have attempted to avoid making conclusions on the level of success of Barclays plc's use of the past strategy and the level of acceptance from employees of the corporate historical narrative.

Another possible weakness of the methodology used for this thesis comes from the act of coding the data. The act of codeweaving is useful for transforming the assortment of codes into a manageable narrative that can then be developed into theory or usable findings. However, as this is a process that can be done during the data collection process and once the data has been collected and has undergone various coding cycles, it is possible that the codeweaving influences the data that is later collected. Whilst codeweaving during data collection has allowed me to gather data that I may not have been able to if I had waited until after the data collection was complete, it may have prevented me from pursuing alternative directions for the project.

Code weaving also presents another potential weakness in that it can potentially obscure the multitude of themes and ideas present by constructing them into a simpler, clearer narrative. Whilst this is one of its strengths in that it allowed me to be able to present the results of the research to others in an understandable manner, it has the danger of making the resulting ideas and arguments appear straightforward than they are and obscuring how the data has resulted in the arguments being made. To overcome this weakness, I have attempted to show how the data I gathered applies to the arguments being made in detail and show the direct

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[177] 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2013' (Barclays plc, 2013), 8–9, https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar2013/barclays-bank-plc-annual-report-2013.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2014' (Barclays plc, 2014), 28–29, https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar2014/Barclays_Bank_PLC_Annual_Report_%202014.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2015' (Barclays plc, 2015), 12–14, https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/ResultAnnouncements/2015FYResults/20160301_Barclays_Bank_PLC_2015_Annual_Report.pdf.

connections between the data and the arguments I make in this thesis. Whilst it is not possible to show the full and messy processes that lead from the interview transcripts to the arguments presented in my thesis, by presenting the data openly I have tried to make clear how particular themes were selected as important over others, or how various smaller themes have been integrated into a larger one.

3.6.   Conclusion

This chapter shows the three methods I used to gather data to provide evidence for the research. The observation was used to generate the research problem of how BGA contributes to delivering Barclays plc's strategic objectives. Interviews were used to gather further data, and the subsequent coding of the interview transcripts was an important dataset for all the subsequent chapters. Archival documents and the information in internal databases and spreadsheets were used to construct the interview schedules and compare the interview responses to discussions at the time. Coding and codeweaving were used to analyse the interview transcripts, with memo-writing also used to generate more codes and make sense of what I was seeing. Although there are weaknesses with this approach, all three produced valuable datasets that, when applied to the research problem, allowed me to explore how BGA contributes to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives.

4. Barclays plc: A historical introduction

This chapter will give an overview of Barclays plc's history from 1690, the date of its founding, until Antony Jenkins' appointment to CEO in 2012 to give context to the following chapters and allow the reader to understand the historical narratives that Barclays plc was drawing on. Based on secondary and internal sources, it presents a narrative similar to the one that Barclays plc presents itself when constructing their historical narratives for their use of the past strategies from 2012 onward. [178] The main focus of this chapter will be on Barclays plc from 1986 onwards. Whilst there are various key dates in Barclays plc's history, 1986 is seen as a key turning point in Barclays plc's history. The decision to focus more on Barclays plc's post 'Big Bang' is due to the rapid change and growth of the organisation in the following years that has been subsequently blamed for Barclays plc's loss of a unified corporate culture and a lack of a sense of the organisation's history.[179] A timeline of the key dates that Barclays plc use to periodise their history can be found in Figure 1.

1690 was chosen as the beginning for this chapter as it is when Barclays plc themselves date their founding. This chapter will first discuss the bank's early years, the nineteenth-century changes to the financial industry, and the amalgamation of the various privately owned banks that would form the joint-stock organisation of Barclays plc. The chapter then moves onto the Barclays plc's expansion in the twentieth century before discussing the period following 1986, which saw more expansion of Barclays plc and a change in strategy that would lead it to become one of the largest banks in the world. The chapter will then discuss the period from the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) to 2012 which saw Barclays plc involved in various scandals that would lead to and change in the management of the organisation and a change in strategy by the end of 2012.

The end date for the chapter, August 2012, marks the appointment of Jenkins as CEO. It was under Jenkins' Transform Programme that Barclays plc's use of the past strategy, discussed in this thesis began, and the use of BGA's resources began to increase. Additionally, this thesis's research into the contribution of BGA to Barclays plc's in the period after 2012. Therefore, events that take place after August 2012 will be discussed in the relevant chapters.

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[178] Arguably the most important secondary source Barclays plc draw on is Margaret Ackrill and Leslie Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[179] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 80.

Barclays plc has undergone many structural transformations and name changes throughout its history. Some of these name changes represent changes in structure and ownership, while others appear to result from a branding decision. The use of certain names and what they refer to is defined here to provide the context for discussion and analysis in future chapters: Freame & Gould refers to the original bank formed in 1690 until the partnership separated in the 1730s. The name Barclays Bank Limited refers to the amalgamated bank of 1896 onwards until 1985 when Barclays Bank Limited reorganised under the holding company of Barclays plc.[180] Although the organisation has been restructured several times since 1985, Barclays plc refers to the holding company that oversees the operations of all the various parts of the group around the world and any other non-core business that Barclays plc operate.

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[180] Although Barclays plc used the name Barclays & Co. after their amalgamation, this was only for a relatively short time, renaming to Barclays Bank Limited in 1917. Therefore, to avoid confusion the name Barclays Bank Limited will be used to refer to the bank between 1896 and 1985.

1690
Quaker
goldsmiths
John Freame
and Thomas
Gould form a
partnership
based in
Lombard
Street.

1896
Twenty private
banks
amalgamate to
form Barclays
& Co.
(Barclays Bank
Limited).

1986
The Big Bang
deregulation of
the LSE
happens.
Barclays plc
form BZW, its
investment
banking
division.

2012
A succession
of scandals
leading up to
the LIBOR
rate-rigging
scandal cost
Barclays plc
their CEO and
Chairman.
Antony
Jenkins
appointed the
new CEO.

1736
James Barclay
joins the
partnership
with Joseph
Freame, the
son of John
Freame.

1925
Barclays & Co.
merge their
operations in
South Africa,
the Caribbean,
and the Middle
East to form
Barclays Bank
(Dominion
Colonial and
Overseas)
(DCO).

2008
The Global
Financial
Crisis.
Barclays plc
purchases
Lehman
Brothers.

2015
Barclays plc
celebrates its
325th
anniversary.

Figure 1: Timeline of key events in Barclays plc's historical narrative. These are often used by Barclays plc to periodise their history.

4.1. Barclays plc's founding and early years

Barclays plc was founded by Quaker goldsmiths John Freame and Thomas Gould in 1690. The first headquarters of the Freame and Gould partnership was in Lombard Street, London, a hub for financial business at this time. Freame and Gould had both served apprenticeships with prominent Quaker goldsmiths and appear to have inherited wealth that would have set them in good standing as goldsmiths. Whilst they were both Quakers themselves, they had also served apprenticeships with prominent Quaker goldsmiths, Job Bolton and Nathaniel Brassey respectively, which would have been beneficial in ensuring they could gain access to the unofficial network of London goldsmiths who would clear each other's balances.[181] Quaker connections appear to have been important in the early success of the Freame and Gould partnership, with the Quaker London Yearly Meeting depositing £1,100 with the partnership. Indeed, it is likely that many of the business with whom Freame and Gould conducted business were Quakers, with close to a quarter of the population living around their headquarters being Quakers.[182]

The Quaker links may also have influenced their early investments with Freame and Gould investing in the Quaker dominated Welsh Copper Company and the London Lead Company from the early eighteenth century. Links between the partners were cemented with the marriage of John Freame to Thomas Gould's sister Priscilla, and Thomas Gould's marriage to John Freame's sister Hannah.[183] In 1728, the partnership moved its headquarters to 54 Lombard Street, premises that would be the organisation's headquarters in some form until 2005. This property was also home to the Black Spread Eagle sign that, despite many transformations, remains the symbol of Barclays plc until today.[184]

By 1730 John Freame's son, Joseph Freame, had taken over the running of the partnership for his father, and Thomas Gould's son, also named Thomas Gould, had entered into the partnership. However, on the death of the senior Thomas Gould in 1730, the younger Thomas Gould used his

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[181] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 1–7.
[182] Gary Stuart De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party: 1688-1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 98; Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 8.
[183] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 7–14.
[184] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 14.

inheritance to set himself as an independent banker, quickly leading to his bankruptcy. To consolidate their reputation and financial resources, Freame looked to take on a new partner, settling on James Barclay in 1736, the first of the Barclay name to enter the partnership. The son of David Barclay, one of the richest merchants in London at the time, James Barclay was already connected to the Freames through marriage to Priscilla Freame's younger sister. Again, links through marriage between Quaker families led to the development of a business partnership, with the firm now called Freame & Barclay, Bankers.[185]

Other than a brief period between 1770 and 1774, the Barclay name would remain present in the organisation's name until the amalgamation of various banks into Barclays Bank Limited. The partnership expanded with new Quaker partners being added, often already connected to one of the existing partners by marriage. Indeed, the families of the various partners intermarried not just with one another, but also with other wealthy Quaker banking families such as the Gurneys and the Backhouses, building relationships that would last until the amalgamation. The regular addition of new partners into the business led to a string of name changes that are not documented here. However, by the nineteenth century, the partnership was commonly just known as 'Barclays' to the outside world and will be referred to as Barclays here until the 1896 amalgamation.[186]

The close relationships of Quaker families and their business interests were a common occurrence due in part to religious intolerance and legal persecution. Legislation such as the Quaker Act of 1662, which made it illegal to refuse to take an oath of allegiance to the crown, something that Quakers would not do as they refused to swear oaths; and the Corporation Act of 1661 that required all municipal officials to take Anglican communion, excluded nonconformists from office.[187] The effect of legislation such as this was to exclude Quakers from the legal system, since they were unwilling to swear oaths in court, and from certain trades and professions. Quaker beliefs in pacifism and a simple way of living also meant they would refrain from participating in trades concerned with fashion or careers in the military. However, their beliefs of living simply, frugally, honestly, and viewing work as a virtue in itself, helped

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[185] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 14–16.
[186] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 18–21.
[187] David Burns Windsor, *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business* (London: Frederick Muller Limited, 1980), 12–17.

them to be successful in other trades that rewarded these traits, such as the financial sector, and newly developed industrial sectors, such as the building of railroads or the production of iron goods.[188]

These character traits were promoted internally by Quaker communities, with strict punishments and possible expulsion from the Society of Friends for Quakers who were believed not to be living in accordance with these qualities. This is not to say that all Quakers lived up to these qualities, with documents showing that Quakers were punished for things such as drunkenness and cohabitation. However, transgressions such as these were treated with less severity than unfair or dishonest business dealings, whether this was with customers or attempts to defraud the state out of taxes and dues. Additionally, not all Quakers always lived by their stated values such as pacifism and being anti-slavery when conducting their business.[189] However, many did, with a notable example involving David Barclay, who became a partner in Barclays in 1774. Upon calling in a debt due in Jamaica, Barclay became the owner of the Unity Valley Pen which held thirty-two slaves. Barclay had them transported to Philadelphia where he worked with the Abolition of Slavery Society to free them, leading to Barclay receiving £3,000 less than he was entitled to from the debt. For Barclay, it appears he valued the fulfilment of his moral duty over the pursuit of wealth.[190]

This commitment to fair dealing in business may be linked to their early days as objects of suspicion in local communities and their relatively vulnerable situation in the courts. However, it had the effect of creating a feeling of trust amongst non-Quakers in their business dealings with Quakers.[191] It was both these values and the network of Quaker families that regularly intermarried thereby consolidating wealth and business industries into Quaker families, that helped Quaker businesses to be successful, with Quakers still being thirty times more likely to be in the elites of UK business than non-Quakers in the middle of the twentieth century.[192] As we

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[188] Windsor, *The Quaker Enterprise: Friends in Business*, 18–22.
[189] James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals* (London: John Murray, 1997), 72–79.
[190] Hannah and Ackrill, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 28. For a recent work that explores the complex relationships between Quaker business interest and their abolitionist beliefs, see Joseph Kelly, 'The Problem of Anti-Slavery in the Age of Capital, c. 1830 -1888' (PhD dissertation, University of Liverpool, 2017).
[191] Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, 79.
[192] David J Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 113; Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, 81–90.

will see in the following chapters, Barclays plc would use their Quaker history, specifically the Quaker values, as a resource when constructing their corporate values from 2012 onwards.

4.2. The nineteenth century and the formation of Barclays Bank Limited

The nineteenth century was a time of expansion and challenges for the bank. One important change was the gradual move away from Quakerism of many of the prominent Quaker banking families. This change coincided with a gradual decrease in the number of Quakers in England and Wales overall; but for successful banking families, the distractions and the social opportunities of wealth that many of the families could now enjoy added to the temptation to abandon the Society of Friends. Not all the Quaker banking family members abandoned their faith, several of the Gurneys and Barclay family members maintained their faith as late as 1898 despite the temptations their vast wealth offered. However, the importance of the Quaker faith was weakening in the nineteenth century, even if the networks of families and shared business interests that had been built around it remained influential.[193]

The nineteenth century also saw a new form of competition arise for Barclays in the form of joint-stock banks. These joint-stock banks would overhaul working practices and had access to capital that exceeded all but the most prosperous partnerships. Joint-stock banks were permitted from 1826, 1833 in London, and were extended limited liability from 1858. Initially mistrusted, joint-stock banks worked hard to win the trust of their customers and local communities. This mistrust arose partially from the fact that these banks were new institutions, with no history of financial responsibility to allow potential customers to judge their security. However, joint-stock banks were able to build relationships with customers and communities in a variety of ways: existing banks that merged with the new joint-stock banks retained their names, customers, and managers to provide a sense of continuity. Joint-stock banks also worked to win the trust of their local communities by offering services that private banks often would not, such as more convenient opening hours or by accepting small accounts. Joint-stock banks also publicly

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[193] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 38–48.

promoted individuals in the bank that could be the local face of the organisation, giving the new organisation a face and personal identity.[194]

Changes to banking operations also increased the competitive threat of joint-stock banks to private banks. Technological developments that allowed for faster communications, such as the railways, telegraph, and telephone, eroded the need for banking networks of trust that underpinned the use of bills of exchange, previously a large part of Barclays' business. Business practices within banks were also standardising, allowing for the faster training of clerks and the easier diffusion of standard practices and professional skills to other banks as clerks moved to competitors' branches. Methods of borrowing and lending also transformed, with borrowers more likely to be asked to provide collateral against their debt rather than relying on trust or knowledge of the borrower's character. Factors such as these worked to erode the prominent position of privately owned banks, with the number of private banks diminishing throughout the nineteenth century, in large part due to amalgamations, although there was also a steady number of liquidations.[195]

Despite these challenges, Barclays, as a private bank, fared well throughout the nineteenth century. In part, this was due to their prominent position in London and their history as a successful and trustworthy organisation, particularly after the collapse of Overend, Gurney & Co. Ltd in 1866. Additionally, the independent wealth of the partners of Barclays acted as further security for the bank, with much of this wealth invested outside of the bank in various industries, property, or government stock. Had Barclays faced difficult market conditions, the independent wealth of the partners could potentially be invested in the bank, helping to reassure potential customers. However, despite Barclays' strong position, the expansion of joint-stock banks was an existential threat, particularly given the joint-stock banks expansion of their branch networks

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[194] Victoria Barnes and Lucy Newton, 'Virtuous Bankers? Banking, Reputation and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales', in *The Challenges of Capitalism for Virtue Ethics and the Common Good.*, ed. Kleio Akrivou and Alejo José G Sison (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd, 2016), 62–74; Victoria Barnes and Lucy Newton, 'Constructing Corporate Identity before the Corporation: Fashioning the Face of the First English Joint Stock Banking Companies through Portraiture', *Enterprise & Society* 18, no. 3 (2017): 682–684.
[195] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 48–50; Lucy Newton, 'The Birth of Joint-Stock Banking: England and New England Compared', *Business History Review* 84, no. 1 (2010): 27–52; Michael Collins, *Money and Banking in the UK: A History* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 52–54; for a discussion on similar trends in Europe see Youssef Cassis, 'Private Banks and the Onset of the Corporate Economy', in *The World of Private Banking*, ed. Youssef Cassis et al. (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2009), 43–60.

and acquisition of the country banks that had previously been part of Barclays' network.[196] Whilst Barclays had been able to raise capital by taking on extra partners, going from six to ten between 1826-33, they had few means to bring further capital into the bank to perform acquisitions without divesting the partners' privately owned assets, something which, as noted above, acted as an extra form of security for the bank.[197]

Barclays had resisted consolidation into a joint-stock bank throughout the late nineteenth century. As one of the most profitable banks in the UK, there was less pressure on Barclays to act than for some smaller, formally Quaker, private banks. However, by 1896 talks began between the partners of Barclays, Gurney & Co., and Jonathon Backhouse & Co. to form a joint-stock bank under the name Barclays & Co, later Barclays Bank Limited. They also persuaded ten other smaller banks to join in the amalgamation, creating a bank that controlled approximately one-quarter of deposits in the English private banking sector.[198]

At the time of the amalgamation, Quakerism was still part of the organisation's identity. Indeed, at the time of the amalgamation, the banking press referred to this as a merger of 'well-known Quaker firms.'[199] Whilst the majority of these owners no longer followed the Quaker faith - only Edmund Backhouse and Edward Backhouse Mounsey were still practising Quakers - none of the bank's directors felt the need to correct this description. Whilst Quakerism as a religious practice was no longer an influence on the majority of the banks' directors, being perceived as possessing the core characteristics of prudence, trustworthiness, and discretion was welcomed by the founding directors of Barclays Bank Limited.[200]

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[196] Although they were part of Barclays' network, that does not mean they were owned by Barclays. They were private banks that had relationships with Barclays to provide each other services such as raising capital for local customers that exceeded their own, providing services to local customers travelling to London, and exchanging information about their markets. See Collins, *Money and Banking in the UK: A History*, 23–30.

[197] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 48–54.

[198] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 55–56. There are differences in the number of banks that amalgamated into Barclays & Co. depending on where it is reported. This is due to differences in how the various partnership banks are treated. Barclays plc cite twenty banks that amalgamated whereas Hannah and Ackrill show thirteen, see 'Barclays - a Quick History', Barclays Group Archives, accessed 19 January 2018, https://www.archive.barclays.com/items/show/5419; 'Quakers', Barclays Group Archives, accessed 23 February 2019, https://www.archive.barclays.com/items/show/5405.

[199] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 57.

[200] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 57–58.

4.3.   Barclays Bank Limited into the twentieth century

Barclays Bank Limited would transform greatly over the next century as the financial world it operated in changed around it. An international component was added to the organisation, with the purchase of banks in South Africa, the Middle East, and the Caribbean, consolidating these operations under Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) (DCO) in 1925. Indeed, Barclays Bank Limited's overseas operations continued to expand throughout much of the twentieth century, and it increasingly saw itself as an international bank rather than just a British bank.[201] However, it did not neglect its domestic operations, purchasing and merging with various other banks in England and Scotland. Indeed, Barclays Bank Limited grew hugely following the amalgamation, increasing from 265 branches in 1900, to 1,826 by 1920, this increase representing a leap from 5% of the total of British banking branches to 18%.[202]

During the first half of the twentieth century, Barclays Bank Limited also began to transform its main sources of revenue as the branch networks of the joint-stock banks and the Bank of England's role as a lender of last resort were making its main business activities unnecessary. Personal deposits became their main source of funds, and business overdrafts became their main source of advances. In the area of banking technology, Barclays Bank Limited was at the forefront of new developments, launching Britain's first credit card with Barclaycard in 1966 and introducing the first ATM in 1967. These changes led to Barclays Bank Limited becoming the second-biggest bank, ranked by domestic deposits, and arguably becoming the biggest bank in the world if the DCO and other subsidiaries are included.[203] By the 1980s, Barclays Bank Limited, although smaller than leading American banks or the Banque Nationale de Paris, was the UK's largest bank by balance sheet assets.[204]

During the early expansion of Barclays Bank Limited, much of the influence and power at the bank remained with the families who owned the original 1896 founding banks. Even at the lower levels of the banking hierarchy, solid social standing often proved more useful than merit,

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[201] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 69–85; 'Barclays - a Quick History'; 'World Map', Barclays Group Archives, accessed 27 March 2019, https://www.archive.barclays.com/items/browse?world-map=1.
[202] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 399.
[203] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 90–112.
[204] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 402–407.

although this was a situation that was not unique to Barclays Bank Limited.[205] However, during the twentieth century, Barclays Bank Limited underwent changes that impacted their organisational culture, such as gradually moving towards a more meritocratic system of recruitment and promotion in the years following World War Two.[206] Indeed, in 1967 Barclays Bank Limited would set up a graduate training scheme and annual staff salary reviews to encourage talented employees to remain at the bank. However, Barclays Bank Limited struggled to retain its graduate trainees, with a quarter resigning each year by the early 1970s. Despite this high resignation rate, Barclays Bank Limited were arguably more successful in retaining graduates than their competitors, employing a larger share of graduates than other banks. Although the bank had made progress in its recruiting, allegations of nepotism would continue to be made towards Barclays Bank Limited into the 1980s, with outsiders estimating that promotion prospects were better in other banks, potentially contributing to Barclays Bank Limited's difficulties in retaining its graduate employees.[207] As Barclays Bank Limited expanded its operation during the 1980s, it would come to increasingly rely on external recruitment and experience, gradually changing the culture of the bank in the process.

4.4. Barclays plc, deregulation, and universal banking

In 1986 the London Stock Exchange (LSE) changed its working practices, due in part to pressure from a case due to be brought against it by the Office of Fair Trading in the Restrictive Practices Court (RPC) in 1983. Before the case began, a deal was struck between the RPC and the LSE to suspend the case in exchange for the LSE dismantling the rules that prescribed minimum scales of commission for brokers by the end of 1986. However, the LSE Chairman, Sir Nicholas Goodison, realised that this change would also require further changes in how the LSE operated. For example, the enforced separation between jobbers and brokers would be unsustainable without the minimum commissions as negotiable commissions would allow contact between non-members and jobbers. Electronic trading systems that were to be implemented as part of the changes to how the LSE would operate would also make it more difficult to enforce the

[205] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 85–90; Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 28.
[206] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 126–129.
[207] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 156–158, 219–225.

separation between non-members and jobbers. Additionally, the costs that brokers and jobbers would incur in order to update their operations to take advantage of the electronic trading system would likely have required greater levels of external capital in order to sustain the higher staff, office, and equipment costs of a digitised stock market.[208] In order to avoid a chaotic transition, the LSE decided that the commission rule changes must come into effect at the same time as the implementation of the new systems, rather than being implemented gradually; the radical changes resulting from these innovations were known as the Big Bang which occurred on the 27th of October 1986.[209]

In preparation for the Big Bang, Barclays Bank Limited began to transform its business, reorganising and rebranding itself as Barclays plc, and purchasing stakes in a stockbroker, de Zeote & Bevan, and a jobbing firm, Wedd Durlacher Mordaunt & Co. The stakes in these firms that Barclays plc owned were to be converted to complete control once LSE rules allowed more than minority ownership from non-members of the LSE. In June 1986 majority stakes were allowed, and Barclays plc merged the stockbrokers and jobbing firm to create Barclays plc's investment division, Barclays de Zeote Wedd (BZW). Until this point, Barclays plc had primarily been a retail bank, focused on fulfilling the needs of depositors and creditors rather than speculation on international money markets. However, as time went on, BZW would become more important to the operations of Barclays plc, to the extent that it influenced the organisational culture. Indeed, from the beginning, BZW employees had a different culture to Barclays plc, being more internally competitive and expecting greater remuneration than other parts of the organisation. These cultural differences were reinforced by the appointment of an external head to BZW, and by appointing key staff from its competitors rather than promoting from within.[210]

Due to low returns relative to the amount of capital invested and the amount of energy invested by the Board of Directors of Barclays plc and various Barclays plc internal committees, BZW was restructured in 1997. The equities and corporate finances functions were split into a separate

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[208] Before the 1986 Big Bang, 'single capacity' rules had enforced the separation of jobbers and brokers. Brokers worked on commissions, acting as an intermediary between buyers and sellers of shares. Jobbers acted as market makers, buying, and selling shares from the brokers and were not allowed to deal directly with the customers.
[209] Ranald C. Michie, *The London Stock Exchange: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 543–595.
[210] Ackrill and Hannah, *Barclays: The Business of Banking 1690–1996*, 242–245.

company and sold off, whilst the fixed income bonds, structured capital markets, and equity derivatives activities were folded into the new division of Barclays Capital. However, this restructure proved unpopular with the Barclays plc board who had come to enjoy the international profile that BZW had given them, which replicated the geographical diversification that the DCO had previously offered. Whilst Barclays plc continued to operate in investment banking markets; the decision to restructure the investment banking side of the business damaged relations between the Barclays plc CEO Martin Taylor, who had orchestrated the restructure, and Barclays plc's Board of Directors.[211]

By 1997 Barclays Capital had appointed Bob Diamond as Chief Executive. Diamond was an experienced investment banker having previously worked for Morgan Stanley as Managing Director and Head of European/Asian Fixed Income Trading; and at Credit Suisse First Boston as CEO of Credit Suisse First Boston Pacific, responsible for their banking, equity, fixed income, and foreign exchange for the Pacific region. Barclays Capital continued to be important to Barclays plc's Board of Directors and their sense of the bank's identity. However, following troubles in Russian financial markets in August 1998, Barclays Capital incurred large losses on investments that had not been authorised by Taylor and which Diamond claimed had happened without his knowledge.[212] In response to these losses and the breach of internal controls that had led to them, Taylor proposed to split off Barclays Capital from Barclays plc and sell the division in October 1998. However, the Barclays plc board overwhelmingly voted against the plan, due in part to the poor relations between Taylor and the board, but also as the board felt that Barclays Capital continued to give them an international presence that was important to the bank's identity. Although Taylor would agree to stay on as CEO for one year whilst his successor was found, this proved not possible, and Taylor resigned in November 1998. By this time the Chairman, and last serving board member from the original Quaker families that owned the banks that amalgamated into Barclays plc Andrew Buxton, had also fallen out with Barclays plc's Board of Directors. Buxton's poor relations with the Board of Directors were due in part to

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[211] Philip Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market* (London, UK: Penguin, 2018), 73–77.

[212] Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 80–89; Martin Vander Weyer, *Falling Eagle: The Decline of Barclays Bank* (London, UK: Weidenfeld & Nicolson London, 2000), 8–22; Martin Taylor, 'I Too Fell for the Diamond Myth', *Financial Times*, 8 July 2012, https://www.ft.com/content/1385fc54-c699-11e1-963a-00144feabdc0.

his inability to work with Taylor, and Buxton would also resign in April 1999, a year earlier than planned.[213]

Under their next two CEOs Matthew Barrett (1999-2004), and John Varley (2004-2010), Barclays plc pursued a universal banking strategy, a strategy more common in European banks but new to Britain where, until the early 90s, regulation had made such a strategy impossible. Universal banking positions a bank to act as one location for a full range of banking services, fulfilling a range of financial services for their customers rather than specialising in particular services. In doing so, they diversify their revenue streams and aim to generate greater profits from the same customers by allowing for the cross-selling of products. This strategy led to Barclays plc expanding into new areas, acquiring The Woolwich to grow their share of the UK mortgage market, and the failed attempt to purchase ABN Amro to expand further into Europe.[214] By 2007 this strategy appeared to have been successful with Barclays plc being judged as the largest bank in the world measured by assets by some analysts. [215] Pre-tax profit increased almost yearly, from £2.46 billion in 1999 to £4.603 billion in 2004. This growth continued under John Varley with pre-tax profit reaching £7.136 billion in 2006, before falling to £6.077 billion in 2008.[216] In 2007 Barclays Capital accounted for 31% of Barclays pre-tax profit,

[213] Vander Weyer, *Falling Eagle: The Decline of Barclays Bank*, 20–22; Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 83–99.

[214] James Mackintosh, 'Barclays in Talks with Woolwich', *Financial Times*, August 2000; Jane Croft, 'Ambitious Barclays Has a Change of Heart', *Financial Times*, March 2007, Financial Times Historical Archive; Chris Hughes, 'The Universal Truths Shared by RBS and Barclays', *Financial Times*, May 2007, Financial Times Historical Archive.

[215] Definitive ratings are difficult to find for 2007. However, Barclays plc are routinely in the top ten of various outlets, see 'Global Finance Magazine - Features : Global Finance Ranks The World's 50 Biggest Banks, As Measured By Total Assets', Global Finance Magazine, accessed 16 May 2019, https://www.gfmag.com/magazine/october-2007/features–global-finance-ranks-the-worlds-50-biggest-banks-as-measured-by-total-assets; Eshe Nelson and John Detrixhe, 'Ten Years on from the Start of the Financial Crisis, How the Mighty Have Fallen', Quartz, 9 August 2017, https://qz.com/1049884/ten-year-anniversary-of-the-financial-crisis-look-how-far-the-biggest-banks-at-the-time-have-fallen/; 'Top Banks in the World 2007, Ranked by Total Assets and by Total Equity', accessed 25 June 2019, https://banksdaily.com/topbanks/World/2007.html.

[216] 'Barclays plc Annual Report 1999' (Barclays plc, 1999), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar-archive/1999-Annual-Report-including-Form-20-F.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2000' (Barclays plc, 2000), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar-archive/barclays-plc-annual-report-2000.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2004' (Barclays plc, 2004), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar2004/barclays-plc-annual-report-2004.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2006' (Barclays plc, 2006), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar2006/2006-barclays-plc-annual-report.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2007' (Barclays plc, 2007), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/reports-and-events/annual-reports/2018/full_annual_report-BPlc-2007.pdf; 'Barclays plc Annual Report 2008' (Barclays plc,

up from 11% in 2000, with its growth easily outstripping the growth of any other department of the bank. Barclays Capital had not merely outperformed Barclays plc's UK Retail Bank division in terms of growth, by 2007 it was coming close to contributing a similar level of profit to Barclays plc as Barclays plc's UK Banking division, which consisted of both the UK Retail Bank and Barclays Commercial Bank.

4.5.   Barclays plc and the 2008 financial crisis

The causes of the 2008 financial crisis continue to be debated. Academics have advanced dozens of competing causal explanations for the crisis.[217] This section does not venture an explanation for why Western countries experienced a systematic financial crisis in 2007-9 but instead focuses on the response of Barclays plc.

The 2008 GFC would profoundly impact banks across the financial world, with investment banks being particularly affected. Despite Barclays plc's investment in Barclays Capital and the contribution that Barclays Capital made to their profits, Barclays plc was better placed than many to survive the 2008 GFC and even used the opportunity to expand their operations. Diamond – who at this point was part of Barclays plc's board as President of Barclays plc and was still the chief executive of Barclays Capital – spearheaded the purchase of Lehman Brothers, cautiously backed by Varley. Tentative discussions for Barclays plc to purchase Lehman Brothers began on the 9th of September 2008. On the 17th of September 2008, following extensive negotiations, setbacks, and objections from UK regulators, Barclays plc agreed to purchase the remains of Lehman Brothers after its collapse, acquiring a location on Wall Street in the process. At the same time, the refusal of Bank of America to purchase Lehman Brothers and the Federal Bank's refusal to provide Lehman Brothers with emergency liquidity allowed

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2008), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/annualreports/ar2008/2008-barclays-plc-annual-report.pdf.

[217] For an overview of these debates, see Sara Hsu, 'Late 2000s: The Great Recession of 2008', in *Financial Crises, 1929 to the Present, Second Edition* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017); Adam Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World* (London, UK: Penguin, 2018); Robert Z. Aliber and Gylfi Zoega, eds., *The 2008 Global Financial Crisis in Retrospect: Causes of the Crisis and National Regulatory Responses* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Christian Dinesen, *Absent Management in Banking: How Banks Fail and Cause Financial Crisis* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

Barclays plc to cherry-pick the parts of Lehman Brothers they wanted without taking on the additional debts and obligations.[218]

In the context of the UK response to the GFC, this acquisition strategy was highly problematic to regulators at the Bank of England, the Financial Services Authority (FSA), and within the government. Indeed, both Prime Minister Gordon Brown and Chancellor of the Exchequer Alistair Darling, at different times, questioned the sense of the purchase and the effect it may have on the UK financial system. Their objections centred on concerns that the debts that were forcing Lehman Brothers into bankruptcy could destabilise Barclays plc, with the potential risk that the accounts of British depositors would be used as collateral to back the debts. Although the FSA and Darling had not specifically prohibited Barclays plc from purchasing Lehman Brothers, both had made it clear that they had reservations about the acquisition and needed to be satisfied with Barclays plc's post-transaction balance sheet. Additionally, the large guarantees that Barclays plc would have to make on Lehman Brothers' trades required Barclays plc to secure shareholder agreement. Whilst Barclays plc was not keen to guarantee the trades without the promise of liquidity from the US Treasury, the FSA, LSE, and UK government had refused to waive the requirement, delaying any purchase until after Lehman Brothers had failed.[219]

The effects of the GFC were not restricted to the US and UK, and as conditions across Europe worsened the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, publicly guaranteed the safety of all savings deposits in Germany on 5th October. This unilateral action ended the tentative discussions for a coordinated European response leading to individual countries launching their own unilateral responses to the crisis.[220] In response to this German guarantee, and to the worsening situation of some of the largest British banks such as HBOS and the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS), the British government announced on the 8th of October that British banks would need to recapitalise themselves. The level of recapitalisation would depend on their liabilities, with the FSA deciding the required level. If the major British banks such as Barclays plc, RBS, and Lloyds TSB, could not raise this money privately, then there would be a state fund

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[218] Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 198; Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, 178–181.

[219] Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 185–99; Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, 179–180.

[220] Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, 188–194.

for them to draw on. However, drawing on the state fund would require allowing the government to acquire a stake in the organisations, Despite the persistent requests of the Treasury, Barclays plc and HSBC, along with several smaller banks, took the private option leaving other major British banks to accept government funding and therefore accept a government stake in the organisation.[221] On the 13th of October, Chancellor Darling announced that the government would be investing substantial amounts in HBOS, Lloyds, and RBS; on the same day, Barclays plc announced that they would be raising the funds required by the FSA through a mix of private investors, releasing equity, suspending the dividend, and contributions from existing shareholders.

Barclays plc's actions during the 2008 GFC damaged its reputation with the British government, the FSA, and the Bank of England. Barclays plc's insistence on proceeding with the purchase of Lehman Brothers, despite the clear resistance that British regulators had shown throughout, had appeared to demonstrate that Barclays plc's board were more concerned with the growth and profits of the organisation than the well-being of the country's financial sector as a whole. This willingness to take risks by purchasing a collapsing bank suggested that either Barclays plc's executives did not realise their systematic importance to the British financial system or were willing to incur downside risks that would ultimately be borne by the taxpayer, using their importance to the British financial system as leverage to pursue risky ventures with the knowledge that they would not be allowed to fail.[222] Additionally, Barclays plc's refusal to use the state fund and instead pursue private investment to raise capital risked implying that other British banks that could not raise funds independently were dangerously weak. Whilst Barclays plc was not in as dangerous a position as some others, they were the most leveraged bank in the UK and over half its assets were held by Barclays Capital.[223] Rather than acting as a mechanism to secure all the systematically important British banks and restore confidence in them, Barclays plc and HSBC's decision to abstain from the government funds threatened to undermine the plan by creating doubts about the viability of the banks that accepted government funding.

[221] Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 209–241.
[222] William R. Cline and Joseph E. Gagnon, 'Lehman Died, Bagehot Lives: Why Did the Fed and Treasury Let a Major Wall Street Bank Fail?' (Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2013), https://piie.com/sites/default/files/publications/pb/pb13-21.pdf; Tooze, *Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World*, 195–199.
[223] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 215, 222.

Doubts over the viability of some of Barclays plc competitor banks may have been valid. However, by refusing to accept government funding Barclays plc benefited from government programmes such as the Credit Guarantee Scheme and the Special Liquidity Scheme without accepting they had a duty to operate safely, accept a public stake in the organisation, or accept that, as an important British financial institution, they had a duty to be more risk-averse.[224] These decisions acted to create doubts over Barclays plc's willingness to act in a manner that befit its importance to the British financial system, recognising that there were concerns other than shareholders profits for it to consider when making decisions.

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[224] Augar, *The Bank That Lived a Little: Barclays in the Age of the Very Free Market*, 205–222.

14th September 2007
Northern Rock fails.

13th March 2008
Bear Stearns is no longer able to services its debts. JP Morgan Chase would buy Bear Stearns on the 16th for $2 per share.

9th September 2008
Lehman Brothers liquidity drops to $22 billion, and its share price drops to below $8.

10th September 2008
Diamond begins discussions with Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson about a possible Barclays plc purchase of Lehman Brothers.

12th September 2008
Lehman Brothers liquidity drops to $1.4 billion. Diamond meets with Lehman Brothers' CEO Richard Fuld, President Bart McDade, and Head of Equities Jerry Domini.

14th September 2008
Barclays plc's deal to buy Lehman Brothers collapses when US Treasury Officials confirmed that they would not guarantee the liquidity of Barclays plc in order for Barclays plc to guarantee Lehman Brothers' trades. Without this, Barclays plc required a shareholder vote on the deal which would delay any purchase.

15th September 2008
Lehman Brothers files for bankruptcy.

16th September 2008
Barclays plc agrees a deal to purchase Lehman Brothers US equities and corporate finance business. This deal would be announced on the 17th.

Figure 2: Timeline showing key events during the 2008 GFC and the process of Barclays plc's purchase of Lehman Brothers.

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25th June 2008
Barclays plc announces a share issue of 1,576 million shares to raise £4.5 billion.

3rd October 2008
US pass the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), creating a $700 billion fund to buy toxic assets from US banks.

10th October 2008
Barclays plc is told by the FSA they would need to raise £12 billion.

31st October 2008
Barclays plc raise £7.3 billion from Middle Eastern investors

18th September 2008
Barclays plc places 226 million shares, raising £700 million.

8th October 2008
UK government announces its bank rescue package. This plan required UK banks to draw up plans for recapitalisation, with the amount they would need to be decided by the FSA. If they could not raise funds privately, there would be a £50 billion government fund they could draw on in exchange for some public ownership of the bank.

13th October 2008
Chancellor Darling announces that the government would bail out RBS (£20 billion), HBOS (£11.5 billion), and Lloyds (£5.5. billion). Barclays plc announces they will raise funds privately.

12th June 2009
Barclays plc sells Barclays Global Investments to BlackRock for £4.2 billion and a 19% stake in BlackRock.

Figure 3: Timeline of government assistance offered to banks and Barclays plc's private fund-raising activities.

