The Order² of Books

A Foucauldian Archaeology of the early Swedish Library
knowledge between 1912 and 1939

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English Title
The Order² of Books: A Foucauldian Archaeology of the early Swedish Library knowledge between 1912 and 1939

Svensk titel
Böckernas ordning: En Foucauldiansk arkeologi över den tidiga bibliotekskunskapen i Sverige mellan 1912 och 1939

Abstract
This thesis investigates the early field of library knowledge in Sweden between 1912 and 1939 (circa) through the lens of Foucault's archaelogy using a number of official documents (reports, bills, and statutes) as well as a number of articles and speeches published in the journal *Biblioteksbladet* (founded 1916). It seeks to answer the question of how it became possible to form a field of knowledge, which external relations structured and enabled the field to exist, and which internal relations of power and authority made it possible for librarians, state officials, ministers of education, and other experts to agree and disagree on the proper management of public libraries during the period.

Contents

1 Introduction, Aim, Method, and Theoretical Framework

My intention with this thesis is to contribute to the self-reflexivity of the field of Library and Information Science by performing an archaeology of the Swedish field of library knowledge beginning in 1912 and on to circa 1930. Archaeology is the theory that Foucault developed specifically for the study of the formation and development of fields of science and knowledge, and is perhaps most well-known from its use in *The order of things* (Foucault 1994) and *The birth of the clinic* (Foucault 1989). This self-reflexive project is the same as the one Gary P. Radford speak about in their[1] article "Trapped in our own discursive formations: toward an archaeology of library and information science" (Gary P. Radford 2003) where they, responding to an article by Wayne Wiegand, describe LIS as a weakly introspective field, "trapped in its own discursive formations". As a solution, they propose Foucault's archaeology, concluding the article by stating that "[t]he goal of an archaeology of LIS […] would be to weave a new discursive cloth incorporating statements hitherto considered beyond the pale. It would seek to create new arrangements, new unities, and new ways of talking about the LIS profession that go beyond the section of the library labelled LIS." (Gary P. Radford 2003, p. 17). This thesis, then, represents a small piece of that puzzle. By returning to the roots of what would eventually become the Swedish field of information science as its foundation in the library knowledge was formalised and developed between 1912 and 1930, the intention is to uncover what made it possible for it to appear as a field within which persons and organisations could know something, have different opinions, and formulate new knowledge.

Foucault's archaeology provides a combination of materialist and deconstructionist practices, as well as a theory specifically intended to study the historical development of sciences on their own terms, beyond the common tendencies to reduce history to transcendental subjects such as ideas, authors, or spirits of an age, and without treating discontinuity and contradictions as problems to be overcome. By staying away from strictly interpretative perspectives on discourse (that is being, in Foucault's words, "neither formalizing nor interpretative" (Foucault 2002, p. 151), it provides a bottom-up analysis close to the empirical data.

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[1] I have chosen to use the gender-neutral "singular they" form for all pronouns in this text.

1.1 Previous Research

According to Michael R. Olsson in their contribution on Foucault's theory to the book *Critical Theory for Library and Information Science*, "[…] Foucault remains a largely unfamiliar and underutilised figure in contemporary library and information science (LIS) research" (M. R. Olsson 2010, p. 63). As far as I can tell, this assessment still remains largely correct. Though "discourse analysis" is often employed as a method in student theses, these are more often than not far removed from their original theories. [2]

There are notable exceptions to the norm, however. A relatively popular approach is to use Foucault's biopolitics or genealogy to approach the library's central disciplinary position in Sweden's history. An example of this kind of study is Dan Andersson's dissertation from 2009, *Folkbibliotek makt och disciplinering: En genealogisk studie av folkbiblioteksområdet under den organiserade moderniteten* (Andersson 2009). In it, Andersson studies the pedagogisation of the Swedish citizenship and its consequences in the context of libraries, employing Foucault's genealogy as well as their notions of *dispositif* and *apparatus* to analyse the shifting relationships of power surrounding the Swedish public libraries during the period 1910–1990. Also, Joachim Hansson have produced a number of articles and books on the discourses surrounding Swedish public libraries and their ideology (Hansson 1997; Hansson n.d.), as well as on the SAB classification system (Hansson 1999), both of which are similar to my line of inquiry though not following the archaeological method.

Within the LIS field the situation with respect to archaeology is even worse than for Foucault's later theories. I have only been able to find three articles by two researchers within the field that are explicitly using Foucault's archaeology. They are Patrice Milewski in "Educational reconstruction through the lens of archaeology" (Milewski 2010), and Gary Radford in "Trapped in our own discursive formations: toward an archaeology of library and information science" (Gary P. Radford 2003), and "Alternative libraries as discursive formations: reclaiming the voice of the deaccessioned book" (Marie L. Radford, Gary P. Radford and Lingel 2012).

Milewski's article, mentioned earlier, studies the educational reconstruction in Ontario, Canada during the early 20th century through the official document *Public School Programme of Studies*, placing it close to my inquiry with respect to choice of method and material. The perspectives on Foucault's archaeology used in the article are referred back to Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* as well as to Ian Hacking's work, mainly their book *Rewriting the soul: multiple personality and the sciences of memory* (Hacking 1995). Some notions of power from Foucault's later period are also used.

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[2] A search at diva-portal.org – Advanced search – student theses "diskursanalys OR discourse analysis AND department: 'Department of ALM'" yields about 20 results, of which only two remained after a search on "Foucault" and "Department of ALM", showing that at least Foucault's notion of discourses are very rarely employed in student theses.

In the latter article, Gary and Marie Radford and Jessica Lingel use Foucault's notions of *discursive formations* and *statements* to discuss the concept of deaccession of books and their re-formation in the projects "Reanimation Library" and the "Public Library of American Public Library Deaccession". Gary Radford have also authored and co-authored several other articles using other parts of Foucault's theory within LIS; "Positivism, Foucault, and the fantasia of the library: conceptions of knowledge and the modern library experience" (Gary P. Radford 1992), "Flaubert, Foucault, and the Bibliotheque Fantastique: Toward a Postmodern Epistemology for Library Science" (Gary P. Radford 1998) "Libraries, librarians, and the discourse of fear" (Marie L Radford and Gary P Radford 2001), and "Power, knowledge, and fear: feminism, Foucault, and the stereotype of the female librarian" (Marie L. Radford and Gary P. Radford 1997).

Archaeology is an under-utilised method in historical research as well. Roddy Nilsson, in their account of the reception of Foucault's theory in Swedish historical research note that while various variants of discourse analysis is popular within the field, the archaeological method is extremely under-utilised (R. Nilsson 2009). They also fail to present a single example of a work using the archaeological method within the Swedish historical research field, while noting that many of the later works of Foucault on power relations are much more popular (R. Nilsson 2009, p. 133).

Foucault's theory has also been used as a critical tool in various other related areas, ranging from a critique of the author in LIS and/or publishing (Greetham 2003; McNabb 1999) to a critique of sexual harassment policy (Ranney 2000) and reappraisal (Willcocks 2006).

Other prominent works that are similar in topic to this thesis are Alistair Black's, Dave Muddiman's and Helen Plant's book *The early information society* (Black, Muddiman and Plant 2007), which collects a number of essays on what the authors refer to as the early information society in Britain in the period between 1890–1960, partially overlapping my period of study. However, none of the authors use any explicit theory for their analysis, though they claim to "lean towards a social deterministic perspective" (Black, Muddiman and Plant 2007, p. 14). The book examines widely different aspects of the early information society, including the emergence of new forms of media such as the microfilm and its impact on information management and knowledge organisation within and outside the economy, publishing patterns, the usage of company magazines and written protocols for knowledge circulation, the rise of company libraries, and the establishment of education for information professionals, with the birth of the Information Science field as a culmination. (Black, Muddiman and Plant 2007) In addition to *The early information society*, Black have also authored a book on British library history also somewhat overlapping my period of study called *The public library in Britain, 1914-2000* (Black 2000).

Another researcher who have studied the epistemological makeup of the LIS field is Sanna Talja. Talja have authored and co-authored several articles concerning epistemological questions and meta-perspectives on contemporary LIS research. In ""Isms" in information science: Constructivism, collectivism and constructionism" they (together with Touminen and Savolainen) examine the shifting epistemological standpoints, referred to as "metatheories", within LIS, find application areas, examine criticism against the respective theories, and states how they are generally applied within the field (S Talja, Tuominen and Savolainen 2005). Other prominent works by Talja on the topic of epistemological perspectives on knowledge organisation and/or libraries are the articles "Impact of research cultures on the use of digital library resources" (Sanna Talja and Vakkari 2007) and "The social and discursive construction of computing skills" (Sanna Talja 2005).

1.2 Research Questions and Delimitations

My research questions are:

1. For early library knowledge in Sweden, what did it mean to be/become a field of knowledge within which there could be varying opinions, hard facts, experts, and different opinions?

2. How did library knowledge negotiate the relations with other fields of knowledge and external experts/authorities?

3. How was the early library knowledge field structured? What were the systems of norms that governed it?

In addition to these direct questions, my intention is to show how Foucault's archaeology can be deployed in the historical study of the field of library knowledge in Sweden.

My primary delimitations are geographical and temporal. I am only studying the early field of library knowledge in Sweden between 1912 and 1930, leaving out any comparison to the processes of other countries except where necessary to understand my domain of study. Comparisons to contemporary LIS are also avoided as far as possible except when comparing my results to those of other researchers. This is partially due to the fact that the contemporary cannot be analysed in the same way as the past, and partially due to economic reasons. Besides the above mentioned spatio-temporal delimitations, I am also primarily studying the field of library knowledge as it appears through the official documents surrounding the reformulation of the statutes of 1912 and 1930 (for a complete list, see Material below).

The period was chosen for its pivotal position in the history of Swedish public libraries. During this period, several new public libraries were built and an ongoing discussion about the scientific and economic operation of libraries was taking

place. It was also during this period that much of the current central/affiliate library structure was put in place, modelled after the Danish public library system. Finally, during this period, the State's involvement in the Public library politics accelerated with the introduction of several politico-economical interventions such as official government grants.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

As shown above, Foucault's Archaeology is a quite under-utilised theory and method, within the LIS field as well as in others. This comes as no surprise. Foucault themselves describe how they have "appealed to a whole apparatus, whose sheer weight and, no doubt somewhat bizarre machinery are a source of embarrassment." (Foucault 2002, p. 151).

The fact that the key work on the method – *The archaeology of knowledge* (Foucault 2002) – is written in the sometimes obscure tradition of French poststructuralism does not help either. To make matter even worse, there is no good summarising work on the method. The following presentation thus relies primarily on my own excavation (pun very much intended) of *The archaeology of knowledge* itself, supplemented by David Webb's chapter-by-chapter philosophical commentary in *Foucault's archaeology: science and transformation* (Webb 2012) and Gary Gutting's short summary chapter in *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason* (Gutting 1989, ch. 6).

Why, then, go to the trouble of using such an obscure method? There are at least three reasons. Firstly, a theory not used is a theory wasted as well as a perspective lost, and Foucault's archaeology certainly represents a very different approach to history and the study of ideas than what is common, despite the author's canonical status within the Humanities. Secondly, uncovering and employing an advanced theory is at least as rewarding as it is exhausting in its own right. Third and lastly, once the work is done, it can be re-used by others who wish to take a similar path in the future.

What characterises my approach to archaeology? My reading of Foucault is inspired by the materialist perspective proposed in Magnus Hörnqvist's book *En annan Foucault: maktens problematik* (Hörnqvist 2012), much of it stemming from my Marxist background. Therefore, I will occasionally delve into questions of what Foucault refer to as non-discursive domains such as economic or political relations, something that is also an important part of an archaeological investigation.[3]

If archaeology is concerned with the study of discourse, what sets archaeology apart from the more common versions of discourse analysis? A full answer to that question would of course be outside the scope of this text, but we can certainly

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[3]See the summary of an achaeological investigation in chapter IV:4, especially point 3 (Foucault 2002, p. 179–180).

afford a brief comparison. In many studies "discourse" is often used roughly as a theme, as for example Åse Hedemark's study "Det föreställda folkbiblioteket", where they perform a discourse analysis of debates about public libraries in Swedish media between 1970 and 2006. In their study, Hedemark describe several different thematic discourses such as "the book discourse", "the community centre discourse" and "the information mediation discourse", roughly corresponding to three more or less coherent sets of viewpoints, representing or aiming to further "different wills and interests" (Hedemark 2009, Abstract).

Foucault's Archaeology, by contrast, takes as its object of study what Foucault calls *discursive formations*. These concepts, in contrast to Hedemark's discourses, do not represent "islands of coherence" (Foucault 2002, p. 41) or "sign[s] of something else" (Foucault 2002, p.a 155) such as the interests or thoughts of a group at a given time or the spirit of an age. Rather they are systems of dispersion, as Foucault is very fond of putting it, containing even–and perhaps especially–the possibility of disagreeing on a given topic (Foucault 2002, p. 41).