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4.6.   PPI, LIBOR, and a change in leadership

In 2009 a scandal damaged Barclays plc's reputation: the Payment Protection Insurance (PPI) scandal. Barclays plc was not the only bank to be affected by this, with Lloyds TSB also suffering heavy fines for their role in the mis-selling of PPI. However, Barclays plc's reputation was particularly damaged due to the revelations of the large profits made from PPI, with the sale of such insurance being responsible for between 32% and 42% of Barclays plc's UK retail and business pre-tax profits between 2001 and 2005. Barclays plc had also implemented an incentive scheme for bank employees to sell PPI to customers wherever possible, strengthening the perception that it was knowingly acting in a manner that was harmful to their customers.[225] Additionally, Barclays plc's attempts to appeal to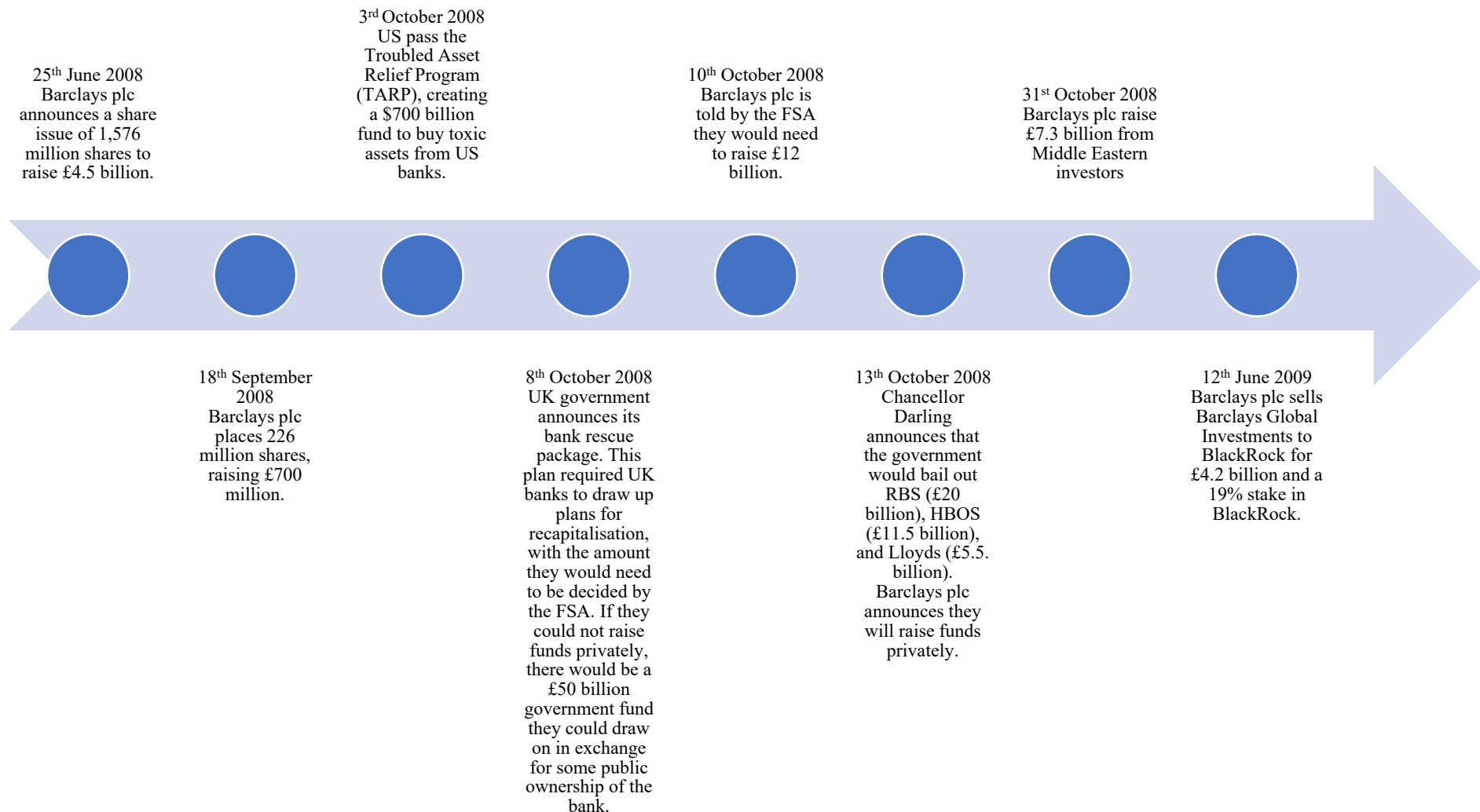 the Competition Appeal Tribunal against the initial ban, which prohibited the sale of PPI at the same time as a loan was sold, and the fact they were not processing potential claims for the miss-selling of PPI, also led to the portrayal of the bank as an organisation more dedicated to its profits than to its customers, resulting in yet another blow to its reputation.[226]

Even more damaging were the findings of the FSA and the US Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC) into potential rigging of the LIBOR rate. LIBOR, an acronym of the 'London inter-bank offering rate' is the rate at which banks lend to each other. There was a total of 150 rates in 2012, with the different rates reflecting different currencies and the length of the maturity of the lending. Thomson Reuters compiled the LIBOR rates on behalf of the British Bankers Association by asking a panel of contributor banks, banks with a significant presence in London markets, at what rates they thought they would be able to borrow from other banks.[227] The figures in the highest and lowest quartile are discarded, and the average rates announced each day. Questions had been asked about the usefulness of the LIBOR rate and whether banks

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[225] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 56–59.
[226] Global Banking News, 'Barclays to Appeal against Ban on Sale of PPI', Global Banking News, 7 April 2009, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A197506606/ITOF?u=livuni&sid=ITOF&xid=51854426; Richard Dyson, 'Barclays and a Policy of "Exploitation and Abuse"; Cancer Victim Roy Barker Was Charged 22,000 for PPI Cover He Could Never Claim - but the Bank behind This Notorious and Useless Insurance Has Offered No Apology and Says: "It Wasn't Compulsory"', *Mail on Sunday (London, England)*, 15 November 2009; Natalie Thomas, 'Barclays Latest Lender to Defy FSA on PPI', Mortgage Strategy Online, 13 October 2010, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A239326150/ITOF?u=livuni&sid=ITOF&xid=5114a4d3.
[227] It should be noted Thomson Reuters was not found to have had any involvement in the LIBOR rigging scandal and is still involved in collecting the data that is used to calculate the LIBOR rates.

did lend to each other at these rates, with Mervyn King, Governor of the Bank of England, stating in 2008 that 'it is in many ways the rate at which banks do not lend to each other. . . I think it is very convenient, very often, for people to justify what they do for other reasons, in terms of LIBOR, but it is not a rate at which anyone is actually borrowing.'[228] Regardless of whether LIBOR rates are used by banks to borrow from one another, these rates are used as the basis for various financial instruments, such as customer loans, mutual funds, and various derivatives products. Therefore, low LIBOR rates may provide customers with lower loan interest rates but may affect the profits of those holding certain types of securities; whilst high LIBOR rates benefit lenders who can command higher interest rates, but hurt borrowers looking to finance themselves. LIBOR rates are also used as a signal of strength to the markets, with high LIBOR rates suggesting that the banks may be perceived as insecure by other banks, and therefore be less willing to lend to them. Barclays plc traders, along with traders from 15 other banks, conspired to report artificially high or low rates at which they thought they could borrow, artificially pushing up or deflating the LIBOR rate in order to make particular positions profitable. As LIBOR rates are connected to various financial instruments, the fixing of LIBOR could negatively affect consumers and investors by pushing up the costs of borrowing. Submitting artificially low LIBOR rates, something Barclays plc was also accused of doing in October 2008 when they were looking to raise funds privately, could also benefit Barclays plc by making them appear stronger than they were.[229]

The findings of the FSA and CFTC investigations were announced in 2012, with Barclays plc being fined over £59 million by the FSA and $200 million by the CTFC.[230] Whilst not the only banks that would receive fines, Barclays plc, were the first bank to be punished, receiving one of the highest fines given by UK and US regulators and quickly becoming the face of the LIBOR rate-rigging scandal. The LIBOR rate itself is, for the most part, a complex banking mechanism,

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[228] Stephanie Flanders, *Inconvenient Truths about Libor*, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20120709002717/http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-your-money-18701623.
[229] 'Behind the Libor Scandal', *The New York Times*, 10 July 2012, https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/07/10/business/dealbook/behind-the-libor-scandal.html?_r=0.
[230] 'CFTC Orders Barclays to Pay $200 Million Penalty for Attempted Manipulation of and False Reporting Concerning LIBOR and Euribor Benchmark Interest Rates', Commodity Futures Trading Commission, accessed 25 June 2019, https://www.cftc.gov/PressRoom/PressReleases/pr6289-12; 'Barclays Fined £59.5 Million for Significant Failings in Relation to LIBOR and EURIBOR', Financial Services Authority, 27 June 2012, https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120628104925/http://www.fsa.gov.uk/library/communication/pr/2012/070.shtml.

and the effects of rigging the rate one way or the other hitherto a mystery to much of the general public. However, the exposing of another scandal that portrayed Barclays plc as an organisation that put profits ahead of ethical behaviour further damaged its reputation. Additionally, whilst the general public may not have fully understood the ramifications of rigging the LIBOR rate, regulators certainly did understand its impact and the revelation of Barclays plc's actions seemed to have confirmed their earlier suspicions that Barclays plc was acting solely in its own interests.

In July 2012, the fallout from the LIBOR scandal led to the resignation of both of Barclays plc's Chairman, Marcus Agius, and Diamond, CEO since 2011 within the space of one twenty-four-hour period. Initially, Agius resigned on the 1st of July, attempting to take responsibility for the LIBOR scandal, thereby allowing Diamond to stay as CEO. However, Diamond announced he would resign on the 2nd of July, with the *Financial Times* reporting that pressure from the Bank of England led to Diamond's decision to resign.[231] Due to Diamond's resignation, Agius returned to Barclays plc as Chairman until a successor for him and Diamond could be found.

By July 2012, Barclays plc had become the public face of multiple scandals that had damaged their reputation whilst also operating in an industry that was now viewed poorly by much of the public. Various Barclays plc executives would be called in front of the Treasury Select Committee, including Diamond. Diamond – who had already been described as the unacceptable face of banking' by the then Business Secretary Peter Mandelson as far back as 2010 for his high pay and bonuses – would become the public face of the LIBOR scandal, in part due to his existing reputation and potential LIBOR rigging before the 2012 LIBOR scandal.[232]

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[231] Brooke Masters, Kate Burgess, and George Parker, 'Diamond Lets Loose over Libor', *Financial Times*, 4 July 2012.

[232] Rachel Sylvester, Katherine Griffiths, and Suzy Jagger, 'This Is the Unacceptable Face of Banking: Mandelson's Attack on \pounds63m Barclays Chief', *The Times*, 3 April 2010; Douglas Keenan, 'My Thwarted Attempt to Tell of Libor Shenanigans', *Financial Times*, 27 July 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.

16th April 2008 The Wall Street Journal reports that bankers were starting to worry that LIBOR rates were unreliable.

10th June 2008 BBA publishes a consultation paper seeking proposals to explore options for avoiding the stigma whilst maintaining the transparency of LIBOR rates.

27th June 2012 FSA announces its findings and fines Barclays plc £59.5 million; the CFTC fines Barclays plc a total of £230 million.

3rd July 2012 Bob Diamond resigns as CEO.

30th August 2012 Antony Jenkins appointed as CEO.

May 2008 CTFC begins investigating LIBOR rates.

Spring 2010 FSA joins the CTFC investigation on LIBOR rates.

2nd July 2012 Marcus Agius resigns as Chairman.

4th July 2012 Bob Diamond gives evidence at the Treasury Select Committee.

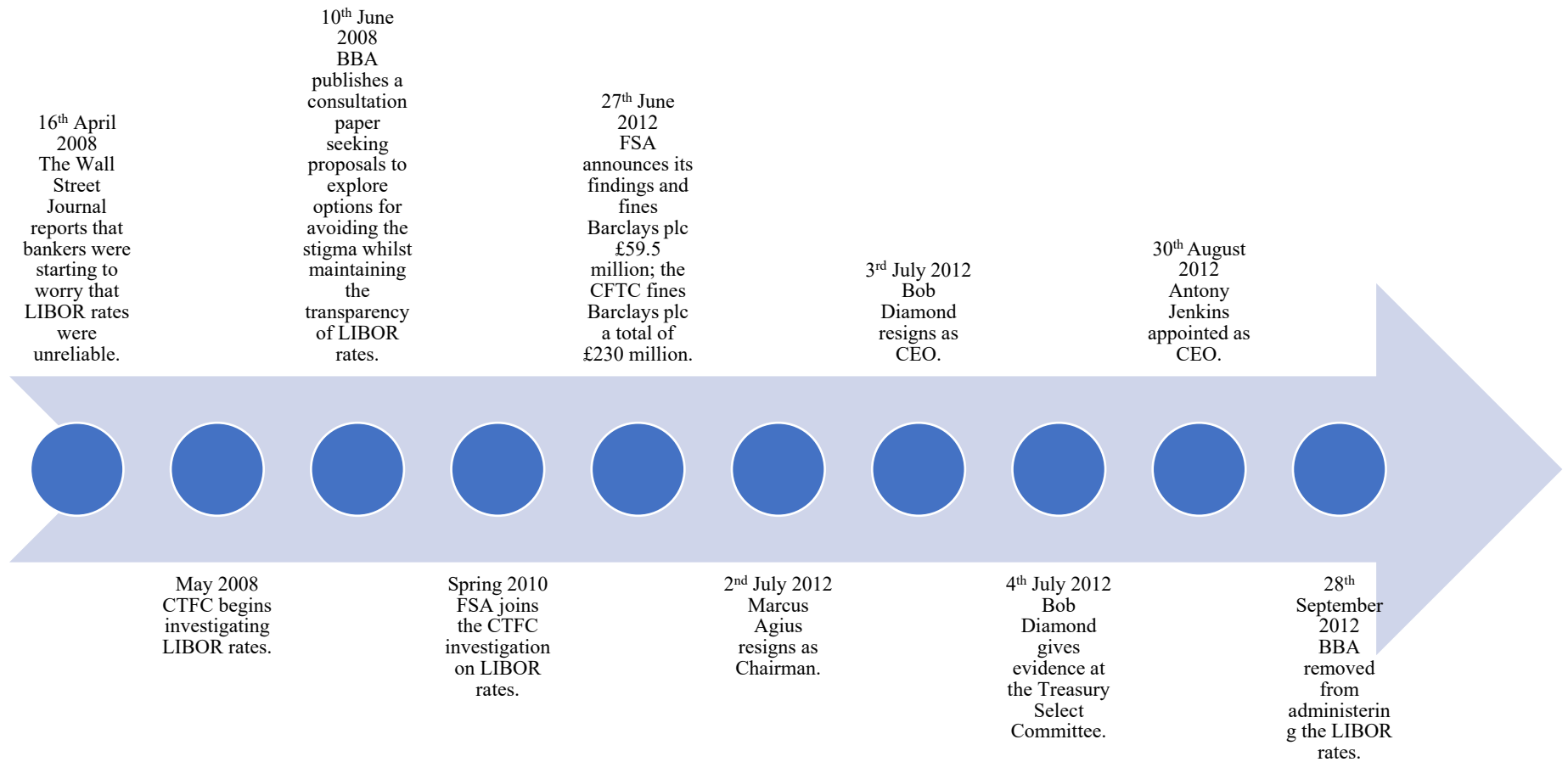28th September 2012 BBA removed from administering the LIBOR rates.

Figure 4: Timeline of the LIBOR rate-rigging investigations and the resignations of Barclays plc's CEO and Chairman.

Barclays plc's history would be used to attack Diamond in the Treasury Committee hearings on the 4th of July, with MP John Mann asking: 'Before I ask my questions, I just wonder, Mr Diamond, if you could remind me of the three founding principles of the Quakers who set up Barclays?'[233] When Diamond responded that he could not, Mann retorted:

> I can help, and I could offer to tattoo them on your knuckles if you want, because they are honesty, integrity, and plain dealing. That is the ethos of this bank that you have spent two hours telling us is doing so well—in fact, from what you have told us, doing so well that I wondered why you had not received an extra bonus rather than the sack.[234]

Mann ended his questioning by stating that 'your reputation as a bank is in tatters worldwide. Someone needs to do something about that.'[235]

In July 2012 Barclays plc announced that Anthony Salz, a solicitor and Executive Vice Chairman of Rothschild Inc, would lead an independent review into how Barclays plc conducted its business and its organisational culture. Salz stated that his aim in this review was to 'significantly assist Barclays in rebuilding trust and reaffirming its position as one of our leading institutions.'[236] The announcement was welcomed by observers who had been questioning what had gone wrong with the culture of the bank, particularly when compared with the values of their Quaker founders.[237]

In August 2012, Barclays plc appointed David Walker as their new Chairman. Walker had experience as an investment banker and was expected to tackle the culture of high pay and bonuses for investment bankers that had also tarnished Barclays plc's reputation.[238] In the same month, Antony Jenkins, a career retail banker and an unexpected choice, was appointed CEO.[239] Jenkins, who had begun his banking career at Barclays plc in 1983, had returned to Barclays plc from Citigroup in 2006 to oversee Barclaycard before being promoted to Chief

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[233] Bob Diamond, 'House of Commons Oral Evidence Taken Before the Treasury Committee: Evidence from Bob Diamond', Pub. L. No. HC 481-i, § Treasury Select Committee, 57 (2012), 44.

[234] Diamond, House of Commons Oral Evidence Taken Before the Treasury Committee: Evidence from Bob Diamond, 44. It should be noted that whilst these values are commonly ascribed to Quakers, these are not values that Barclays plc's founders would have considered their 'founding principles.'

[235] Diamond, House of Commons Oral Evidence Taken Before the Treasury Committee: Evidence from Bob Diamond, 47.

[236] Patrick Jenkins, 'Salz to Lead Probe of Barclays Business Methods', *Financial Times*, 25 July 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.

[237] John Plender, 'How the Traders Trumped the Quakers', *Financial Times*, no. 11 (2012): 11.

[238] 'Walker Named as Barclays Chairman', *Financial Times*, 10 August 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.

[239] Patrick Jenkins, 'Barclays Has No Perfect Candidates to Be Chief', *Financial Times*, 9 July 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive; Patrick Jenkins, 'Guarded Welcome for New Chief Executive', *Financial Times*, 31 August 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.

Executive of Barclays plc's retail and business banking divisions. He was expected to be a methodical CEO, and one could project the image of a down-to-earth retail banker and was therefore seen as a good choice in a climate of hostile public opinion.[240] He was also expected to change the way Barclays plc was managed, working much more collaboratively with the Chairman then had previous CEOs, Varley and Diamond.[241]

Repairing Barclays plc's reputation and its relationships with stakeholders, including regulators, would be the top priority for Jenkins tenure. Whilst the findings of the Salz Review would be important in laying out a roadmap for how Barclays plc could operate as a responsible bank, Jenkins could not afford to wait for its publication. Pre-empting its completion, Jenkins initiated a thorough restructuring of the organisations and a shift in its culture, titled the Transform Programme.

4.7. Conclusion

This brief introduction to the history of Barclays plc has shown the importance of their Quaker origins throughout their history to the identity of the bank. The Quaker faith proved to be significant both in the operations of the bank and for building the networks that helped consolidate wealth and financial assets that would lead them to become influential in various industries as wide-ranging as chocolate, pharmaceuticals, and metal production. The Quaker links would also be important in the amalgamation of 1896, even though few of the partners within the merging banks still adhered to the faith. Other facets of Barclays plc's early history, such as the Black Spread Eagle and their link to Lombard Street, would also remain longstanding parts of the organisation's identity despite the temporal distance, internal structural changes, and the radical differences in the nature of the financial industry itself.

During the twentieth century, Barclays plc transformed from a domestic bank with some international connections into a global financial organisation. Barclays plc widened its range of activities, relying more on personal deposits and business overdrafts, and moving into investment banking when the opportunity arose. These changes in business practices also began to change the culture of the bank, which moved away from being somewhat nepotistic,

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[240] Patrick Jenkins, 'A Perfectly Normal Appointment', *Financial Times*, 1 September 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.
[241] Patrick Jenkins, 'Diamond's Successor', *Financial Times*, 31 August 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive; Patrick Jenkins and Mark Wembridge, 'Barclays Names New Chief', *Financial Times*, 31 August 2012, Financial Times Historical Archive.

valuing social connections and links to the founding families, towards a more meritocratic, internally competitive culture. The Big Bang and the move into investment banking increased the speed of these changes; Barclays plc at the end of the twentieth century was very different in the scope of its operations and its culture than it had been at the beginning.

The Big Bang and the new opportunities it created led to a change, not just in Barclays plc's identity and character, but also that of British banking. The influx of foreign-owned banks and capital created a more competitive environment for banking, where potential rewards were large, but so were the potential losses. Barclays plc's growth in new areas and its commitment to expanding its operations through its universal banking strategy necessitated a reliance on outside skills and experience, such as those provided by Diamond. This expansion also led to the continuing change of Barclays plc's identity and character; rather than being primarily a retail bank with nepotistic tendencies and a de-centralised structure, it became more centralised, far larger in scope, more international, and more reliant on hiring expensive outside talent than on developing internal candidates.

The early years of the twenty-first century continued to be profitable for Barclays plc, and despite the 2008 GFC, it looked well placed to navigate through the crisis compared to its rivals. However, the series of scandals between 2009 and 2012 left it in a precarious position having lost its CEO, Chairman, the trust of its customers, stakeholders, and UK regulators. Whilst the decision to conduct an independent review, and the appointment of a new Chairman, and CEO appeared to be the right steps towards restoring trust in the bank; they were to face a difficult task in changing the organisational culture of Barclays plc and restoring the trust of customers, stakeholders, and UK regulators.

5. Using history authentically: BGA and Barclays plc's historical authenticity claims

This chapter will show how Barclays plc utilise BGA and the authenticity of the archives when making their own authenticity claims. In order to do this, the chapter will analyse Barclays plc's Transform Programme. The Transform Programme was a strategy announced in December 2012 that aimed to overhaul the operations of the organisation and change the organisational culture. Whilst Barclays plc would not officially announce the end of the Transform Programme, CEO Jes Staley would move away from the Transform Programme in May 2018 when the bank launched a new corporate purpose whilst maintaining the previous set of corporate values.[242] Specifically, this chapter will focus on the attempts to change the corporate culture of Barclays plc as part of the Transform Programme, concentrating on the use of history in the initial launch of the new corporate values that were part of the Transform Programme. This chapter argues that one of the services that a corporate archival programme can offer its parent organisation is that it can bolster the authenticity claims of the organisation by providing archivally authentic artefacts and legitimate research. By bolstering the authenticity claims of Barclays plc, BGA contributed to the organisation's strategic objective of changing the organisational culture at the bank. Although it will also touch on the value of the material artefacts in this strategy, this will be focused on specifically in Chapter 6.

This chapter will analyse the launch event of the Transform Programme in December 2012, focusing on a video, *Made by Barclays*, that narrates the history of Barclays plc.[243] This video was chosen as it presents the most concise and direct communication of Barclays plc's use of history as part of the Transform Programme. This video was designed to be shown to all 144,000 employees as part of a training programme to instil a new corporate culture and

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[242] Barclays plc, 'Creating Opportunities to Rise - Intranet Announcement' (Memo, 23 May 2018), 0519/1 (31423a), Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom; 'Barclays plc Strategic Report 2018' (Barclays plc, 2018), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/reports-and-events/annual-reports/2018/barclays-plc-strategic-report-2018.pdf.

[243] Matt Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, Vimeo (United Kingdom, 2012), https://vimeo.com/83306108.

embed the new corporate values in Barclays plc employees. As the *Made by Barclays* video was part of the corporate values training that all 140,000 Barclays plc employees were required to attend, it is likely one of the most widely viewed pieces of media Barclays plc produced during the Transform Programme. Additionally, at the time of the launching of Barclays plc's Transform Programme, there was relatively little historical content available for Barclays plc employees, with BGA not yet having a separate website and the organisation's history not being part of the induction training. Therefore, for many, this was likely to be their first official introduction to the history of the organisation, and it would also act as the basic narrative that Barclays plc's later use of history activities would be based on. This chapter will also draw on speeches made by Barclays plc executives in 2013 on the Transform Programme's attempts at changing the organisational culture and interviews conducted by the researcher with Barclays plc employees.

In order to analyse the authenticity claims made in the *Made by Barclays* video, the researcher will be using the multi-dimensional understanding proposed by Carroll and Wheaton.[244] Their work on the restaurant industry in the US argues in favour of a socially constructed understanding of authenticity, presenting four dimensions of authenticity that are perceived by audiences. These four dimensions consist of two main understandings, moral authenticity and category authenticity; and two understandings that are related but separate to the main two, craft authenticity and idiosyncratic authenticity. It will argue that the authenticity claims that Barclays plc made during the Transform Programme utilise the organisation's history to bolster its perceived authenticity. This authenticity is then legitimised and evidenced by the archivally authentic artefacts and legitimate archival research that are connected to these claims.

This chapter will begin by discussing how the concept of authenticity has been understood in relevant academic literature; these topics were covered in more detail in the literature review (Section 2.3). This chapter will then discuss the lead up to Barclays plc's decision to create a new set of company values, building on where the previous chapter ended, at the appointment of Antony Jenkins. This section will show the planning process of the Transform Programme and the development of Barclays plc's new set of values, as well as the role of BGA in this process. Following this, the chapter will analyse the content created by Barclays plc for the launch of their new corporate culture and values in 2012, focusing on the *Made by Barclays*

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[244] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.

video that would be a key part of the employee training scheme. The chapter will then discuss why Barclays plc used their historical resources in the ways they did and how their historical resources were more beneficial for certain types of authenticity claims than others. It will then conclude with the contributions this chapter has made.

5.1. Concepts of authenticity

For a detailed discussion on how the concept of authenticity is defined and used by archival science and organisation studies see Section 2.3. This section showed how archival science literature, as a distinct part of archival studies literature, has a clear concept of what authenticity means in relation to the preservation of records. The archival science concept of the authenticity of the record is that a record is what it purports to be, to have been created or sent by the person purported to have created or sent it, and to have been created or sent at the time purported. In order to preserve this authenticity, archives have a variety of processes that are followed, such as cataloguing and original order, that are often followed and generally trusted by users to preserve this authenticity.[245] Organisation studies view authenticity as a multi-dimensional concept, where audiences judge the authenticity claims against various criteria that are individual to them.[246] Whilst there are a multitude of factors that influence how audiences judge whether an individual or organisation is authentic, category authenticity and moral authenticity are two concepts that have been researched often.[247] Being perceived

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[245] Duranti, 'Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications'; MacNeil, *Trusting Records: Legal, Historical and Diplomatic Perspectives*; Duff, Craig, and Cherry, 'Finding and Using Archival Resources: A Cross-Canada Survey of Historians Studying Canadian History'; Usherwood, Wilson, and Bryson, 'Relevant Repositories of Public Knowledge? Libraries, Museums and Archives in "the Information Age"'; MacNeil and Mak, 'Constructions of Authenticity'; MacNeil, 'Trusting Description: Authenticity, Accountability, and Archival Description Standards'; Duncan, 'Authenticity or Bust'; Mak, 'On the Uses of Authenticity'; 'ISO 15489-1'.

[246] Gary Alan Fine, *Everyday Genius : Self-Taught Art and the Culture of Authenticity* (Chicago, United States: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Grazian, *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*; Richard Peterson, 'In Search of Authenticity', *Journal of Management Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005): 1083–1098; Beverland, 'Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*'; Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'; Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman, 'Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain'; Julie Napoli et al., 'Measuring Consumer-Based Brand Authenticity', *Journal of Business Research* 67, no. 6 (June 2014): 1090–1098; O'Connor, Carroll, and Kovács, 'Disambiguating Authenticity: Interpretations of Value and Appeal'.

[247] Heidegger, *Being and Time*; Zuckerman, 'The Categorical Imperative: Securities Analysts and the Illegitimacy Discount'; Beverland, Lindgreen, and Vink, 'Projecting Authenticity Through Advertising: Consumer Judgments of Advertisers' Claims'; Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'; Hahl and Zuckerman, 'The Denigration of Heroes? How the Status Attainment Process Shapes Attributions of Considerateness and Authenticity'; McKendrick and Hannan, 'Oppositional Identities and Resource Partitioning: Distillery Ownership in Scotch Whisky, 1826–2009'; Hahl, 'Turning Back the Clock in Baseball: The Increased Prominence of Extrinsic Rewards and Demand for Authenticity'.

as authentic is beneficial for individuals and organisations, with the authentic organisations in various industries benefiting from this perception, receiving better user reviews or being more likely to sell their products.[248] Use of the past literature has rarely considered how perceptions of authenticity may affect how organisations use their history. However, some research has shown that internal and external perceptions of authenticity and legitimacy can be important when constructing organisational historical narratives.[249]

Whilst archival studies and organisation studies have different understandings of authenticity, there are links between the disciplines' concepts. Archival studies understand authenticity as something that is part of the record, something that is established and preserved through the processes that created and maintain the record. Whilst it does still understand authenticity as something that is socially constructed, the understanding used in archival studies is seen as something that can be measured and preserved.[250] This authenticity can be preserved and demonstrated through the processes that secure its transmission to the archives and control the record within the archives. Organisation studies do not consider authenticity something that is part of the individual or organisation. Instead, authenticity is something that observers judge the entity to have.[251] Therefore, whilst the two disciplines perceive authenticity differently in where it lies, the observer or the entity, both disciplines view it as something that is observable and demonstratable to audiences. This understanding that authenticity can be demonstrated to observers also shows that both disciplines understand authenticity as a perception that groups of people can share, rather than being entirely individual. Although organisation studies scholars do highlight how individual preconceptions affect how they judge the authenticity of an entity, concepts such as category authenticity show that groups

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[248] Richard Peterson, *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Christina Goulding, *The Commodification of the Past, Postmodern Pastiche, and the Search for Authentic Experiences at Contemporary Heritage Attractions*, vol. 34, 7, 2000; Grazian, *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*; Beverland, 'Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*'; Wherry, 'The Social Sources of Authenticity in Global Handicraft Markets: Evidence from Northern Thailand'; Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman, 'Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain'.

[249] Eric Guthey and Brad Jackson, 'CEO Portraits and the Authenticity Paradox', *Journal of Management Studies* 42, no. 5 (2005): 1057–1082; Mairi Maclean et al., 'Living up to the Past? Ideological Sensemaking in Organizational Transition', *Organization* 21, no. 4 (2014): 543–567; Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Smith and Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company'.

[250] Duranti, 'Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications'; MacNeil and Mak, 'Constructions of Authenticity'; MacNeil, 'Trusting Description: Authenticity, Accountability, and Archival Description Standards'.

[251] Grazian, *Blue Chicago: The Search for Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*; Hsu, Hannan, and Koçak, 'Multiple Category Memberships in Markets: An Integrative Theory and Two Empirical Tests'.

can share understandings of authenticity.[252] Therefore, whilst the disciplines do not share an understanding of how authenticity is demonstrated to audiences, both disciplines agree that it can be and that groups of individuals can perceive an entity as authentic despite their individual preconceptions. This chapter argues that Barclays plc used the authenticity of their archives, preserved and demonstratable through the processes at BGA, to bolster other types of authenticity claims that they were making to key stakeholder groups such as their employees.

The understanding of authenticity used by this chapter was developed by Carrol and Wheaton.[253] Building on similar work by Michael Beverland, and Beverland, Adam Lindgreen and Michiel Vink, Carrol and Wheaton propose four main ways that audiences perceive the authenticity of organisations: moral authenticity, category authenticity, craft authenticity, and idiosyncratic authenticity.[254] Moral authenticity is defined by Carrol and Wheaton as the perception that the decisions of an organisation are influenced by a set of deeply held moral beliefs rather than being mere reflections of short term needs or pliable standards that are discarded when inconvenient. Examples of businesses that make moral authenticity claims given by Carroll and Wheaton include Green's, a vegetarian gourmet restaurant in San Francisco; and Craft, a restaurant that stresses the importance of fresh ingredients and simplicity in their cooking. Being perceived as authentic allows them to justify their higher prices, with the higher prices simultaneously acting as a signal to consumers of their commitment to their moral beliefs.

Category authenticity is defined as the perception that an organisation is true to its category, that it operates and performs the functions that other organisations in the same industry or field are also expected to perform.[255] Not all organisations are judged by audiences to fit their category completely, with some organisations only having some of the criteria needed to be part of the category and thereby being a less authentic example of the category. Carroll and Wheaton offer examples from the American market to demonstrate this category authenticity

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[252] Beverland, 'Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*'; Wherry, 'The Social Sources of Authenticity in Global Handicraft Markets: Evidence from Northern Thailand'; Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman, 'Authenticity and Consumer Value Ratings: Empirical Tests from the Restaurant Domain'.

[253] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.

[254] Beverland, 'Crafting Brand Authenticity: The Case of Luxury Wines*'; Beverland, Lindgreen, and Vink, 'Projecting Authenticity Through Advertising: Consumer Judgments of Advertisers' Claims'.

[255] In the article by Carroll and Wheaton, category authenticity is named 'type authenticity', however the definition is the same. For the purposes of this thesis the term 'category authenticity' will be used instead as it the more common term used in academic literature and is arguably the clearer designation.

such as Morton's Steakhouse in Chicago, an organisation with a very strong claim to category authenticity of the steakhouse category of restaurant.

Craft authenticity is linked to category authenticity, with craft authenticity being the perception that the methods or tools used to perform the functions or tasks are true to the category and display a level of skill or knowledge that is beyond what the ordinary person would be capable of. An example of this is small-batch brewing in the craft beer industry rather than large batch brewing, which creates the perception of authentically following a category process to create products. Examples of organisations that make craft authenticity claims include Acme Bread Company, an artisanal bakery that users only organic ingredients in their products, and Anchor Brewing Company, a San Francisco microbrewery.

Idiosyncratic authenticity is connected to moral authenticity, relying on the unique events and aspects of an organisation's history or identity to make them appear unique and authentic without being specific in offering a moral message. Carroll and Wheaton cite organisations such as McSorley's, a bar in New York that cite Abraham Lincoln as one of their historical customers; and Linie Aquavit, who still send their aquavit on ships across the equator and back to improve its flavour, a belief based on a historical accident where their product was shipped and returned to them unsold in 1805 and was believed to taste better.

Whilst these interpretations have normally been applied to the restaurant industry, they have also been applied to food products more generally, and business plans from entrepreneurs.[256] This typology was originally designed with the food industry in mind, an industry quite different from the financial industry in many ways, including the fact that they provide a physical product for consumption. However, these definitions have been shown to be applicable elsewhere, including where no physical product is available, and serve as a valid interpretation of authenticity perceptions from consumers. Additionally, making authenticity claims can be an important part of an organisational strategy, such as differentiating themselves from the competition, justifying charging higher prices than rivals and avoiding accusations of overcharging, and legitimising themselves and their products as part of a specific industry or craft. Therefore, bolstering these authenticity claims, particularly when

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[256] Lehman, Kovács, and Carroll, 'Conflicting Social Codes and Organizations: Hygiene and Authenticity in Consumer Evaluations of Restaurants'; O'Connor, Carroll, and Kovács, 'Disambiguating Authenticity: Interpretations of Value and Appeal'; Radoynovska and King, 'To Whom Are You True? Audience Perceptions of Authenticity in Nascent Crowdfunding Ventures'.

the authenticity of the organisation is being questioned, may be an important part of ensuring that it is able to fulfil its strategic objectives.

Table 1: Types of authenticity from Carroll and Wheaton's typology

Moral authenticity	Category authenticity
Definition: Interpreting a product or service as imbued with moral meaning	Definition: Conforming to a code of expectations regarding the type assigned or claimed
Idiosyncratic authenticity	Craft authenticity
Definition: Symbolic or expressive interpretations of aspects of an organisation's idiosyncrasies	Definition: Application of advanced knowledge, skills, routines, tools, and ingredients derived from a craft

This chapter will show how BGA's preservation of the authenticity of Barclays plc's archives allowed Barclays plc to create historical narratives that could work to create an authentic identity rooted in their authentic history. It will analyse these authenticity claims using Carroll and Wheaton's typography discussed above.[257] This narrative was linked to Barclays plc's corporate identity and was used as part of the cultural change that Barclays plc was implementing as part of the Transform Programme. The authentic elements were used to legitimise the narrative and counter scepticism that this was merely a short-term reaction to recent events rather than a real change for the organisation. This scepticism is something that Barclays plc, in particular, would face as they had not only endured the 2008 GFC, but had also been involved in various scandals between 2008 and 2012, including the 2012 LIBOR scandal, and mis-selling of PPI (see Sections 4.5 and 4.6.) Therefore, Barclays plc needed to prove that the cultural change they were implementing was not just to placate critics, but also perceived as an authentic change to the way the organisation would operate going forward.

5.2.   The creation of Barclays plc's corporate values

One of Jenkins' first tasks as CEO was to deal with the cultural and operational challenges that Barclays plc was facing. These challenges were varied, with some being specific to Barclays plc whilst others were challenges for the financial sector more generally, in part due to regulatory changes in the wake of the 2008 GFC. Jenkins addressed these challenges in a speech in September 2012, identifying the increased capital requirements of Basel 2.5 and 3, the structural requirements of 'ring-fencing' banks, and addressing the questions surrounding

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[257] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.

the 'social purpose' of banks in the modern world as issues for the sector as a whole.[258] However, Jenkins also needed to address issues specific to Barclays plc, stating that he aimed to 'renew and repair our relationship with regulators and other stakeholders [...] strengthen our control and governance and manage legacy issues' and to begin the process of 'embedding a culture and ways of working that give our stakeholders confidence that we will deliver outcomes in the right way.'[259] Jenkins' Transform Programme aimed to address all these issues by overhauling the operations of the bank as well as introducing a new set of corporate values, aimed at overhauling Barclays plc's organisational culture.

The Salz Review also noted the importance of a clear set of corporate values for Barclays plc that ensured that employees acted in accordance with the British regulatory environment. Salz noted that this was particularly important for Barclays plc considering its size and importance to the UK financial industry. Problems with the current corporate values had led to an increase in FSA fines, with the Salz Review noting that Barclays plc has faced a huge increase in FSA fines in recent years, having paid a total of over £70 million between 2009 and 2012. This amount was in contrast to earlier years, with Barclays plc not receiving any FSA fines before 2009.[260] The lack of coherence in purpose and values was partially to blame for this increase in fines, with the Salz Review noting behaviour that suggested that Barclays plc employees lacked a clear idea of what the corporate values were and how they were expected to act in their role. This lack of clear corporate values was in part due to their universal banking strategy, with rapid growth leading to extensive external hiring, particularly at Barclays Capital, making it difficult to have a consistent and translatable set of values across the entire organisation with its disparate functions.[261] Such expansive operations also created difficulties in creating a purpose and set of corporate values that would apply to the different areas of Barclays plc, and that would be understood in a similar way across the entire organisation. Barclays plc's lack of a clear set of corporate values was

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[258] Antony Jenkins, 'Speech by Antony Jenkins at the Bank of America Merrill Lynch Banking & Investment CEO Conference' (The Landmark Hotel, Marleybone Road, London, 25 September 2012), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/investor-relations/IRNewsPresentations/2012Presentations/Speech-by-Antony-Jenkins-Chief-Executive-25-September-2012.pdf.

[259] Jenkins, 'Speech by Antony Jenkins at the Bank of America Merrill Lynch Banking & Investment CEO Conference'.

[260] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 52–55.

[261] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 80.

noted in the Salz Review, stating that despite the initiation of a set of 'Guiding Principles' in 2005 under CEO John Varley, 'over time even the statement of these principles was lost.'[262]

The Salz Review also noted poor behaviour by employees which Barclays plc's incentive structure could encourage. This behaviour included Barclays plc's handling of money from US sanctioned countries, and their subsequent attempts to hide the transactions; large employee incentives to sell PPI to customers regardless of whether it was best for the customer; and the abuse of customer relationship to miss-sell SME derivative interest rate swaps without adequate explanation of the product.[263] These actions, which negatively affected customers, were blamed on a mix of incentive schemes that rewarded employees for behaviour that profited Barclays plc at the expense of the customer, and a lack of clear corporate values for employees to adhere to when making decisions. However, the Salz Review also highlighted that 'the vast majority of Barclays' employees want to act with integrity. They want to exhibit behaviours consistent with the standards the public would expect of it as a major financial institution.'[264] Therefore, the Salz Review recommended that Barclays plc recreate a sense of purpose, underpinned by a clear set of corporate values that are understood by, and relevant to, all employees regardless of where in the organisation they worked.[265] Jenkins would pre-empt the release of the Salz Review, released in 2013, by announcing in late 2012 a new set of corporate values that would underpin a new corporate culture in an attempt to restore public trust and a sense of purpose to Barclays plc.

As part of the process for creating Barclays plc's new values, Barclays plc conducted interviews with nearly 2,000 employees across the organisation, discussing what Barclays plc's values should be. This decision was made in order to understand employee's views of what the values should be as Jenkins 'was very keen that we produce these [the values] organically' and that he 'didn't want the values to get handed down from on high.'[266] Particular emphasis was placed on doing things 'the right way' in order for Barclays plc to become the 'go-to bank for all customers.'[267] Part of this was also going back to the history of the bank, to 'try and figure out what was in our DNA [...] and that [BGA] was a valuable

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[262] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 80.
[263] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 55–60.
[264] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 83.
[265] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 84.
[266] UL19.
[267] Jenkins, 'Speech by Antony Jenkins at the Bank of America Merrill Lynch Banking & Investment CEO Conference'.

input.'[268] BGA was an integral part of creating the value set that would be promoted and would also be important in legitimising the narrative that underpinned the new set of values, providing a resource that executives could draw on when using symbolic and evocative terminology, common during strategic change, working to aid in both the sense-making and sense-giving processes of stakeholders.[269]

In the interviews for this research, other managers at Barclays plc made clear the importance of BGA and the archives in developing the values and supporting the strategy. Discussing the first time he approached BGA, the Barclays Director of Corporate Communications emphasised the importance of the archival research in making sure that the values Barclays plc were going to promote were 'enduring values that were consistent with the values they had, the Quaker values, right back to the establishment of the firm.'[270] He went onto say that it was important that Barclays plc were able to quote from the various 'ancestor stewards of the business' when discussing their corporate values.[271] Whilst Barclays plc did give direction on the types of events they were interested in, the role of researching events for the narrative fell on the BGA archivists. As Barclays plc's Group Archivist states, Barclays plc was reliant on the skills of BGA's archivists:

> The people running the campaign, they had ideas about the types of things they were hoping to find, but the onus was completely on us to come up with those stories. Nobody else really knew any of the stories that they choose [...] and so some of it we knew because they were stories that were familiar to us, but there was quite a lot of onus on us to do some original research and try and find some new stories which was hugely challenging.[272]

Indeed, to BGA's Group Archivist 'it felt like the campaign was very dependent on us coming up with interesting stories.'[273] It was important to Barclays plc that 'these stories were '100% reliable and authentic' with BGA expected to be able to present 'original archival evidence' in support of the validity of the event.[274] Arguably, Barclays plc

[268] UL19.
[269] Gioia, Dennis A., and Kumar Chittipeddi. "Sensemaking and Sensegiving in Strategic Change Initiation." *Strategic Management Journal* 12, no. 6 (1991): 433–48.; Gioia, Dennis A., James B. Thomas, Shawn M. Clark, and Kumar Chittipeddi. "Symbolism and Strategic Change in Academia: The Dynamics of Sensemaking and Influence." *Organization Science* 5, no. 3 (1994): 363–83.
[270] UL1.
[271] UL1.
[272] UL20.
[273] UL20.
[274] UL20.

executives felt their historical claims needed to be provable to a sceptical audience so the values they were promoting could be demonstrated to be true to the organisation's historical identity, thereby bolstering their authenticity. These values had to be shown to have directed Barclays plc in their historical endeavours that had created a successful business, rather than being merely a response to the recent events and driven by contemporary strategic goals.

Other interviewees also mentioned the importance of an indefinable, tangible link to the past regarding the new set of organisational values at Barclays plc. Another senior employee in BCS, who wished to remain anonymous, mentioned the importance of being able to go back 'to the bank's roots to show the history and show the values base, and that was really important to them in resetting the culture of the bank in the aftermath of the financial crisis.'[275] This desire to use the organisation's history as a base for the new set of corporate values can be seen in the subsequent promotional material which tried to reflect the history of the bank in a way that highlighted a narrative of enduring corporate values. It was important for Barclays plc to be able to provide evidence from their archives for the historical claims they were making. Whilst this may be due to legal worries over making unjustified claims, this may also reflect the reputational situation Barclays plc found themselves in at this point, with their credibility low and authenticity claims likely to face increased scrutiny and scepticism. This narrative would contain various authenticity claims that can be interpreted using the definitions laid out by Carroll and Wheaton.[276] For Barclays plc's attempts at 'resetting the culture of the bank', BGA would be crucial in showing that this was a reset to a prior set of enduring values and principles, rather than a new set of values created as a response to their current circumstances.[277]

Barclays plc's creation of a new set of corporate values was not just about changing the behaviour of their employees; it was also about changing the purpose of the organisation. As mentioned above, the purpose was for Barclays plc to become the 'go-to bank' for all customers and clients, with the values designed to support and drive this purpose. Therefore, the purpose and values could not be seen to be merely a response to the recent crises Barclays plc had weathered. In this effort, BGA and the archives were an invaluable resource, giving Barclays plc 'the ability to go back and say, hang on, if we look back to the start of this

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[275] UL2.

[276] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.

[277] UL2.

organisation, what people are doing then, what they thought the purpose of this was, what it was for, that is what we are still for.'[278] Using the resources of BGA allowed Barclays plc to use its history, harnessing the power of the unique artefacts, records, and information from their archives to legitimise their narrative, constructing a continuity that that stretched from their seventeenth-century founding to contemporary times. In this way, Barclays plc's strategy could be seen as the continuance, or reassertion, of the original, historical strategy of the bank's founders and historical managers. Additionally, the skillset and contextual knowledge of the archivists would be used to help maintain the factual accuracy of this narrative throughout, something important when making authenticity claims.[279]

The historical narrative that Barclays plc would use to promote their new corporate values and purpose can be seen in the promotional video *Made by Barclays*.[280] Although the idea for a video began under Diamond, the plans were repurposed, and the video was re-designed to be shown internally to all 144,000 employees as part of the new corporate values training programme. The *Made by Barclays* video was initially launched at an internal event on the 12th of December 2012 before later being shown at Barclays Annual General Meeting (AGM) in 2013 to other Barclays plc stakeholders. The launch event would also have other materials, such as posters and booklets that celebrated key parts of Barclays plc's history; these materials will be discussed in Chapter 6. Starring Joseph Fiennes, who also acts as the narrator, the video documents Barclays plc's history and its values across nine different countries.

Made by Barclays condenses the history of Barclays plc into a four-minute narrative that makes a number of authenticity claims and emphasises the importance of enduring values to the organisation's successes. Whilst only a short video, the narrative presented in this video would be the narrative that Barclays plc would promote for the foreseeable future, presenting this as the definitive, albeit summarised, history of Barclays plc. Although more detail would be added to the narrative through supplementary materials, with further important events highlighted and celebrated, the narrative presented in *Made by Barclays* would be the framework that later work would build on, while also being the only piece that would be shown to all employees at every level through a companywide training scheme. Whilst it

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[278] UL17.
[279] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.
[280] Matt Huntley, 'Made by Barclays' (United Kingdom: https://vimeo.com/83306108, 2012).

would also be shown to other stakeholders, its main importance was internal, with *Made by Barclays* being arguably the key source that employees would draw on for their knowledge of Barclays plc's history. Therefore, it is important to understand the authenticity claims that the video is making and how they are supported using Barclays plc's archives to understand the value that BGA brought to the project.

5.3. Made by Barclays

The analysis of Barclays plc's new corporate values launch will be separated into four subheadings that analyse the authenticity claims Barclays plc was making using the definitions given by Carroll and Wheaton.[281] Although these will be individual sections, there will be some crossover between the claims and the specific parts of the video being referenced as the authenticity claims are often interlinked. Additionally, the sections will analyse the use of the archives to support the narrative and authenticity claims that Barclays plc was making through the use of archivally authentic artefacts and archival research. This research and these archivally authentic artefacts act as evidence for the authenticity claims that Barclays plc was making, legitimising the narrative and acting to bolster the authenticity claims that are a key part of the Transform Programme.

5.3.1. Moral authenticity

Moral authenticity claims are the most common in the *Made by Barclays* video, making seven separate moral authenticity claims, which account for 58% of all authenticity claims in the video. Additionally, five of these rely directly on BGA to provide them legitimacy, either through archival research or to provide artefacts that can show a physical link to the past, acting as evidence of the claim. The video begins with a short introduction to the founding of Barclays plc, filmed outside the historical home of the organisation at 54 Lombard Street. As the narrator leaves the historic headquarters, the camera shows an older version of Barclays plc's Spread Eagle logo, an artefact taken from BGA and fixed to the building for the making of this video (Figure 5).

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[281] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S'.

Figure 5: Spread Eagle sign used by the Made by Barclays video held at BGA. These signs normally had a white background and were used from the 1950s, being replaced from the 1970s onwards.[282]

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[282] 'Madeley Branch Spread Eagle Sign' (Artefact, n.d.), 993/1, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

The narrator describes the founders of Barclays plc, Freame and Gould, as goldsmiths who expanded their business into banking, describing them as 'independent spirits, men of integrity, they wanted to do right by their customers, clients and the community. So, they started a bank that sought the right path, rather than taking the easy one.'[283] Interestingly, the Quaker heritage is not explicitly mentioned, although these are attributes that are were commonly associated with Quakers in the past. However, this omission may be due to a lower level of general knowledge of who Quakers are and what they believe among contemporary audiences.[284] What should be noted is that within the first 30 seconds of the video, Barclays plc had conspicuously used historical information linked with a physical artefact from BGA to begin constructing their narrative. This use of the Black Spread Eagle sign, taken from BGA, paired with the historical headquarters on Lombard Street, adds legitimacy to the narrative that plc was creating, providing physical evidence of the claim they are making. However, this scene is artificial, with the bank relocating their headquarters to 1 Churchill Place in 2005, and the Spread Eagle sign used being both a rarely used version of the design and a relatively recent design. Therefore, from the beginning of the video historical events and artefacts were being used to construct a historical narrative that appeared authentic, using authentic artefacts and historical locations, but that was simplified and supportive of the contemporary strategy that Barclays plc were following.

Barclays plc situates its very beginning in a strong set of moral beliefs attributed to its founders. Using the image of the founder is not unusual in use of the past strategies, particularly when establishing the identity or purpose of an organisation.[285] Here, Barclays plc established the founding purpose of the bank as a set of moral values that focus on the importance of acting in the right manner for customers, regardless of whether other routes would be more profitable. As mentioned above, Barclays plc had been attacked by MPs for moving away from the Quaker values of their founders.[286] However, unlike some other

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[283] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 0:20.
[284] Edith Philips, *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932), 70–78. Although Phillips focused on France much of the information that the French were receiving came from England and English sources; Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*, 79–90; for a survey on popular attitudes to Quakers in England Scotland and Wales, which concludes that the general awareness of the Quakers in society is still above 50% most people held inaccurate views about what principles the Quakers hold, see DVL Smith Ltd, 'People's Perceptions of the Quakers', *Quaker Studies* 15, no. 1 (2010): 98–107.
[285] Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'; Basque and Langley, 'Invoking Alphonse: The Founder Figure as a Historical Resource for Organizational Identity Work'; Cailluet, Gorge, and Özçağlar-Toulouse, '"Do Not Expect Me to Stay Quiet": Challenges in Managing a Historical Strategic Resource'.
[286] Diamond, House of Commons Oral Evidence Taken Before the Treasury Committee: Evidence from Bob Diamond.

companies, Barclays plc was not able to draw on archives that can be offered as direct evidence of their founder's intent as they lacked anything from their founders that specifically laid out their principles.[287] Instead, their authenticity claim is broad, relying on commonly accepted interpretations of Quaker behaviour as the basis for their purpose. Here, the authentic artefacts from BGA, along with the original headquarters, are mainly used to emphasise the longevity and continuity of Barclays plc rather than acting as evidence for their moral authenticity claim. This strategy is similar to other organisations' invocation of their founder in their rhetorical history strategy, or Carlsberg's use of the *Semper Ardens* phrase who use their archives to legitimise their historical narratives and authenticity claims but without being able to present direct historical evidence of their argument.[288] Instead, the archives are used to legitimise the historical narrative that underpins the moral authenticity claims, also acting as an idiosyncratic authenticity claim (see Section 5.3.4).

Barclays plc would begin to lay out the specific principles and morals that the organisation was founded on using examples. The first example is Barclays plc's funding of the first industrial steam railway in 1819, referring to the Stockton-Darlington railway.[289] This example is given as proof of Barclays plc's history of looking forward, and being pioneering, being willing to fund ' a pretty futuristic idea' for the time.[290] Whilst this may appear to be an idiosyncratic claim, highlighting a unique quality or event in Barclays plc's history without attaching any other message to it; this instead acts as a moral authenticity claim that actively states the moral value Barclays plc are celebrating. The funding of the Stockton-Darlington railway is the first example of Barclays plc making a claim of being pioneers and forward-thinking. This claim will be one of the main messages that Barclays plc will promote throughout the video and other material: that they are a brave, pioneering organisation, and that it is their ability to look forward that has helped them to be successful.

The celebration of this event and its inclusion in the narrative is also a good example of the importance of BGA in Barclays plc's historical resources. Whilst broadly accurate, the narrative simplifies the events by ignoring the fact that it was the Johnathon Backhouse & Co. who funded the railway, one of the banks that went on to be a founding bank in the

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[287] Basque and Langley, 'Invoking Alphonse: The Founder Figure as a Historical Resource for Organizational Identity Work', 1698–99.

[288] Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Cailluet, Gorge, and Özçağlar-Toulouse, '"Do Not Expect Me to Stay Quiet": Challenges in Managing a Historical Strategic Resource'.

[289] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 0:41.

[290] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 0:43.

amalgamation that created Barclays & Co. However, this was a conscious choice by Barclays plc as the early version of the script shows that the archivists at BGA made the script editors aware of this fact.[291] Indeed, this appears to be a role that BGA fulfilled for Barclays plc throughout, using them 'as fact-checkers once the stories had gone out.'[292] As the stories would work its way through different teams to create the contents for the Transform Programme, it would be returned to BGA to ensure that if 'something had gone slightly astray, the onus was again on us [BGA] to correct that.'[293] This process of using BGA as fact-checkers ensured that the details of the narrative remain accurate, albeit with reduced complexity, with the events before the amalgamation in 1896 being simplified to create a more clear narrative that highlights Barclays plc's principles and pioneering spirit. Therefore, the created content's focus can stay on the corporate values that Barclays plc are trying to transmit, with the archivists responsible for ensuring the factual accuracy of the narrative rather than the content creators. Therefore, the archivists allowed Barclays plc to make their moral authenticity claims with the knowledge that it is a broadly accurate interpretation of events based on historical research performed at an archival institution that follows a standard that is expected of legitimate historical research.[294] This information ensured that the key events were addressed whilst extraneous ones could be ignored so as not to over complicate the narrative and confuse the message. Whilst a simplified narrative could be argued to be unhistorical, corporate historical narratives are often simplified chronological stories with the events included chosen for their relevance to the identity or reputation of the organisation.[295] However, BGA was used by Barclays plc to ensure that the events they did include were broadly accurate and that archives held at BGA could be used as proof if required.

Made by Barclays follows this up with other examples of Barclays plc being ahead of the times with the appointment of the first female bank branch manager Hilda Harding in 1958, the creation of the first ATM in Britain in 1967, and the being the first British bank to launch a credit card in the UK also in 1967. These examples are not explicitly linked to Barclays plc being pioneering; however, they do link to their expressed value of forward-thinking and

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[291] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays. 31/5/12' (31 May 2012), Accession 1943/3, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.
[292] UL20.
[293] UL20.
[294] Stefan Berger, 'The Role of National Archives in Constructing National Master Narratives in Europe', *Archival Science* 13, no. 1 (2013): 1–22; Smith and Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company'.
[295] Agnes Delahaye et al., "The Genre of Corporate History." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 22, no. 1 (2009): 27–48.

acting as pioneers. Additionally, being able to boast of promoting the first female bank branch manager acts as a strong moral authenticity claim, showing dedication to their principles regardless of societal pressures; this is something that Barclays plc still highlight in their contemporary diversity programmes as evidence of their long-term commitment to ensuring gender equality.[296]

In presenting this information, Barclays plc used historical imagery, such as period advertising and mocked-up newspapers designs with a photo of Harding. Again, Barclays plc was using their archives to provide evidence of their claims to have been forward-thinking, progressive pioneers. We can see how the archives were being used to provide evidence that bolsters the legitimacy of the narrative, albeit with the representation of the evidence being artificial. The preservation of the archives by BGA allows Barclays plc to utilise them in their use of the past strategies (see Chapter 6) Additionally, whilst the material artefacts preserved by BGA allowed Barclays plc to provide evidence for their claims, they also allow the bank to create context through the amalgamation of sources from the archives. Barclays plc did this by creating mock-ups that were representative of the events of the time and speak to the expectations of the intended audience.[297] Barclays plc was trying to create the effect that Judith Keilbach discusses, albeit in a less emotionally charged way, where the photos are removed from their specific context and used as symbolic images, in this case, symbols of Barclays plc's moral character.[298] It is only through the resources provided by BGA to preserve the archives and ensure their archival authenticity and reliability, and the research skills of the archivists in order to bring the events to light, that Barclays plc can make this moral authenticity claim.

Barclays plc made further moral authenticity claims, although these are based on contemporary activities rather than historical events. Barclays plc highlighted their Spaces for Sport initiative which created community sports facilities, linking this to its, at the time, 'ongoing sponsorship of the Barclays Premier League [which] helps bring communities together all over the world.'[299] As these events were ongoing when the video was created, archival resources or historical events are not used to bolster the legitimacy of these

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[296] 'Pearls of Wisdom Booklet' (Barclays plc, 2 August 2017), https://home.barclays/content/dam/home-barclays/documents/who-we-are/our-strategy/Pearls-of-Wisdom-Booklet-Print.pdf.
[297] Beverland, Lindgreen, and Vink, 'Projecting Authenticity Through Advertising: Consumer Judgments of Advertisers' Claims'.
[298] Judith Keilbach, 'Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust: On the (Im)Possibility of Depicting Historical Truth', *History & Theory* 48, no. 2 (2009): 54–76.
[299] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 2.01.

authenticity claims. However, this is not due to a lack of historical events they could draw on: Barclays plc's website has content that highlights their historical involvement with football and sport more generally.[300] However, the use of the archives is not necessary as the authenticity claims regarding Spaces for Sport and sponsoring the English Premier League (EPL) fulfil the four qualities that Carroll and Wheaton argue are necessary for the effective projection of a transparent, authentic identity claim.[301]

Firstly, sponsoring the EPL differentiates Barclays plc from its competitors as there is only ever one main sponsor at any one time. Whilst other banks could, and do, sponsor sporting events, arguably the EPL is the most prestigious and visible domestic sporting event in Britain. However, paring that with charity schemes that also promote sport differentiates the organisation by suggesting that their advertising partnership are also expressions of their moral values. Secondly, these two attributes are coherent, sponsoring the EPL and also supporting a charity scheme that promotes sports participation fit together well as a statement of Barclays plc's belief in the positive power of sport. Thirdly, Barclays plc had been consistent with this approach. Both activities had been ongoing for some time by this point, with Spaces for Sport running since 2004 and Barclays plc's sponsorship of the EPL had been continuous since 2001 at that point in 2012. Additionally, Barclays plc had sponsored football in the past, sponsoring the English Football League between 1987 and 1993. Fourthly, public perceptions of the benefits of sporting participation are not contentious. Therefore, Barclays plc's claim that these activities are beneficial to society was unlikely to be contested or misunderstood by the intended audience. As well as these factors, this claim also does not suffer from a lack of credibility since these were activities that Barclays plc was participating in at the time and could be easily verified. The historical examples that Barclays plc use did not possess these four attributes. Therefore, using the archives and archival resources was necessary to ensure the transparency and credibility of the historical claims.

The penultimate shot of the video has the narrator reiterating the main message for the audience: that Barclays plc's 'values have helped it become one of the strongest universal banks in the world, and, with those values, and the help of everyone in the organisation, Barclays plc can become the go-to bank in the eyes of its customers and clients.'[302] This

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[300] '"Last-Gasp" Rescue of the Football League', Barclays plc, 11 August 2017, https://home.barclays/news/2017/08/last-gasp-rescue-of-the-football-league/.
[301] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 273–74.
[302] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 3:17-3:29.

statement underlines the main purpose of the video and the cultural change of Barclays plc through the Transform Programme: Barclays plc's success is built on a strong moral foundation and that the success of its customers is the key to Barclays plc's own success. The conclusion of this shot reiterates the continuity of the Barclays plc values that the Transform Programme was looking to instil, showing Fiennes riding a Barclays plc sponsored bike, stating that all the events that came before are 'the end of the story, or rather, the end of the chapter and the beginning of a new one.'[303]

The use of the terms 'chapters' and 'stories' is one of the clearest expressions of why the history and the archives were important for the cultural change that Barclays plc was looking to implement. Chapters and stories were used to create a sense of continuity between the past and the future direction that Barclays plc would be taking. As discussed above, Barclays plc had suffered various scandals in the years leading up to 2012, with scandals such as the mis-selling of PPI and the rigging of the LIBOR rate suggesting to stakeholders and regulators that Barclays plc was more interested in short term profits than the serving the needs of its customers and clients.[304] The resources from BGA allowed Barclays plc to look to its archives for evidence that could be used to create a legitimate and authentic narrative that highlighted the values of Barclays plc as the main factor in its historical successes. By showing that Barclays had over 300 years of moral character, the recent scandals could be positioned as aberrations from their previous moral behaviour. This cultural transformation was a resetting of the culture back to its historic roots rather than wholesale change. The attempt to convey a feeling of continuity from the past to the future appears to have had some success, with one interviewee who had reached Assistant Vice President in BCS commenting that:

> I think it's interesting to see things like the Barclays bike you know the Boris bike
> and that was brought out of the archives because we've obviously, the Barclays
> brand was put on those bikes as well so it's interesting to see the modern stuff
> that's added to the archive for future generations.[305]

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[303] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 3:29-3:40.
[304] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 7.
[305] UL18

5.3.2.   Category authenticity

Fewer category authenticity claims are made in the *Made by Barclays* video than moral authenticity claims, with only three being made in total. Additionally, the ones that are made do not rely on archival evidence or information outside of living memory. Whilst the example of the financing of the Stockton-Darlington railway could be seen as a category authenticity claims, as providing finance to businesses and individuals is an expected activity for a bank to do, it is not presented as such in the *Made by Barclays* video. Indeed, neither were the examples of providing ATMs or credit cards, with these being highlighted as pioneering moments rather than Barclays plc operating to category expectations. Instead, these almost act to put Barclays plc as the drivers of what it means to be a bank, rather than showing that they operate as one would expect a bank to operate.

There are some examples given that do show Barclays plc to be operating to category expectations. These category authenticity claims include Barclays plc's purchasing of Lehman Brothers in 2008, the financing of the Hong Kong underground, and the launching of new financial products on the Japanese stock exchange. None of these examples used resources from BGA. Instead, they used stock footage of the locations or specially filmed footage of the Barclays plc blue Morris Minor at these locations. However, all of these examples use language that would suggest that Barclays plc is, by most people's definition, a bank, and a bank that has been successful in multiple countries. These examples are designed to show Barclays plc's ability to find 'great opportunities for shareholders and clients' amidst financial turmoil in the case of Lehman Brothers; that their 'investment expertise' can help finance large projects such as the Hong Kong underground; and that they are considered so competent that they are 'the only foreign bank to launch new financial products on the Tokyo stock exchange.'[306]

A possible reason why there are so few category authenticity claims made by Barclays plc is due to their position in the financial sector. Barclays plc was, and is, a global financial institution, and in 2012 was still one of the largest banks in the world. Therefore, Barclays plc did not have to make category authenticity claims that show them to fit the category of a bank. Instead, their category authenticity claims aimed to show that Barclays plc was a global bank, operating in the largest markets across the world. This decision was also likely linked to the intended audience of the *Made by Barclays* video too. Although it would be released

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[306] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 1:19, 1:26, 1:34.

externally, the main audience was employees and stakeholders who did not need to be convinced that Barclays plc fit the category of a bank. However, with the 2008 GFC and incoming regulation such as Basel 2.5 and 3, Barclays plc likely felt it more important to show its history of successful international investments to bolster support for their universal banking strategy.

5.3.3.   Craft authenticity

There are very few specific craft authenticity claims in the *Made by Barclays* video, and what is there tends to be vague statements rather than specific examples. References about seeking 'the right path rather than taking the easy one' and that 'Barclays contributes to society by helping customers and clients manage their money on a daily basis and by striving to earn their trust' are mentioned rather than shown in the video.[307] Indeed, one of the main aims of the video, to become 'the go-to bank in the eyes of its customers and clients' is a craft authenticity claim, highlighting the importance of the way they operate rather than just what they do.[308]

The lack of craft authenticity claims is not surprising considering the medium of the message and the industry that Barclays plc operates. Carroll and Wheaton identify craft authenticity as the change from focusing on the outcome, as is common in category authenticity, to process, where the skills and ability of the producers are far and above the skills of a normal person and therefore require specialist training.[309] However, Barclays plc, for the most part, do not produce physical products where that skill can be demonstrated in the process of serving their customers. Additionally, the nature of banking services is obscure to the general public, and bankers will have had specialist training and expertise in order to perform their roles that most of their customers and clients will not have had. Therefore, it is difficult to apply craft authenticity to the financial industry where the most visible sign of skill on behalf of the employee will be in the outcome of the service provided, for example, low-interest rates on a mortgage or a good return on investment. This shows that this part of Carroll and Wheaton's model of how customers perceive authenticity types may not entirely fit industries where the processes required to produce the output are obscure, complex, or not visible to the untrained.

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[307] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 0:25-0:27, 2:30-2:39.
[308] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 3:27-3:29.
[309] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 268.

5.3.4.   Idiosyncratic authenticity

Barclays plc would make only two idiosyncratic authenticity claims throughout the *Made by Barclays* video, both of which rely on BGA to perform historical research to legitimise them. This lack of idiosyncratic claims is perhaps surprising as Carroll and Wheaton state that this is a common use for historical resources in the restaurant industry and is used to remind stakeholders of the organisation's connections to past customers and the community.[310] However, considering the circumstances of Barclays plc in 2012, it is perhaps unsurprising that the focus was on linking historical events to a moral character and corporate values rather than using historical events as interesting stories to differentiate themselves from other banks. Many of the examples given in the video that work as moral authenticity claims could also be described as idiosyncratic authenticity claims as the organisational morals they are promoting is Barclays plc's pioneering mindset and forward-thinking. Therefore, claims to be the financiers of the first industrial railway, to be the first to promote a female bank branch manager, and to be the bank to introduce credit cards and ATMs to Britain all act to show Barclays plc's unique past, since there can only be one organisation that can be first, whilst also showing Barclays plc's connections to past customers.[311] However, these have been classified as moral authenticity claims in this thesis as, whilst they do show unique events in Barclays plc's past, they are not behaviours that would be outside of what is expected of an organisation in the financial industry and therefore do not necessarily make Barclays plc 'quirky.'[312] Additionally, they are not used to show the uniqueness of Barclays plc, but instead used to show the bank's core moral character.

Made by Barclays does reference some events that would be better described as idiosyncratic authenticity claims that moral authenticity claims. One of these is referencing the expedition to climb Mount Everest in 1975, led by Chris Bonington and sponsored by Barclays plc.[313] This example is also used to promote one of the morals that Barclays plc have been claiming throughout the video, stating that 'he certainly didn't take the easy path and neither do the tens of thousands of people who work for Barclays all around the world.'[314] However, whilst

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[310] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 271.
[311] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 271–272.
[312] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 271.
[313] Huntley, *Made by Barclays*, ts 2:09.
[314] Huntley, *Made by Barclays* ts, 2:16-2:22.

it is to some extent making a moral authenticity claim and a craft authenticity claim, sponsoring a mountaineering expedition is a unique event to sponsor when compared to other events such as the sponsoring of large sporting events or the launching of financial products and services. Additionally, Barclays plc was making a comparison between the perceived moral qualities of the Bonington expedition and their employees rather than demonstrating the moral character of the organisation through their own actions. This use of the past fits better with Carroll and Wheaton's definition of idiosyncratic authenticity claims as these types of claims do not specifically state much about the organisation itself, instead acting to add personality and quirkiness to the organisation's identity.

Another idiosyncratic authenticity claim is made near the end of the video and involves the vehicle that Fiennes has been driving throughout the video. The video focuses on the Morris Minor he has been driving across these different locations, a car the camera has occasionally focused intensely on with close-ups of the model and hood ornament. This Morris Minor car, painted in the same shade of blue as Barclays plc branding, is used to show Barclays plc's historic investment in the Morris Motors Limited car manufacturing company, enabling it to at one point become the largest car manufacturer in the UK. Whilst this does highlight the impact Barclays plc's business activities have on the landscape of the British economy and culture, and could also be seen as a category authenticity claim, the purpose here is to connect Barclays plc to an iconic British product of the past. This link is an attempt by Barclays plc to use the iconic status of the Morris Minor to highlight their own idiosyncrasy, showing how Barclays plc's unique approach to business helped create a unique British brand. The Morris Minor used for this video would later be displayed at Barclays plc headquarters in London before eventually being housed at BGA (Figure 6).[315]

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[315] The Morris Minor is no longer at BGA having been purchased by a former executive.

Figure 6: The Barclays blue Morris Minor from the Made by Barclays video was displayed at Barclays plc's headquarters in Churchill Place.[316]

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[316] 'Morris Minor Display' (Photograph, 2012), 2246/1, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

The *Made by Barclays* video would be a specific point of reference going forward, suggesting that it was a definitive statement of what Barclays plc's corporate values and corporate culture were to be. In January 2013, Jenkins would state what the values of Barclays plc were to be: respect, integrity, service, excellence, and stewardship. These values were 'fundamental to Barclays' long-term success' and were 'not something I [Jenkins] want to do for public relations or political benefit.'[317] Jenkins also emphasises that his change comes after they had 'reflected on our history - captured in the '*Made by Barclays*' [my italics] film [...] which shows us what we can achieve when we are grounded in strong values and a common goal.'[318] Jenkins would go on to say:

> Barclays has been around for 320 years. Its success and longevity are based on
> integrity and its attention to customer and clients. We have forgotten that and we have
> paid the price. If we combine the right values with the right strategy, we will build a
> more successful business, not just this year but in the years and decades that follow.[319]

Again, the history of Barclays plc is being invoked to legitimise the organisational cultural change that Jenkins is driving, arguing that what appears to be a change is actually a return to the traditional values of Barclays plc. This change is necessary to project Barclays plc into a successful future. Whilst this letter does not draw on the resources of BGA, it does show that the *Made by Barclays* film should be viewed as an official history of Barclays plc. Jenkins would make it clear in the letter that for employees that do not agree with these new values 'Barclays is not the place for you, the rules have changed [and] you won't feel comfortable at Barclays and, to be frank, we won't feel comfortable with you as colleagues.'[320] However, due to the framing of the change, this can be seen as a return to the previous values of Barclays plc, a return to the

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[317] Antony Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Letter to Staff' (1 Churchill Place, London, 17 January 2013), https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/557009/barclays-purpose-values-letter.pdf; 'Barclays' New Broom Antony Jenkins Tells Staff to Toe the Line Or', Evening Standard, 17 January 2013, https://www.standard.co.uk/business/business-news/barclays-new-broom-antony-jenkins-tells-staff-to-toe-the-line-or-leave-8455584.html.
[318] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Letter to Staff'.
[319] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Letter to Staff'.
[320] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Letter to Staff'.

past rather than a break from it, with the explicit message that those who cannot accept this reversion to the past should leave the organisation.

The commitment to changing the culture of the bank through the introduction of the new values in order to move on from the recent scandal would be reaffirmed at Barclays 2013 AGM by both Sir David Walker and Jenkins during their speeches and the question-and-answer session with the shareholders. When asked about whether there is value in teaching commercial history to employees, Jenkins answered in the affirmative, stating that:

> That is why we made the video that was showing at the start of the meeting and why the Barclays coloured Morris Minor is in the reception area. It's about giving our colleagues a sense of the past of Barclays, what we achieved and also talking about where things went wrong. A big part of what we're doing to inculcate the values inside the organisation is talking about these sort of issues in sessions with all of our 140,000 colleagues around the world. So, I think it's absolutely right, as you have said and as the Chairman responded, that we pay heed to history, we learn from it, and we don't repeat the same mistakes.[321]

5.4. Discussion

Changing the culture of the organisation was considered one of the most important tasks for Jenkins when he began his tenure as CEO in 2012 by external stakeholders. This emphasis on cultural change in 2013 is unsurprising considering the recent 2008 GFC and the circumstances that had led to the resignation of both their previous CEO and Chairman in 2012. Likewise, Barclays plc had been under pressure from regulators in the US and the UK to change their behaviour, and as Barclays plc had become the public face of the Libor scandal in the UK and was having to manage hostile public opinion, cultural change was a necessity. However, there was also the need for this change to be viewed as authentic rather than merely a reaction to the difficult circumstances that Barclays plc was currently facing. BGA and the archives were integral in legitimising the authenticity claims that Barclays plc were making.

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[321] David Walker et al., 'Barclays AGM - Question and Answer Session' (Royal Festival Hall, Southbank Centre, London, 25 April 2013).

Timestamp	Example	Claim	Typology	Use of BGA
0:18	'Freame and Gould were independent spirits, men of integrity. They wanted to do right by their customers, clients, and the community. So, they started a bank that sought the right path, rather than taking the easy one.'	Barclays plc was founded on a distinct set of principles	Moral Authenticity	History of the founders researched at BGA, of physical artefacts from BGA to empathise historical continuity
0:41	'The train was a pretty futuristic idea in 1819, but that didn't stop Barclays from funding the world's first industrial steam railway.'	Barclays plc has a history of being pioneers	Moral Authenticity	Research performed at BGA
1:00	'In 1958 they appointed the first-ever female branch manager.'	Barclays plc is progressive	Moral Authenticity	Research performed at BGA, use of photos preserved at BGA
1:04	'They also brought the world the cash machine and the first credit card from a bank in the UK.'	Barclays plc are pioneers	Moral Authenticity	Use of records preserved at BGA to create billboard mock-up
1:15	'In 2008, Barclays bought Lehman Brothers in the US. While other banks looked the other way, Barclays saw a great opportunity for shareholders and clients.'	Barclays plc can create shareholder value while other banks struggle	Category Authenticity	None
1:25	'And it is Barclays' investment expertise that has helped finance the Hong Kong underground.'	Barclays plc is trusted to work on large projects across the world	Category Authenticity	None
1:32	'[…]and allowed them to become the only foreign bank to launch new financial products on the Tokyo Stock Exchange.'	Barclays plc operate successfully in multiple markets	Category Authenticity	None

1:45	'And Barclays supports all manner of social and sporting events. Since 2004, their Spaces for Sports initiative has transformed urban spaces into community facilities in nine different countries. And of course, their ongoing sponsorship of the Barclays Premier League helps bring communities together all over the world.'	Barclays plc financially support and promote activities that reflect their values	Moral Authenticity	None
2:10	'In 1972, they sponsored Chris Bonington's expedition to conquer the South West face of Everest. He certainly didn't take the easy path.'	Barclays plc has helped been involved in interesting events	Idiosyncratic Authenticity	Research performed at BGA
2:30	'Fundamentally, Barclays contributes to society by helping customers and clients manage their money on a daily basis, and by striving to earn their trust. Because if they succeed, Barclays succeeds too.'	Barclays plc see the success of their customers as their only way to be successful; Barclays plc's financial success is passed onto wider society	Moral Authenticity	None
2:55	'Oh, and not forgetting investing in a young English engineer called Morris. They helped him become the biggest car manufacturer in the UK.'	Barclays plc has invested in interesting companies that are recognisable	Idiosyncratic Authenticity	Research performed at BGA
3:05	'Since the very beginning, Barclays has sought to be a different kind of bank. Not only commercially successful but ready to serve the needs of its customers, helping them to grow and prosper.'	Barclays plc has always had a strong moral code that guided their actions	Moral Authenticity	None

BGA's involvement in the cultural change of Barclays plc began with the processes that were enacted to develop the purpose and values that Barclays plc would adopt. As mentioned above, the ability to root the values in the history of Barclays plc was important to executives, including Jenkins, as this would provide the legitimacy for the adoption of new values that would need to replace the ingrained culture of the organisation. As mentioned in the Salz Review, one of the problems Barclays plc faced in implementing a unified corporate culture was its rapid growth and the breadth and diversity of activities and departments in the organisation.[322] BGA and the archives allowed Barclays plc to root their values and culture in the history of the bank before the diversification that was driven by the universal banking model was initiated, enabling Barclays plc to create a historical narrative that could claim to represent the authentic identity of Barclays plc. As a former Managing Director of Corporate Communications noted:

> In terms of the tactics to deliver that, the ability to call upon that heritage was incredibly valuable and it was something that gave that change a great deal more substance than if we had just gone into a room and said, we used to be like that, it was a bit like this we need to be like that, and we need to be like this, and that is true to the core of the organisation if we go back through time.[323]

Research performed at BGA and the physical artefacts from Barclays plc's archives were used repeatedly throughout the *Made by Barclays* video. The majority of the time that the history of Barclays plc was invoked, and the archives were utilised, was in the making of moral and idiosyncratic authenticity claims. These two types of authenticity claims, moral and idiosyncratic, account for 75% of the authenticity claims made in the *Made by Barclays* video, with 78% of these claims using BGA's resources in some way.

Unsurprisingly, the *Made by Barclays* video makes repeated moral authenticity claims considering the situation Barclays plc was in at the time. Barclays plc, and the financial industry as a whole, were reeling from a series of scandals during a time of financial hardship for many people due to the 2008 GFC, something which was blamed squarely on the financial industry, with investment banks, in particular, shouldering much of the public opprobrium. As Peterson states, authenticity claims are most likely to be made when that authenticity is called into question.[324] It was not Barclays plc's categorical, craft, or

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[322] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 6–7, 80–82.
[323] UL17.
[324] Peterson, 'In Search of Authenticity'.

idiosyncratic authenticity that was most called into question at this time; it was the moral character, organisational culture, and purpose. Therefore, these moral authenticity claims needed to be visible and credible in order for them to be accepted as authentic representations of Barclays plc's moral character.[325] These historical examples could only be used as moral authenticity claims with relevant physical evidence obtained that has been preserved in a legitimate archival institution such as BGA. Having them housed in an archival institution allowed Barclays plc to make their authenticity claims visible using the archives as evidence since their archival authenticity had been preserved professionally. BGA's processes also allowed them to demonstrate their credibility since the evidence had been preserved by an institution that fulfils the contemporary expectations of how historical records should be maintained for historical research.[326] Without BGA to provide the research to uncover the events used in the narrative, and without the archival processes in place at BGA to preserve the archival authenticity and reliability of the archives, Barclays plc would not have been able to create a legitimate and credible historical narrative that supported their moral authenticity claims.