Foucault's own use of the theory was primarily in the book *The order of things* (Foucault 1994). In it, they studied the three classical empirical sciences; general grammar, natural history, and analysis of wealth, each representing an example of a discursive formation (Gutting 1989). Due to this—and despite Foucault's assurances to the contrary—archaeology is primarily associated with the study of sciences.

1.3.1 Central Themes of Archaeology

Foucault explicitly place archaeology in opposition to the traditional methods used within the history of ideas. "I cannot be satisfied until I have cut myself off from 'the history of ideas'" (Foucault 2002, p. 152), they write, proceeding to state four points of divergence between archaeology and the history of ideas. Firstly, archaeology is about discourses themselves "as practices obeying certain rules", rather than about what is "concealed or revealed" through them. Secondly, it tries to "define discourses in their specificity" instead of tracing their transition or treating discursive development as a continuous process (for an elaboration, see Webb's commentary (Webb 2012, p. 121)). Thirdly, "the authority of the creative subject" and the *oeuvre* are both "quite alien to [archaeology]." Fourth, and lastly, archaeology is not concerned with what "has been thought, wished, aimed at, experienced, desired by men in the very moment at which they expressed it in discourse" (Foucault 2002, p. 156). Archaeology is not about the search for an origin (Foucault 2002, p. 155–156).

Gutting, helpfully summing up some of these themes, claim that the "leitmotif" of Foucault's archaeology is the death of man. It is "an approach to the history of thought that eliminates the fundamental role of the human subject" (Gutting 1989, p. 228), providing a history of thought without thinkers and in which books, *oeuvres*, authors, periods, disciplines, zeitgeists and influence are not taken as unproblematic entities. This enables archaeology to "[write] the history of science (or what claims

to be science) without presupposing the norms of the domains [it is] dealing with" (Gutting 1989, p. 255).

Perhaps the primary feature of archaeology is how seriously it takes dispersion and disunity. Foucault writes that "[a]rchaeology is a comparative analysis that is not intended to reduce the diversity of discourses, and to outline the unity that must totalise them, but is intended to divide up their diversity into different figures. Archaeological comparison does not have a unifying, but a diversifying, effect." (Foucault 2002, p. 177). Contradictions and discontinuity are serious matters for the archaeologist, not merely surface reflections or obstacles that should be overcome. Instead, they are "objects to be described for themselves, without any attempt being made to discover from what point of view they can be dissipated" (Foucault 2002, p. 169).

Archaeology does not just differ from the traditional methods of the history of ideas, it also, rather surprisingly, differs from traditional critical theory, and especially so the Critique of Ideology. Within the tradition of Critique of Ideology, it is common to study discourse in order to force it to give up its secrets. As mentioned above, archaeology does not work that way. In addition, Foucault also consistently reject teleological explanations of discursive functioning–e.g. that a class or group would be using a discursive formation for their own gain–as well as the common view that ideology excludes scientificity (Gutting 1989, p. 158).

1.3.2   The Statement

The *statement* is in a sense the starting point of an archaeological analysis. Statements are what lies between and connects words with things, "not by setting a formal condition, but by taking its place alongside other statements that perform a similar function" (Webb 2012, p. 92). They are not the same thing as sentences or signs, though signs are sometimes statements. Two of their central properties are the fact that they are always embedded in context (that is, in relation to other statements), and always in a sense material, while still not being reducible to neither words nor things.

Statements are sometimes compared to speech-acts, as they perform a similar function. How do statements differ from other similar notions such as speech-acts or signs? Foucault claim in *The archaeology of knowledge* that statements are not speech acts, but later changed their mind, though admittedly their focus differs from that of language analysts in that they are more concerned with the relations between statements than with their meaning (Gutting 1989, p. 240–241).

Statements are also, as mentioned above, not identical to signs. Rather, they are a "modality of existence" of (some) signs, "a modality that allows it [the sign] to be something more than a series of traces...something more than a mere object made by a human being...that allows it to be in relation with a domain of objects, to prescribe a definition to any possible subject, to be situated among other verbal performances and be endowned with a repeatable materiality." (Foucault 2002, p. 120) In other

words, being a statement is something that signs sometimes *do* in relation to other signs (Foucault 2002, p. 97). Signs are statements only when related to other series of signs, which constitute what Foucault calls their *associative field* (Gutting 1989, p. 239).

Statements only have meaning as well as truth or falsehood in relation to their discursive formation's domain of objects and relations, what Foucault calls their *referential* (Gutting 1989, p. 240), not to be confused with the referent of logic. Foucault take as an example "The present king of France is bald", which to a logician would lack a referent since France does not have a king at present. However, they point out, this is only true assuming that the sentence is referring to the world of contemporary history. In a fictional setting, it could be perfectly reasonable. The correlate of this sentence as a statement, Foucault claim, is not an actual royalty, but "a group of domains in which such objects may appear and to which such relations [particular objects or persons designated by the words of the sentence]." (Foucault 2002, p. 102) This domain of laws of possibilities and rules of existence for the objects is what Foucault call the *referential* (Foucault 2002, p. 102–103).

Foucault take great care to define the statement as a function (referred to as the *enunciative function*) and not as the atom of discourse. According to Webb, this is not strictly philosophically necessary, but rather focuses the relational aspects of their functioning (Webb 2012). When treating the statement as a function, both aspects of the notion are relevant. It is *both* a function in the sense that it is defined by the relations between a set of elements, *and* in the sense that it performs a function within a system (Gutting 1989, p. 239). The statement is rather "a function of existence that properly belongs to signs" (Foucault 2002, p. 97), enabling one to say "wheter or not they 'make sense', according to what rule they follow one another[…]of what they are the sign, and what sort of act is carried out by their formulation" (Foucault 2002, p. 97).