Barclays plc also used its past as the basis for its idiosyncratic authenticity claims, allowing them to set themselves apart from other banks. Whilst Barclays plc only made two specific idiosyncratic authenticity claims, both of these use the resources of BGA to bolster these claims. Showing that Barclays plc was different from other banks and that its values were different and specific to Barclays plc, was important for Jenkins as:

> At the end of the day, they're just words right, so how do you bring them to life
> how do you connect them to a set of behaviours? And this is one of the things that
> is very very [sic] important in any cultural change work, is to say OK, well what is
> different about that?[327]

This differentiation of Barclays plc values from other banks is something that the archives enabled the bank to do, providing evidence of events that could be used to highlight Barclays plc's unique contributions and character. Considering the environment that Barclays plc was

[325] Carroll and Wheaton, 'The Organizational Construction of Authenticity: An Examination of Contemporary Food and Dining in the U.S', 237–74.
[326] Smith and Simeone, 'Learning to Use the Past: The Development of a Rhetorical History Strategy by the London Headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company'.
[327] UL19.

operating in at the time and the general level of hostility that banks were facing from the British public at this time, being able to demonstrate that Barclays plc was a financial institution built on a strong set of morals that would guide their future actions would arguably have been enough to differentiate them from competitors, were it to succeed. Additionally, it is arguable that without over 300 years of historical events to draw upon, and without the archives preserved at BGA, Barclays plc would have had found it difficult to present the recent scandals as an aberration in an otherwise moral past rather than just the actions of a bad actor in the financial industry.

In contrast, we can see that Barclays plc make no use of BGA when it made category authenticity claims and made no craft authenticity claims at all. Possible reasons why Barclays plc did not utilise BGA for craft authenticity claims were discussed above (see Section 5.3.3). However, some of the moral authenticity claims could also be seen as category claims considering that they base their claim on a history of launching financial products and financing pioneering schemes. However, as Oliver Hahl argues, it is not possible to completely separate moral and category authenticity as most categories will also contain a certain set of behaviours that are expected of practitioners within it.[328] Regardless, Barclays plc did not use the historical examples as the main evidence for their category authenticity claims, instead relying on more recent examples of their activities in markets that Barclays plc did not dominate. These category authenticity claims reinforced Barclays plc's identity as an international bank, whilst also showing that their universal banking strategy and international expansion into new markets had led to notable successes. This approach attempted to legitimise their previous universal banking strategy in place during the recent scandals, thereby allowing them to continue to pursue it, with the various scandals depicted as separate to this strategy.

BGA was less effective in enabling Barclays plc to make these types of category authenticity claims backed by archivally authentic artefacts than they were for other types, such as moral or idiosyncratic, with BGA being most helpful in providing resources to bolster Barclays plc's moral authenticity claims. This weakness is partly due to the design of the strategy itself, where the need to make category claims is generally less important than to make other

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[328] Hahl, 'Turning Back the Clock in Baseball: The Increased Prominence of Extrinsic Rewards and Demand for Authenticity'.

types of authenticity claims. The various crises that Barclays plc had faced in the years leading up to 2012 had not suggested that Barclays plc were not involved in the activities that people would expect of banks. Instead, it was that some of these activities were seen as self-serving, dangerous to the wider economy, and damaging to customers that had damaged Barclays plc's reputation, leading to attacks from the press and British politicians.[329] Therefore, asserting Barclays plc's position as an authentic financial institution was not necessary, hence the reason they focused on being viewed as an international bank.

The nature of Barclays plc's history may have been a factor in this decision. Definitions of what make a category are socially constructed and therefore liable to change. Therefore, so are the activities required of an organisation to be considered part of the category. Historical examples may not clearly show that the organisation is authentic to the contemporary understandings of the category. This reason would potentially explain why Barclays plc describe Freame and Gould as goldsmiths who 'expanded their operations into banking' as the distinction between a goldsmith and banker is stronger today than it would have been at the time of the firm's founding.[330]

Another potential reason for Barclays plc to not rely on their history to make category authenticity claims is due to the nature of their history and their strategy in 2012. As mentioned above, Barclays plc had recently been one of the largest banks in the world and was still one of the major banks in Britain and South Africa. These markets are also the historical markets for Barclays plc, operating in Britain for over 300 years and having links to South Africa dating back nearly 90 years by 2012. Barclays plc did not need to make category authenticity claims in markets where they were established major players in the financial industry. This reason explains why the examples picked are in markets where Barclays plc was not as established, such as the US and Asia, where it is necessary to show that even if Barclays plc is not dominant, they still successfully perform the categorically expected activities of a successful and important bank that benefits their clients.

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[329] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 25–27.

[330] Huntley, *Made by Barclays* ts 0.08-0.17; Peter Temin and Hans-Joachim Voth, *Prometheus Shackled: Goldsmith Banks and England's Financial Revolution After 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 39–72; additionally, Freame and Gould are described as 'goldsmith bankers' on Barclays plc's website, and BGA's description of Barclays plc's history, see 'Barclays History', Barclays plc, n.d., https://home.barclays/who-we-are/our-history/; 'Barclays - a Quick History'.

The negative press and public perception of the financial industry at the time may also have contributed to the decision not to emphasise the point that Barclays plc are categorically authentic as the category of a bank at that time was affiliated with many negative behaviours.[331] Internal documents created to summarise the purpose of the *Made by Barclays* video and launch event support this interpretation, citing the intended audiences of the video as employees where 'in some markets (US) we are the challenger brand, less well known but full of fighting spirit; in other markers (UK) we are the established incumbents, trusted but facing [a] negative PR headwind.'[332] Essentially, Barclays plc executives did not feel the need to justify their category authenticity to audiences that operated in the geographical markets they were strongest, such as the UK and Africa, areas that were also where much of the historical events that were used to construct the *Made by Barclays* narrative took place. It was only in Barclays plc newer markets, and therefore the markets where they had fewer archival sources to draw on, that such categorical authenticity claims were considered necessary. Additionally, portraying itself as a typical bank would not have been beneficial when managing this 'negative PR headwind' as it would have associated Barclays plc with an industry that was hugely unpopular and mistrusted with the public in Britain and the US. Whilst Barclays plc could not disassociate themselves with the category of banks in the same way certain challenger banks attempted to, such as Metro Bank, it could avoid making these claims in locations where they were already firmly established leading bank and attempt to avoid further negative PR.

The Transform Programme was more than just changing the culture of Barclays plc as it also involved restructuring the organisation and refocusing its resources to different areas. Additionally, the training on values that used the historical content was only part of the attempt to change the culture of the organisation, with Jenkins also introducing new measurements of employee performance based on the new values. However, BGA and the archives contributed significantly to the Transform Programme's goal of changing the culture of Barclays plc as it is the research and artefacts held at BGA that were used by Barclays plc to frame their cultural change. This cultural change would need to appeal to employees in particular as they would need to internalise it to create changes in behaviour, so it was

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[331] Salz and Collins, 'Salz Review: An Independent Review of Barclays' Business Practices', 26.
[332] Barclays plc, 'Brief 4th April 2012' (4 April 2012), Accession 1943/3, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

important that the claims did not ring hollow. However, whilst it was primarily directed internally, it also had to act symbolically to sceptical external stakeholders who were demanding real change from the organisation. Using the history was necessary as the bank was 'in trauma, and it was a big part of how we reset the clock on Barclays and our brand.'[333] By utilising the archives of Barclays plc, managers were able to visibly show the roots of these values, show how they connected to various stakeholders, and show how they had been enacted by employees and the effect they had. This ability to go to the company's roots, learn from history, and help employees to understand what the values mean for their day-to-day roles is important in making organisational values enactable by employees.[334] BGA provided legitimacy to the narrative by preserving the archival authenticity of the archives, enabling Barclays plc to make authenticity claims for their cultural change bolstered with physical evidence from their archives.

5.5.   Conclusion

This chapter has shown how BGA facilitated Barclays plc's pursuit of its strategic goal of cultural change as part of the Transform Programme. Barclays plc used the research function of BGA in the design process of their new values, relying on this to construct a set of values that they believed they could show was authentic to the founders of the organisation and was a key part of the organisation's identity. To do this, they relied on the archivally authentic artefacts from the archives, with their archival authenticity and reliability preserved by BGA, as evidence for a large portion of the moral and idiosyncratic authenticity claims they would make as part of the cultural change. Whilst BGA was not utilised for the category and craft authenticity claims, this is because it was unnecessary for the strategy being pursued and the nature of the financial industry being unsuited to craft authenticity claims.

There are limitations to this chapter. As mentioned, the use of history by Barclays plc was not the only internal strategic activity that was designed to change the culture of the bank. Therefore, whilst the use of history and the archives may have underpinned much of the cultural change, it is difficult to assess how much of the resulting change was due to the use of history and how much was due to other factors. Additionally, it is difficult to measure how

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[333] UL1

[334] R. Edward Freeman and Ellen R. Auster, 'Values, Authenticity, and Responsible Leadership', *Journal of Business Ethics* 98, no. 1 (2011): 15–23.

successful the drive to change the corporate culture was.[335] The sample size of interviews for this thesis is too small and narrow to adequately analyse the cultural change at Barclays plc considering the size and scope of the organisation. Additionally, interviewees were not asked specifically about cultural change in their interviews as is not the focus of the research, with interviewees asked more broadly about the use of history at Barclays plc.

This chapter contributes to our understanding of the use of history by organisations in four ways. Firstly, this chapter highlights how archives and archival institutions can be used to bolster organisational authenticity claims to internal audiences when they are seeking to change their corporate culture. Whilst other research has highlighted how history is often used to build organisational identity and organisational culture, it has often overlooked how organisations can promote employee acceptance of this corporate identity. This chapter has shown how corporate archives can provide archivally authentic evidence and legitimacy when making authenticity claims to promote acceptance of organisational changes, particularly when making moral and idiosyncratic authenticity claims.

Secondly, this chapter has shown the limits of how history and archives can be used when making these claims for organisations in the quickly changing industries and industries with obscure methods for producing their output. Category authenticity claims are difficult to evidence using historical artefacts if the category has undergone substantial change in how it operates over time as the historical artefacts may no longer represent the category in a meaningful way to contemporary audiences. Likewise, craft authenticity claims are difficult to make using historical examples in industries where production methods are not obvious or require specialist knowledge to understand.

Thirdly, this chapter shows that concepts of authenticity from organisation science and archival science can be brought together and benefit both disciplines. This chapter has shown how Barclays plc's use of BGA's resources to bolster the legitimacy of their authenticity claims relied on the archival principles and process that preserve the authenticity of the archives. Organisation studies' concepts of types of authenticity, as proposed by Carroll and

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[335] Measuring the success of Barclays plc's cultural change strategy is outside the scope of this research. However, research by André Spicer, Jean Gond, Dominic Lindley, Peter Fleming, Szivlvia Mosonyi, Christopher Benoit and Simon Parker argue that cultural changes at Britain's largest banks will take at least a generation of concerted effort. André Spicer et al., 'A Report on the Culture of British Retail Banking' (New City Agenda and Cass Business School, 2014), http://newcityagenda.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Online-version.pdf.

Wheaton, are beneficial in understanding what types of authenticity claims Barclays plc were making and what they were trying to achieve. This chapter shows that utilising both disciplines concepts of authenticity can lead to a better understanding of organisational use of the past strategies as they allow researchers to understand the types of authenticity claims being made, the resources being deployed in the constructed historical narratives, and the processes that bolster the credibility of the authenticity claims.

Finally, this chapter has shown the importance of incorporating the archive into the process of cultural change early. Unlike the description in other works, BGA was not a passive repository of documents for managers to interpret and use for their strategies. Instead, the archivists at BGA were active researchers and fact-checkers, acting as the principal agents in uncovering the historical narrative, interpreting it, and ensuring that it remained factual. By utilising the archive from the beginning, Barclays plc was able to make coherent, transparent, and credible authenticity claims for the cultural change they were trying to implement. Additionally, this also allowed BGA the time to perform adequate research for the strategy and provide the physical evidence that was important in bolstering the authenticity claims to combat the scepticism that Barclays plc faced in these efforts. By incorporating BGA into the process of cultural change early on, Barclays plc was able to ensure that their historical narratives were constructed with the intention that whey would be authentic and demonstratable from the beginning of the construction process.

6. Producing resonant rhetorical history narratives: Material artefacts and BGA's role in the 325th-anniversary celebrations

This chapter will examine Barclays plc's 325th-anniversary celebration in 2015. These celebrations built on the use of past narratives that Barclays plc had exhibited during their 2012 event to launch the Transform Programme, making extensive use of BGA's resources, and drawing on the authenticity of the archives as an integral part of the narratives surrounding the anniversary. However, although the 2012 values launch utilised BGA's resources to bolster the authenticity claims being made, BGA and the material artefacts themselves were not highlighted in the material. Instead, BGA acted mainly as a research site, with the material artefacts used as inspiration for mock-ups or as inspiration for evocative imagery rather than being shown themselves. During the 2015 325th-anniversary celebrations, BGA and the material artefacts would become more central in much of the created material, being specifically referenced, and with the archivists being named as contributing to the construction of the historical narrative. Additionally, the narratives that would be produced would highlight the archives and the role of BGA as the preserver of Barclays plc's history, with the surrounding narrative that contextualised the item also linking it to Barclays plc's contemporary strategy and corporate values. By preserving the historical artefacts, BGA contributed to the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives by enabling them to utilise the material remains of its past as part of its use of the past strategy.

These narratives are described as *resonant* in the sense that the use of these material artefacts was an attempt to create narratives that capture the attention of audiences, have a lasting effect on them, and produce an emotional reaction from them. Although Barclays plc did not change the overarching historical narrative from the *Made by Barclays* video, the use of material artefacts appears to be targeted at ensuring that the efforts of 2015 were more

memorable than those of 2012, and appeared less like a reaction to immediate events and as more of a celebration of the bank's history and of progress they had made since 2012.

This chapter will highlight two qualities of material artefacts that underpinned Barclays plc's decision to utilise them in this manner. Firstly, the emotional effects that artefacts can produce in audiences.[336] These emotional effects may be related to their arrangement with other artefacts, a narrative that is being used to make sense of the artefact, their symbolic qualities, their informational content, or a mix of all of these qualities. Secondly, this chapter is influenced by the work of Latour in that it understands artefacts as actors that can actively shape the understandings and actions of individuals.[337] Artefacts are not neutral objects; instead, they are imbued with meaning and act on audiences to influence how they perceive the world.

Whilst this chapter will be drawing on concepts of authenticity that were covered in the previous chapter; it will focus on the value of material artefacts preserved at BGA and how they were in an attempt to construct resonant historical narratives. Whilst the decision to utilise material artefacts and highlight the corporate archive also acted to bolster the authenticity of the bank's historical narratives, that was not the main reason Barclays plc decided to utilise them in 2015. As we will see, the changing nature of how Barclays plc use their archives requires recognising the perceived importance of material artefacts by the bank's content creators. These artefacts were important in the use of the past strategy of Barclays plc as it progressed into 2015, with Barclays plc seeing them as key in capturing the attention of audiences and producing an emotional reaction in their intended audiences.

The chapter will first discuss the materials used during the 2012 event to launch the Transform Programme, materials created in addition to the *Made by Barclays* video. Whilst the *Made by Barclays* video is one of the most important outputs produced for the 2012 Transform Programme launch event, other materials were also produced for the event that were used to decorate the event venue and to inform the attendees. This section will lead into

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[336] Steadman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*; Rafaeli and Vilnai-Yavetz, 'Emotion as a Connection of Physical Artifacts and Organizations'; Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese Horse'; Farge, Arlette. *The Allure of the Archives*, London: Yale University Press, 2013; Yee, Susan. 'The Archive.' In *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With*, ed. Sherry Turkle (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011), 31–38.
[337] Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society*; Bruno Latour, 'On Interobjectivity', *Mind, Culture, and Activity* 3, no. 4 (1996): 228–245; Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*.

an analysis of the process of planning and designing the 2015 anniversary celebrations, based on internal documents and interview data, to draw conclusions about the processes that led to the decision to highlight BGA and the archives to a greater extent than in the 2012 Transform Programme launch event.

The chapter will then move on to demonstrate the results of this process through two of the main ways Barclays plc distributed their anniversary narratives: the creation and dissemination of *Millions of Stories*, a series of short stories based around contemporary and historical events and their annual AGM event. Whilst other activities that used the past and BGA's resources occurred during this time, these two examples are two of the most visible and most complete examples of the narratives that Barclays plc were disseminating. The chapter will then analyse why various content creators at Barclays plc believe there is value in using material artefacts as part of their use of the past activities. There will then be a brief discussion on the findings followed by the conclusion.

6.1.   The 2012 Transform Programme launch event and the use of physical artefacts

Although the *Made by Barclays* video featured prominently in the launch event for Barclays plc's new set of corporate values (see Chapter 5), other historical materials were also present that were used to support the historical narrative being presented. These included exhibition panels, posters, table cards used to identify the tables so attendees could locate their seats, and a *Made by Barclays* booklet used to bolster the authenticity claims made in the *Made by Barclays* video. The booklet begins with Jenkins, Barclays plc's CEO, emphasising that continuity of the Transform programme: 'in looking to the future – our focus of our work at this meeting – we should take time to remind ourselves of the achievements and learning of the past.'[338] This proclamation is then followed by a timeline that also acts as a contents page for the booklet, showing landmarks in Barclays plc's history imposed over an image of the Barclays plc blue Morris Minor (Figure 7).

The *Made by Barclays* booklet offers a more comprehensive account of Barclays plc's history, showing events that were in the *Made by Barclays* video as well as other events that

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[338] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays' (Booklet, December 2012), 3, 1943/2, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

were either cut from the video or were not discussed at all.[339] All these entries include images, with many of these taken from the archives held at BGA such as the flag from the Bonington expedition to Mount Everest (Figure 10) and photos of the opening of the first ATM (Figure 9). Posters and table cards at the event repeat the themes using the same imagery and basic information, reiterating that Barclays plc was 'Celebrating over 300 years of proud history (Figure 8).' The booklet concludes with a message from Jenkins stating that 'moments in our history show us what we can achieve when we commit to a common goal and are [sic] grounded in strong values.'[340]

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[339] BGA holds a transcript of the Made by Barclays film that shows that certain events, such as the bank's financing of Cunard or its history in Africa were cut from the released version. Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays Film Transcript' (Document, 2012), Accession 1943/3, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.
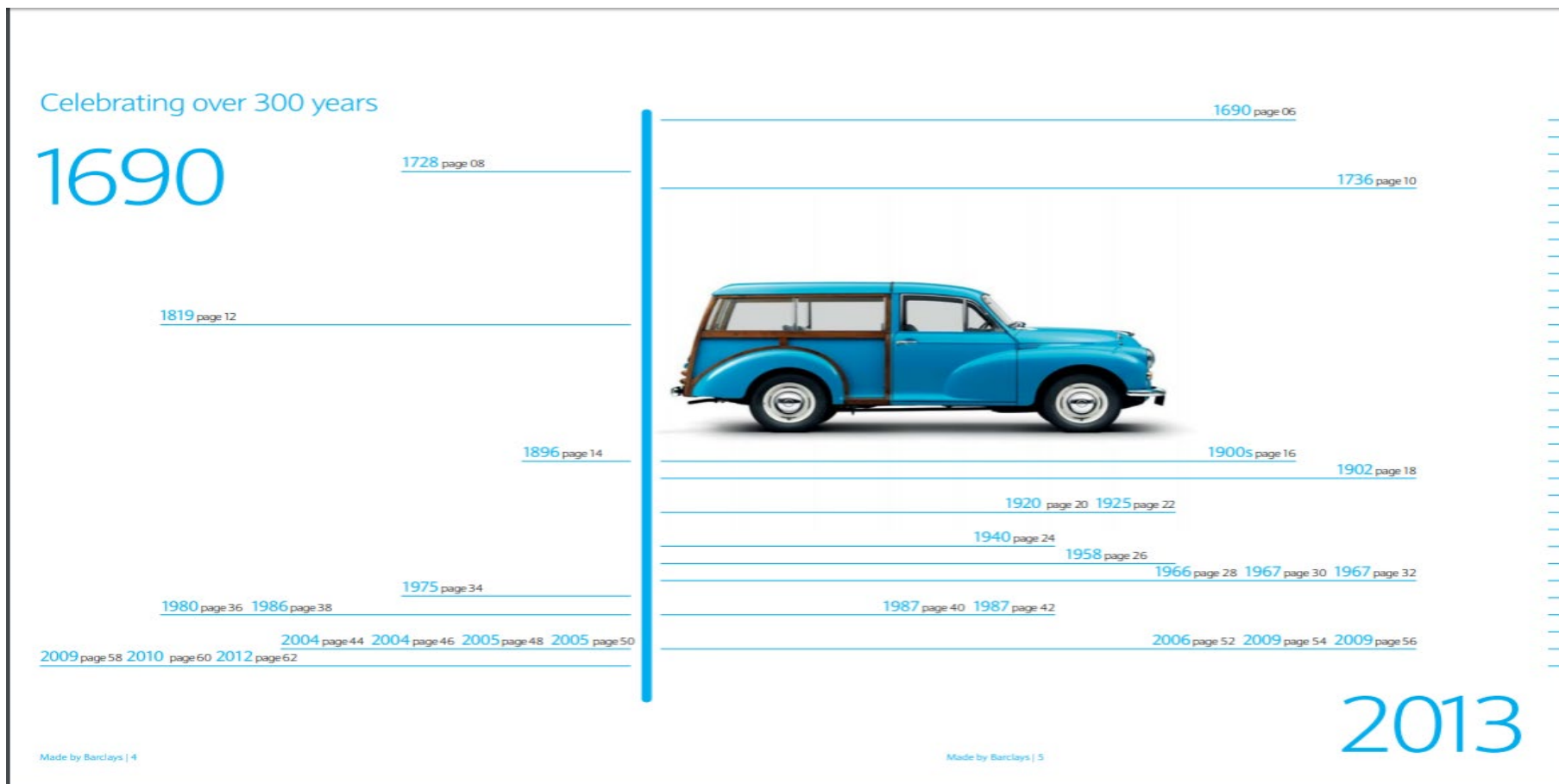[340] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays' This is quoted from an unnumbered page at the end of the booklet.

Figure 7: The Made by Barclays booklet features a timeline and image of the Morris Minor used in the Made by Barclays video starting Joseph Fiennes.341

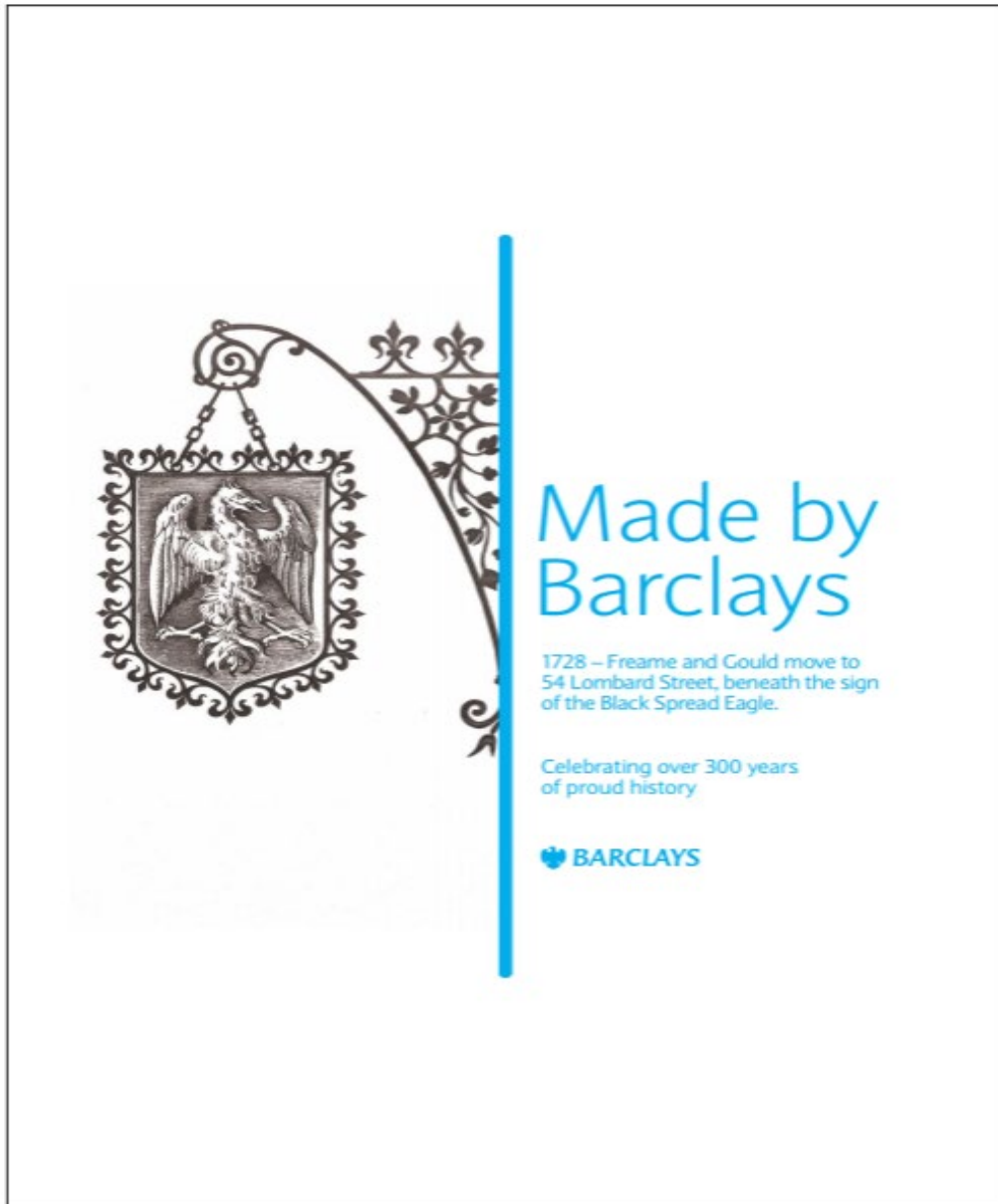[341] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays', 4–5.

Figure 8: Made by Barclays Lombard Street Eagle. Various posters were produced for the Transform Programme launch event featuring historical material including this poster of the historic Spread Eagle sign fixed to the Lombard Street headquarters for the Made by Barclays video.[342]

[342] Barclays plc, 'Barclays Senior Leadership Event - Print Comms Overview' (Document, 23 November 2012), 1943/3, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.

Figure 9: The Made by Barclays booklet included historical material that documents Barclays plc's achievements, such as the launch of the first ATM in 1967.[343]

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[343] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays', 30–31.

At the time of the 2012 Transform Programme launch event, Barclays plc had not published its new corporate values; thus, the material created to promote the planned cultural change was designed to signal these oncoming changes. Documents held at BGA show the main purpose of this event was to 'achieve emotional buy-in across the group' and '[t]o inspire a sense of togetherness, distinctiveness and confidence in the global Barclays community.'[344] It is clear that the video and the associated materials were created to legitimise the cultural change that Barclays plc was instituting. A major way Barclays plc tried to do this was to portray this cultural change as a return to the historical, Barclays plc values and identity, however loosely defined those were at this point. This change would also be a return to the authentic Barclays plc identity portrayed in the *Made by Barclays* video.

On this occasion, the archives and the artefacts preserved at BGA were being presented as evidence to create the impression that this cultural change represented the return to Barclays plc's authentic identity. Essentially, the archival authenticity of the artefacts that have been preserved at BGA was being used to support the historical narrative being presented. However, rather than rely on the informational content of the booklets, posters, and exhibitions, material artefacts were also being shown as evidence of these claims. Whilst there was some use of authentic artefacts in the *Made by Barclays* video, much of it relied on mock-ups of authentic historical artefacts or images and featuring geographic locations that were representative of the historical events being discussed. In that video, the claims were explicitly made with historical vignettes sourced from the archives acting to bolster the authenticity claims being made. However, in the booklets, posters, and exhibitions, the archival evidence Barclays plc present is used to construct a timeline of Barclays plc's successes based around material artefacts, showing a simple narrative that employees could be proud of and connect to, creating a 'greater sense of togetherness, distinctiveness, [and] confidence.'[345] Whilst organisations in other industries have tangible products from their past that they can use as part of their use of the past strategies, such as Carlsberg's use of historic bottle designs or Coca-Cola's use of their products in their World of Coca-Cola museum; that is unavailable to Barclays plc due to the nature of their work in the

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[344] Barclays plc, 'Brief 4th April 2012'.
[345] Barclays plc, 'Brief 4th April 2012'.

financial services industry.[346] Therefore, BGA provided a unique repository of material artefacts within the bank that could be used for this purpose, unique both in the sense that they are specific to Barclays plc and that there was nowhere else in the organisation that can provide similar material artefacts.

[346] Markley, 'The Coca-Cola Company Archives: Thriving Where Dilbert, Not Schellenberg, Matters'; Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Ioanna Papasolomou, and Demetris Vrontis. 'Building Corporate Branding through Internal Marketing: The Case of the UK Retail Bank Industry.' *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 15, no. 1 (2006): 37–47.

Figure 10: The Made by Barclays booklet shows the flag taken up Mount Everest by Sir Chris Bonington. [347]

1975

Barclays sponsors the British-led expedition to conquer the South West face of Everest, led by Chris Bonington.

Made by Barclays | 34

Made by Barclays | 35

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[347] Barclays plc, 'Made by Barclays', 34–35.

Physical artefacts, or their representation, were not at the centre of the values launch event, which instead focused on the *Made by Barclays* video. Additionally, it is unclear how audiences reacted to the use of material artefacts in the non-video content, whether it was more or less effective in transmitting Barclays plc's intended message or was viewed as secondary to the *Made by Barclays* video. Regardless, the use of artefacts to convey the new corporate values and the historical narrative that Barclays plc was promoting would increase as the bank's 325th anniversary approached in 2015. In part, this may be due to some of the criticism of the earlier event and strategy. Discussing the *Made by Barclays* video in 2018, UL17, the former Managing Director of Corporate Communications at Barclays plc, stated that:

> I have a huge degree of scepticism over the Joseph Fiennes video because you think it's so bloody glossy, and I think it's weird to make adverts for your colleagues for your stuff.[348]

Indeed, the feeling that corporate use of history both at Barclays plc, and at other organisations, tends to be 'too glossy' came through multiple times in the same interview, with the same interviewee describing Lloyds and HSBC's celebration of their anniversaries similarly. UL17 suggested that creating a 'glossy' history that ignores the mistakes of the past or portrays the organisation in an unrealistic light can be a problem if 'something inadvertent and unfortunate happens in the market that means that you can't really launch it.'[349]

UL17 continued by suggesting that the purpose of using history in these campaigns was not merely to increase interest in the history of the organisation through using interesting media, nor to show the employees a compelling narrative of the organisation's past. Instead, these strategies need to show the audience something they can take forward into their job roles, with the former Managing Director of Corporate Communications arguing that:

> The Barclays' Joseph Fiennes video feels like they're at the very glossy 'here's the stuff that we can use to make the thing today' as opposed to what does this tell us on a longer-term, so I don't think it works if it's just 'hey we found an interesting period

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[348] UL17.
[349] UL17.

here you go.’ It needs to be about where did it come from because if you don’t know
that you don’t know where you’re going and what needs to happen.[350]

The view that the use of past in the 2012 *Made by Barclays* video was ‘too glossy’ leading to it
not fulfilling its strategic aim of creating a new organisational culture suggests that managers at
Barclays plc at the time were aware of the value of authenticity in legitimising the historical
narrative they were constructing. However, this criticism also suggests that they were not certain
of the best way to create the perception of authenticity in their audience and make the narrative
resonate with their employees. Although the *Made by Barclays* video and the values launch
event made some use of BGA for its artefacts and the research value provided by BGA, the de-
contextualisation of the artefacts and decision not to highlight BGA as the source of this
information had potentially limited the benefit they could provide. By resembling advertising to
particular viewers rather than an authentic historical narrative with authentic historical artefacts
preserved by BGA, the campaign could appear inauthentic. During the initial launch material,
there is no mention of the source of the artefacts, how they were originally used, why Barclays
plc have preserved them, and who did the preserving. This lack of provenance information may
explain why for UL4, a Relationship Director at Barclays plc’s Corporate Banking division, it
was a struggle to remember the purpose of the video, even if it was memorable in some way,
stating ‘I remember a car, like an old car, a video with an old car in it and a famous actor which
is a really cool and effective video. I do remember that, but that’s probably it.’[351]

Although this interviewee notes it was an ‘effective’ video, it is unclear what she found effective
about it other than being memorable and ‘cool.’ This suggests that while the video was
impactful, it did not necessarily relay the message that Barclays plc were intending clearly or in a
manner that resonated with them. Whilst the narrative presented by *Made by Barclays* remained
accurate, and the records and artefacts remained authentic, the decision not to highlight the
material artefacts as authentic historical artefacts, and to not discuss BGA’s role in preserving
the bank’s past and their role in constructing the narrative, may have led to the video not
fulfilling its purpose through the narrative being somewhat forgettable. However, the fact that

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[350] UL17.
[351] UL4.

this interviewee specifically remembered the car, a material artefact, albeit one created specifically for the video, more than the message suggests that such artefacts may have been more memorable than the narrative and could be used to make the narrative more memorable.

The responses of the other interviewees support the suggestion that the artefacts in the *Made by Barclays* video were more memorable than the narrative. In making this assessment, the interviews were coded for references to the 2012 video and specific artefacts that were present in the video. Nine of the interviewees have been excluded from this analysis: one does not work directly for Barclays plc and would not be expected to have seen it; five of the interviewees worked on the creation of the video in some capacity, either shaping its direction or as part of the archives team, and therefore their memory of it is shaped by their role as a creator; and three were not Barclays plc employees in 2012. Whilst it is possible that those three may have seen the video at other events or during training, all interviewees were asked if they had received any training during their inductions on Barclays plc's history and all three stated that they had either not received any specific training or did not remember having done so. As the researcher cannot be sure whether they have been exposed to the *Made by Barclays* video and do not remember it or whether they have not seen it at all, the decision was made to exclude them from this analysis. Of the remaining 12 interviews, ten mentioned the *Made by Barclays* video when discussing their knowledge of the bank's history. However, none discussed the narrative in the video, with six interviewees referring to the video as they remember the Morris Minor car specifically; one mentioned the 'Barclays bikes', the public cycle scheme in London sponsored by Barclays that appear near the end of the video; and the remaining three remembered the video more generally but were unable to pick out specific moments or the narrative that was presented. Additionally, none linked the narrative in the video to Barclays plc's values, although three did explicitly link Barclays plc's contemporary corporate values with the bank's history.

The interviews suggest that specific artefacts from the *Made by Barclays* video were more memorable than the narrative itself. Despite his scepticism over the video, UL17 stated that, along with other work they had done, the video had 'focused people's views, colleagues today are better equipped to tell you about things in the history of the bank then they would have been

ten years ago, 15 years ago.'[352] The interview data is insufficient to measure whether awareness of Barclays plc's history has improved in the last two decades. However, excluding the two interviews with archivists and one interview with someone external to the bank, 16 of the 19 interviewees were able to discuss specific events from Barclays plc's past without prompting, ranging from the purchase of Martins Bank (five); Barclays plc's founders Freame and Gould (four); the launching of the first ATM and credit card in Britain (nine); the connection to Quaker families (six); the sponsorship of Bonington's ascent of Everest (three); and financing the Stockton-Darlington railway (two). Whilst the *Made by Barclays* video may not have been as impactful as some would have liked, it is clear that Barclays plc managers still believed that a use of the past strategy could still be useful in their attempts to change the organisational culture, and that employees were interested in the history of the bank and receptive to use of the past activities.

6.2.   Managers' motives for investing resources in the 325th-anniversary celebrations

The context for the decision to celebrate Barclays plc's 325th-anniversary was taken during Barclays plc's ongoing reputational problems from 2012. As one interviewee, the Vice President for Campaigns, Content and Planning at the time and heavily involved in planning the content for the anniversary, stated:

> 325 years, it's not necessarily the most grand of anniversary dates to work on, but you know we've got a massively strong history and at a time particularly back in 2014 we were still very much in the midst of big reputational problems, and we wanted to remind a lot of the people that we're trying to influence, our customers or politicians or media and our staff you know remind them that we are a long-standing institution that we have done many, many [sic] good things around the world and particularly in the UK and we wanted to create a campaign of activity through the whole of 2015 to mark that.[353]

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[352] UL17.
[353] UL3.

The age of Barclays plc was not reason enough to celebrate the anniversary; instead 'any commemoration must serve to strengthen Barclays plc's reputation and establish a commitment to the future.'[354] This decision shows continuity with the events in 2012, particularly the speeches by Jenkins, with Barclays plc's past not merely being something to highlight as a point of differentiation from their competition but as something that would influence the future of the organisation going forward. However, rather than *telling* employees about Barclays plc's past, in 2015 they would choose to *show* them the past, both through the programme of activities throughout 2015 and at the AGM. At the 2015 AGM, Barclays plc planned that 'the exhibition area at the Royal Festival Hall will be divided into a series of interactive zones, each focussed on a theme (e.g., famous customers from history) or transformation (e.g., evolution of cheque processing).'[355]

The programme of events for 2015 and the AGM exhibition was also intended to be seen by many of Barclays plc's employees, although this was not on the same scale as the 2012 training programme. To this end, Barclays plc would use their intranet to provide employees with access to events at the AGM whilst also using it to communicate narratives that drew on BGA's holdings and showed photographs and digital representations of the BGA's artefacts. All this would link to their current strategy around being an international bank, with the new values emphasised heavily throughout, directing their past in pursuit of their contemporary goals.

6.3.   *Millions of Stories* and the use of material artefacts

An important part of building towards the 325th-anniversary events was the investment in BGA itself. BGA had been requesting its own website, separate from the main Barclays plc website, prior to the 2015 anniversary celebrations. In December 2014, BGA was given the resources to construct its website, providing that it was ready for launch by March 2015.[356] The idea was not new; however, the upcoming anniversary provided the impetus to carry out the plan. The plan allowed for the digitisation of parts of BGA's holdings, providing greater access to them for

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[354] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2' (PowerPoint Presentation, 9 September 2014), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015.
[355] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.
[356] Maria Sienkiewicz, email correspondence with author, February 25, 2019

internal and external users without the need to visit the physical archives. Although digital copies of physical records do not offer the same sensory experience as interacting with the physical artefact itself, this form of digitisation did allow Barclays plc to show a wide range of physical artefacts to different audiences.

The build-up to Barclays plc's 325th-anniversary exhibition at their AGM also involved the creation of other media that promoted the history of Barclays plc. One of these was 'Antony Jenkins Diary', a regular blog that the CEO posted to Barclays plc's intranet. Between January 2015 and his resignation in July 2015 Jenkins made a total of sixteen posts, nine of which referred specifically to the history of Barclays plc and the upcoming anniversary. Indeed, his first entry of the year highlights the upcoming anniversary, stating that the anniversary meant that Barclays plc pre-dated both the US Declaration of Independence and the British Act of Union.[357] Whilst this post does not link to any of the physical artefacts held at BGA, the post highlights Barclays plc's contemporary corporate value of Stewardship. Indeed, Jenkins noted that 'Barclays was built over centuries and as stewards of this company, we have a responsibility to build in the legacy of those who came before us', inviting contemporary employees to be part of the bank's narrative going forward.[358]

Various other posts in the diary reference the history of Barclays plc, connecting it to the contemporary goals of the organisation. Examples include referencing Freame and Gould's legacy, donating £325,000 to various projects over 2015, and how Barclays plc with 'over 150 years of history' [in Africa], we have a key role to play' in various projects in Africa.[359] Jenkins also uses the historical relationships of the bank as an example of what employees should strive for going forward, citing the recent '260th anniversary of our oldest Corporate Banking [sic] relationship' as an example of 'what a Go-To bank is all about.'[360] Additionally, Jenkins mentions the 'display of documents and artefacts from our [Barclays plc's] 325-year history' in

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[357] Antony Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary' (Folder, 12 January 2015), 1867/1, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.
[358] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary', 12 January 2015.
[359] Antony Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary' (Folder, 16 February 2015), Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom; Antony Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary' (Folder, 24 April 2015), 1867/1, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom; Antony Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary' (Folder, 11 June 2015), 1867/1, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.
[360] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary', 12 January 2015.

the post that also mentions the launch of BGA's dedicated website which 'made our Group Archives digitally available.'[361] Whilst only a brief mention, it is one of many instances throughout these anniversary events to put the focus on BGA and the material artefact themselves, this instance having great significance coming directly from the very top of the organisation. These proclamations also make moral authenticity claims, linking the physical artefacts to the morals that the narrative promoted in the Transform Programme had depicted as the authentic moral code of the bank, particularly the value of Stewardship demonstrated through the preservation of these historical artefacts.

Another programme that ran during the build-up to the 2015 AGM and continued until the end of 2015 was called *Millions of Stories*. This programme comprised of narratives distributed online on Barclays plc's intranet site, with some stories and images later developed into larger promotional pieces that were displayed at Barclays plc's headquarters. These stories were posted on an internal social media platform called *My Story* with some also being posted on the main intranet page. This platform had limited functionality that allowed Barclays plc employees to post their own stories, updates, or general advice and 'Like' other posts, but they could not comment on them. The *Millions of Stories* pieces were posted on both Barclays plc main intranet pages and the *My Story* platform. However, they were clearly marked as being produced by Barclays plc rather than employees, with the creator of the post listed as *Millions of stories. One Barclays*.

The focus of these stories is on the corporate values that Barclays plc had introduced since 2012: Respect, Integrity, Service, Excellence, and Stewardship. Whilst the *Made by Barclays* video gestures towards the enduring values of Barclays plc, it does not mention those five specifically as they were not announced until January 2013. Likewise, Jenkins' blog diary rarely states the specific corporate values, with mentions of employees being 'stewards of the company' being his most direct reference to the values.[362] These stories, on the other hand, draw a more direct link between the values and the history, with all 15 Barclays plc produced narratives naming a specific value in the title of the post showing that this part of the strategy was to directly link

[361] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary', 24 April 2015.
[362] Jenkins, 'Antony Jenkins Diary', 12 January 2015.

Barclays plc's history to the corporate values. For this research, the first type of narrative has been categorised as Backwards-Linking Artefact Narratives. The second type has been categorised as Forward-Linking Artefact Narratives. For a full list of the narratives and a reproduction of their content, see Appendix B.

6.3.1. Forward-Linking Artefact Narratives

Ten of the 15 narratives draw attention to the longevity of the value being described, with titles such as 'Two Stories of Service, 55 years apart' that highlight the continuity between ideal employee behaviour in the past and now.[363] These narratives also focus on continuity, comparing a contemporary story of an employee's actions and how they demonstrated a particular value with the actions of a past employee or activity of Barclays plc to show the enduring nature of the values

The Forward-Linking Artefact Narratives follow a different structure to the other type of narrative, although it is still built around displaying physical artefacts or records from BGA. They all follow the same naming convention, stating that the entry is two stories of a particular corporate value, separated by a certain number of years, such as the example above. These narratives introduce a contemporary Barclays plc employee or programme and describe their contribution to the company and wider society. This story is then compared to a historical example of something similar, linking it to something in BGA that either shows the historical employee or activity, or documents it. The evidence presented varies depending on the narrative, with some offering photos of historical employees such as Barclays plc's first female clerk in East Africa or linking to a manual held at BGA that shows the rules that apprentices in 1911 were expected to follow.[364] The stories end with a short paragraph that links this back to Barclays plc's ongoing activities and commitments, highlighting the continuity of their corporate values.

Variations of this type of narratives were also later featured on the main Barclays plc intranet webpage, but rather than have links directly to BGA's website, they are linked to the original

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[363] N15.
[364] N6, N10.

version on the *My Stories* page. These versions would contain similar content but would also typically feature a photograph of the employee holding an artefact. These include things such as employees holding a 'Statement of Account Wallet' to link to the changing ways that Barclays plc communicates with its customers (Figure 11); another shows a cuddly toy Barclays Eagle, called Barclay Bill, to link their historical efforts to prepare children for the future with their contemporary charity schemes aimed at young people in Lisbon (Figure 12). The images used for these versions of the narratives were also turned into posters shown at Barclays plc's headquarters in London. These narratives, along with the photographs, were designed by Barclays plc with the hope that by 'juxtaposing stories from the past and the present, we see just how important Barclays Values [sic] have been throughout history.'[365]

6.3.2.   Backward-Linking Artefact Narratives

The remaining five narratives also name a specific value, but rather than link it to a contemporary story of an employee's actions, they focus on the historical story. Additionally, they specifically mention the historical artefact that provides evidence of this narrative, with titles such as 'A story of Stewardship, recalled by an 1896 minute book.'[366] Many of these narratives stories also make specific mention of BGA, sometimes also mentioning specific archivists.

The Backward-Linking Artefact Narratives were posted earlier and have a different focus than the Froward-Linking Artefact Narratives, utilising the materiality of the artefacts in a different way. Those that focus on a historical artefact often link it to the contemporary strategy of implementing a new set of corporate values, such as the narrative 'A Story of Service recorded in a leather bound diary.'[367] This post documents a historical manager's diary, Mr A. Fitton, and his decision to agree to an overdraft request from a local borough so they could build air-raid shelters, with this action being linked to Barclays plc's contemporary support of the Armed Forces Transition Employment and Resettlement programme. Other Backward-Linking Artefact

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[365] Barclays plc, 'Millions of Stories: Continuing the Legacy of Colleagues Past'' (Document, 16 June 2015), BGA library, B693, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom.
[366] N4.
[367] N3.

Narratives are similar in this regard, with another using the flag taken up Mt. Everest to show how at Barclays plc 'we always strive for Excellence [sic], dedicating our attention and time to support initiatives such as Wheels for Change.'[368] Not all other Backward-Linking Artefact Narratives follow this exactly, instead choosing to highlight the artefact and the role of BGA in preserving these artefacts and inviting the viewer to visit the new BGA website for more information and more images of the artefact. This choice is the case with two of the narratives: a narrative focusing on minute books, and a narrative that focused on a document created by Barclays plc's Canterbury Head Office that commemorated Barclays plc employees who fought in World War Two which also links to a video by one of the BGA archivists giving more information about the artefact.[369] This video ends with the archivist stating that, in the archives, 'a lot of the items are of national significance, but they also embody the Barclays' Values as we see them today. It just shows they've been there all along.'[370]

These two types of narratives allow us to see the evolution of Barclays plc's use of the past strategy regarding the material artefacts at BGA. The older Backward-Linking Artefact Narratives present vignettes to employees and link them to the values, but they do not draw a connection between the historical values and the expected behaviour of contemporary employees. Whilst these narratives are making moral authenticity claims using the material artefacts, they can be seen as an example of an interesting historical period or event rather than something that employees can take forward and utilise in their job roles as the events described are arguably too distant to be relevant. By only celebrating the actions of past employees, the Backward-Linking Artefact Narratives do not allow contemporary employees to be part of the narrative, nor show how the historical values can be applied to their contemporary roles.

In contrast, the Forward-Linking Artefact Narratives make a direct connection between the historical values of Barclays plc and the behaviour of contemporary employees. By using the stories of contemporary employees, Barclays plc shows how the values are enacted in a continuity that makes the featured employees part of the bank's narrative going forward making

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[368] N2.
[369] N4, N5.
[370] Barclays plc, 'A Story of Respect Remembered by a Canterbury War Record - Video', 2015, ts. 1:29-1:39, https://www.media.barclays.co.uk/player-standalone/?id=163666-6151728&width=604&height=340.

them inclusive rather than exclusive, allowing contemporary staff to be part of Barclays plc's narrative and demonstrating to others that their contribution will also be remembered. Historical and contemporary employees are depicted as overcoming adversity and delivering the best for their customer by embodying the corporate values, thereby affecting the world around them, something that is represented by the material artefacts that act as physical symbols of this process. Indeed, these narratives were constructed with the intent of 'looking at how colleagues today are continuing the legacy of colleagues from our past' and challenge employees to ask, 'what stories will colleagues be learning from 325 years from now?'[371]

Showing the contemporary employee with material artefacts that are presented as embodying the Barclays plc values enrols the artefact as an actor in perpetuating the narrative that these are authentic Barclay plc values. Whilst the narrative component is important in contextualising the artefact and enrolling it as an actor, the material artefact is added to make the content resonate with the intended audience by providing a physical embodiment of the values and an attempt to make it more memorable. However, it is unclear how effective these attempts were as, from the interviews, only the archivists who helped create them recalled having seen this specific content. The *Millions of Stories* content on the *My Stories* page does show how many people liked a story but does not present any data on how many times it was viewed. Of the 15 narratives presented, seven were also posted on Barclays plc's main intranet page with photographs of the employee with the artefact presented, and at least one of these photographs was turned into a poster to be shown at head office (Figure 12). The seven posted on Barclays plc's intranet page average 16 likes each, with the remaining eight averaging 17. The most liked post was N15, receiving 30 Likes, featured on Barclays plc's intranet and includes a photograph of an employee with an artefact (Figure 11). The marginal difference in average likes suggest that greater exposure on Barclays plc's intranet was not a pivotal factor in encouraging employee engagement with the *My Stories* pages. However, the evolution of Barclays plc's use of the past strategy that saw increasing use of material artefacts and BGA more explicitly than before does suggest that the bank saw value in using them in this fashion. Whilst Barclay plc had already incurred the costs of conducting research into the archives for the stories that formed its historical narrative, the

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[371] Barclays plc, 'Millions of Stories: Continuing the Legacy of Colleagues Past'.

bank was now incurring the costs of providing BGA with its own dedicated website, transporting employees to BGA to take these photographs, and creating videos with the archivists discussing the artefacts. Although these may be relatively small costs for a company like Barclays plc, with adjusted profits before tax of £5.5 billion in 2014, they were costs that did not need to be incurred if the narratives alone were considered sufficient to achieve their strategic objective.[372]

This focus on the historical artefact in its contemporary context of the archives is a shift away from earlier activities that made use of Barclays plc's past, such as the *Made by Barclays* video. Whilst that did rely on archival research and some archival artefacts to bolster its authenticity claims, the archive itself was still a background feature, with the focus on promoting the narrative presented rather than the historical artefacts or historical research that underpinned the narrative. The *Millions of Stories* narratives were created to fulfil a similar aim, showing that Barclays plc's corporate values are fundamental to the organisation and have been an enduring part of Barclays plc throughout its history. However, here the physical artefacts, BGA, and, to a lesser extent, the archivists are a key part of the narratives, allowing employees to see the past for themselves, forcing them to be historically conscious, and demonstrating Barclays plc's stated commitment to the value of Stewardship.[373] This instance would not be the only time Barclays plc promote BGA, the artefacts, and the archivists to the front of their use of the past strategy, with Barclays plc's 2015 AGM seeing extensive use of all these resources.

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[372] Barclays PLC Annual Report 2014.
[373] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*, 288.

Figure 11: Cropped photograph from a post titled Two stories of Service, 55 years apart. This image showed a contemporary employee holding a Statement of Account wallet that shows Barclays plc moving from handwritten accounts to typewritten accounts in 1959.[374]

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[374] N15.

Figure 12: Cropped photograph from Two moments of Stewardship, 24 years apart. This image shows a contemporary employee holding 'Barclays Bill' a character Barclays plc introduced in 1991 to teach children about saving money.[375]

[375] N9.

6.4.   Barclays plc's 2015 AGM

The 2015 AGM was designed to be 'a key milestone in this [the 325th-anniversary] celebration', with the exhibition at the event to be planned around the concept 'Barclays stories at 325: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', a concept that evolved from of 'Barclays at 325: Who do you think we are?'[376] With this in mind, Barclays plc executives decided to use the exhibition space at their AGM to focus on the history of the organisation. This approach contrasted with the 2013 and 2014 AGMs, which had focused on their strategy going forward. Part of the reasoning for the 2015 concept was showing 'how the amazing stories from our past are informing our future', with the AGM exhibition an integral part of the wider programme of activity. Additionally, the topic was seen as a 'topical, interesting, and *visual* [my emphasis] subject that will be relevant to the delegate attending.' Indeed, the visual and material elements of the past also appears to have been important as 'the "tomorrow" element [was] far less tangible' than the past which, could to some extent, speak for itself.[377]This was also a chance for Barclays plc to demonstrate the authenticity of their values, linking the celebration to their project with the *Financial Times* that focused on achieving corporate longevity. [378]

In order to involve as many employees and stakeholders as possible, there were various events planned: to create a series of videos featuring Barclays plc Executive Committee members discussing various artefacts from BGA; to link to the ABSA museum and other Barclays Africa artefacts; to make versions of the AGM exhibition available to employees through recorded and streamed videos of the event on Barclays plc's intranet and, potentially, through a roadshow that toured Barclays plc; to create an online walk-through of the AGM exhibition that could be viewed online; and interviewing past employees about historic events such as the launch of the first ATM.[379] Additionally, attendees at the AGM would receive an illustrated brochure that gave a history of Barclays plc, written by Professor Leslie Hannah, the co-author of *Barclays: the*

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[376] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'; Barclays plc, 'Exhibition Participant Brief V2' (Document, 16 April 2015), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015.
[377] Barclays plc, 'Exhibition Participant Brief V2'.
[378] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.
[379] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.

Business of Banking 1690-1996, as well as photographs to illustrate the historical narrative presented. Indeed, the cover of the brochure put the artefacts at BGA front and centre of the image, featuring a photograph of a wide variety of BGA's artefacts in a staged setting taken at BGA (Figure 13).

The 2015 AGM exhibition had five key themes: financing pioneers, pioneering payments and processing, pioneers in society, embracing diversity and inclusion, and British roots and global impact.[380] These displays consisted of at least two side panels featuring images from the AGM brochure, information to contextualise the exhibit, and a central table or cabinet that feature displays of artefacts from BGA. The centre tables and cabinets also displayed information about the specific artefacts and arranged them into a timeline that produced a narrative of Barclays plc's progress around the five key themes mentioned above. The decisions on what would be displayed and how the material would be presented were reached in partnership between Barclays plc executives, Barclays plc's Group Archivists, and Professor Hannah. In total, BGA provided at least fifty-seven artefacts for display at the 2015 AGM, with all but eight being the original and authentic item rather than a reproduction or photograph of the archival original.[381] Professor Hannah would also address the AGM attendees before the AGM officially started, remaining in attendance afterwards so that he, along with the archivists from BGA, could discuss the exhibits with attendees.

The 2015 AGM was an opportunity for Barclays plc to further bolster their authenticity claims using material artefacts from the archives as well as the legitimacy conferred by experts such as Professor Hannah and the archivists themselves. Indeed, the original proposal stated that it was 'important that the exhibition retains a clear thread to our strategy and international history. We need to *demonstrate* [my emphasis] the connection between the stories from our past and how that informs our present and future.' The proposal goes onto give an example of how this would be demonstrated by 'an early cheque versus our new cheque scanning technology.'[382] This also

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[380] Barclays plc, 'Content Structure for Exhibition V3' (Document, 23 March 2015), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015.
[381] Barclays plc, 'Archive Assets_v2 0 Ms Captions' (Document, 21 April2015), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015.
[382] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.

suggests that it was integral to this strategy to be able to show Barclays plc's commitment to its historical values through material artefacts, both historical and contemporary. By presenting such artefacts and contrasting them against one another, they would act to bolster the authenticity claims being made that Barclays plc was operating under a set of values that were true to the organisation's history.

In the booklet, *Barclays at 325: A Brief History* Jenkins connects Barclays plc's values to the success of the company. Jenkins states that:

> When Barclays was founded in 1690, we had a strong and enduring sense of purpose, driven by the deeply held Quaker Values [sic] of our founders; a set of beliefs about our culture and the way we did business. In 2013 the launch of our Transform strategy provided a vital moment for us to reconnect with our original Purpose and reassert our commitment to a Values-based [sic] culture.[383]

The booklet constructs a narrative that connects Barclays plc's historical values to its present-day behaviour, arguing that 'continuities in Barclays' culture and transformative innovations in which the bank participated give us some tantalising clues to the roots of the group's remarkable and continuing success and offer inspiration to present-day bankers.'[384] The booklet follows a similar structure to the main presentation, although focuses on only three of the themes – financing pioneers, payments and processing, and embracing and championing diversity – with information on Barclays plc's British roots and the theme of pioneers in society absorbed into the remaining three. Many of the images included in the booklet were also presented at the AGM exhibition or were of artefacts that were presented, such as the Barclaycard suit (Figure 15), as well as images included in the *Made by Barclays* video such as photographs of Hilda Harding. The booklet concludes by connecting the values of Barclays founders and their contemporary actions stating:

> One hopes that they would have saluted modern attempts to reconnect with their values and strong sense of purpose, as the bank strives, as they did, to create an

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[383] Leslie Hannah, 'Barclays at 325: A Brief History', 3.
[384] Leslie Hannah, 'Barclays at 325: A Brief History', 4.

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institution which is built to last on the basis of serving its customers and other stakeholders well.[385]

Whilst much of the information in the booklet was repeated on walls of the AGM exhibition that contextualised the artefacts, the booklet offers a more concise chronological narrative than the exhibition itself. However, the booklet was seen as secondary to the exhibition itself in the planning documents, with the idea of a booklet missing from the proposal designed for Professor Hannah and described vaguely in the original internal exhibition proposal as 'add[ing] content to a 325 gift like a notepad.'[386] The booklet itself is also highly visual, with each two-page spread having one page of text and the other featuring photographs of historical figures connected to Barclays plc, historical adverts, or material artefacts. The vast majority of these were taken either from BGA or at BGA, with others being images used in contemporary Barclays plc advertising or communications content and or obtained from historical customers such as Morris Minor. This lies in contrast to the content of the *Made by Barclays* video which featured relatively few authentic historical artefacts, preferring mock-ups and representative objects.

The 2015 AGM and associated material was designed around being able to demonstrate visually the adherence to Barclays plc's historical values as described its constructed historical narrative. In this instance, the material artefacts were being used to bolster the authenticity of Barclays plc's authenticity claims by showing the past rather than merely telling it. The visual element of the display was also important due to the relatively short amount of time that visitors had spent in the exhibition area of previous AGMs.[387] Not only could the material artefacts present the narrative more succinctly that a large amount of text, it was hoped that it would also attract the attention of attendees who often arrived with little time before the main meeting and little interest in engaging with previous attempt at using the exhibition space.

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[385] Leslie Hannah, 'Barclays at 325: A Brief History', 18.
[386] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.
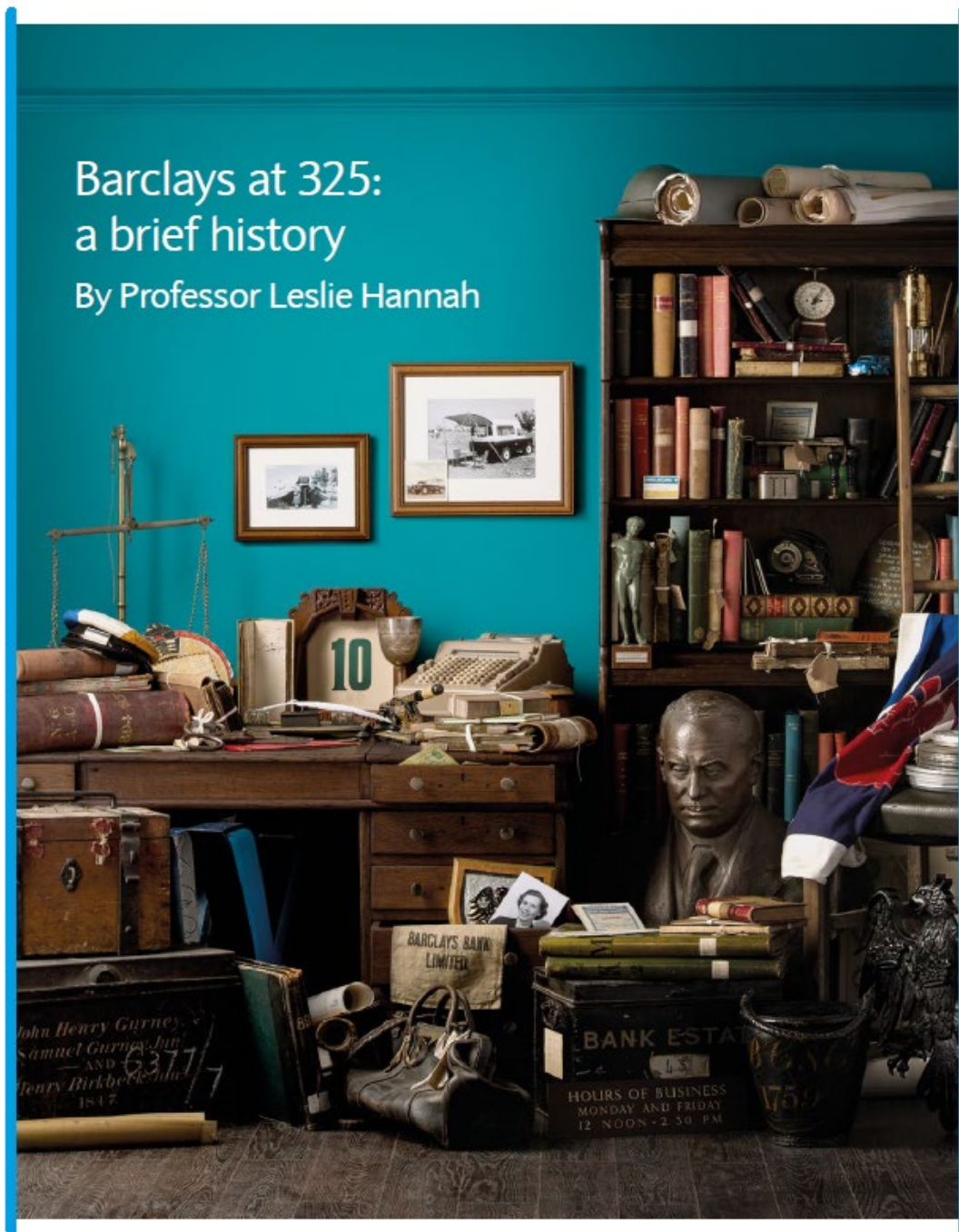[387] Barclays plc, 'Barclays AGM Exhibition Proposal 2015 2'.

Figure 13: Barclays 2015 AGM Brochure front cover.[388]

Figure 14: Barclays 2015 AGM exhibition: Pioneers in society display.[389]

Figure 15: Barclays 2015 AGM exhibition: Pioneering payments and processing display.[390]

[389] Barclays plc, 'Barclays 2015 AGM - Pioneers in Society: BAR23042015_42_web' (Photograph, 23 April 2015), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015\lo res photos.

[390] Barclays plc, 'Barclays 2015 AGM - Pioneering Payments and Processing: DSC03602' (Photograph, 23 April 2015), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Exhibitions\Other exhibitions\AGM\2015\lo res photos.

6.5.   'Bring them to life': Showing Barclays plc's corporate values

Although the Transform Programme was still underway in 2015, the 2015 325th-anniversary provided Barclays plc with an opportunity to focus on what they had achieved since 2012. Rather than use their past to produce a narrative arguing that Barclays plc were returning to their roots and historical values; 2015 was instead a chance to focus on 'what we've achieved in the past two years of our 325-year story' and to be 'excited about the role we can play in society in the future.'[391] In doing this, Barclays plc appears to have learned from their 2012 use of the past efforts that material artefacts and BGA can be used for more than just bolstering authenticity claims. Additionally, the archivists themselves also began playing a more prominent role, further legitimising Barclays plc's claim to enact the value of Stewardship by embodying their commitment to it.

Barclays plc took various measures to make the material artefacts preserved at BGA available to their employees. As mentioned above, these included the construction of BGA's dedicated website, exhibitions at the 2015 AGM and a smaller one at Barclays plc's head office, and through the intranet via the *Millions of Stories* campaign and streaming of the AGM. These actions again appear to be linked to demonstrating the bank's adherence to the value of Stewardship, which Jenkins described as the most important value in his view.[392] For the CEO, it was important that after 'you've described the values that you need to bring them to life through your decision making because if they're just words, people will say was it just words?'[393] Being able to show how Barclays plc preserved their historical artefacts and presenting the employees whose job it is to preserve the past allowed Barclays plc to bring the stories of past stewards to present-day employees, presenting themselves as an organisation with an authentic appreciation for its past, and showing how the organisation dedicates resources to enact their corporate values. Displaying their heritage in the form of these physical artefacts preserved at BGA allowed Barclays plc to draw on their 'implied heritage,' drawing a connection between their longevity

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[391] Hannah, 'Barclays at 325: A Brief History'.
[392] UL19.
[393] UL19.

and the corporate values that were being promoted as responsible for the bank's past and future success. [394]

Demonstrating Barclays plc's dedication to the value of Stewardship appears to have been important in the decision to feature the artefacts and BGA more heavily than in 2012. Indeed, some of the content creators for the 2015 events appear to value the role that material artefacts could play in creating an emotional connection with audiences. The Vice President for Campaigns, Content, and Planning who was heavily involved in the planning of the 2015 AGM and other events taking place during the year discussed the 2015 AGM, stating:

> I think there is something fundamentally valuable about tangible artefacts that people can touch and look at and, you know, feel the history behind, you know, that our forefathers used this and that, and you know there is, Carroll wrote in the ledger or whatever it is you know. I think I think that's really fascinating. I think that makes a massive, massive difference. We have an amazing story to tell that I think and each of the artefacts has its own bit of history, but I think I think that you can't put a price on that I think it's massively, massively valuable.[395]

Other content creators at Barclays plc appear to share the view that there is value in being able to use material artefacts as part of their narratives. UL10, a Senior Media Relations Manager, stated that:

> When we're moving into such a digital world, it's often those physical stories and assets that actually offer the most interest, and we can tell the best stories with, because that's, I think, as physical things, when it comes to history, are often seen as a lot more rare than digital copies.[396]

Material artefacts were also suggested to be better at drawing attention to the content they were creating. Whilst photographs and digital copies provide some value, being able to produce the

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[394] Bradford T. Hudson and John M. T. Balmer, 'Corporate Heritage Brands: Mead's Theory of the Past', *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 18, no. 3 (2013): 350–51.
[395] UL3.
[396] UL10

material artefact was of more value when possible. UL11, Head of Content and Marketing at Barclays Corporate Bank stated that:

> You could argue [that] being able to showcase some of the more striking physical artefacts that I know they have up there in person would really draw a lot of attention […] I know they have showcased them photographically on the lifts and in places like that but […] the Barclaycard suit, I've not seen it in person but I feel like I have because I've seen it published proper sized around the anniversary and stuff like that but then if you have the Barclaycard suit in the lobby, a little sort of, it wouldn't have to be a permanent installation but a temporary installation […] it would certainly get people's attention. [397]

Whilst the use of these artefacts was still part of a larger narrative of showing that Barclays plc's new corporate values are authentic to the history of the organisation, the evidence on which the narrative is constructed was placed in the forefront. Rather than relying on creating a compelling narrative featuring a variety of authenticity claims backed by archival research; this approach used material, archivally authentic objects, highlighting the evidence of Barclays plc's authenticity claims and showing the evidence to audiences rather than telling them. However, whilst Barclays plc may have been showing the evidence that their narrative is based on, the narrative presented is still very much the same one that was constructed in 2012. Employees are not necessarily encouraged to construct their own historical narratives based on the evidence, but to accept Barclays plc's version as legitimate and authentic. The material artefacts are used as a way of grabbing the attention of employees, who often have little attention to spare, and expose them to novel 'rare' artefacts that they would react to. Producing the artefacts at key events or on the intranet also acts to demonstrate that the bank is living up to one of its value of Stewardship, whilst the *Millions of Stories* campaign allowed the bank to highlight other contemporary instances of operating according to the corporate values that could be linked to the past, embodied in the material artefacts.

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[397] UL11.

6.6.   Discussion

It is clear from the literature that material artefacts can be an important resource for creating historical narratives and helping people think historically, whether this is through shaping a historical narrative, creating emotional connections to the past, or inspiring strategic thinking.[398] However, Barclays plc content creators believed material artefacts provided value in other ways too: by seizing the attention of their intended audience; by visually demonstrating a continuity between their contemporary corporate values and the past; and by creating an emotional connection that would ensure the historical narrative they had constructed resonated with employees. Whilst the emotional appeal of historical narratives has not gone unnoticed in use of the past literature, whether using material artefacts can produce stronger emotional reactions that resonate with audiences has not been researched.[399] Likewise, how organisational historical narratives have been disseminated is often discussed, but the techniques and resources that organisations use to ensure that audiences are attentive to them is rarely noted. In the case of Barclays plc, material artefacts were seen by content creators as a key resource for achieving both of these aims when appealing to an internal audience.

Current literature on how organisations use their pasts and promote their organisational identity has examined how organisations enrol employees in these efforts, not only by accepting the narratives or identities but also by promoting them.[400] The use of contemporary employees' stories in the Forward-Linking Artefact Narratives suggests another way organisations utilise

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[398] Taylor, '"Heritage" Revisited: Documents as Artifacts in the Context of Museums and Material Culture'; Nissley and Casey, 'The Politics of the Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory'; Steadman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*; Cappetta and Gioia, 'Fine Fashion: Using Symbolic Artifacts, Sensemaking and Sensegiving to Construct Identity and Image'; Schultz, Hatch, and Ciccolella, 'Brand Life in Symbols and Artifacts: The LEGO Company'; Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese Horse'; Rekrut, 'Matters of Substance: Materiality and Meaning in Historical Records and Their Digital Images'; Castellani and Rossato, 'On the Communication Value of the Company Museum and Archives'; Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country – Revisited*; Hatch and Schultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Barnes and Newton, 'Visualizing Organizational Identity: The History of a Capitalist Enterprise'.

[399] Hatch and Schutz, 'Towards a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Ooi, 'Persuasive Histories: Decentering, Recentering and the Emotional Crafting of the Past'; Lowenthal, *The Past is a foreign Country – Revisited*.

[400] Barnes, Victoria, and Lucy Newton. 'Women, Uniforms and Brand Identity in Barclays Bank.' *Business History* 0, no. 0 (2020): 1–30; Bal, 'Banking on Identity: Constructing a Canadian Banking Identity One Branch at a Time'.

their current staff in the use of the past strategies. Highlighting contemporary employees' actions that are then linked to historical employees can create a continuity that is inclusive, shows employees how they too can be part of the organisation's story in the future. By including material artefacts, Barclays plc allowed employees to see, and in some instances touch, the past with the aim of encouraging an emotional attachment to the past, mediated through the historical narrative that they use to contextualise the artefacts.[401]

Like the *Millions of Stories* narratives, the 2015 AGM exhibition took a different approach to using the organisation's history than in 2012. Rather than rely on the authenticity claims presented in the historical narrative authenticity in *Made by Barclays*, the exhibition and speeches also drew direct connections between the corporate values and the history of Barclays plc as told by Barclays plc. These connections were contextualised by the research produced in the archive by the archivists and Professor Hannah. Through doing this, Barclays plc were attempting to harness the emotional effects that a judicious choice of artefacts in a display can bring. The archival research, presentation from Professor Hannah, and archivists acting as expert guides to the exhibition acted to legitimise the display choices and the presented narrative.[402] Whilst research has been conducted on corporate museums and areas of remembrance, this chapter shows that other corporate efforts to display their material artefacts as part of use of the past strategies may have been overlooked.[403] Internal methods of distribution, such as intranet pages and temporary exhibitions, as well as increasing the visibility of internal sources of historical information and records are also methods employed to display material artefacts and communicate an organisational historical narrative.

The ability to harness material artefacts was important for an organisation like Barclays plc that do not typically produce physical products that stakeholders can form attachments to or use to judge their authenticity claims. It is difficult for Barclays plc to encourage brand loyalty through promoting collecting behaviour as other brands such as Coca-Cola or Hallmark have done.

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[401] Steadman. *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*; Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*.
[402] Dudley, 'Encountering a Chinese Horse'.
[403] Nissley and Casey. 'The Politics of the Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory'; Cutcher, Dale, and Tyler. '"Remembering as Forgetting": Organizational Commemoration as a Politics of Recognition'.

Instead, as BGA archivist UL21 stated: 'its brand is probably its product, and if it's a trustworthy brand they want to enhance that.'[404] Banks can struggle to differentiate themselves based on their services alone, with branding and customer experience often ways they can differentiate themselves.[405] Using physical symbols to reinforce a financial organisation's brand and identity claims is something that banks have done in the past.[406] Barclays plc attempted to use their historical records and artefacts similarly, suggesting that corporate archives are potential sources of historical material artefacts that can be used as part of signalling their corporate identity and encouraging employees to engage with organisational historical narratives.

6.7.   Conclusion

This chapter adds to the use of the past literature by creating a case study to demonstrate how Barclays plc has utilised its material historical artefacts. Whilst use of the past literature has shown how organisations have used their history as a resource to pursue contemporary goals; it has rarely addressed how organisations can use their historical artefacts as part of these strategies. Barclays plc utilised the material artefacts preserved at BGA as a resource for its use of the past strategies. The 2015 anniversary celebrations focused specifically on putting the artefacts and the archive at the forefront of the strategy, with the historical narratives used to contextualise the physical artefacts. The artefacts were used to add substance to the narrative being presented, allowing audiences to see, and potentially interact, with material artefacts with the aim of producing an emotional reaction in the audience. By presenting these artefacts, Barclays plc also encouraged viewers to be historically conscious and reflect on Barclays plc's history. Those employees who could not attend the 2015 AGM, visit BGA, or visit the smaller exhibition at Barclays plc's headquarters, could view digital copies and photographs of material artefacts, making these a valuable part of their use of the past strategy.

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[404] UL21.

[405] Ioanna Papasolomou and Demetris Vrontis 'Building Corporate Branding through Internal Marketing: The Case of the UK Retail Bank Industry.' *Journal of Product & Brand Management* 15, no. 1 (2006): 37–47

[406] Decker, 'Solid Intentions: An Archival Ethnography of Corporate Architecture and Organizational Remembering'; Barnes and Newton, 'Symbolism in Bank Marketing and Architecture: The Headquarters of National Provincial Bank of England'; Barnes Newton. 'Women, Uniforms and Brand Identity in Barclays Bank'.

This chapter also shows the variety of ways that Barclays plc used their material artefacts. Whilst research has demonstrated that organisations do use material artefacts to external audiences as part of their use of the past strategies, little research has focused on internal audiences, or how material artefacts are deployed as a rhetorical resource and what value they add. Whilst this chapter cannot state for certain that Barclays plc were successful in their attempt to use historical material artefacts to make their historical narrative resonate with internal audiences, it is clear from the data that those responsible for content creation at the bank thought they were a valuable resource when constructing and distributing their narratives. In part, the way material artefacts were used represented a more authentic, less glossy version of Barclays plc's past than the 2012 *Made by Barclays* video. Additionally, material artefacts were valued as they were considered to be able to visually demonstrate Barclays plc's historical values, better able to capture the attention of audiences, and better able to produce an emotional reaction from audiences.

Additionally, the data, whilst a small sample set, does suggest that material artefacts were easier to remember than narratives alone, as shown by the interviewee's memories of the *Made by Barclays* video which was mostly through remembering specific material artefacts. As this research focuses on internal audiences, future research could apply these findings to external audiences to assess whether organisations use similar approaches and whether they are effective. Whilst extant research has demonstrated the use of material artefacts by organisations when communicating their historical narratives to external audiences, whether the reasoning behind this decision and whether organisations utilise the same types of material artefacts as when appealing to internal audiences is also unclear.

This chapter focuses on the activities throughout one crucial year rather than the various historical narratives that can exist within organisations. Smith and Russell, and Foroughi have argued historical narratives are polyphonic in nature, with the study of multiple voices and multiple narratives at different levels of an organisation necessary to understand how an organisation understands its history.[407] This chapter has focused exclusively on how Barclays plc

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[407] Smith and Russell, 'Toward Polyphonic Constitutive Historicism: A New Research Agenda for Management Historians', 2016; Foroughi, 'Collective Memories as a Vehicle of Fantasy and Identification: Founding Stories Retold'.

executives and content creators have utilised their material artefacts to present their version of Barclays plc's history, with little presented on how other employees interpreted this and how they perceive the organisation's history. In part, this is due to the data set gathered from the interviews. Whilst interviewees were willing to discuss their use of the past activities and their memories of Barclays plc's use of the past strategies, none of the interviewees mentioned any disagreement with Barclays plc's historical narrative, and few criticised the organisation's approach to disseminating it. Indeed, the interviewees that were critical of the strategy were those that were most senior and responsible for the strategy, with both of those having left Barclays plc at the time of the interview.[408] Both these interviewees were responsible for the creation and implementation of the use of the past strategy at a high level. However, these interviewees were mostly critical of particular elements of the strategy, such as the presentation not featuring the history as prominently as they believed it should, rather than the narrative itself. It is unclear whether this was an unwillingness to dispute the organisational narrative from other interviewees due to worry about repercussions; whether they agreed with the narratives and believed them; or whether it was merely of little importance to them. Therefore, whilst we can see that Barclays plc chose to make heavy use of their material artefacts in 2015, and there is evidence that this was intended to elicit beneficial responses from audiences, it is difficult to verify that it did indeed have this effect.

This chapter has not discussed the use of digital representations instead of material artefacts and how this may affect the use of the past strategy. The data gathered for this thesis does not allow the researcher to adequately analyse whether material artefacts produce different reactions to digital representations and how this may manifest. While this chapter shows that digital methods of distribution offer organisations different ways of distributing historical narratives to internal audiences, it is not clear what the benefits and drawbacks are. There is some data suggesting that content creators valued material artefacts more than digital representations. However, the other interviewees did not discuss the subject, and there is not enough data to reach any conclusions. Considering the increasing digitisation of the workplace, with fewer material artefacts being

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[408] UL17; UL19.

created and preserved and interactions with an organisation's past likely to be increasingly digital, this is an important subject for future research.

Additionally, this chapter shows how they were used primarily to target an internal audience rather than an external one. This approach provided Barclays plc with more avenues to display its material artefacts and historical narrative. However, it is unclear how effective the various methods were and whether such a large-scale effort can be counterproductive, with employees potentially filtering out the repeated calls for their attention. Additionally, it is unclear how effective these methods would be when targeting an external audience who may be less willing to engage with corporate historical content.

This chapter has focused on how Barclays plc used their material artefacts as part of established historical narrative, a historical narrative established in 2012 arguing that their new corporate values were a reanimation of the historical values that had led them to be a successful organisation. It has not discussed the research performed by Barclays plc that enabled them to contextualise the artefacts through the stories and information provided, with it being these stories and information that linked them into the pre-existing narrative of historical corporate values. How Barclays plc are able to access this historical information used to create these narratives has been alluded to in Chapter 5, with Barclays plc relying on their archivists to perform the research and act as advisors on the narratives created to ensure they remain factually accurate. The next chapter will focus on the role the archivists at BGA play as a conduit between Barclays plc executives and employees, and the historical information held at BGA, acting in a key role that allows Barclays plc to access its organisational memory.

7. Organisational Memory at Barclays plc and the role of BGA

Previous chapters have focused on how managers at Barclays plc utilise BGA's resources to bolster the authenticity of their historical narratives and how they attempted to use them to capture the attention of audiences and produce emotional reactions from employees using historical narratives. They have shown how Barclays plc harness the authenticity of the archive to bolster their own authenticity claims, and how they utilise the material artefacts preserved at BGA in these historical narratives. However, another resource that BGA provides, which has only been briefly discussed, is the professional skillset and tacit knowledge of the archivists themselves. Whilst their role in researching the content that was used in the creation of Barclays plc's corporate values, and their role in providing contextualising information for both the stories and the artefacts that were used in 2012 and 2015 has been mentioned in Chapter 5 and 6; this chapter will focus specifically on these activities. It will show how the archivists at BGA operate as crucial links in the organisational memory of Barclays plc, preserving the reliability, integrity, and usability of the information held in the archives and facilitating access to the information held in the archives in various ways.