As mentioned above, statements are also always material (Webb 2012, p. 97; Foucault 2002, p. 97), in a sense that Foucault call *repeatable materiality*. By this, they mean that statements are always tied to a situated and dated event of enunciation (the event of emitting the signs of a given statement), while still being repeatable (Foucault 2002, p. 114). Foucault take here the example of the book *Les Fleurs du mal*. While the various editions of the book are materially separate entities, their differences are too small to make every book into a unique statement, as they are still kept together firstly by the authority of the book, and secondly by the material institutions surrounding its appearance. None of these relations are ahistorical or permanent, but rather remains "modifiable, relative, and always susceptible of being questioned" (Foucault 2002, p. 115). What counts as a book in one context may not always do so in another, and vice versa. A noteworthy example of this is Mel Brooks' movies, beginning with *The Producers* and continuing with *Spaceballs* and *Young Frankenstein*. In Sweden, they were released under the common naming scheme "Springtime for X" (where X was "Hitler", "Space", and "Frankenstein"

respectively), creating the conditions (economic and cultural; material and social) for a series that was not intended by any of the original creative authorities behind the movies, and which amplified certain aspects (eg. recurring cast members) in the repeated enunciations within the Swedish context. In this sense, the materiality of statements defines what Foucault refer to as *possibilities of reinscription and transcription* above "limited and perishable individualities" (Foucault 2002, p. 116), meaning that they are always more fluid and repeatable than any singular incarnation, but at the same time also grounded in a material medium and embedded in material conditions that control their appearance and re-appearance.

1.3.3 Objects, Enunciative Modalities, Concepts, Strategies, and Their Rules of Formation

What Foucault call *discursive formations* is primarily studied through the rules of formation of four elements of discourse: *objects*, *enunciative modalities*, *concepts*, and *strategies*. These elements are primarily studied through their rules of formation, the sets of regularities in how they appear, is transferred, stored etc.

Objects

Objects of discourse is exactly what it sounds like–things to speak of. In order to study them, we must answer the question of "[w]hat has ruled their existence as objects of discourse" (Foucault 2002, p. 45), what historical conditions were necessary for anybody to say something about them (Foucault 2002, p. 49). To answer this question, we must study four other kinds of rules or aspects of objects of discourse. The first kinds are associated with the places from which objects appear, what Foucault call the *surfaces of emergence*. They might differ between societies and discursive formations, and examples for nineteenth-century psychopathology might include the family, the social group, and the religious community.

Secondly, we must describe the *authorities of delimitation*, which are the persons or institutions who have the authority to decide what belongs in a given discursive formation (Foucault 2002, p. 46). For example, medicine was one of the authorities that regulated, named, and ordered madness as an object during the nineteenth century (Foucault 2002, p. 46). Lastly, we must also study the *grids of specification* of objects, the systems of classification used within a given discourse.

But these rules are not sufficient to produce objects of discourse. For Foucault, objects only exist under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations (Foucault 2002, p. 49), but not all relations produce objects. There are three kinds of relations; primary or non-discursive relations, which may be described between institutions independently of discourse, secondary or reflexive relations that take place entirely within discourse, and properly discursive relations that "determine the group of relations that discourse must establish in order to speak of this or that object […] these relations characterise not the language […] but discourse as a practice" (Foucault 2002, p. 50–51), these relations are between the three kinds of rules or aspects

mentioned above. In other words, we must study not only where discursive objects appear, who or what decides their place within their discursive formation and what kinds of classification they are subjected to, but also the relations between these different things; how they are structured.

Objects, then, are *both* constructed and real, and the rules described above are the conditions of their actual rather than potential existence (Webb 2012, p. 66–67).

Enunciative Modalities

By "enunciative modalities", Foucault mean modalities of the statement, which, in turn, are "the context from which it originates" (Gutting 1989, p. 235). Determining the laws of formation of enunciative modalities turns out to be a lot about determining its context. We are adviced to ask three questions to be able to map these rules. Firstly, who is speaking, and what gave them the rights to do so? Who is qualified to use this language? What is their status? How is that determined? (Foucault 2002, p. 55–56) Secondly, what is the statement's institutional site of origin? What gives this discourse its point of application? (Foucault 2002, p. 56) And third, and lastly, what positions are possible for the enunciating subject vis-a-vis their object to occupy? Are they a listening subject, or an interrogating subject? What position in the information networks do they occupy? The answers to these questions are not simply lists, but must be proper descriptions. Also, once again, the various points of inquiry are not to be considered in isolation, but as ways of investigating the relations that establish the context of the statements of a discourse, as well as makes it possible for different modalities of statements to exist.

Concepts

By *concepts* Foucault mean mostly what we usually mean by the word; disparate things that we label and use more or less consistently, noting that the term may apply to widely different things. "Some [concepts] constitute rules of formal construction, others rthethorical practices[…]" (Foucault 2002, p. 66). What makes it possible to define disparate concepts that are specific to a given formation, then, is, as with the other rules of formation, the way in which they are related to each other (Foucault 2002, p. 66).

What we are interested in when studying concepts in archaeology is not their genesis, mutation or progression, nor their internal configuration or their direct description, but rather their *dispersion* through texts, books etc (Foucault 2002, p. 67). Once again, concepts relate to each other partially through a set of rules. These can broadly speaking be organised into three categories.

The first category are the *forms of succession* that establish relations of ordering and succession among statements (p. 63 Foucault 2002, p. 236; Gutting 1989). These may regulate for example how one moves from direct observational descriptions of a plant to a description of its essential properties and further on to placing it within a system of classification (Gutting 1989, p. 236).

The second category are those that establish "attitudes of acceptance or rejection toward classes of statements" (Gutting 1989, p. 236), regulating "the way in

which concepts co-exist" (Webb 2012, p. 74). These define a *field of presence*, representing "all statements formulated elsewhere and taken up […] in discourse" (Foucault 2002, p. 64) (e.g. taylorist notions of work and effectivity used within a LIS context), a *field of concomitance*, representing a range of statements from other discursive formations that are actively used within the discursive formation as models, objects of analogy, general principles, or as principles of justification for other statements, and finally a *field of memory*, representing the range of statements that are no longer accepted or even discussed within discourse, but that have historical connections with accepted statements. (Foucault 2002, p. 64–65)

The third and final category of rules establishing concepts are those that specify *procedures of intervention* through which statements can be altered to produce new statements. These can for example include rewriting statements from one form to another (the canonical example here is linear descriptions to tabular descriptions of species), transcribing them (for example to a formalised language), translating them (e.g. between qualitative and quantitative forms), or the methods used to increase the approximation of statements. (Foucault 2002, p. 65)

Strategies

The *strategies* of a discursive formation are both "a specific theory (or theme) that develops within a discursive formation" (Gutting 1989, p. 237) and "the way [a discursive formation] negotiates a future through its relations with neighbouring discourses", though "[…] bearing in mind that this neighbourhood itself formed by these relations and is not dependant on a predetermined space" (Webb 2012, p. 79). To understand the strategies of discursive formation, we must study how they are distributed through history (Foucault 2002, p. 71).