The definition of organisational memory used in this chapter is influenced by the storage bin model as described by Walsh and Ungson, and by the socially constructed model of memory, as described by Feldman and Feldman and Rowlinson et al.[409] However, it is also informed by the work of Corbett et al. and their concepts of *static* and *dynamic* memory.[410] Static memory is a type of memory that is stored in document form, whether digital or physical, whilst dynamic memory is the living memory within organisations, often taking the form of narratives and conversations, which act to retrieve, re-evaluate, and translate static memory into 'living memories.'[411] In the understanding used in this chapter, the archives themselves are the storage

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[409] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'; Feldman and Feldman, 'What Links the Chain: An Essay on Organizational Remembering as Practice'; Rowlinson et al. 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'.
[410] Corbett et al. 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach'.
[411] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach', 560.

bins as described by Walsh and Ungson, also fitting the description of static memory by acting as repositories of knowledge that have been captured, stored, and preserved so that Barclays plc can access them when needed.[412] The research conducted by the archivists and the information they communicate to other employees at Barclays plc – when answering enquiries or in creating content for internal communications – is the socially constructed element of organisational memory, the dynamic memory of Barclays plc. This chapter will connect these two ideas of organisational memory, the storage bin model and the socially constructed understanding of memory, showing that both these interpretations are active within the same organisation and that there is a process that transforms memory from one type to another. The chapter will do this by presenting a four-stage model of how static memory captured and then transformed into dynamic memory by the activities of the archivists.

This chapter will explore how the archivists at BGA have worked to demonstrate the value of an in-house corporate archive to Barclays plc. In the early 2000s, the functions of two broadly similar units within the bank, the Records Storage Centre (RSC) was outsourced to a third party provide whilst the Records Management Team's (RMT) functions were devolved to individual business units. The continuous efforts of the archivists at BGA to demonstrate their value to the Group must be understood against this backdrop and the possible threat to their jobs represented by outsourcing.

This chapter will first review the main arguments presented in the literature review to frame the discussion. It will then discuss the role of the archivists at BGA in preserving documents, concentrating on their activities that construct the archive which affects the information available for future use and preserving the reliability, integrity, and usability of the records. Whilst the constructed nature of archives has been discussed in archival science literature, it has only recently received attention from organisation studies and management scholars. Moreover, the research on how companies use the past has largely ignored the corporate archivist's role, with the specific activities of the archivist still often overlooked.[413] This chapter will look to rectify

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[412] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'; Argote, 'Organizational Learning: Creating, Retaining and Transforming Knowledge'.
[413] Decker, 'The Silence of the Archives: Business History, Post-Colonialism and Archival Ethnography'; Decker, 'Solid Intentions: An Archival Ethnography of Corporate Architecture and Organizational Remembering'.

this, highlighting the role of archivists in the construction of the archives, but also showing how the archivists themselves respond to this responsibility.

The chapter will then move on to how internal users have accessed the information held at BGA to fulfil the requirements of their specific roles. Chapters 5 and 6 have mentioned the research performed by the archivists at BGA as part of organisational wide strategic initiatives; this chapter will focus on employees who have utilised BGA's resources, how they accessed them, and the role of the archivist as the conduit for this access. Again, whilst the role of the archivist in providing access to the archives and helping users to understand the information contained in them is recognised in archival studies literature, this chapter will bring these ideas into conversation with ideas on organisational memory, showing how this works in practice at Barclays plc.

The chapter will then discuss the benefits to Barclays plc of maintaining an in-house archive that is free to use for both internal and external users. Whilst archival studies and business history literature has highlighted the benefits to researchers of allowing external access to corporate records, the benefits to the company from providing external access is often ignored. Likewise, the benefit of maintaining an archive that is free to use has also been ignored. Whilst it currently the norm to provide free access to archival records, other models that charge users do exist, and the rising costs of preserving archives has led to questions over whether the free model can continue and how best to raise funds from users or depositors.[414] Therefore, whether to maintain an archive that is free for all users provides benefits that outweigh the costs is an important discussion. It will then present a model of the process that transforms static memory into dynamic memory at Barclays plc before discussing the contributions and weaknesses of this chapter.

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[414] Freeth, Stephen. 'Business Archives at Guildhall Library: New Developments.' *Journal of the Society of Archivists. Society of Archivists* 21, no. 2 (2000): 183–197; Bondue, Didier. 'Business Archives in France, a Tool Serving Management: The Saint-Gobain Case'.

7.1.   Organisational memory

As discussed in Chapter 2, the role of corporate archives as part of organisational memory has received little attention in organisation studies and management literature. Although some research has addressed the potential use of the past in corporate communications strategies and organisational identity work, how individuals within large organisations access the information they use for this and how it is preserved is often ignored.[415] Organisation studies scholars also often neglect the role of the individuals in the memory process, treating organisational memory more like a database of stored information to be accessed, rather than an important process of making histories that are part of people's, and organisations', identity.[416] These two approaches are described by Foroughi et al. as functional and interpretive approaches to studying organisational memory.[417] Where there has been increasing interest in the individual as a key component of organisational memory, this has mostly focused on how organisations lose knowledge as individuals leave, and attempts to mitigate this.[418] Whilst archival science literature has rarely focused on the role of corporate archives in maintaining organisational memory, various concepts of memory and its construction have been discussed in detail, and the related principals of reliability, integrity, and usability of records have been important for guiding the management of archives.[419]

This chapter is informed by the work of Corbett et al. and their two concepts of memory: static memory and dynamic memory.[420] Corbett et al.'s approach focuses on the storytelling activities that actors engage in to operationalise organisational knowledge and how they harness the static

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[415] Nissley and Casey, 'The Politics of the Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory'; Casey and Olivera, 'Reflections on Organizational Memory and Forgetting'; Cutcher, Dale, and Tyler, '`Remembering as Forgetting': Organizational Commemoration as a Politics of Recognition'.
[416] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'; Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'.
[417] Foroughi et al. 'Organizational Memory Studies'.
[418] Feldman and Feldman, 'What Links the Chain: An Essay on Organizational Remembering as Practice'; Joe, Yoong, and Patel, 'Knowledge Loss When Older Experts Leave Knowledge-Intensive Organisations'.
[419] Duranti, 'Reliability and Authenticity: The Concepts and Their Implications'; Piggott, 'Archives and Memory'; Michael Piggott, 'Building Collective Memory Archives', *Archives and Manuscripts* 33, no. 1 (2005): 62; 'ISO 15489-1'; Guo et al., 'Archives as a Trusted Third Party in Maintaining and Preserving Digital Records in the Cloud Environment'.
[420] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach'.

memory held in documents. It argues that memory is a social phenomenon and that it is the telling and retelling of events that give them meaning. Corbett et al.'s model allows for information to flow between the two – something other models often ignore – providing the research with the appropriate model to analyse the role of the archivists at BGA as the connection between the archives, a resource of static memory, and employees in other areas of Barclays plc that are seeking to information preserved in the organisation's memory.

7.2. The archives as static memory

7.2.1. Constructing the archive

BGA's current mission is 'to protect and promote the Group's Corporate Memory. [They] collect, preserve and provide access to records, in any format, in support of the Group's global businesses and activities.' [421] However, as the Group Archivist at BGA states:

> That's a very general statement […] we try to collect records that Barclays creates in the course of being a bank, and it's not our job to create records. What we're doing is we are collecting the records that are created as a natural process as part of the bank carrying on its business, and we are looking to collect records that show what the bank was doing and why it was doing it, how did it do it, what impact did that have. So, we're talking about quite high-level things like board minute, and minutes of committees subsidiary to the board, project papers, and things like policies and procedures […] these are records that we think might be of interest to historians in the long-term future but also records the bank itself might need in the shorter-term future.[422]

Whilst BGA does preserve records of Barclays plc which may be of use to historians; it prioritises the preservation of those operational records that may potentially have some future utility. This utility is interpreted widely, as the same records could be useful to different departments in very different ways. The Group Archivist states:

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[421] Barclays Group Archives, 'Barclays Group Archives: Mission Statement' (Document, n.d.), BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Archives\Shared\Polices, Procedures and Plans\Policies.
[422] UL20.

So, it could be something from the bank's premises team, and perhaps they are putting in a planning application to make a change to a branch, and they need some background information on the history of the branch. Or it could be something slightly more, less, business, more of a nice news type story; so perhaps there's a local history event going on, and a branch wants to get involved, and they want to chip in with the history of the branch.[423]

It is not surprising that BGA would primarily serve the contemporary needs of Barclays plc. BGA is a department of Barclays plc and, like many corporate archives, their parent company is their main user. Hence, helping them to accomplish their business activities is their main priority. The fact that the main users are organisational colleagues of the archivists rather than external users can lead to archivists taking a different approach to the role than archivists at public archives. Rather than preserving records primarily for their historical research purposes and providing access to users to perform their research, BGA prioritises the contemporary needs of Barclays plc, primarily preserving records for current day operational purposes and enabling swift access to these records for the use of Barclays plc's employees. As BGA's Group Archivist stated:

I think perhaps the core difference is the fact that our primary purpose is to serve the business. I mean the vast majority of local government archives are funded by a county council or a local council of some sort, but certainly, when I worked in local government […] I never felt like my primary purpose was to serve Oldham Borough Council, it was to serve the people of Oldham, which I suppose you could say Oldham Borough Council represent, but it's quite a different feel.[424]

Serving the business has been BGA's purpose since its creation, with UL21 stating that:

It was made very clear, certainly in my very intensive interviews in [19]99 that the job of the archive was to provide a service for the bank. The history side, the external

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[423] UL20.
[424] UL20.

history side was a nice thing to do, but it was made clear that it would always be second in priority to serving the bank.[425]

Initially, BGA was one part of the centralised static organisational memory functions of Barclays plc, which consisted of the on-site departmental record storage systems, an RSC, an RMT, and BGA.[426] Part of the early work in constructing the archive at BGA involved centralising the historical records, some of which were already held at the Barclays plc headquarters, at that time in Lombard Street in London, but also from other regional offices.[427] Initially:

> The main remit, as I understand it, of the first professional archivist, Jessie Campbell, was to bring in the records, to centralise them in one place [...] That was really her main job as I understand it, and this was still going on, to some extent, when I arrived [1999]. I was still going to local head offices […] so, one of my jobs was to go around to offices to see what was left and to identify material that I thought should be designated for permanent preservation.[428]

Indeed, it was the professional judgement of both Jessie Campbell, the Group Archivists at the time, and UL21 that was crucial in deciding what would be kept and how the archive would be constructed:

> One of the big collections we had at that time, and it was in constant use for enquiries within the bank, was the collection of manuals, procedural manuals and head office instructions and circulars […] we knew we had certain gaps in the collection so quite often I would find material of that kind in a local head office or even in a branch […] I would always grab anything like that if I thought it might fill a gap in our holdings, and sometimes it did.[429]

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[425] UL21.
[426] The RSC department of Barclays plc was outsourced to a third-party provider, in the early 2000s whilst the RMT function was devolved to individual business units. Individual departments within Barclays plc also have had their own procedures and space for preserving their static memory on site. However, this is not being included as part of Barclays plc's centralised organisational memory as the purpose of BGA, the RMT, and RSC was to serve the entire organisation rather than a specific department.
[427] UL21.
[428] UL21.
[429] UL21.

UL21 also stated that both the documents' contemporary operational value and their potential historical use were considered when assessing what should be preserved.[430] Whilst the process of visiting different departments to assess records for accession to the archives is less common than it previously has been, BGA archivists still occasionally visit various departments to assess which records would be of continuing value to Barclays plc and which can be destroyed. For example, BGA's Group Archivist recently provided this service for a high-level group team based at Barclays plc's Head Office in 2018.[431]

How organisational memory storage bins are constructed is often overlooked in organisational memory studies literature. At Barclays plc, this is achieved through a mix of a company directed mission statement and the judgement of the archivists based on their professional skillset, tacit knowledge of what is, and is not, already in the archives, and judgement of what may be operationally useful to the bank both now and going forward. It is therefore important to understand the role of the archivists in constructing the archive and ensuring that it is useful for the organisation, as well as highlighting that understanding the processes and decisions that dictate what static memory is preserved is important in understanding what will and will not constitute the organisation's memory. Whilst this is similar to strategic forgetting, discussed by Nissley and Casey and Anteby and Molnar, these decisions are made based on what the archivists think will be operationally useful rather than with the intention of shaping the identity of the organisation.[432] Therefore, this type of forgetting is affected by what employees, in this case the archivists, perceive the organisation to be currently, rather than how they, or executives, want it to be perceived in the future.

Other departments also utilise the archivists' judgement when deciding what records should be preserved long term. Whilst BGA must collect certain types of records such as the minutes and meeting papers from the Board of Directors; they do not actively collect records from all of

[430] UL21.
[431] Maria Sienkiewicz, email correspondence with author, February 25, 2019
[432] Nissley and Casey, 'The Politics of Exhibition: Viewing Corporate Museums Through the Paradigmatic Lens of Organizational Memory'; Anteby and Molnar, 'Collective Memory Meets Organizational Identity: Remembering to Forget in a Firm's Rhetorical History'.

Barclays plc's operations.[433] Instead, different departments at Barclays plc routinely send documents to BGA, with different departments working to different schedules and sending different types of records. UL2, a manager at BCS whose responsibilities included ensuring the preservation of the minutes from board meetings and who had worked closely with BGA, noted how they had used the archivists to assist in deciding what should and should not be preserved, stating:

> We keep the current year's information here on site because people quite often want to come and inspect it for one reason or another, but we try and get rid of everything that goes back prior to this year, partially because we haven't got the space. Unfortunately for us, we have quite a big cupboard which sometimes encourages people to keep things for longer than they should do […] so the discipline of sending things to the archives allows us to tap into the expertise that [the Group Archivist] and her team have over what is actually useful or necessary to retain.[434]

It should be noted that this employee was an exception; the majority of the 20 non-archivist interviewees were unaware of how records became part of the archive or what the BGA archivists' activities were once records had been sent to them. However, whether employees are aware of their department's policies on sending records to the archives or not, by sending these records to be accessioned at BGA, the departments are relying on the expertise of the archivists to assess which records have continuing value to Barclays plc.

7.2.2.   Accessioning records to the archives

Once records arrive on-site at Wythenshawe to be processed, BGA follows standard archival procedures, determining which records have ongoing value using their established criteria and recording metadata about the records. This data is then inputted into a digital catalogue that acts as a master version of BGA's holdings so that they can be retrieved when needed (see Appendix C for a reproduction of BGA's current Archive Policy). The main catalogue at BGA is digital

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[433] Barclays Group Archives, 'Barclays Group Archives: Archives Policy' (Document, 2018), 3–5, BGA Office Files, Barclays Group Archives, Manchester, United Kingdom, Archives\Shared\Polices, Procedures and Plans\Policies.
[434] UL2.

rather than physical, although physical search aids are also available for some record types. The catalogue is, with few exceptions, primarily for the use of the archivists at BGA: the information captured and terminology used, such as the metadata or descriptors of specific departments or record types, are designed with the archivists as the main users in mind.

The processes that preserve the records are performed with the intent of preserving the authenticity, reliability, usability, and integrity of the records (see Section 2.5 for how they are defined). Whilst the activities of the archivists cannot make a record authentic or reliable, as that also depends on the manner of their creation, they are integral in preserving the authenticity and reliability of records that are received. Additionally, the usability and integrity of the records rely on the activities of the archivists, with their processes responsible for ensuring that no unauthorised changes are made to records, that any authorised changes are tracked and indicated, and that records remain usable through being retrievable at a speed deemed acceptable by stakeholders.

BGA's catalogue and procedures were designed around the preservation of analogue records as analogue records make up the majority of their holdings. However, BGA also manages historical artefacts, many of which have been used in internal and external exhibitions on Barclays plc's history. Unlike some other financial organisations, such as Wells Fargo, Lloyds Banking Group plc, and the Bank of England, Barclays plc does not have a corporate museum or professional museum curators.[435] Instead, BGA performs this role, collecting artefacts that 'help to illustrate banking style, design, technology, and working methods from early days to the present.'[436] Whilst the records held in BGA's archives can also be utilised as artefacts, BGA also preserves many non-textual artefacts, such as the flag taken on the Chris Bonington Mount Everest expedition (Figure 10) or corporate uniforms (Figure 15).

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[435] Anderson, 'Banking on the Past: Wells Fargo & Company'; 'Wells Fargo History Museums', Wells Fargo, accessed 27 July 2019, https://www.wellsfargo.com/about/corporate/museums/; 'Bank of England Museum', Bank of England, 14 May 2020, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/museum; 'Our Museum - Lloyds Banking Group plc', Lloyds Banking Group plc, accessed 2 December 2020, https://www.lloydsbankinggroup.com/our-group/our-heritage/our-museum/.
[436] Barclays Group Archives, 'Barclays Group Archives: Archives Policy', 5.

This brief history also highlights BGA's role as the main repository of static memory for historical information within Barclays plc. Whilst more recent operational documents are stored elsewhere, at least one department, BCS, utilises the archivists to aid them in deciding what should be retained, destroyed, or accessioned into the archives. The construction of the archive also appears to have relied partially on the efforts of archivists to obtain relevant material. The importance of BGA in preserving this static memory also highlights the archivists' importance in shaping the static memory held there. As they are responsible for designing and implementing the processes that preserve the static memory held at BGA, as well as for identifying potential gaps and sourcing static memory documents to fill them; the archivists play an integral role in shaping what is and is not remembered through shaping how records are recorded and, therefore, how they can be found later. By following standard archival procedures, such as recording provenance and capturing appropriate metadata, the archivists can ensure that the reliability, usability, and integrity of the records are preserved in the archives. Therefore, the archivists are crucial in ensuring that the archives can fulfil their stated aim of collecting and preserving Barclays plc's history. Whilst the archivists do have guidelines and legal frameworks which direct their activities to an extent; much of their activity is dictated by their interpretation of this purpose guided by their professional skillset and tacit knowledge of their holdings, thus underscoring the importance of understanding who the archivists are and what they do when analysing Barclays plc's organisational memory.

7.2.3.   The archives within Barclays plc's structure

As the central repository of static memory at Barclays plc, sited structurally within BCS, BGA is the main way employees across the organisation can access Barclays plc's long term organisational memory. Other departments maintain their own internal repositories of static memory, retaining operational documents on-site for a pre-designated amount of time depending on the document and the department. A third-party provider manages records that are no longer needed on site but whose retention periods are specified by legislation. Neither of these types of repository, departmental or the third-party provider, could fulfil the same role as BGA, either in relation to the type of information they retain or in providing structured access to it.

Departmental static memory functions are designed for the everyday use of those in the department, reliant on those within the department having the subsequent knowledge of what should be held in the static memory in order to find it and transform it into dynamic memory. Whilst this may be a suitable option for intra-departmental needs, problems occur when other departments may need to harness this static memory, lacking the processes and understanding of its content to locate, access and utilise this information and transform it into dynamic memory.[437] Likewise, the third-party provider does not provide a research service, with their contractual requirements being to retain documents for the statutory required length of time before they are destroyed. Whilst there is a retrieval service, this requires that the request come from a Barclays plc employee who can communicate exactly where and when the particular record was sent. Even when the metadata for the material transferred to the third-party provider is recorded at the time of transfer, known-item requests can be problematic. As BGA's Group Archivist stated:

> That's all well and good if you are the same person that made those boxes [of records sent to the third-party provider], but the fact is in Barclays the chance of the same person still being in a department five years on and remembering where they put their box lists is very slim.[438]

This statement was not a criticism of the system the third-party providers use to manage Barclays plc's records: the contracted level of service aims specifically to ensure Barclays plc's compliance with statutory requirements, and this is achieved. However, this limits the third-party provider as part of the organisational memory functions of Barclays plc, with it functioning mainly as a storage bin with a limited retrieval function.[439]

Neither the third-party provider nor departmental systems for preserving static memory offer the same service as BGA. These systems do not actively curate their holdings according to established principles to construct a repository of information that is both reliable and of continuing value to Barclays plc. Neither of these functions utilises professionals to curate the

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[437] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach'.
[438] UL20.
[439] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory', 58.

holdings to determine which documents have ongoing value and which do not. BGA, on the other hand, curates the static memory relating to Barclays plc's history.

This requirement of BGA's archivists to utilise their professional judgement and training rather than merely enacting prescriptive procedures may explain why BGA also preserve the artefacts of Barclays plc. Whilst there has been much debate in archival science literature on what a record is and what should be retained as an archive; archive services would not traditionally obtain or preserve artefacts that would mainly be used for exhibitions.[440] However, the archivists at BGA fulfil this role, interpreting and acting in accordance with BGA's stated purpose and going beyond the traditional role of an archive. The decision made by the archivists to preserve material artefacts has not only proven to have provided Barclays plc with a valuable resource for their use of the past strategy (see Chapter 6), but also acts as a clear example of the ways that the archivists' decisions shape the resulting archive and what is retained in the static memory of Barclays plc. Had different decisions been made or had the archivists interpreted their mission statement more narrowly, what was remembered at Barclays plc's 2015 AGM may have been very different.

7.3.   The archives as dynamic memory

7.3.4.   Accessing the archives – speed

BGA is located in Wythenshawe, a suburb of Manchester. Its internal users are distributed across Barclays plc's units in different parts of Britain, although there is occasional use from employees of Barclays plc's overseas businesses in areas such as South Africa – sold in 2017 – and North America. Very few internal users visit BGA to conduct research themselves with only two of the 20 non-archivist interviewees visiting BGA – UL19, the former CEO and the UL3, the Vice President of Campaigns and Content Planning – although neither visited to conduct

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[440] Michael K. Buckland, 'What Is a "Document"?', *Journal of the American Society for Information Science (1986-1998)* 48, no. 9 (1997): 804-809; Geoffrey Yeo, 'Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations', *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 315–343; Geoffrey Yeo, 'Concepts of Record (2): Prototypes and Boundary Objects', *The American Archivist* 71, no. 1 (2008): 118–143; Geoffrey Yeo, 'Rising to the Level of a Record? Some Thoughts on Records and Documents', *Records Management Journal* 21, no. 1 (March 2011): 8–27.

research. Instead, the main point of contact between BGA at Wythenshawe and their internal users is the archivists.

Responding to enquiries and providing access to records is one of the archivists' main activities, with internal enquiries taking priority over external ones.[441] Indeed, for the Group Archivist, it is BGA's ability to locate information for Barclays plc employees that sets them apart from other areas of the bank that also store records:

> I think what we as an archive do that's unique within Barclays is we provide an excellent information retrieval service, and we know from when we've been involved in big enquiries where somebody's having to look for records [...] they'll come to us and they say 'oh have you got any records about this' or 'have you got these particular papers, we're trying to find this' and they've been all over the bank trying to find stuff and usually not being able to find it. When they come to us, if we've got them, we can find them really quickly because of the way we catalogue and organise everything.[442]

The ability to quickly locate relevant documents has been important and has proved to be an asset for Barclays plc. For example, it was the ability to preserve and quickly retrieve records that allowed BGA to provide critical and timely assistance to Barclays Capital. Barclays Capital's records 'were never going to be archival documents at all;'[443] as archivist UL21 relates:

> The idea about outsourcing records at that time was still in very early stages, and it was thought that they [Barclays Capital's records] should be kept within the bank. The records centre [RSC and RMT] next door wasn't appropriate because [Barclays] Capital wanted a very rapid specialist document retrieval service which is what the group archives were providing when I arrived in 1999. [...] Every day virtually somebody would ring our phone [...] and say we're looking for a particular ISDA

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[441] A 2018 survey of people working at archives in the North West of England saw 180 total responses from different types of archives, with 5% being business archives. Almost 70% of all respondents stated that providing onsite access was needed in their job role, with 50% stating that providing online access was needed. See 'ARA NW Region Skills Audit 2018' (Archives and Record Association, 2018), https://www.archives.org.uk/images/North_West/ARA_Skills_audit_report_Aug_2018_V2.pdf.

[442] UL20.

[443] UL21.

[International Swaps and Derivatives Association] or particular instrument and we need a copy of it now.[444]

The importance of being able to retrieve the information held in the archives quickly has provided tangible benefits for Barclays plc, not only in enabling Barclays Capital to pursue their business activities effectively, but also in other time-sensitive cases as UL21 describes:

> It was a dispute with a customer, a large customer, an important customer, where we were able to demonstrate that the bank had followed its procedures, [and that] this dispute was basically the customer's fault. It [BGA's work] saved the bank about £100,000 with just one piece of documentation. Similarly, with Barclays Capital being able to locate a document in a short amount of time before it expired, it saved £3,000,000 or something astronomical. So, there were examples at the time where we told that we had saved the bank specific amounts of money.[445]

In providing this service, BGA was actively looking for ways they could demonstrate how in-house records preservation and retrieval service can help facilitate the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives, in this case through facilitating Barclays Capital's activities. As UL21 states:

> Jessie [the Group Archivist] in the nineties had been looking for ways in which the archive could be useful to the bank, and she met someone from Barclays Capital and offered to look after their documentation.[446]

Part of the reason that BGA can provide a speedy and reliable information retrieval service is that it follows standard archival procedures, adhering to archival standards in processes including cataloguing. However, according to the Group Archivist, these procedures are often enhanced through the cumulative knowledge gained about the bank which resides in the archival team and which has been documented and passed on:

> The way we catalogue records […] it's not unique to us, the fact that we record provenance and we've got that paper trail, it makes the information we can provide incredibly reliable. We as a team, [are] building on [the work of] previous members of

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[444] UL21.
[445] UL21.
[446] UL21.

the archives team. […] we're very good at cataloguing what we do and creating our own records that allow somebody coming after us to work out how information is organised and 'where can I find this', and 'what was this about?' […] we are in a way the corporate memory because it's not just that we can find the records, it's that we've got lots of contextual knowledge that enable us to find the records.[447]

The archivists at BGA believe there is value in providing a fast and reliable information retrieval service. That records can be retrieved at an acceptable speed is also an important part of ensuring that the records are usable. One of the interviewees did note the time that BGA saved her, and how the archivists' ability to locate relevant information quickly made them the preferred choice for certain types of information requests. Indeed, for UL15, it was the ability of BGA to quickly answer complicated information requests that was the reason they became aware of BGA's existence as a department. Having requested information on previous organisation level decisions, BCS was unable to perform the research needed to answer the requests. UL15, a Vice President in the Legal Department, stated that:

When I spoke to them about it, for them to go back and look at years and years of […] board resolution and board minutes would have been really time-consuming, and there wasn't a way to pinpoint when this decision was made […] this is when they suggested I go to the Group Archives.[448]

Despite this example, none of the other interviewees noted the speed of service as a benefit or negative. However, this was by omission rather than any comments about fast or slow responses from the archives, with none of the interviewees stating any disappointment with the time taken to respond to their requests. Therefore, it is not possible from the data to assess whether users of BGA particularly valued speed when accessing Barclays plc's static memory outside of the interviews with the archivists. However, it is clear that the archivists see a speedy response from the archives as an important part of fulfilling their duties, and the lack of feedback from users – positive or negative – suggests that the speed with which BGA are able to respond is at least adequate for Barclays plc's needs and that the records retain their usability. Whilst the majority

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[447] UL20.
[448] UL15.

of BGA's enquiries are not as time sensitive as the examples given here, part of the value BGA provide is that they have the processes in place to respond rapidly when needed. However, it is not only the speed of this service that makes them a valuable part of Barclays plc's organisational memory; it is also the research skills that underpin this service that are important.

7.3.5.   Accessing the archives: the research function

Whilst the ability to locate and provide reliable information quickly is part of the service that BGA provides as part of Barclays plc's organisational memory, the research function is arguably more important to most of the interviewees. Many enquiries are less time-sensitive and require more in-depth information rather than quick access to a record or records, requiring the provision of extensive and in-depth information, gained from across a wide range of record and information sources. This research function is the main reason that many Barclays plc employees contact BGA. Users of BGA's records are not expected to know where the information they are requesting may be contained in the archives. Instead, the archivists at BGA provide a research service that is tailored to the user's needs. Indeed, for some of the internal users interviewed, it is the archivists' research abilities that makes BGA valuable, with this being the main benefit rather than the record preservation and retrieval service. UL15, a Vice President in the Legal Department, commented:

> I think when I initially contacted them, I just thought it was a sort of repository for information; whereas it quickly became quite apparent to me that [the Group Archivist] and [her] colleagues are professional archivists and being that they have very specialist research skills in terms of how they're able to search for information. I was quite impressed […] if I was to go to the Corporate Secretariat and say I was looking for X they would go and look for X and if they couldn't find it, they'd just come back and say they couldn't find it.[449]

Indeed, in this case, UL15 had not expected the request to be straightforward, but they were particularly impressed by how the archivists had approached the research process:

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[449] UL15.

> [W]hat really impressed me about [BGA] was they went looking for X, but they went
> through a process of doing it, and they came back to me and they said this is what
> we've gone and looked at. We haven't necessarily been able to find X but we've
> deduced from various sources and various pieces of information why and that for me
> was really helpful because although I couldn't necessarily get a definitive answer at
> least they had cast a forensic eye over it. […] I think what we were looking for, or one
> of the things that I was looking for, we weren't necessarily going to get an answer, it
> wasn't as clear as being yes […] but at least they could sort of look around different
> topics and have a research capability to search for things.[450]

Other interviewees made similar statements, acknowledging that the research functions that
BGA's archivists provide was one of its most important functions. Indeed, for UL4, a
Relationship Director in Barclays Corporate Banking based in London, it was the archivists'
contextual knowledge that was a crucial resource as even if they had been able to access the
records themselves as they would have lacked the contextual knowledge and research skills to
have found wanted. Discussing the potential for online access to BGA's holdings, they stated
that:

> If it was a really reliable search function, then yeah, you'd probably go to the website
> to speed things up and cut someone out. But equally their [the archivists] expertise in
> terms of knowing that we used to own this brand or branch and when we brought it, so
> I might be searching for my client through Barclays, but actually this other bank that
> we owned is the company [they] banked with them for a while. It feels like you could
> do a simple search quite easily and you might be more inclined to do that to speed
> things up through a web-based archive […] but actually, we probably do need a bit of
> signposting.[451]

BGA is the only department in Barclays plc that can offer a research service relating to the
organisation's history. Although several interviewees had, in the past, requested information or
documents from BCS, this was in that department's capacity to provide records they have
created, responding to so-called known-item requests. Whilst BGA can also retrieve specified

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[450] UL15.
[451] UL4.

documents, they are also able to respond to less specific requests for information. UL9, a former Managing Director at Barclays Investment Bank, approached BGA unsure of their role or what they could offer. Responsible for dealing with international clients, including governments, they wanted BGA to provide information that would 'put into context what we had done, especially dealing with governments who are very interested in GDP growth.'[452] This request was not for a particular document; instead, they 'wanted to know how much of it [the information] there was, if it was nothing there was nothing.'[453]

This type of enquiry, where the enquirer is unsure exactly what records or information they require - or indeed, may not be sure of the right questions to ask - were common amongst the interviewees. One such typical request is for information about past relationships with the bank's clients: four of the 20 non-archivist interviewees initially contacted BGA regarding client relationships.[454] Whilst these requests could be specific about the client's identity, the onus was on the archivist to locate and then make sense of the relevant information. The typical circumstances which lead up to such non-specific requests for information are described by UL6, a Relationship Support Manager in Corporate Banking:

> Approximately six or seven years ago one of our larger business customers was celebrating their centenary anniversary; they'd banked with us since the beginning, and we were looking for something, information on them and their history with Barclays.[455]

Despite the vague nature of the request, BGA was able to locate material that was of value to the enquirer:

> There were some sign-in sheets, and I think there was something showing account numbers, just generally a bit of background [… but] it was enough for us to show to the customer that the relationship goes backwards.[456]

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[452] UL9.
[453] UL9.
[454] UL4; UL6; UL11; and UL13.
[455] UL6.
[456] UL6.

Whilst archives are often an area where research is performed, the responsibility of performing the research is not normally on the archivists in a public archive. This internal research role of BGA archivists is one that sets them, and other corporate archives, apart from their counterparts within publicly funded archive services. As BGA's Group Archivist stated:

> We write the content quite a lot of the time, we do the research, and we produce a finished article which is not something I would have done when I was working in local government. When you're an archivist with a local government, your role is to produce the archives and then somebody else then does the research and writes the articles. Most people in Barclays assume that that's what we're here to do, they don't really have a distinction between archivist and historian and they just see us as being experts in the bank's history because we've got the records.[457]

As well as offering an effective document and information retrieval service, the archivists' ability to act as researchers and experts in Barclays plc's history increases their importance in the bank's organisational memory functions. Other systems that can provide an organisational memory function, such as the third-party provider or departmental records storage, are not equipped to perform these types of research. As the majority of internal users are not able to visit BGA due in part to its location, and as many of them do not have archival research skills, the archivists are the main conduit through which these employees access the static memory held in the archives. Not only do the archivists at BGA conduct the research requested, transforming static memory into dynamic memory; they also act to interpret the request from the internal user.

As the interviews have shown, many Barclays plc employees who utilised BGA's resources were not requesting specific documents or information. For example, in 2018 a total of 969 enquiries were made to BGA, with 554, 57 per cent, of these requesting information on a subject rather than being a known-item request. Barclays plc employees were more likely to make known-item requests, with a total of 491 internal enquiries made and 330, 67 per cent, of these being known-item requests. Of these known-item requests, 94, or 28 per cent, of the internal known-item requests, were requesting copies of terms and conditions for historical products and services that Barclays plc, or banks they have merged with, provided. However, that leaves 161 enquiries that

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[457] UL20.

did not specify what the employee wanted, requiring the archivists to perform original research in the archives. These requests wanted further information on a subject and wanted to know how BGA's static memory – the archives – could be of use. It should also be noted that the interviewees for this research were more likely to make subject requests than known-item requests. Out of the 20 non-archivist interviews, only four interviewees from three interviews stated they would routinely make known-item requests as part of their work - UL2, UL16, and UL18 –with all four of these interviewees work within BCS. [458] All the remaining interviewees had made subject requests, with these types of requests necessitating that the archivists interpret the enquiry, and assess using their contextual knowledge, what kinds of information BGA can provide.

7.3.6.   A free, in-house archival service

In part, the research role of the archivists has been taken on due to necessity. As mentioned above, BGA is located in Manchester, some distance from Barclays plc's Head Office in London; the majority of BGA's users do not have the time to visit BGA themselves. However, BGA's Group Archivist highlighted another possible reason other than geography that the historical research role had fallen to the BGA archivists:

> It's also the fact that if you're a person working for Barclays who's in charge of
> dealing with customer complaints you have not got the skillset to come to the archives
> and look through the catalogue to find the specific set of terms and conditions.[459]

As well as this being a logical separation of labour based on professional skillsets, there was a further reason that the archivists perform this role:

> I think with a business archive there's always an extent to which you're aware that
> you're not making money, […] in any business the purpose of a business is to make
> money and an archive generally costs money. So, you're always looking for
> opportunities to show the value of the archive, so you sort of fit into the role that the

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[458] UL18 is a joint interview with two interviewees, both of which routinely made known-item requests as part of their job roles.
[459] UL20.

business expects of you. If they expect you should be doing the research, then that's the role you do.[460]

Whilst supporting BGA does incur a cost to Barclays plc, this is not a cost that is passed onto internal or external users who want to access their resources. Whilst it is perhaps not surprising that internal users are not charged for the services BGA provide, other corporate archives such as Coca-Cola Archives have previously billed for their services internally as a way of measuring their contribution to the organisation.[461] Likewise, external users are not charged for their enquiries or for visiting BGA and conducting their research despite accessing resources that have a cost to Barclays plc.

The fact that BGA provides a 'free' research function benefited many interviewees, enabling them to request speculative research to be performed without having to justify potentially open-ended costs. As UL10, the Senior Media Relations Manager based at Barclays plc's Head Office, stated:

> The fantastic thing for us is it is a free resource. I think a lot of our stories we won't have, we're not marketing, so we won't have the big budgets to pay or put a cost to some of the stories we want to put out, particularly some of the more light-hearted, interesting historical stories that we put out in a quiet moment. The fact that it is free means we can do that, I think if there was a cost and a longer turnaround time […] it would instantly deter us from ask[ing] the question and look[ing] at the content, but also to really use it for our stories. I think the reality also is […] quite often we might go to the archives and say, 'oh what have you got' and they might send this content and then we go 'actually this isn't a story we can really go with', and just being able to have that flexibility is fantastic.[462]

Whilst potential costs would not necessarily prevent larger, organisation level events such as the 325th-anniversary celebration or the Transform Programme; employees that used BGA for their own use of the past strategies may have been unable had they needed to justify the costs.

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[460] UL20.

[461] Phillip Mooney, 'Archival Mythology and Corporate Reality', in *The Records of American Business*, ed. James O'Toole (Chicago: The Society of American Archivists, 1997), 57–63.

[462] UL10.

Considering that many of these requests are subject requests, rather than known-item requests, the fact that they can request this potentially open-ended research without having to justify costs beforehand was an important factor in allowing the employees to engage in them.[463] Indeed, seven of the interviewees replied that they would not have used BGA's service if there had been a cost associated, six interviewees from five interviews were unsure stating it would depend on the circumstances and how high the cost would be, with only one interview stating they would certainly have used BGA regardless, assuming the cost was approved by their department. Indeed, when asked whether they would have used BGA's resources as much if they had been an external provider, UL17 stated:

> Absolutely not. I think we may have made use of them for the big things but a lot of the smaller things, we wouldn't have, and it would have changed the dynamic in terms of drawing on the knowledge and understanding that Maria and the team have got.[464]

The remaining six non-archivist interviewees either declined to offer an answer (two); were external to the company so it would depend on what they were contracted to do (one); or were responsible for organisation level initiatives where such costs were would have been acceptable (three).

Being an internal service had also allowed some of the interviewees to build up personal relationships with the archivists, something that they felt was important in enhancing the service they received. As UL15 stated:

> The archives team are very friendly and very helpful, knowing they're very approachable and are good at what they do […] I never have a hesitancy in contacting them about something. If it were outsourced, or maybe if it was a team we didn't know or have that relationship with, there may be that hesitancy in approaching them. […] Having people in-house who have that knowledge already of Barclays, who may have come across a similar question four years ago and dug through all the records then and found the answer really helps.[…] I think that having the archives team kept in-house just means that they have that underlying Barclays knowledge and that

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[463] UL20.
[464] UL17.

understanding of the company and what my team does and what I may be looking for if I come to them with a particular question. That underlying tie to Barclays and expertise in the company they are working for is really, really valuable.[465]

Having an in-house archival service confers substantial benefits as opposed to outsourcing the archival function for internal users. As Barclays plc employees, the archivists are familiar with Barclays plc's organisational structure and the responsibilities of the different departments across the organisation. This knowledge has been particularly important considering the numerous structural changes that Barclays plc has undergone since the 2008 GFC and the subsequent changing regulatory environment. Additionally, the archivists are seen as having greater knowledge about Barclays plc due to their service at the organisation. As was stated during UL18 by an Assistant Vice President in BCS:

> I think also there's the desire when you work for somewhere, you're interested, [it is] something you probably want to know the origins of it and your interest is probably higher. So […] if they were an outsourced provider, would they have so much knowledge as [UL21] and [UL20] do on history? Because they've [the archivists] actually worked through it whereas when they're in an external third party, they may not have seen all the changes and all the communications that actually happen [and] form part of the information that they have in the history.[466]

As an in-house archive, the archivists at BGA can build relationships with frequent users of the archives, able to interpret their requests better and even be proactive in contacting them about newly researched information that they may find useful in their roles. For UL7, Head of Corporate Relations for London and the South East, this relationship was important. When asked whether he would have used an outsourced archival department, he stated that 'I find it hard to imagine I'd have the same kind of personal relationship with people who aren't employed by the company.' When the interviewer asked whether this was important, he answered affirmatively.[467]

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[465] UL15.
[466] UL18.
[467] UL7.

Whilst relationships could be built with companies that offer an outsourced archival service; the interview data suggests that having an internal archival function speeds up relationship building and helps build trust in the information and research processes that the archivists follow. Knowing that the BGA's archivists are also colleagues, that they have, as UL15 emphasised, 'underlying Barclays knowledge and that understanding of the company and what [the] team does'[468] appears to be important in reassuring internal users that BGA can provide a service that will be beneficial to them. UL3 shared a similar sentiment, stating:

> [T]here's just something really nice about knowing that you have people that work for the same company as you they're passionate about that company and that spend all day you know, looking after the history of Barclays and that they are at the end of a phone and they are very responsive and you can go and see them and you know there's no red tape in the way of doing that, I think there's a kind of a massive value in that, [I] don't think it would be the same and it would just feel like actually that's [the archives] been taken away from us […] we shouldn't need to be cared for by other people.[469]

These personal relationships appear to be important in ensuring that internal users trust both the results they receive from their enquiries and the processes that were followed to reach them. None of the interviewees questioned the veracity of the information they received from BGA, assuming that if the information came from them it was trustworthy. This is perhaps unsurprising considering the findings of other researchers that archives were generally trusted sources of information and that records held in archives are generally accepted as genuine.[470] However, this underscores the importance of BGA in reserving the reliability and integrity of the records. Whilst trust in their responses is currently axiomatic amongst internal users, it is questionable whether that would remain the case if incorrect information were given or if records were produced that had been altered without authorised and explicitly stated reason. As well as such

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[468] UL15.
[469] UL3.
[470] Usherwood, Wilson, and Bryson. 'Relevant Repositories of Public Knowledge? Libraries, Museums and Archives in 'the Information Age'; Guo, Yun Fang and Li. 'Archives as a Trusted Third Party in Maintaining and Preserving Digital Records in the Cloud Environment'; Hedstrom et al., ''The Old Version Flickers More": Digital Preservation from the User's Perspective'.

actions undermining the core purpose of an archive, it is likely that fewer users would make repeated use of BGA were this the case. Therefore, whilst none of the interviewees stated that reliability or the integrity of the records were reasons they contacted BGA, the fact that they could trust the information they received – something underpinned by the archivists' adherence to archival principles – was important in their decision.

7.3.7.   An open archive

BGA extends its research service beyond the organisation, providing a basic research function and allowing external users to visit the archives to conduct further research by appointment. Whilst this adds to the archivists' workload, these external enquiries are treated as a lower priority than internal enquiries, showing Barclays plc to be 'a responsible corporate citizen' and allows Barclays plc to demonstrate that it 'feels itself to be an integral part of the communities in which it operates.'[471] At the same time, these external researchers can also add value to the work of the archivist:

> It has a direct benefit to use because people are doing research which they share with
> us and they'll quite often find something that we didn't know, so it's very much a
> two-way process.[472]

UL21 added:

> We see it as an important way of discovering how the archives can be used and what
> is in the archives as we only find out what is in the archives when people write to us
> and say 'have you got anything on this or that subject. So, I learnt quite a lot about the
> collections mainly through people saying have you got something on this subject or
> that subject. […] people looking at particular countries, particular types of business,
> some of them quite obscure, so that's useful for us.[473]

Corbett et al.'s pointed to the difficulties encountered within many of the case studies in bringing the static memory into the conversation with the dynamic memory process that could then be

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[471] UL20.
[472] UL20.
[473] UL21.

operationalised.[474] There were various reasons for this, such as changing personnel or having information stored in various geographical locations and sectors. However, one main reason was that the memory that is documented tends to fade from consciousness when it is not being used, even when it could have been useful.[475] Operating BGA as a free resource to internal and external enquiries may act to mitigate this danger due to the varied and frequent enquires. External enquires were slightly less common in 2018 than internal enquiries, representing 49 per cent of BGA's enquiries, a total of 478. Whilst at least 27 of these did not require original research, being communications about subjects like visiting BGA or volunteering and being responses to earlier emails, the vast majority appear to have required the archivists to conduct research in the archives. Additionally, only 123 of these were known-item requests, leaving the 355, or 74 per cent, being subject requests. As UL20 and UL21 state, external enquires are one of the main opportunities the archivists have to conduct new research in the archives to learn about their holdings, or to work collaboratively with researchers who may be able to offer new insights on BGA's holdings. These figures corroborate the archivists' statement that it is external enquiries that require original research more often than internal, and that is external requests that provide much of the impetus to delve into the archives to learn something new. Essentially, the decision to operate BGA as an open and free resource results in more frequent use of the archives that keeps potentially relevant information in circulation.

7.4.   Transforming static memory into dynamic memory

Here the chapter presents a model of how static memory is transformed into dynamic memory by the activities of the archivists that have been described above. This model is only applicable to internal enquiries due to the manner in which they are dealt with. Whilst external enquiries may follow a similar path, that is not the focus of this research and the data is not sufficient to draw conclusions.

The first stage is *capturing* the static memory documents to be preserved in the archive. This stage is part of BGA's mission statement, to 'collect and preserve' records for Barclays plc.

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[474] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach'.
[475] Corbett et al., 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Toward a Dynamic Approach', 568.

However, as mentioned above, much of how this is interpreted relies on the professional skillset and tacit knowledge of the archivists at BGA. Therefore, this stage relies on a combination of corporate policy regarding document retention and the archivist's activities to construct the organisation's memory. Additionally, ensuring records are transferred to the archives is only part of this process, as the records must then also be assessed as to whether they should be preserved or destroyed, and catalogued so they can be accessed later. Again, how these activities are performed is affected by corporate policy, legal requirements, and the judgement of the archivists based on their professional skillset and their knowledge of the archives. This part of the model is similar to Walsh and Ungson's process of acquisition and retention.[476] However, this model highlights the importance of individuals' judgement, here the archivists, in deciding what is acquired and preserved, what is forgotten and destroyed, and how it is preserved to be accessed in the future. Unlike the rest of this model, where each stage creates the impetus for the next stage to occur; the capturing stage does not ensure that the next stage occurs. Instead, this stage is integral in allowing the process the model depicts to happen at all.

The second part of this model is *assessment*. This part of the model is initiated by an enquiry being made to the archives, where the archivists must first assess what the enquiry is for. Known-item requests are the simplest form of enquiry, with assessment taking the form of whether the item is available and how best to transmit the static memory to the enquirer; for these requests, the model would skip to the fourth element. However, for subject-requests the archivists must interpret the enquiry, assessing what information may be available in Barclays plc's static memory that can answer the enquiry and what information would be most relevant to the enquirer based on the enquiry and contextual details such as the department they work for, their job role, and how they state it is to be used. Again, this is similar to Walsh and Ungson's concept of retrieval but highlights the individual in assessing what needs to be retrieved and that the individual performing the retrieval may not be the person who will use the information and therefore must interpret what is being requested.[477] Whilst scholars who utilise the storage bin

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[476] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'.
[477] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'; Argote, 'Organizational Learning: Creating, Retaining and Transferring Knowledge'; Fiedler and Welpe, 'How do Organizations Remember? The Influence of Organizational Structure on Organizational Memory'.

model do discuss potential difficulties in retrieving information, they rarely consider who is doing the retrieving and how this may impact the information retrieved. At Barclays plc, enquires are passed to the archivists as those tasked with preserving and retrieving information from the organisation's static memory requiring them to assess the enquiry and what information is needed to answer it. Whilst this may be clear at times, it can also require the archivists' professional judgment combined with their tacit knowledge of the Barclays plc's organisational structure and the contents of the archives. Therefore, the actions of the archivist at this moment will heavily influence the results of the enquiry.

The third stage of the model is *recollecting*. In this stage, the archivists perform research in the static memory preserved at BGA to recall the information held in the static memory to answer an enquiry. As mentioned above, the archivists are the main researchers at Barclays plc, conducting the research for all internal enquires and facilitating the research for external enquiries through guiding external researchers to relevant records. Therefore, the archivists perform the task of locating relevant static memory documents, such as records and videos, that contain relevant information. This process relies on finding aids that the archivist created during the capturing stage, their tacit knowledge of the organisation's history, their knowledge of what is preserved in the archive and where relevant information was likely to have been captured, and their experience conducting previous research. This stage introduces the socially constructed elements of organisational memory, as the archivists begin the process of transforming static memory into dynamic memory by interpreting the information to draw conclusions relevant to the enquiry.[478]

The fourth stage is *communication* of the results back to the original enquirer. Communication may take the form of simply passing on copies of the original document or transcribing the relevant information contained in Barclays plc's static memory as it is preserved in the original record. In these cases, the archivist has not acted to transform static memory into dynamic memory; instead, they have facilitated access to the organisation's static memory. Whether this will be transformed into dynamic memory then lies with the employee and how they utilise this information. However, for subject-requests that required original research to be conducted, the

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[478] Feldman and Feldman, 'What Links the Chain: An Essay on Organizational Memory'; Rowlinson et al. 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'.

communication stage is where the static memory is fully transformed into dynamic memory. In the process of communicating the results of the research to the enquirer, the archivists create content that packages the results to be easily understood by non-experts and to be relevant to the enquiry and enquirer. These communications may also contain scans and copies of archival documents where relevant but will rarely contain copies of all the documents consulted. These instances of communication are also not always single messages, with enquirers responding with further queries or requests for clarification. These narratives undergo another process of interpretation by the employee before then being communicated to other stakeholders, external and internal, operationalising this dynamic memory. The results of being operationalised may then result in the creation of static memory documents that can be captured in the archives for preservation, allowing them to later be transformed into dynamic memory and operationalised again for new purposes.

Additionally, archivists will also create content to be distributed internally and externally based on these requests. For enquiries that result in content creation by the archivists, the process follows the same model. However, the communication stage results in finished content that is then operationalised by Barclays plc rather than in the archivists communicating their findings to other employees who then operationalise it themselves. Examples of this content include the descriptions of the artefacts for the 2015 AGM which contextualised the material and created a static memory resource – things such as the documents that record the content and its creation process and photographs of the event – whilst also transforming the static memory into dynamic memory through communicating the information to stakeholders.

The third stage of the model is where the functional model of organisational memory and the interpretive model connect, where static memory held in an organisation's storage bins is reintroduced back into the organisation's consciousness.[479] The fourth stage is where the transformation is completed, and static memory is fully transformed into dynamic memory. These narratives and the information contained within them become part of the corporate identity

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[479] Walsh and Ungson, 'Organizational Memory'; Feldman and Feldman, 'What Links the Chain: An Essay on Organizational Remembering as Practice'; Rowlinson et al., 'Social Remembering and Organizational Memory'; Foroughi et al., 'Organizational Memory Studies'.

and corporate culture, also being used to attempt to shape external perceptions of Barclays plc. As mentioned in Chapter 6, 16 of 19 relevant interviewees were able to discuss historical events from Barclays plc's past, shaping their view of the organisation. Additionally, 12 interviewees used the information from the archives to construct their own narratives that were communicated to stakeholders, although these narratives were often similar to Barclays plc's historical narrative. Four interviewees used this information to construct narratives that highlighted Barclays plc's historical connections to a customer or potential customer; two used it to highlight the bank's history in a region through historical branches; five used it to construct narratives celebrating Barclays plc's history and corporate values; and three have used the information to construct narratives that celebrate Barclays plc's past and connection to specific customer groups, such as students or entrepreneurs aimed at external audiences. These efforts utilised BGA to construct their narratives, with the process functioning as the model presented in this chapter suggests. The archivists were the link between these employees and the static memory in the archive, transforming it into dynamic memory by conducting research and communicating it to the inquiries, who then reinterpret what they have received to operationalise this dynamic memory. Additionally, these activities may create static memory in the form of new records and documents that may later be accessioned into the archives, with dynamic memory transforming back into static memory again.

Below is a visual representation of how this model operates in practice. The dashed line from 'capturing' to 'assessment' is to show that capturing is necessary for the assessment of enquiries to happen but does not lead to it without an enquiry to prompt the rest of the process. Likewise, the dashed line from 'operationalisation' to 'capturing' is to show that static memory documents may be produced during operationalisation and later be captured and preserved at BGA. Indeed, it is necessary for this to happen to some extent for the process to reoccur in the future, although this is clearly not the only source of static memory that the archives capture and preserve.
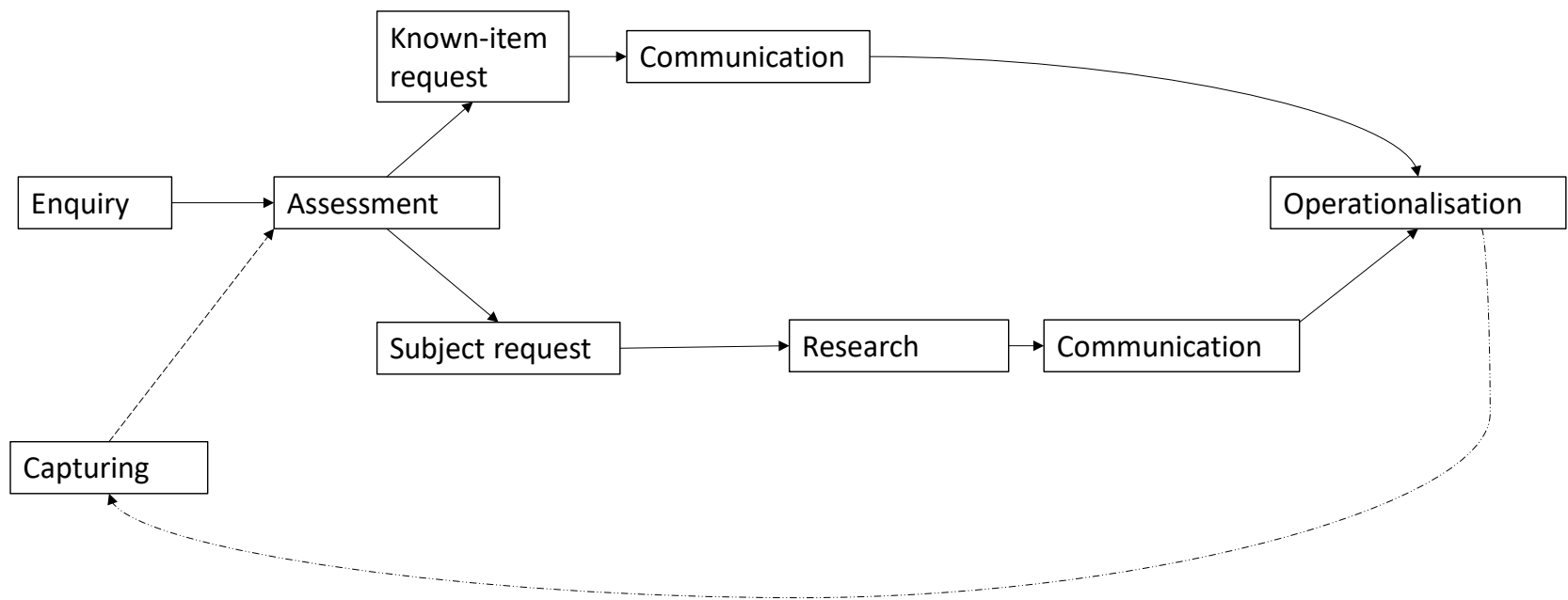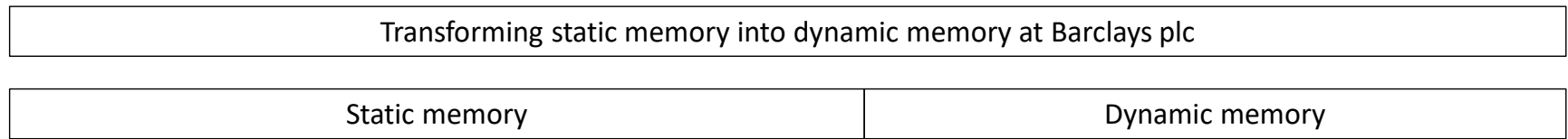
Transforming static memory into dynamic memory at Barclays plc	
Static memory	Dynamic memory

Known-item request

Communication

Enquiry → Assessment

Operationalisation

Subject request → Research → Communication

Capturing

Figure 16: A model of how BGA transform static memory into dynamic memory for Barclays plc.

7.5.   Conclusion

This chapter has added to the growing literature on organisational memory by showing the importance of the role of the archivist in transforming static memory into dynamic memory at Barclays plc and presenting a model for how this may occur at other organisations. Recent literature has shown the constructed nature of memory and highlighted the difficulties in ensuring that information retained in document form remains useful in the daily activities of organisations. This chapter has shown how, in the case of Barclays plc, it is the archivists that ensure the reliability, usability, and integrity of the historical information that is held in Barclays plc's organisational memory, and act as the link between the information and the employees who seek to access it. The fact that this function is in-house rather than outsourced helps to build trust with the internal users, whilst being open to external users ensures that the information at BGA is accessed in different ways, building the knowledge of BGA's archivists, which in turn allows them to utilise this expertise internally. Additionally, the archives are a free resource for employees, encouraging more internal use of BGA's resources and allowing them to pursue their own use of the past strategies that contribute to Barclays plc's strategic objectives whilst also encouraging further and external enquiries.

Whilst BGA is not the only department within Barclays plc that preserves organisational memory, it is the role of the archivists in BGA that differentiate it from other departments or third-party providers. The archivists at BGA play an active role in constructing and curating the archive, not just accepting records as they are transferred and holding them only for statutory periods. Part of the role of curating and constructing the archives is ensuring that procedures are in place that maintains the authenticity, reliability, integrity, and usability of the records. The importance of preserving the authenticity of the records was discussed in Chapter 5 as it allowed Barclays plc to bolster their own authenticity claims. However, it is also the reliability, integrity, and usability of the information that the archivists preserve that ensures that the static memory at Barclays plc remains valuable. The usability of the archives, demonstrated through BGA's retrieval and research functions, were considered highly valuable by the interviewees, whilst the reliability and integrity of the records ensured that users could trust the information they

received, bolstered by the trust they had in the archivists through their relationships. In addition to this, BGA is the only department of Barclays plc that can perform research in the static memory of the bank for the entire organisation and thereby transform static memory into dynamic memory for other employees regardless of their department.

This chapter also contributes a model that establishes a process of how static memory, preserved in organisational storage bins, is transformed into dynamic memory through the activities of the archivists and Barclays plc employees. This model contributes to organisational memory theory by highlighting how the storage bin model of organisational memory and the socially constructed conceptualisation of organisational memory can coexist within the same organisation, with information transforming between the two models rather.

This model also highlights the role that the archivists play as intermediaries in Barclays plc's organisational memory, with employees rarely visiting the archives to perform research themselves. This finding highlights the importance of individuals in determining what is remembered, not only in terms of what is captured but what is retrieved. Whilst this chapter is not taking a critical perspective on organisational memory, the power of people employed as mediators between employees and static memory, or to transform static memory into dynamic memory, is often overlooked in organisational memory studies and could be an area for future research.

A limitation of this chapter is that the results of most of the use of the past activities that employees undertook were not available to the researcher. Whilst organisation level activities created documentation that allowed the researcher to analyse their planning and execution; employee-led activities created far fewer traces other than what was recorded at BGA, and some content created by the communications department. Therefore, it is not possible to analyse the extent to which the employees reinterpreted the information they were given outside of the interview data. It is also not possible, outside of the interview data, to assess what other resources or departments the interviewees consulted in their attempts to access Barclays plc's static memory and how beneficial they were. Whilst the interview data suggest that BGA was their only source of historical information, further research would be needed to assess to what extent other resources, such as the third-party provider, on-site static memory resources,

company training, or conversations with other employees could also have provided useful information. Further research could also assess how other types of information was incorporated into employees use of the past activities, or why it was not used if available.

Additionally, this chapter presents evidence from key users of BGA's resources and the archivists. However, how the archivists' activities transform static memory into dynamic memory is utilised by the wider organisation is not discussed. Whilst this does appear to be a valuable service that the archivist can provide for these interviewees, they represent a small section of the total enquires that BGA receives, and an even smaller section of the organisation as a whole. Therefore, these findings are only indicative of the potential value that the archivists provide, and future research could develop these findings and apply them at an organisation level to assess whether this provides value more broadly.

8. Conclusion

This thesis explored how corporate archives can facilitate the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives by studying how BGA do this for Barclays plc. It focused on the period between 2012 and 2015 where BGA was heavily utilised as a part of the Transform Programme, a strategy initiated in the wake of various scandals. A major part of this strategy focused on changing the organisational culture of Barclays plc, with executives utilising their past as a resource in fulfilling this goal. However, as it became apparent that BGA contributes more to Barclays plc than just their activities that support the bank's use of the past, the thesis needed to consider other activities that BGA perform that facilitate the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives. Therefore, this thesis also addressed the quotidian activities of BGA as part of the bank's organisational memory, considering how they facilitated access to the information preserved in the archives as well as constructing the archive.

This research has shown that archival science principles underpin the operations of BGA, with these activities seen by employees and executives at Barclays plc facilitating the delivery of the bank's strategic objectives. In particular, the archival science concepts of authenticity contributed to Barclays plc's use of the past strategy in 2012 and 2015 by allowing Barclays plc to bolster their authenticity claims by using the authenticity of the archives. The archival principle of authenticity also contributed to the benefits that content creators sought from their use of material artefacts preserved at BGA as part of Barclays plc's use of the past strategy. However, material artefacts were also seen as important by content creators as they enabled the bank to visually demonstrate its past and capture the attention of audiences more effectively than textual narratives alone.

Additionally, the archivists at BGA play an important, and often overlooked, role in the organisational memory of the bank, ensuring that useful information is retained and is preserved in a manner that preserves its reliability, usability, and integrity. However, it was the activities of the archivists that captured static memory and transform static memory into dynamic memory for other Barclays plc employees, functions unavailable elsewhere in the bank, that were most

valued. These activities are underpinned by the aim of preserving the archival principles of authenticity, reliability, usability, and integrity and are integral in providing the service that employees valued.

Methodologically, this thesis has also shown the value of the embedded research approach. By being embedded in the archives, this researcher was able to identify and interview key users of BGA to ascertain why they found value in the corporate archives; these users were not all initiating organisation level use of the past strategies, nor did they routinely use the past as part of their job roles. By interviewing people at various levels of Barclays plc, as well as interviewing the archivists themselves, data was gathered that suggests that use of the past strategies may be more commonplace than was previously acknowledged and that these strategies are not necessarily all implemented from the top. By focusing on the sites of historical information within organisations, it may be easier to identify employee use of the past strategies.

This chapter will first give an overview of the key findings from each of the chapters and their contributions to relevant bodies of knowledge. It will then discuss the limitations of the thesis overall before finishing with some avenues for future research.

8.1. Authenticity

Chapter 5 shows how the authenticity of the archives was a crucial resource for Barclays plc during their initial use of the past strategy as they launched the Transform Programme. Barclays plc had been criticised for lacking a set of corporate values that was understood by the entire organisation, with their corporate culture being cited as one of the reasons that they had endured several scandals that culminated in the LIBOR rate-rigging scandal. One of the aims of the Transform Programme was to change the organisational culture of the bank and institute a new set of company values that would be understandable by all employees. The *Made by Barclays* video that was first shown at the Transform Programme launch event in December 2012 and would be shown to all 140,000 employees as part of an organisation-wide training scheme, made various moral authenticity claims, arguing that Barclays plc was built on a particular set of principles that could be seen throughout its history and which were responsible for the success of

the bank. These authenticity claims were underpinned by the authentic archival records that provided the information for the narrative. BGA's archivists had performed research in the archives to provide content for the narrative, as well as fact-checking the resulting narrative, and providing some of the artefacts for the filming of the video. These contributions acted to bolster the authenticity claims being made in the video, something that was important to the organisation at the time as they were enduring a period of intense scrutiny and cynicism regarding its claims to be transforming the culture of the bank. By allowing Barclays plc to bolster their authenticity claims, BGA was able to provide both services and resources which managers considered beneficial for delivering their strategic objectives.

This chapter built on previous work that had addressed how organisations use the past. However, with few exceptions, this body of literature had neglected the role of the corporate archive and other sites of historical information in the construction of organisational historical narratives.[480] This chapter contributes to the literature by highlighting the active role the archivists played in constructing the historical narrative, acting both as researchers and fact-checkers to ensure the narrative remained generally accurate when retelling past events. Whilst they were not responsible for the interpretation of those events and the resulting narrative in its entirety, this chapter shows that experts in an organisation's history do contribute to the resulting narrative and shape it in certain ways. This finding further problematises organisational use of the past strategies by highlighting the complicity of professionals in constructing these narratives and raises the question of what role should professional historians and archivists play in constructing these narratives and whether they hold some responsibility for the results. These finding highlights, and contributes to filling, the gap in the current literature that often focuses on executives who are responsible for the constructing and using historical narratives but ignores where the information for these narratives comes from and how this may have impacted the resulting narrative.

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[480] Hatch and Shultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Coller, Mills, and Mills, 'The British Airways Heritage Collection: An Ethnographic "History"'; Wim Van Lent and Andrew D. Smith, 'Perceiving the Present by Means of the Past: Theorizing the Strategic Importance of Corporate Archives', in *Strategic Responsiveness and Adaptive Organizations: New Research Frontiers in International Strategic Management*, ed. Torben Juul Andersen, Torp Simon, and Linder Stefan, Emerald Studies in Global Strategic Responsiveness (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2019), 97–110.

This chapter also contributed to the organisation studies literature by bringing it into conversation with archival science literature, specifically on the concept of authenticity. Whilst both bodies of literature contain an understanding of what authenticity means, this chapter shows that both understandings can be relevant to understanding how organisations use their pasts. Barclays plc made authenticity claims that utilised the authenticity of their archives to bolster their credibility in an attempt to increase the acceptability of its authenticity claims by stakeholders, particularly employees. Whilst it is not clear how successful this was, it is only by using organisation studies and archival science concepts of authenticity that these efforts can be understood. This highlights the potential value of interdisciplinary research in furthering our understanding of how authenticity is claimed by organisations, how audiences assess this claim, and the resources that organisations utilise to bolster their claims.

Additionally, the chapter showed the limitations of using an organisation's past to make authenticity claims. Whilst use of the past literature argues that history is a malleable resource for managers, an organisations past and their present act to constrict the options available to managers when constructing historical narratives.[481] Whilst some literature has highlighted how use of the past strategies can be constrained when they are reliant on a founding figure who is also a public figure, the circumstances of the past and present as constraining factors has often been ignored.[482] This thesis contributes to filling this gap by showing how Barclays plc were unable to use their past to make category authenticity claims due to how different banking was in the past to the present; and due to the contemporary mistrust of banks, combined with their place as an unquestionable financial institution in Britain, making such claims likely to damage them further. Likewise, they were unable to make craft authenticity claims due to the nature of the financial industry where the processes that create value or obscure and difficult to understand for laymen.

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[481] Suddaby, Foster, and Quinn Trank, 'Rhetorical History as a Sources of Competitive Advantage'.

[482] Cailluet, Gorge, and Özçağlar-Toulouse, '"Do Not Expect Me to Stay Quiet": Challenges in Managing a Historical Strategic Resource'.

8.2. Material artefacts

BGA's ability to bolster the authenticity claims of Barclays plc is also linked to the material artefacts they preserve. Chapter 6 showed that the material artefacts were considered an important resource for Barclays plc's use of the past strategies by those responsible for content creation at Barclays plc. The use of the past strategy in 2012 initially made little use of material artefacts, preferring to rely on the historical narrative to promote the corporate values and organisational cultural change they were initiating However, material artefacts saw greater use as the use of the past strategy continued into 2015. Because BGA had actively preserved historical artefacts, Barclays plc were able to select and present authentic material artefacts at exhibitions, as digital content through photographs of artefacts and exhibitions, and to provide access to digital surrogates so that audiences could see, and potentially interact with, the past of the organisation. Additionally, Barclays plc were able to demonstrate their commitment to the corporate value of Stewardship by presenting both the artefacts and the archivists, Barclays plc employees whose role is to be stewards of the bank's past.

This chapter contributes to use of the past literature by demonstrating the potential uses of material artefacts in use of the past strategies and why they are used. With some exceptions, use of the past literature has focused on the narratives being told by organisations in their use of the past strategies.[483] However, this neglects the material artefacts that are also used purposefully as a resource by organisations in their use of the past strategies. Whilst at Barclays plc they were still contextualised by the textual narrative and were often used to support it; those responsible for the strategy and creating content for it utilised them for specific purposes such as attracting attention and demonstrating their claims rather than just arguing them or presenting them narratively. By demonstrating how content creators mobilised archival resources and material artefacts, and by highlighting the value that content creators perceived them as bringing, this

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[483] Hatch and Shultz, 'Toward a Theory of Using History Authentically: Historicizing in the Carlsberg Group'; Barnes and Newton, "Constructing Corporate Identity before the Corporation: Fashioning the Face of the First English Joint Stock Banking Companies through Portraiture'; Barnes and Newton, 'War Memorials in Organizational Memory: A Case Study of the Bank of England'; Decker, 'Solid Intentions: An Archival Ethnography of Corporate Architecture and Organizational Remembering'.

chapter builds our understanding of the tactics that organisations employ as part of their use of the past strategies and why they choose to utilise particular resources over others.

This chapter also contributes to the use of the past literature by highlighting the efforts that those employing a use of the past strategy go to ensure that their narratives gain the attention of intended audiences and resonate with them. Most use of the past literature has focused on the narratives employed and the goals of the strategy, with less being written about how organisations ensure audiences are engaged and methods employed to ensure that audiences remember the narratives and understand the message that is being transmitted. This thesis cannot show the effectiveness of Barclays plc's strategy. However, it demonstrates the methods employed to capture the attention of key audiences of a use of the past strategy that had been active for several years by 2015, with earlier efforts criticised by senior employees for being 'too glossy' and lacking authenticity. This chapter shows that the attention of audiences is not a given, nor is it taken for granted by those responsible for the strategy that audiences will pay attention to, understand, and remember the message that is being communicated. Instead, content creators utilise their historical resources, in this case material artefacts, purposefully to ensure that the strategy can fulfil its aims. For Barclays plc, having an internal archives department that had preserved material artefacts, something that was not abundant considering the nature of the financial industry, provided them with a resource that would otherwise not have been available.

8.3.   Organisational memory

This thesis demonstrates in Chapter 7 that BGA, and in particular the archivists, play an important role in the organisational memory of Barclays plc by capturing the static memory of the bank and, when required, transforming it into dynamic memory. It is the archival science concepts of reliability, usability, and integrity that underpin this service. The archivists are responsible for constructing the archive in a manner that ensures that the records remain useful for the bank's ongoing operations. Although BGA does have a mission statement and an acquisition policy that directs the types of records that it collects, it is the decisions and actions of the archivists that heavily influence what does and does not make it into the archive. By applying formally recognised professional standards to those records, such as the capturing of

appropriate metadata into a digital catalogue, the archives' reliability, integrity, and usability are maintained.

Although the main users of the archive are Barclays plc employees, it is rare that they are able to carry out research in the archives themselves. Instead, the archivists are the ones to perform the research in the archives, transforming the static memory held in the records, into the dynamic memory that can then be operationalised. BGA's position as an in-house department of Barclays plc also facilitates their use, helping to build relationships between the archivists and other employees, providing a resource that is free for users. These activities facilitate the delivery of Barclays pc strategic objectives by facilitating the activities of the various departments that use BGA's services. Whilst particular departments use BGA more frequently than others, the services that BGA offers appears to have been valuable to all those interviewed and aided them in their job roles, contributing to fulfilling Barclays plc's strategic objectives. These factors enable employees to take advantage of the knowledge accrued, with those users able to rely on the information they receive because of the processes that have preserved the information and transformed it from static memory into dynamic memory.

This chapter contributes to the literature on organisational memory by demonstrating how the functional model and interpretive model of organisational memory coexist within Barclays plc and presenting a model of this process. BGA acts as a storage bin of memory as the functional model suggests, preserving static memory in the form of things such as documents and records. However, when accessing the information, the archivists act to transform static memory into dynamic memory through conducting research in the archives and then communicating their findings to the enquirer. The model presented in this chapter is an attempt to document this process, filling a gap in the literature that has often presented organisational memory through one particular lens rather than considering whether different types of memory coexist and interact within an organisation.[484]

This chapter also contributes to the literature by highlighting the role of intermediaries in organisational memory systems. Within Barclays plc, employees who wish to access the

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[484] Foroughi et al., 'Organizational Memory Studies'.

information preserved in the archives access it only through the archivists. The role of mediators in organisational memory systems, particularly in the functional model, is often overlooked. Whilst critical approaches, notably Popp and Fellman, have highlighted the power dynamics present in the archives, the role of individuals who mediate access or transform static memory into dynamic memory is under-researched.[485] This model places them as key actors in how organisations capture, preserve, recall, and communicate their memory for the use of employees, as well as being important in assessing what is being requested, a powerful role that has previously been overlooked.

This chapter also has implications for corporate archivists and organisations with an in-house archive or those considering investing in an archival function. This chapter highlights the value that keeping the archival function in-house brings, with users more willing to trust the services of archivist that were also employed by the organisation specifically to manage that organisation's history. This contribution builds on the findings of Chapter 6, where being able to feature the archivists as employees of Barclays plc allowed the bank to demonstrate its commitment to its value of Stewardship. Whilst having an outsourced archival function may be able to provide similar services, these findings suggest that it would be utilised less by employees who would be unsure of the service they would receive and wary of any costs associated.

Additionally, for organisations with an archival function or considering investing in one, this chapter highlights the value in allowing public access to its holdings. Whilst all archives have certain limitations on what is available, the findings from this chapter suggest that an archive that is open to a variety of users is likely to be more valuable than one that is only open to internal users. Although this may result in higher costs due to the higher workload of the archivists, the increased use of the archives leads to the archivists having a greater knowledge of what is contained in the static memory of the organisation, enabling them to perform more effective and faster research when needed. By increasing the variety and number of users, an archive open to

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[485] Popp and Fellman, 'Power, Archives and the Making of Rhetorical Organizational Histories: A Stakeholder Perspective'.

the public helps to prevent the memory being preserved fading from consciousness and thereby losing its value to the organisation.[486]

8.4. Limitations

Like all research, this thesis is not without its limitations. One of the main limitations to the findings is that focus of this research has been almost entirely on how internal users have utilised BGA to provide value for Barclays plc. Indeed, external users were only discussed in Chapter 7 regarding organisational memory. This neglects nearly half of the users in 2018 and the potential value that BGA provided them and wider society. Additionally, this ignores any activities that these external users undertook that provided value for Barclays plc in some way, such as the report by Johnathon Pierce, a BNP Paribus analyst whose report – used records from BGA – resulted in a short-term share price increase for Barclays plc on its publication.[487] Therefore, although focusing on internal users to understand how BGA facilitate the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives is a sensible approach, it may not show all the value that a corporate archive can provide for its parent organisation.

Another limitation of the thesis as a result of focusing on internal users the potential hesitancy of interviewees to discuss controversial subject or views that diverge from the corporate narrative. This thesis was not studying topics that many would consider controversial and, therefore, no interviewees refused to discuss an issue or answer a particular question. However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, only two of the interviewees were at all critical about Barclays plc's use of the past strategy, and none disagreed with the historical narrative that Barclays plc were communicating. Even these two only critiqued Barclays plc's approaches to using the past, rather than the idea of the strategy itself or its purpose. This limitation is particularly pertinent to the findings from Chapter 5 and 6 that focuses on the organisation level use of the past strategy and how BGA was utilised. Whilst the thesis does not attempt to assess how successful the use of the past strategy was in changing the organisational culture at Barclays plc, the reluctance of the interviewees to

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[486] Corbett et al. 'Singular Memory or Institutional Memories? Towards a Dynamic Approach'.
[487] Pierce, Jonathan. 'What Now? Lessons from a Century of Data.' Exane BNP Paribus, 2017; Murphy, Paul. 'A Trip to Barclays Archives Shows the Value Analysts Can Bring.' Financial Times. Accessed May 23, 2017. https://www.ft.com/content/229126c8-1b68-11e7-bcac-6d03d067f81f.

discuss their acceptance or dismissal of the narrative may undermine these findings. As there is not enough data to conclude whether Barclays plc were able to achieve their strategic objective and change the culture of the bank, it remains unclear whether BGA actually helped facilitate the delivery of that strategic objective as it is unclear whether it was delivered. All that can be concluded is that those responsible for the strategy saw value in using BGA's resources as a key part of achieving their goals and believed that they would help.

Another potential limitation of this thesis is the insider status of the researcher through their links to BGA and the nature of the project. Whilst this status provided access to the organisation's records and personnel that was beneficial to the project and would have been unlikely without this insider status; it may have contributed to the reluctance of interviewees to criticise Barclays plc as the research was presented as being conducted in partnership with BGA. Compounding this reluctance to criticise Barclays plc is the relationship between the Group Archivists and the interviewees. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the researcher was introduced to interviewees by the Group Archivist, many of whom had a personal relationship with her on some level through their use of BGA's resources as well as being colleagues within Barclays plc. As discussed in Chapter 7, these personal relationships were a benefit of having an in-house archival function as they increased trust and encouraged employees to use BGA's services. However, in relation to this research, these relationships and loyalty to a colleague may have resulted in interviewees being less willing to criticise the service they received or state when they thought that BGA had not provided services that had helped facilitate the delivery of Barclays plc's strategic objectives, particularly as the research was being conducted in partnership with BGA. As mentioned in Chapter 6, only two of the interviewees were critical of Barclays plc's use of the past strategy, both of which has left Barclays plc at the time of the interview, highlighting that there may have been a reluctance of current employees and those currently working with the bank to criticise it. However, none of the interviewees were critical of the service they received from BGA, suggesting either that this sample group all had positive experiences, a possibility considering their willingness to be interviewed and that several were repeat users of BGA; or that they were reluctant to be openly critical of a colleague or to someone perceived as connected to BGA as it would be reasonable to assume any criticism would be relayed to BGA.

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This thesis also raises questions that it cannot answer such as what the role of archivists, and potentially corporate historians, should be in the construction of organisational historical narratives. This limitation is particularly true of the findings from Chapter 5 and 6 where the archivists performed the research that formed the basis of the resulting narrative and acted as fact-checkers to ensure it remained broadly accurate. However, by lending credibility to the narrative through these actions, it is arguable that the archivists bear some responsibility for the result despite only having limited control of the final narrative. Barclays plc's narrative was relatively benign and intended to improve the behaviour of its employees rather than hide past misdeeds, something that is not the case for all use of the past strategies.[488] However, it still neglected the negative parts of Barclays plc's past and was designed to shift attention away from recent negative behaviour. Barclays plc were taking other measures, such as the Salz Review and the Transform Programme to deal with its contemporary misbehaviour; but presenting a wholly positive historical narrative has the danger of employees and executives forgetting historical misbehaviour, how it occurred, and potentially how best to avoid it in the future. Whilst historical stories of behaviour that lives up to Barclays plc's values may be useful in encouraging particular behaviour from employees, discussed in Chapter 6; arguably, examples of past misdeeds, how to make amends, and the context of how they were perpetrated can act as a guide on avoiding them in the future, particularly as this was an attempt to inculcate abstract moral values to guide behaviour rather than prescriptive procedures in the face of potential misbehaviour. Additionally, this narrative continues to be used by Barclays plc and promoted internally and externally for other purposes. How far professional historians and corporate archivists should go in contributing to the corporate use of history for their contemporary strategic goals, and at what stage they should refuse to participate, is not something this thesis can answer, but by highlighting the role that the archivists played it does highlight an important question for future research.