The range of strategies possible for a discursive formation is determined by what Foucault calls the *points of diffraction* of discourse, which "[…]exist where there are two or more statements, […] equally permitted, […] that are incompatible" (Gutting 1989, p. 237) These points are *equivalent* in the sense that they are produced on the basis of the same rules and appear under the same conditions so that the discursive formation does not prefer one over the other, but they are incompatible in the sense that they cannot appear in the same series of statements without resulting in contradictions or inconsequence.

However, points of diffraction are not as common as they could be. This is partly because of the *economy* of the discursive constellation in which they appear, and partly because they exist in a field of nondiscursive practices. The economy of the discursive constellation is about the relation of the discursive formation to other discourses. The currently studied discourses may for example be based on another discursive formation as a model, or have developed in opposition to some other discourse (Webb 2012, p. 78). The field of nondiscursive practices, on the other hand, is about the relations of the studied discursive formation to other actors outside it. Certain groups in society may have special authority over the studied discourse, or may occupy certain positions of desire (Foucault 2002, p. 75–76).

1.3.4 Discursive Formations

Now that we have defined objects, concepts, strategies and enunciative modalities as well as described their rules of formation, we can approach the object of study – the *discursive formation*. How do we know that we do, in fact, have a discursive formation?

> Whenever one can describe between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion ["an order in their successive appearance […], assignable positions in a common space, […] a reciprocal functioning […]"], whenever between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can find a regularity […] we will say […] that we are dealing with a discursive formation. […] The rules of formation [of objects, concepts, strategies and enunciative modalities described above] are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division. (Foucault 2002, p. 41–42)

But what does that mean? It means that we are focusing on finding patterns of inter-related dispersion of statements, on explaining not how things are the same but how they can be different. We are not reading discourse as a "sign of something else" (Foucault 2002, p. 41), but rather as a system in itself. For something to be a discursive formation in the sense that Foucault just described, all the rules mentioned above must be in play at the same time, *and* make regularities appear when studied this way. (Webb 2012, p. 75) In this sense, discursive formations are "groups of statements linked at the level of statements themselves", making it possible to describe "rules for the formation of associated domains […], the way they are institutionalised, used and combined […]" (Webb 2012, p. 104)

This concept may sound intimidatingly complex. However, in the article "Trapped in our own discursive formations: toward an archaeology of library and information science" (Gary P. Radford 2003), Gary P. Radford cheerily claim that the concept of discursive formations "will be readily understood by librarians and information professionals" because it "refers the ways in which a collection of texts are organised with respect to each other." (Gary P. Radford 2003, p. 3). In other words, the discursive formation as described by Gary P. Radford is analogous to the system of classification (and shelving) in a library: it is what structures the relations between a set of texts (well, statements) and holds them together, while still giving them internal order.

What problem does the notion of discursive formations solve? What is their place in our analysis? The question is perhaps best answered with another question. Why do we not speak of the old Nordic gods, and why did the Vikings not speak of space travel? Foucault's proposed answer to that question is that besides logic and grammar, there is another set of rules that any speaker must conform, and that these are the rules of a discursive formation. (Gutting 1989, p. 231)

1.3.5 The Archive and the Historical *a priori*

Foucault refer to the groups of a given discursive formation as its *positivities* (Gutting 1989, p. 242), which provides (compounds into, one could possibly say) the

historical a priori of statements. This *a priori* is not a condition of validity of statements so much as a condition of their *reality* (Foucault 2002, p. 143). One is here reminded that statements are always in relation to other statements, rather than being singular or atomary entities.

In contrast to other philosophical *a prioris*, Foucault's term is neither ahistorical and eternal nor transcendental. Instead they are "the group of rules that characterise discursive practice" (Foucault 2002, p. 144) This, however, does not mean that they are external to discourse. They are always "caught up in the very things that they connect" (Foucault 2002, p. 144) and cannot be extracted from discourse or treated as things, because they are themselves "responsible for the construction of experience" (Webb 2012, p. 112).

The Archive can be described as the aggregate of all statements available of a given time taken together (Webb 2012, p. 117). This, however, does not mean that it is the sum of all *texts* or the institutions that store them (Foucault 2002, p. 145). Rather, the archive lies between language and the collection of all spoken words (Webb 2012, p. 117), representing "the law of what can be said", providing the system that "governs the appearance of statements as unique events" (Foucault 2002, p. 145). As such, it gives discourse its structure and provides "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements" (Foucault 2002, p. 146).

1.3.6   The Thresholds of Scientificity

Foucault presents four stages or *thresholds* in the development of a discursive formation that claims to be a science. These are the thresholds of *positivity*, *formalisation*, *scientificity*, and *epistemologisation*. Crossing the threshold of positivity means that the discursive formation "switches on" and emerges as an individual formation, able to provide rules for the formations of its own statements. The threshold of *formalisation* is crossed when a discourse is able to formulate its own axioms, self-legitimised propositional structures, and acceptable transformations. The threshold of *scientificity* is crossed when a discourse's statements not only follow the rules of the discourse, but also certain general laws for the construction of propositions, i.e. when the discourse is able to formulate its own scientific norms. Finally, the threshold of *epistemologisation* is crossed , when a group of statements that claim to validate (successfully or unsuccessfully) norms of verification or coherence and when these norms exercise a dominant function over knowledge. (Foucault 2002, p. 205–206)

This description of scientific development should not be read as a linear process. The thresholds are not always crossed in any particular order, and sometimes several of them are crossed at once. Foucault offer here the example of mathematics, which they claim crossed all four thresholds at once (due to its nature as a inherently systematising form of knowledge), making it an extraordinarily bad example for the study of the development of other sciences. (Foucault 2002, p. 206–208)

1.3.7 Epistemological Consequences

What are the epistemological consequences of accepting archaeology? What status does the archaeological inquiry have as discourse? Are we doomed to the relativism of discourse if we accept archaeology as our method? Gutting spend the major part of their final chapter in *Michel Foucault's archaeology of scientific reason* discussing this issue and response to the question in the negative. Firstly, Gutting as well as Webb focus on the fact that archaeology is an approach to discourse that "simply describes what it finds" (Webb 2012, p. 122). In that sense, it is positivist and empirical, though not in the traditional sense (as mentioned above). Besides this, archaeology is "not detached observation", but rather a "rewriting" of discourse. In other words, archaeology produces discourse, and in doing so it also provides "a new event that may interfere with the patterns of regularity shaping the discourse it describes" (Webb 2012, p. 122). The patterns that archaeology examines may be of discursive origin and thus in a sense constructed and historically contingent. This, however, does not exclude the same structures from having an objective existence. After all, the power structures as well as many other social constructions in society are beyond our personal control and have far-reaching consequences for our personal lives and exists independently of our (personal) belief or non-belief in them, making it possible to, in a sense, examine them with relative objectivity.

What archaeology finds and studies is primarily norms. This is not the same thing as accepting the found norms. In a rather lengthy discussion on the subject, Gutting describe what they perceive to be Foucault's project, consisting of a history that describes normative systems and a philosophy that instead of deducing its way to the norms as in traditional philosophy rather focuses on clearing the path to the norms. To find out which norms are actually sound, we must then *live* them rather than philosophise about them, but at least archaeology can show us where and how they exist, what they like and how they work. (Gutting 1989, p. 284)

Gutting also emphasise the fact that there is nothing to suggest that Foucault denied the existence of objectivity as such, especially not given their claim that strong bias is not exclusive of objective knowledge (Gutting 1989, p. 273). However, it is quite clear that they — like e.g. Kant — found strong objective (external) conditions on knowledge. In contrast to Kant, though, Foucault show these conditions to be not transcendental and eternal, but rather historically determined and always connected to power. (Gutting 1989, p. 274–276)

In other words, there is much to suggest that we can both employ Foucault's archaeology to understand a given historical event, *and* – in Donna Harawy's classical words – "talk about /reality/ with more confidence than we allow the Christian Right when they discuss the Second Coming" (Haraway 1988, p. 577, emphasis original).

1.4   Material and Method

My primary material is the Swedish legal documents surrounding the library statutes between 1912 and 1939. This include the actual statutes themselves (SFS 1912:229; SFS 1914:339; SFS 1918:638; SFS 1919:488; SFS 1920:948; SFS 1921:724; SFS 1922:619; SFS 1928:239; SFS 1930:15; SFS 1930:31; SFS 1931:346 n.d.; SFS 1932:4; SFS 1933:504; SFS 1935:242; SFS 1936:209; SFS 1939:183) as well as the three Swedish Government Official Reports (SOU 1924:7; SOU 1924:5; Palmgren 1911) and the government bills providing the expert-commented base for the resolutions codified into the statutes (Prop. 1929:141; Prop. 1912:179). Due to some technical difficulties, I did not consider one of the statutes – SFS 1938:340. The pattern of publication is – though not always – official report, followed by a government bill, followed by a debate and then a statute. Because these statutes – and their corresponding legislative history – make up central turns in the Swedish history of library knowledge, these were used as a skeleton for the study. For depth and details, the journal of SAB ("Sweden's association for public libraries"), *Biblioteksbladet* was used, or more precisely the digitised versions provided by Projekt Runeberg. [4]

All annual collections of *Biblioteksbladet* from between its inception in 1916 to 1940 were post-processed using the semi-automated tool ScanTailor[5] for machine and human readability and run through an OCR software, making them full-text-searchable to allow search for interesting keywords (e.g. "osedligt", "samlingar", "dagspress", "kompetens") found in the legal documents, primarily the reports and the government bills. In addition to full text search, the first issues of *Biblioteks-bladet* (1916 and 1917) as well as those surrounding the important resolutions were studied by their tables of contents to find relevant material.

The true method of my study is hard to grasp, and when one attempts to do so immediately recedes to somewhere beyond a tangled web of hand-written inscriptions, hacked-up software, self-monitoring practices, and (mis)use of theory. The short answer to the question of what I have done is, of course, read and written text, mostly through the framework of archaeology as laid out above, resulting in arrhythmic explosions and implosions of text – exploding to cover my entire floor with re-organised cuttings from the statutes and at least 35 sheets of lined paper with multi-coloured notes, imploding to this comparatively well-structured text. But this is as disappointing a description as it is accurate. Therefore, to make my points more clear, I will briefly compare my work to Torstensson, whose article "Framväxten av en statlig folkbibliotekspolitik i Sverige" has a similar focus to mine but a distinctively different methodology. The perhaps biggest difference in our methodologies is that while Torstensson focus on questions of what the representatives and politicians thought at a given time – e.g. about which libraries should receive support, what was the most important factors, what notions of people were used (See e.g.

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[4]See http://runeberg.org/biblblad/ (fetched 2014-03-24).
[5]See http://scantailor.sf.net/ (fetched 2014-03-24).

Torstensson 2012, pp. 92–93; 113), I am mainly interested in *how* it was possible to think, through what notions a common field – if any – could be constructed. What were the properties that made it possible to – at the period – know anything (or not know anything) about the management of libraries? How did it become possible to be a librarian or run a library? I have also tried – as far as possible – to maintain the post-humanist perspective furthered by Foucault, one that does not put the interest of a given individual or set of individuals as the driving force of history, but rather as one of its constructions (and a rather temporally limited one at that).

1.4.1 A Word Regarding Language and Translation

Most of my material is in Swedish, while this thesis is in English. The Swedish language in question is also close to a hundred years old in some cases, which makes it quite archaic. Given that my native language is not English, this means I cannot trust myself to produce fully trustworthy translations of all transcripts. Also, in all probability, most of this thesis will have a much greater interest to a Swedish public than an international, despite my hopes and pretensions. This means that most readers can be expected to understand Swedish. Therefore, I have chosen to display longer quotes from my material in both Swedish and English together so that the reader can make their own comparisons and judgements. This – I hope – will also make my own mistakes more transparent, should they manage to slip through the review process. Of course, it also makes some of the longer block quotes positively monstrous in size.

Many of the documents in my material contain Swedish juridical terms or have technical names themselves. The translations for these terms have been provided primarily by the official English/Swedish translation manual for the Courts of Sweden (Domstolsverket 2012). A list of many of the more common terms can be found as an appendix.

1.5 Historical Background

Note to the reader: the perspective in this section is to some degree in conflict with the theoretical perspective presented above. Though attempts have been made to avoid the most explicit contradictions, the problem can be noticed in some of the implicit assumptions of the text below, most notably in the way historical change and action in general is presented. Despite this, I have kept this section the way it is for two reasons. Firstly because it is merely providing a backdrop for the actual investigation required only by form, and secondly because locating or producing a fully Foucauldian historical account of all important events of the studied period would have proven much too taxing, if not entirely impossible. After all, this entire thesis constitute only a small part of such a narrative.