Another limitation of this thesis is that the impact of digitisation and digital archives was also not addressed, something that will potentially impact the findings of the thesis overall going forward.

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[488] See Booth, Charles, Peter Clark, Agnes Delahaye, Stephen Procter, and Michael Rowlinson. 'Accounting for the Dark Side of Corporate History: Organizational Culture Perspectives and the Bertelsmann Case.' *Critical Perspectives on Accounting* 18, no. 6 (2007): 625–44.

As records increasingly become digital, it is unclear how they can be used as part of use of the past strategies beyond their informational content and how it will affect the ability of archives to ensure they are capturing records that are useful and will be in the future. The digital nature of records may also affect the role of archivists in transforming static memory into dynamic memory as access to digital static memory could be possible without visiting a particular location or through mediators if the proper digital infrastructure is present. It is also unclear whether digital records, digital artefacts, and digital surrogates would have been considered as useful for bolstering authenticity claims, nor whether they would have been considered as valuable by content creators as material artefacts. Although there are mentions by interviewees of the value of material artefacts over digital records, this was not the focus of the research and was not interrogated further.

Additionally, Barclays plc used digital media to transmit its historical narrative, something which allowed them to reach a wider audience than if they had to rely on physical exhibitions only. However, whether audiences interacted differently or responded differently to digital content over physical content was not analysed as the data gathered was not sufficient. Therefore, this thesis cannot make conclusions on the current and future role or impact of digital records on how corporate archives can facilitate the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives.

8.5.   Possibilities for Future research

The findings of this thesis suggest a number of avenues for future research, in particular, how born-digital documents and digital surrogates will affect how corporate archives can facilitate the delivery of their parent organisation's strategic objectives. Although rare, interviewees did mention the value of physical artefacts in Barclays plc's use of the past strategy over digital records or digital surrogates. However, whilst not interrogated in this thesis, Barclays plc used digital methods to promote their use of the past strategy. Future research could look at how the medium available affects the message that organisations transmit in their use of the past strategy as well as whether audiences react differently to different mediums. Additionally, future research could look at the use of digital records as part of use of the past strategies and the benefits of limitations they bring. Although this approach would require an organisation using its

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relatively recent past, the use of digital records in use of the past strategies will likely increase in the future as these become the main medium that information is recorded in. Therefore, such research is likely to become more relevant to the contemporary activities of organisations and corporate archives.

Future research could look at how other organisations perform similar processes of transforming static memory into dynamic memory, and whether this model is applicable elsewhere. Such research could examine who else in organisations act as intermediaries between employees and information retained in the organisational memory. As mentioned in Chapter 7, this thesis does not take a critical perspective on organisational memory. However, considering the findings of this thesis on the role of archivists as mediators between employees and the static memory of an organisation and their role in transforming it into dynamic memory; future research could focus on how such mediators within organisations use their power to uphold, modify, or counter dominant organisational narratives. Additionally, future research could look at how organisations control such mediators, assuming they do, and whether this affects the usefulness of an organisation's memory.

The findings on how Barclays plc utilised the authenticity of the archives to bolster their authenticity claims also points to future research on how organisations attempt to ensure that employees accept their historical narratives. Whilst past research has often focused on the narrative themselves and the use of the past, there has been little on why organisations would use the past over other rhetorical resources and how they ensure that their narrative is accepted as legitimate over competing narratives. This thesis has shown how the authenticity of the archives was a useful resource for Barclays plc at a time when the organisation lacked credibility. Further research could look at what other tactics are used by organisations to ensure that their historical narratives are seen as legitimate over others and how the contemporary reputation of the company affects the perceived legitimacy of their use of past historical narrative or whether they derive their legitimacy from other sources than the current credibility of the organisation.

Additionally, future research could look at the constraint other types of organisation have when constructing their historical narratives. This thesis highlighted the constraints Barclays plc had

on what they could use their past for due to their contemporary situation and the nature of the finance industry. However, how other organisations are constrained by the nature of their industry or due to the perception of the industry they are part of – whether it is stigmatised or viewed as environmentally damaging for example – could be a topic for future research. Whether organisation act against these constraints, using the past to combat negative perceptions of their industry or to teach audiences about their history and how they operate in an attempt to appear more authentic, could also be topics of future research.

The findings of this thesis also suggest that use of the past literature could benefit from a greater focus on the sources of historical information that organisations utilise. By focusing on sites of historical information, such as corporate archives and corporate museums, as objects of study themselves; use of the past literature could better understand how different levels of organisations make use of historical resources. Research that focuses on the organisational sites of history may be well placed to uncover the multiple historical narratives within organisations and how they are constructed. Such research could also better demonstrate what corporate archives do day-to-day that provides value for their parent organisations as well as how they serve external users.

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Appendix A

This appendix contains a list of the interviewees, the code used in the text to refer to them, their job title at the time of the interview, the date of the interview, the length of the interview, and whether the interview was face-to-face or conducted via phone. Two of the interviewees requested that they remain anonymous so they will not be named here. Additionally, one of these requested that their job title be changed from its official name to make them less identifiable. One of the interviewees, UL14, does not work for Barclays plc directly. However, the company she works for, Speak Media, was contracted by Barclays plc to create digital content for their website.

Code	Interviewee name	Job title	Date of interview	Length in minutes	Interview Method
UL1	Stephen Doherty	Director of Barclays Corporate Communications	20/07/2018	00:40:23	Face-to-face
UL2	Anonymous	Senior Management in BCS	08/08/2018	00:39:47	Face-to-face
UL3	James Greenhead	Vice President Campaigns Content and Planning	24/05/2018	00:52:47	Face-to-face
UL4	Fiona Parke	Relationship Director – Corporate Banking	24/05/2018	00:20:45	Face-to-face
UL5	Julian Bucknall	Head of People and Engagement for Barclays Technology	30/05/2018	01:01:55	Face-to-face
UL6	Helen McCarthy	Relationship Support Manager – Corporate Banking	05/06/2018	00:19:29	Phone
UL7	Danny Reardon	Head of Corporate Relations - London and South East	18/06/2018	00:29:36	Face-to-face
UL8	Ray O'Donough	Managing Director - Midlands Corporate Banking	04/06/2018	00:43:28	Face-to-face
UL9	Anonymous	Managing Director at Barclays Investment Bank	29/06/2018	00:25:53	Face-to-face

UL10	India Smyth	Senior Media Relations Manager	03/07/2018	00:36:03	Face-to-face
UL11	Robert Radcliff	Head of Content and Marketing	03/07/2018	00:52:55	Face-to-face
UL12	Wayne Measor	Managing Director – Retail Product Control	03/07/2018	00:28:02	Phone
UL13	David Ward	Relationship Director – Corporate Banking, Barclays Retail and Wholesale	29/06/2018	00:43:47	Face-to-face
UL14	Laura Smith	Managing Editor – Speak Media	17/07/2018	00:23:26	Face-to-face
UL15	Katherine Farthing	Barclays Legal, Vice President	01/08/2018	00:59:53	Face-to-face
UL16	Cerys Llewelyn	Assistant Vice President - BCS	01/08/2018	00:49:14	Face-to-face
UL17	Alistair Smith	Former Managing Director - Corporate Communications	24/08/2018	00:57:56	Face-to-face
UL18	Lisa Norton & Nicola Marsh	Director & Assistant Vice President (respectively)	01/02/2019	00:53:17	Group - phone
UL19	Antony Jenkins	Former CEO Of Barclays plc	27/02/2019	00.55.27	Face-to-face
UL20	Maria Sienkiewicz	Group Archivist	26/06/2019	01:00:05	Face-to-face
UL21	Nicholas Webb	Archivist	23/02/2020	01:33:55	Face-to-face

Appendix B

Below is a table of the narratives posted on Barclays plc's intranet as part of the *Millions of Stories* campaign. Unfortunately, it is not possible to give the exact date of all of these narratives as the *My Story* page did not record the exact date of the posting. However, some of the stories were posted onto Barclays plc's main intranet site; these versions include a date which is included below. However, the *My Story* page did number each post chronologically, so it is possible to see the original order the narratives were posted.

Following the table, I have replicated the text from the narratives that were originally posted, removing the names of the contemporary employees that are mentioned in some of the narratives. I have also reproduced the original spelling and grammatical choices made in the original post. Whilst this does include some minor spelling and grammatical errors, it better reflects the tone that Barclays plc was aiming for, and where they have emphasised aspects of the narrative.

I have included the amount of 'Likes' underneath the narratives. Although the 'Like' data was not used as part of the analysis in this thesis, it does give an indication of the level of employee engagement with the various posts.

Code	Title	Date (if known) and story number	Type	Artefact referenced/shown	BGA referenced
N1	A Story [sic] about Service, recounted by a piece of plastic.	Date unknown Story no.538	Backward-Linking Artefact Narrative	An original of 'the UK's first all-purpose credit card.'	Yes.
N2	A story of Excellence, marked by a historic flag.	Date unknown Story no.539	Backward-Linking Artefact Narrative	The 'historic flag' Sir Chris Bonington took to the summit of Mt. Everest.	No.
N3	A story of Service, recorded in a leather diary.	Date unknown Story no.544	Backward-Linking Artefact Narrative	The branch diary of bank manager Mr A. Fitton.	No.
N4	Story of Stewardship, recalled by an 1896 minute book.	Date unknown Story no. 552	Backward-Linking Artefact Narrative	The first minute book of the newly amalgamated Barclays plc.	Yes.
N5	A story of Respect, remembered by a Canterbury war record	Date unknown Story no. 585	Backward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A 'war record' created by Mr. Naylor at Barclays plc's Canterbury Head Office to	Yes.

				commemorate Barclays plc employees who fell during World War Two.	
N6	Two stories of Stewardship, 54 years apart	Date unknown Story no. 596	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A photograph of Barclays plc's first female clerk and the Barclays DCO Quarterly Newsletter where she is quoted speaking about her job.	No.
N7	Two instances of Integrity, 81 years apart	Date: 23rd June 2015 Story no. 597	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	Goodenough College, London House, London.	No.
N8	Two stories of Stewardship, 129 years apart	Date unknown Story no. 598	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A one guinea coin.	No.

N9	Two moments of Stewardship, 24 years apart	Date: 21st July 2015 Story no. 599	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A 'Barclay Bill' moneybox, 'Barclay Bill' costume, and a photograph of the costume in use.	Yes.
N10	Two tales of Integrity, 99 years apart	Date: 7th July 2015 Story no. 600	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	Apprentice rule book and records from 1911 and a photograph of one of the apprentices.	Yes.
N11	Two stories of Excellence, 59 years apart (This was posted twice with the two versions being slightly different but telling the same narrative. The other post is titled: Two stories of Excellence, 69 years	Date: 30th June 2015 Story no. 601	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	The DCO Story, and an old £5 note.	Yes.

	apart. The '59 years' title appears to be a mistake as dates mentioned have a 69-year gap. The '59 year' version only appears on the *My Stories* page.)				
N12	Two anecdotes about Service, 215 years apart	Date unknown Story no. 602	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	19th century signature books from the Liverpool Haywood branch.	No.
N13	Two moments of Respect, 143 years apart	Date 14th July 2015 Story no. 603	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A picture of Caroline Gunner who became a senior partner of Gunner & Co., one of the banks that amalgamated into Barclays plc.	No.

N14	Two illustrations of Integrity, 325 years apart	24th August 2015 Story no. 604	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A sketch of a traditionally dressed Quaker.	No.
N15	Two stories of Service, 55 years apart	11th August 2015 Story no. 605	Forward-Linking Artefact Narrative.	A statement of account wallet from 1959.	No.

N1: A Story about Service recounted by a piece of plastic

By Millions of stones. One Barclays

Barclaycard is now present in over 20 countries. Today, it's hard to imagine a world without it. Introduced in 1966, the UK's very first all purpose credit card can be found in our archive, a shining example of Service, it kick-started a revolution that made money and credit more accessible than ever before.

In two months, a derelict shoe and boot factory in Northampton was converted into the main Barclaycard centre.

£500,000 was spent on advertising and 1,000,000 cardholders were recruited in preparation for the UK's first credit card launch. Initially credit limits were set at £100 and £200, but on 8 November 1967, Barclaycard became the first card to offer extended credit, allowing cardholders to budget their payments monthly. From 1966, Barclaycard was available in England, Wales and Scotland. 1967-68 saw expansion into Malta, Gibraltar and Ireland, and soon after to South Africa and the West Indies - all countries where the Bank had established a presence.

Today we're still innovating and building tomorrow's bank to offer our customers greater freedom in the way they pay introducing 'bPay', a handy wristband linked to a prepaid account.

20 Likes

N2: A story of Excellence, marked by an historic flag

By Millions of stories. One Barclays

Explorer Chris Bonington's treacherous climb up Mount Everest was the first overseas expedition sponsored by Barclays. Chris and his team flew this flag when they successfully completed the challenge. Sponsoring the Everest Expedition was an extremely risky project and according to the Spread Eagle magazine ('the Globe' of Its day).[489]

"Financing the expedition was more an act of faith than a straightforward sponsorship."

Chris Bonington wrote to thank Chairman of Barclays Bank International, Mr Tuke, for "the trust and confidence" shown by Barclays.

Today, this historic flag is still a true symbol of how we always strive for Excellence dedicating our attention and time to support initiatives such as Wheels for Change; a series of sponsored bike rides which were run by colleagues to support charitable causes.

15 Likes

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[489] The Spread Eagle and The Globe were both internal Barclays plc magazines.

N3: A story of Service recorded in a leather bound [sic] diary

By Millions of stories. One Barclays

During the Second World War it was common for Bank Managers to keep detailed diaries and the ones that have survived are always rich in local, national, and societal history.

Mr A. Fitton, manager of our Middleton branch, Manchester wrote the first typewritten entry on Tuesday, 31 May 1938 - all the entries he made prior to this were handwritten. In a diary entry dated 21 February 1941, Mr Fitton wrote about a difficult situation faced by the Treasurer of the local borough (region). The government had issued an instruction to the borough to build air raid shelters to protect local people from attack but with money being so tight, the Treasurer had no choice but to request an overdraft. Though this represented a financially risky decision for

Barclays, Mr Fitton knew it was the right thing to do and so agreed the overdraft. The shelters were built in record time, saving lives.

We helped our colleagues in times of conflict in the past and now, thanks to our Armed Forces Transition Employment and Resettlement (AFTER) programme, we're recruiting soldiers and helping them to build a new future after their service in the army.

12 Likes

N4: A story of Stewardship, recalled by an 1896 minute book

By Millions of stories. One Barclays, 21

Barclays may trace its history back to 1690 and the goldsmith bankers John Freame and Thomas Gould, but Barclays as we know it today only came into being in 1896 through the merger of about 20 private banks.

The name Barclays comes from James Barclay, John Freame's son-in-law, who joined the original partnership. In 1736. Over 200 years later, it was this name that was given to the newly merged bank, Barclay and Company Ltd, when it was Incorporated under the Companies Act in 1896.

Being incorporated in this way meant that for the first time the policy and major decisions of the senior executives would be written down for future proof and reference.

The first minutes recorded the appointment of the first company secretary - Mr Frederick Craufurd Goodenough, who was a very significant figure in the early history of the new company - auditors and local boards. It also noted the continuation of payments to charities and general rules for the conduct of business in the branches and offices.

This minute book also contains the very first proof of the very first share certificate for the new company. From now on the capital is no longer owned by the partners, instead Barclays has shareholders.

Today's minute books may not display the same sumptuous leather binding and exquisite handwriting, but each one is an important legal and cultural record. And we have every single one from 1896 up until the present day. In fact, looking after these minute books is one of the most important functions of the Barclays Group Archives.

Visit our digital archives to see the first minute of the Barclays board as well as the first example of James Barclay's signature.

12 Likes

N5: A story of Respect remembered by a Canterbury war record

By Millions of Stones. One Barclays

The story of Barclays is not just the story of a bank, it is the story of society over 325 years. From 1939 to 1945, that

story, for most of the world, was one of war. In Canterbury, UK, the local director of Barclays' Canterbury Head office

Mr Naylor - put together an album of photographs, letters, newspaper clippings and written memories dedicated to Barclays colleagues ·who fell during World War Two.

The emotive opening inscription reads:

To the Hardship which was endured, The
suffering which was borne,
And the sacrifices which were made
In the cause of freedom,
This book is dedicated.

The first section of the record is entitled 'For Freedom' and includes photographs of the eight Barclays colleagues who went to war but never returned. These were ordinary men but extraordinary heroes.

There were extraordinary women too. The record tells of two colleagues who joined active service and were awarded the Defence medal.

In 1941 a bomb struck the town, causing significant damage to the Barclays branch and changing the face of the high street. Photographs in this war record show not just the damage to the branch but also give insight in to how the community rallied together - Barclays continued to do business out of the nearby Lloyds branch in the immediate aftermath of the blast. And then in 1947 we see photos from a happier time and the post-war reunion ball.

A lot of the items contained in this record are of national and even global significance but at the heart, the record embodies the Barclays Values as we see them today. Most notably Respect. Respect for the sacrifices made by individuals for the greater good, and for the contribution of all those working to make society a better place for the future.

Watch a video of Barclays Archivist Andrea Waterhouse talking through the Canterbury war record.

http://www.media.barclays.co.uk/player-standalone/?id=163666-6151728&width=604&height=340

22 Likes

N6: Two stories of Stewardship, 54 years apart

By Millions of Stories, One Barclays

Although Northern Uganda is no longer a conflict zone, people here are still recovering from decades of violence that had a profound impact, especially on women and children. [removed], the regional winner for Africa in the People's Vote category of the 2015 Citizenship Awards, is working with Volunteer Action Network (Vac-Net) to help young women in rural Uganda access micro-credit loans· and business training so that they can break the cycle of poverty.

The Vac-Net micro credit programme reaches under-served women in towns, villages and rural areas. It combines micro credit services with health, nutrition, family planning and basic business education, equipping these women with the right tools to provide for their families and become financially secure.

We think Rosemary Mwangi Njoki - seen here smiling from a black and white photograph held in our archives - would have been proud of Denis' good work to empower women. In 1961, at the age of 19, Rosemary became Barclays' very first female clerk in East Africa.

Rosemary worked in the Government Road Branch, DCO Nairobi, Kenya. She was quoted in volume five of the Barclays DCO Quarterly newsletter:

"I always wanted to be a nurse, but I knew I would be the first African girl to work at the Bank and the opportunity seemed too good to miss," she said. "I enjoy the work very much and although I get on well with everyone, I would like to see more African girls working here to keep me company."

Inspired by people like [removed] and Rosemary, Barclays has, over the years, put steps in place to strive for better diversity and equality for everyone. Today, as well as empowering women in the communities we serve, Barclays is committed to promoting diversity within the organisation. We are proud supporters of the United Nations' He for She campaign and the Barclays Women's Initiative Network for employees has been set up to encourage, inspire, and support women to achieve their potential over the course of their careers.

22 Likes

N7: Two instances of Integrity, 81 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

By the time they are 24 years old, 77% of students In New York City from the highest-income families will earn at least a bachelor's degree, compared with only 9% of students from the lowest-income families.

Closing this gap is essential if students in the city are to be given an equal opportunity to achieve their ambitions which is why for the past three years, [removed] and [removed] from the Investment Bank in America have been involved with the charity Bottom Line, serving on the Host Committee for their Spring Reception every year and helping them to fundraise.

Bottom Line aims to narrow the gap between college enrolment and completion rates of students from low-income and first-generation households and those from college-educated and wealthier families.

In their College Access Program, counsellors work one-on-one with students to help them navigate every step of the college application process. Bottom Line is transforming the life trajectories of disadvantaged young people by producing thousands of career-ready college graduates armed with the tools they need to reach their potential.

[removed] says: "Bottom Line is helping to prepare a diverse workforce for the next generation, These are students who have drive, desire and ability, but no guidance. Bottom Line provides that much needed direction and it is proven to work! I am passionate about expanding Bottom Line's reach to more students."

81 years earlier, in 1931, Barclays Chairman Frederick Goodenough felt similarly inspired and founded a college in central London to house postgraduate students from around the world.

To supplement the funds he himself contributed, Goodenough got involved in fundraislng activity and was able to buy property in Mecklenburgh Square, London. He commissioned architect, Sir Herbert Baker, to build London House for male postgraduate students. After World War Two a sister trust was formed for female graduates and married families. In 1965 the two trusts merged and is today known as Goodenough College.

Goodenough College still provides a home away from home for international students and remains a valued customer of Barclays.

18 Likes

N8: Two stories of Stewardship, 129 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

At Barclays our Purpose is to help all people achieve their ambitions, irrespective of the challenges they may face. In 2012 [removed] started working with the Rainbow Centre in Singapore, a charity committed to diversity and inclusivity in its mission; 'Beyond Disabilities, Maximising Potential.'

The charity supports children and young people with a diverse range of special developmental and learning needs. These include Autism Spectrum Disorder and multiple intellectual, physical, visual and/or hearing impairments.

[removed]'s focus is supporting a new Activities of Daily Living (ADL) learning hub for 13-18-year-old students.

Back in 1883, Barclays was keenly aware of the need to support all children, especially those in challenging situations. The Bank Clerks' Orphanage Fund was founded to pay for the maintenance costs or orphaned children aged between 6 and 15. Membership cost one guinea per year - a single coin as shown here by Helene. The annual subscription cost 5 shillings, an amount that was designed to be affordable to every member of bank staff.

One third of bank officials subscribed in 1928, a total of 27,765 people. After World War One, the strain on the fund increased and customers who had indicated that they were interested in donating to charity were invited to contribute as well. By 1964 the scheme was open to widowed employees as well as male staff.

Helene and the team at the Rainbow Centre devote their time to support vulnerable young people. The Orphans Fund protected children and made their journey easier to navigate. How will you make someone's life better today?

18 Likes

N9: Two moments of Stewardship, 24 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

For some young people, achieving their ambitions can be especially hard when they're not even sure where the next meal is coming from.

To help smooth the path for vulnerable young people in Portugal, this year's regional winner for Europe in the Citizenship Awards, [removed] from Barclaycard, has been involved in designing a start-up community investment project called Bread with History.

The programme is being delivered in conjunction with a youth learning centre and creates jobs for recent graduates and trainee pastry chefs in the country's capital, Lisbon, The young people who participate in the programme are also introduced to positive role models to help inspire them in their careers.

The start-up has big plans for the future and hopes to rent premises to operate a small bakery to create jobs and reduce school drop-outs and absenteeism in order to reduce poverty and support vulnerable people.

In 1991, Barclays introduced its youngest customers to the idea of preparing for their futures not through baking, but with a cuddly blue eagle called Barclay Bill.

The programme wasn't only fun, it was sensible too. When customers opened a Junior BarclayPlus account with just a single British Pound, they received a special Barclay Bill moneybox to store their savings and twice a year they were also given a Barclay Bill 'fun sheet' featuring the adventures of the friendly eagle character along with money-saving tips and exciting prizes. Savers received paper bank statements so they could keep track of their finances.

Along with this little cuddly toy and a Barclay Bill moneybox, we also have a large Barclay Bill costume in our Group Archives. A photograph from the 1992 edition of Barclays News shows a colleague donning the costume for the benefit of young customers in Bradford.

Barclay Bill has now retired, but people like [removed] are still as active as ever and together we continue to look for ways to help young people save and thrive.

11 Likes

N10: Two tales of Integrity, 99 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

Sometimes a little bit of support and guidance is all that's needed to boost a vulnerable young person's confidence and set them on the road to success.

In 2010, [removed] started working with ReachOut Youth to help young people in disadvantaged communities in London and Manchester. The charity provides academic support and teaches the importance of fairness, good judgment and self-control.

ReachOut Youth helps young people to reach their full potential and achieve the best grades they can at school. Since 2011, 73% of young people taking part in the programme have got SA*-C grades at GCSE, including Maths and English, compared to an average of 58% nationwide.

The charity has four mentoring programmes, through which it can support a young person from the age of 9 through to 16. Its business model is to work in one secondary school and its feeder primary schools. In each area to ensure young people can stay involved for as long as possible.

Navigating the path to success was just as daunting in 1911 when young boys like l8-year-old John Finch - shown here- swapped their school uniforms for suits the moment they finished school.

ReachOut Youth may not have been around to help these young boys, but through its apprentice scheme Barclays provided a safe environment for young clerks to learn the ways of the working world.

Apprentices had to follow a strict rulebook and a more senior employee would track their progress from the very beginning.

Records in the Barclays Group Archives show the details of apprentices dating back to 1911. The files state the apprentice's name, address, exact age (15 years and eight months, in one case) which branch they worked at and the date of their first day on the job. References were also provided, as was the name of the person who certified their medical examination.

Barclays still takes on apprentices today and though this, and the efforts of people like [removed], we're helping to give young people the confidence they need to go out into the working world.

 10 Likes

N11: Two Stories of Excellence, 59 [sic] years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

It takes a special kind of person to be a farmer but sometimes the business of farming can be a challenge. When a small tenant dairy farmer in Northumberland contacted Barclays with some serious business issues, [removed] from Business Support was ready to help.

Having inherited the farm from his father, the farmer now found himself with a negative balance sheet and his turnover and income were dangerously low. He was terrified he might lose his family business and was desperate to stay on the farm with his herd.

Together, [removed], the farmer and a third party [sic] supplier brought in by [removed], reduced the herd size and surplus feed and land costs. They also obtained organic status which meant that grants began to flow in.

A happy farmer emailed Barclays to say; "I would not hesitate to recommend Barclays to anyone. If it wasn't for the support of Barclays and [removed], things would have been a great lot different for my wife and I."

69 years earlier, in 1946, the farming industry in Africa and the West Indies needed a post-war boost. According to 'The DCO Story,' a book in our Group Archives, an essay competition was opened up to all staff in 1942 on the subject of 'The Bank in relation to post-war colonial development.' This led to the birth of the Barclays Overseas Development Committee which financed projects that were important in building up the economy in these regions.

By the end of the 1960s, more than £40 million of development finance had been made available for post-war recovery projects, much of It to agriculture projects.

There can be no prosperity without agriculture. Barclays continues to support small farmers and large-scale agricultural enterprises for the benefit of society as a whole.

11 Likes

N12: Two anecdotes about Service, 215 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

We've all done it; left our keys, our phones or our wallets behind at the worst possible moment. When one of our business customers went into the Clapham Junction branch in London to make an urgent international payment, it came as a nasty surprise to realise that he had left his wallet in his office in Brussels after a recent business trip. With no bank cards or Identification on him, there was no way that our branch staff could verify his identity and authorise the payment.

Fortunately, someone from the branch telephoned the customer's relationship manager, [removed] and asked whether there was anything he could do to help. [removed]knew his customer very well and decided that the most efficient thing to do would be to make the trip to the branch to identify his customer in person. He did, the payment was authorised, and our customer left having received impeccable service.

Personal identification was just as important in 1800 as it is today. If a customer was unable to sign their name in the signature book, Barclays clerks wrote candid physical descriptions of them to protect their account.

As you can probably tell, from these example descriptions from the Liverpool Haywood brand signature book from 1859, these words were for clerks' eyes only.

"James Parker: Has lost all the fingers of his right hand, a labouring man in appearance." "Ann Ogle: Old woman, lame and stoops, teeth out in front, thickish moustache."

After the Elementary Education Act in 1870 it became compulsory for all children aged between 5 and 14 to attend school. This had a positive impact on literacy levels and as more customers began to read and write, our clerks could hand the pen over to them, and concentrate on working through their other tasks.

18 Likes

N13: Two moments of Respect, 143 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

When on maternity or paternity leave, it's natural that one's focus switches from the normal work routine to preparing and caring for a new life. This doesn't have to mean being kept out of the loop with your career.

While on maternity leave for nine months with her first baby, [removed] from our Swiss Cottage branch in London began to worry about being out of touch with her career for so long.

[removed], the Community Leader for the London region told her about his Idea for 'Stay in Touch,' a mobile app designed to keep managers and parents informed and connected at every stage of maternity and paternity leave. He invited [removed]and two other women, [removed] and [removed], to help him develop it. The women represented the three stages of the maternity leave process - before, during and after.

The four met regularly to share their experiences and ideas for the app and shortly after launching, it won Innovation of the Year at the 2014 Mumsnet Awards. Today it's helping many more new parents gather information about how maternity and paternity leave works including how pay is calculated. It also provides password reminders for sites such as My Rewards which colleagues may wish to access when on leave.

[removed] said:

"If I had had that app before my maternity leave, I would have done things differently. I would have had my performance review before I went away. It was on my mind but it wasn't a priority because I was about to give birth. There's a reminder for this on the app. You can also access 'Keep in Touch' days - 10 paid days when you can come back to work without interrupting your leave. This wasn't something I was aware of before."

Barclays' history features a long and impressive line of pioneering wives and mothers, just like [removed]. Caroline Gunner was one of the first. When her husband Charles - the manager of a country bank near Southampton - died in 1872, most women in her position would have sold out, or employed men to run the business. Not Caroline. Assisted in part by her wealth which allowed her to break the rules, Caroline did something quite extraordinary for the time and became senior partner of the bank.

In 1890, having been sole partner for twelve years, she took her two sons into partnership, but remained senior partner until her death in 1906. As a working mother herself, Caroline Gunner would have been delighted to see how far we've come.

9 Likes

N14: Two illustrations of Integrity, 325 years apart

By Millions of Stories. One Barclays

We talk about putting the customer at the heart of everything we do so when a customer called us in a panic at 08:00 one Friday morning, Relationship Manager [removed] new [sic] she had a duty to live up to this. And she did.

The customer had 70 employees waiting to be paid before the weekend, but his wages submission had not gone through. The customer was conscious that his members of staff were relying on their wages to pay their own bills and direct debits and he was anxious at the thought that they may not be paid on time.

[removed] got in touch with the servicing team to find out if they had capacity to make a contingency payment to ensure the wages could be paid that day. Unfortunately the servicing team had no scope to do this due to the volume of calls they were receiving at the time.

Although the servicing team were unable to help on this occasion, [removed] refused to take no for an answer. Following the contingency procedures, [removed] contacted the Governance and Controls team to request dispensation to make these payments herself. Once dispensation had been given, it became apparent that [removed] did not have the correct system profile to be able to complete the payments. When he heard this, her colleague [removed] offered his support, setting aside other tasks to complete all 70 payments.

Thanks to [removed]'s determination, every member of our customer's staff was paid on the correct day by 13:00. Having put his trust in her, our customer was hugely relieved and extremely grateful for the service and support [removed] provided.

Placing a high value on trust has been important to us from the start.
When John Freame and Thomas Gould formed a partnership that signified the beginning of Barclays in 1690, they did so as committed Quakers, founding our business on Integrity.

Quakers, more properly known as the Society of Friends, believe that there is something of God in everyone and that everyone is created equal a radical view for the 17th Century. Quakers do not believe in war, or in taking oaths, and do not have a clergy, or a prescribed form of worship, They generally believe in living a simple life, which is often reflected m their speech and dress.

Freame and Gould's business flourished, helped in no small part by its Quaker connections and the trust associated with a shared set of values. In 2013, we reconnected with our founding purpose and underpinned by our Barclays Values, 1t forms the framework by which we're transforming our business for the future.

When Barclays was founded in 1690, we had a strong sense of purpose driven by the deeply held Quaker values of our founders; a set of beliefs about our culture and the way we did business. This spirit is still alive and well today in people like [removed].

20 Likes

N15: Two stories of Service, 55 years apart

By Millions of Stories, One Barclays

When it comes to our customers one size doesn't fit all so when [removed] had to migrate more than 650,000 customers from a number of closing products over to the new Barclaycard Cashback card, not every letter was the same. Instead, to make things as clear as possible, he crafted a number of personalised letters to address even the most individual needs, guaranteeing a smooth transition.

[removed] even created a version of the Notice of Variation that was specific to just three customers, making sure it was clear that we would still honour their agreement to have no fees or interest charged.

In total, 24 additional versions of our Notice of Variation email were created to cover 243 customers. His hard work helped to minimise complaints and created a smoother process for our customers.

Until the late 1950s, every letter and account entry was written by hand. Browse through the 1959 'Statement of Account wallet' shown here and you'll see the exact moment we officially moved from pen to typewriter. There is a handwritten entry dated 25 March 1959 and the first typewritten entry is dated 4 April 1959. The wallet is from the Barclays Southfields Branch in London.

Although our communication methods have evolved over time, people like Richard help us stay true to our promise to provide our customers with a high level of Service with a personal touch.

33 Likes

Appendix C

BGA's archive policy for 2018 to 2023 has been reproduced here with permission from the Group Archivist.

Barclays Group Archives: Archive Policy

Barclays Group Archives (BGA) is the archives repository for the Barclays Group of companies and is managed under a mandate from the Board of Barclays PLC, reporting to Corporate Secretariat.

Mission Statement

Barclays Group Archives protects and promotes the Group's Corporate Memory. We collect, preserve and provide access to records, in any format, in support of the Group's global businesses and activities.

Archives are unique, irreplaceable and priceless. They have the power to defend our brand, enhance our reputation and inspire our colleagues.

Contents

12.   Review of Policy

Barclays Group Archives
Dallimore Road
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Manchester, M23 9JA
Tel 0330 151 1056
grouparchives@barclays.com

1. Definition of Archives

Archives are records (in whatever format) accumulated by a natural process in the conduct of business, retained because of continuing value for legal, evidentiary, administrative or historical purposes. Archives tell us what Barclays was doing, why it was doing it, and what effect those actions had. For example, a manual explaining how to open a new customer account is an archive. A form completed by a customer opening an individual account is not.

Archives come in many forms, ranging from parchment and paper, to film and digital media. To be of ongoing operational value to Barclays, it is vital that Group Archives receives new material to add to the collection. Today's records will tell the history of Barclays to future generations.

2. Aims

The service provided by Barclays Group Archives aims to:

- Fulfil statutory and regulatory requirements
- Support legal, customer relations and marketing activities
- Support future decision and policy making
- Enhance the brand and reputation of the Barclays Group
- Enable colleagues across the Group to use, understand and celebrate Barclays rich history
- Promote the history of Barclays in the wider community
- Contribute to Barclays citizenship agenda by demonstrating transparency and accountability

3. Benefits

The provision of a professional in-house archive service brings the following benefits:

- Records are managed by experienced and professional staff, saving time for other staff across the Group
- Hard-copy records are stored in optimum secure and environmental conditions, helping to ensure their long-term preservation and their confidentiality, and saving space in other buildings throughout the Group
- Digital records are stored in a secure and organised system, allowing controlled and efficient retrieval
- The concentration of key records in a central hub allows for more efficient and effective research
- Staff expertise and knowledge allows for an accurate and rapid enquiry service
- Access to the archives by an external audience encourages the dissemination of Barclays history and demonstrates Barclays commitment to the wider community

4. Barclays Group Archives currently holds:

- Records of banks that formed the limited company in 1896
- Records of banks acquired after 1896
- Records of Barclays International Operations
- Records of the Barclays Group, including subsidiary companies and business units
- Branch and Regional Office records
- Current legal and transactional documents held in safe custody for other departments

5. Records which should be transferred to Barclays Group Archives

To ensure that the company retains all the information it may need in the future, the following should be transferred automatically to Group Archives. Please note that this list is not exhaustive. If a member of staff has a record which they think may be worthy of permanent preservation, they should contact Barclays Group Archives for advice.

Group Records

- Minutes and meeting papers for the Board of Directors and Board Committees
- Chairman and senior executive files and papers
- Minutes of policy making and high level executive committees (including Group level committees and business unit executive committees), and joint committees with other financial organisations
- Management accounts
- Group Policies, Governance Manuals, Codes of Practice/Ethics
- Organisation charts
- Organisation change reports and implementation

Foundation Records for each Group Company

- Certificate of Incorporation
- Certificate of Changes of Name
- Returns to Regulatory Authorities
- Annual Reports and Accounts
- Memoranda and Articles of Association
- Minutes of Board and main committee board papers
- Seal Registers
- Prospectuses
- Licences

Legal

- Trademarks and Licences
- Major case papers
- Acquisition and merger records
- Legal opinions
- Transaction Bibles

Marketing

This should include records produced for both external and internal consumption

- Press releases
- Advertisements (in all media)
- Magazines (for staff, pensioners and customers)
- Product literature, including terms and conditions
- Research publications
- Interest rates

HR

This should include, but not be restricted to, records relating to; recruitment, salaries, equality and diversity, welfare and benefits, and pensions

- Policy documents
- Employee Opinion Survey data
- Reports
- Training materials

Property Services
- Photographs
- Plans
- Project records for major developments
-

Business Units

Most day-to-day customer/transactional records do not need to be kept permanently. Staff should contact Barclays Group Archives for advice if they have records which they think may be worthy of preservation.

6. Records not collected by Barclays Group Archives

Whilst Barclays Group Archives is always happy to advise on the permanent preservation of individual records, it should be noted that the following classes of records will not be considered.

- Routine banking or administrative records designated for destruction under the Group's retention schedules
- Transactional records (except high level documents under the safe custody service)
- Customer records (except notable historical series or samples to show examples of record types)

7. Collecting process

Barclays Group Archives pursues active collecting methods for important records, including:

- Liaising with other records professionals in the Group – records have been identified as archives on the Records Management Retention Schedules

- Regular contact with record creators at executive level, through Corporate Secretariat and Chief Executive's Office

- Monitoring of important series of records to ensure continuing transfer

- Undertaking surveys of large deposits of material and making recommendations for transfer to Barclays Group Archives where appropriate

- Monitoring and downloading material published on the Group's intranet and website

8. De-accessioning and disposal of records

Barclays Group Archives periodically reviews holdings of records in order to ensure that they meet the criteria laid down in this Policy. Records not meeting these criteria, or those displaced by records of superior quality or content, may be de-accessioned and destroyed, or offered to an appropriate repository (including repositories outside the Barclays Group).

9. Library

Barclays Group Archives maintains a collection of books and publications relating to Barclays and banking in general. This includes:
- Barclays and its constituent banks
- Banking and other banks
- Banking reference books
- Directories
- Material published by Barclays
- Families and individuals connected to Barclays
- Research, published or unpublished, based on the use of Barclays Group Archives

10. Artefacts

Barclays Group Archives collects items which help to illustrate banking style, design, technology and working methods from early days to the present.

This material will help to inform our knowledge of banking practices, be of use in exhibitions (internal and external), and support the Barclays brand. It may include:

- Items bearing logos or brands, such as seals, signs, plaques, flags, promotional items, money boxes
- Banking equipment, such as cash bags, printing plates, scales, balances and coin testers, messengers' bags, bill cases
- Items demonstrating technological developments, such as adding machines, calculators, computers, and mobile or personal devices.
- Furniture, equipment or fittings designed exclusively for Barclays (where items are too large to be stored permanently, photographs should be taken)
- Banknotes, cheques, credit and debit cards (an example of each one issued by Barclays) ☐Artwork featuring people or buildings associated with Barclays ☐Corporate wear

11. Access to archives

Wherever possible, Group Archives staff will answer enquiries remotely. However, colleagues and members of the public are very welcome to visit to conduct their own research. Items held at Barclays Group Archives are available as follows:

1. To the originating department as required, but the records must not be removed from Group Archives without permission

2. To other parts of the Group as allowed by the originating department

3. To external researchers under supervision in accordance with the access rules

4. It may be possible to borrow archives for special events. Please contact Group Archives to discuss

12. Review of policy

This policy was last reviewed in September 2018 and is next due for review in September 2023.