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In Europe, the period between 1920 and 1939 can be described as politically unstable, with few governments staying in power longer than a few terms (Friberg 2013, p. 26–27), combined with a general air of optimism (Friberg 2013, p. 22). The period saw the rise of several different forms of society; Fascism in Italy (1922), Soviet Communism in Russia (1919), National Socialism in Germany (1933), and various forms of organised capitalism in other countries, including Sweden (Friberg 2013, p. 23). The later crisis of 1929 accelerated several of the already existing conflicts, leading to massive surges in unemployment in many countries (including Germany and Sweden) (Friberg 2013, p. 23–24).

During the 1930's the Swedish Social Democratic Party rose to an almost hegemonic position in Swedish politics (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 19). The period also meant the rise of what would later be referred to as the Swedish model. The comparatively late recognition of universal suffrage during the election year of 1921 (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 24) as well as the rise of the Swedish Social Democratic Worker's Party both made possible a widening of the notion of democracy to include areas beyond indirect control of the State through voting (Friberg 2013).

An important implementation of this move towards a broader notion of democracy was the notion of the People's Home ("folkhemmet"), commonly attributed to Per Albin Hansson, who took over the leadership of the party from Hjalmar Branting in 1925 (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 18–19). The move towards the notion of The People's Home was part of a larger a shift within the Swedish Social Democratic Party of the political subject from the working class to the more abstract and less conflict-oriented (as well as significantly wider) people (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 18). The notion of the People's Home as a political strategy meant a focus on the living conditions of the people as simultaneously an ideological construct and a group of actual persons. Several official investigations in housing and living conditions were performed, though the most known published volume on the subject is probably The Myrdals' book *Kris i befolkningsfrågan* ("*Crisis in the Population Question*") (A. Myrdal and G. Myrdal 2012) which proposed a number of social reforms to halt the development toward lower nativity (Friberg 2013, p. 31). Many of the proceeding socio-political reforms made by the Swedish Government during the latter half of the 1930s were related to this interest in raising the birth rates, ranging from child benefits to subsidised popular health care (Friberg 2013, p. 33), while some reforms also included housing reforms (Friberg 2013, p. 31). The range of political measures taken did also include much less savoury methods, such as the eugenic laws of 1935 (and again in 1941) prescribing forced sterilisation of individuals deemed unfit for procreation (1997 års steriliseringsutredning 2000, p. 15).

In this way, Social Democracy could avoid much of the conflict that a class-oriented politics would imply and claim a position famously described as a "middle

way" between capitalism and communism, representing a compromise between workers and capital that enabled the Party to position itself as a hegemonic player in the Swedish politics and kept it in power from 1932 to the 70's, with the exception of a period of a few months during the summer of 1936 (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 19). The culmination of this move towards social peace and compromise as a fundamental value can be described as the 1938 Saltsjöbaden Agreement between Landsorganisationen (LO) and Sveriges arbetsgivareförbund (SAF), the national organisations for the labour unions and employers respectively. The agreement heavily stressed the importance of industrial peace, formalising the borders between the spheres of the labour unions and politics (Friberg 2013, p. 32).

This ideology of the successive expansion the legitimate area of political influence has been referred to as "integrationism" by the historian Sven-Eric Liedman (Torstensson 2001, p. 161), who describe this tendency as a central feature of the process of modernisation in Western capitalist societies. During the latter half of the 1930's, this expansion came to include the notion of cultural influence, arbitration, and access in the form of "cultural democracy" (Friberg 2013, p. 233–235).

When the first official laws regarding public libraries were instituted in Sweden, the country was lagging behind the USA and the UK by about 50 years (Torstensson 2001, p. 145). It was not until 1912 when the first law regulating Public Libraries was instituted. Some historians claim that there was a historical turn between 1902 and 1902, during which the political climate of Sweden changed from a more strict separation between private and public affairs to a system where the State could legitimately intervene in larger areas of society (Torstensson 2001, p. 153). Other important motivations behind the law (which were made explicitly by several of the decision-making parties) was an ambition to stop the spreading of "immoral behaviour" in the population (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 115). Through the law of 1912, the first regulatory institution for Swedish public libraries – state-employed library consultants – were instituted.

An important public figure in the history of Swedish Public Libraries was Valfrid Palmgren. As a central figure of authority following a study trip to the USA in 1907 (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 131) in the debate surrounding the establishment of Public Libraries in Sweden, they were tasked with investigating the question by the government, resulting in the report *Förslag angående de åtgärder, som från statens sida böra vidtagas för främjande af det allmänna biblioteksväsendet i Sverige* (Palmgren 1911). This report stressed, among other things, the importance of educated library staff (Torstensson 2001, p. 144).

During the 1920s it became clear that the support offered by the law of 1912 was insufficient for the operation of the system of public libraries in Sweden. The economic support was insufficient (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 29). A new report published 1924, *Betänkande med utredning och förslag angående det fria och frivilliga folkbildningsarbetet: överarbetning av ett den 25 maj 1923 av Folkbildningssakkunniga avlämnat utlåtande* (SOU 1924:5), recommended both

heightened economic support, greater competence requirements on librarians for libraries receiving financial support, and a more centralised organisation of the public libraries (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 35; SOU 1924:5, p. 31–32). Subsequently, a new library law was passed in 1930, among other things raising the maximum amount of economic support that libraries could receive 25 times the previous amount (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 35).

2 The Order² of Books

This investigation is structured somewhat loosely around five concepts, closely mirroring – but extending – the "three factors" of the library work as described in SOU 1924:5 – the librarian, the books, and the library space. In addition – and because we are here interested in the *field* of library knowledge rather than the management of libraries, there is a section on Organisation and Catalogue as well as a section on the relations toward the fields of education. Of course, there is a great deal of overlap between the sections.

The square in the title's section and in the title of this thesis represents the mathematical short-hand notation for the power of two and should be read as "The order of the order of books".

2.1 Catalogue

The catalogue, national or local, has a special status within the field of library knowledge (as well as the contemporary library and information science) as simultaneously an important tool and a product of labour in itself, by definition never finished. It also closely resembles Foucault's definition of a system of knowledge's grids of specification – as the system whereby different kinds of objects (of discourse) are "divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, and derived from each other" (Foucault 2002, p. 46). But the catalogue is not – as we will see later – the sole grid of differentiation within early library knowledge in Sweden. To begin with, such a setup would provide us with a chicken-and-egg problem. The catalogue, itself a statement and a clear product of discourse, cannot successfully organise or govern its own appearance. Therefore, there must be other systems of differentiation of statements within the field, and a set of specific rules and eventualities must have governed the appearance of the catalogue. In this sense, the catalogue serves to repeat and implement the rules of discourse, rather than constitute them in itself. In other words, it does not function as a grid of specification for the discourse, but is rather an artefact of these systems itself.

What factors governed the appearance of an authorised national catalogue as simultaneously a central tool for, and a product of, the Swedish library knowledge? In 1911 Valfrid Palmgren, a strongly canonised character in the Swedish history of

libraries, published an official report to the government regarding what steps would need to be taken to bolster the Swedish public library system. At this point, they note in the report, the Swedish public library system is far behind the public libraries of the United States and Great Britain, as well as the ones in Germany and Denmark (Palmgren 1911). In their report, Palmgren proposed – among other things – the establishment of a national library bureau under the ministry of education. They also suggested implementing and continuously producing an authoritative national catalogue of all published material in the Swedish language, but with focus on material of use in the public education (Palmgren 1911, p. 190). The publication of this catalogue is described in the report as one of the "most important tasks" of the proposed national library bureau (Palmgren 1911, p. 190).

The national catalogue, they note, should also be useful for the local classification work and catalogisation at the local libraries and should be provided free of charge to all libraries receiving government grants, in addition to being available for a fee for other libraries. The main inspiration for this idea comes from a similar Norwegian catalogue which Palmgren praised for its use of the Dewey decimal classification system and Cutter numbers, which provide a "lucid" and easily used presentation of the collection. In order for the catalogue to be useful, Palmgren argue, it must encompass works from "every science" as well as every important mode of thought. Palmgren suggested that the catalogue should contain tables of contents and short summaries on each works in addition to their bibliographic data. Because the library adviser of the bureau could not be expected to have insights in every major scientific field, Palmgren suggested that they should be able to recruit experts from within various fields to assist them with the cataloguing. (Palmgren 1911, p. 191)

We can here note several interesting points. Firstly, we can already see how close the ties between the library knowledge and the field of education was, given that various forms of education (popular and public) was continuously given as the main *raison d'être* for the establishment of libraries, catalogues and so on. This tendency will be discussed in a later section of this thesis, so for now I am going to just make note of the fact that a connection is there. Secondly, we can see how international influences is central to the development of the field as well as to the position of the actors within it. Palmgren as a canonised person within library history and as an expert in their own time is obviously using their experiences from other countries' library policies to put additional weight behind their statements, something we will return to later in the section about competence. Thirdly, we now need to discuss under what circumstances a system of classification or ordering function as a grid of specification for a given field of knowledge. Can, for example, the Dewey classification scheme now be considered a grid of specification within the early library knowledge in Sweden given that Palmgren just mentioned it? If we consider the nature of our inquiry, the answer must obviously be in the negative. A grid of specification will order the statements belonging to a given discursive form-

ation, and while a book could well function as a statement (recall the example of *Les fleurs du mal* above), just any book certainly cannot be said to belong to a discursive formation. So while some books may be statements within the early library knowledge, not all books are – and therefore systems of classification of books in general can not be said to function as grids of specification within the discourse because the object of library knowledge is not books, but rather the (sound, scientific, useful, effective, proper) management of books in libraries. Systems of classification are not the grids of specification producing objects in library knowledge, *they are one of its objects of discourse*, a constructed reality which the field uses in its ordering of the statements (e.g. books) of *other* discourses.

On the other hand, we can note several grids of specification appearing in the enouncments made by Palmgren, some of which will be fully explored later on in this text. Most notable is perhaps the society as a system progressing towards a greater level of good, consisting of groups of different interests and involving social conflict and aided by equally progressively developing distinct branches of science, and the individual as a (potentially) productive member of society with the possibility of becoming morally corrupted through urgings as well as enlightened through the acquisition of knowledge, possessing a will with varying degrees of freedom. These two intertwined systems are frequently recurring in various official reports on libraries and popular education, as we will see in the section on education. At this point, it is sufficient to note that Palmgren claim the following about the public library as a unifying and educating force in the society:

> Om någonsin alla ett samhälles medlemmar, oberoende af samhällsställning och andra intressen, kunna samlas om någon institution, så borde detta vara om biblioteket […] Skolan är barnens och ungdomens läroanstalt, biblioteket är de vuxnes skola, som de aldrig växa ifrån, det är, som Carlyle sagt, det sanna universitetet. Men det är därjämte ännu mera. Ty under det fortsättningskurser, de af staten så högt understödda populärvetenskapliga föreläsningarna och andra dylika bildningsmedel blott afse de mera vuxna, kan biblioteket — jämte sin verksamhet för dessa — äfven bereda det minsta lilla barn glädje, trefnad och nyttig sysselsättning genom att bjuda det vackra, dess färg-, form- och smaksinne utvecklande bilderböcker, genom att skänka dess fantasi den näring, som ett barns sinne ovillkorligen kräfver. Hur den barnsliga fantasin, om vi icke i tid och på ett klokt sätt tillgodose dess kraf, själf tager ut sin rätt och då kan bli ett lättfångadt rof för osunda och skadliga inflytelser, därom vittnar i vår tid kraftigt den oerhörda utbredningen af kolportagelitteratur och biografer. Men det är icke blott en samlingsplats för såväl barn, ungdom och äldre, som det allmänna biblioteket kan och bör blifva. Det kan och bör vara ett sammanhållande band mellan alla ett samhälles invånare. I föreningar af olika slag splittras människorna af olika åsikter, uppdelas i arbetsgitvare och arbetare, i absolutister och icke-absolutister, i olika såväl religiösa som politiska trosbekännare. I böckernas värld, biblioteket, äro de alla lika; för hvar och en af dem finns hvad han önskar, och de skarpaste antagonister kunna utan att störa hvarandra sida vid sida tillfredsställa hvar och en sin smak. T. o. m. i kyrkorna skiljas människorna från hvarandra genom olikheter i uppfattning och tro, och den ene kan eller vill icke besöka en olika tänkandes tempel. […] Kort sagdt, biblioteket är den plats, där alla, ung och gammal, hög och låg, fattig och rik kunna samlas i samma önskan, i samma känsla inför samma Guds gåfva. (Palmgren 1911, p. 49–50)

> If all members of a given society are ever able to come together around an institution, it will be the library. […] While the school is the institution for the education of the children, the library is the adult's – one that they will newer outgrow. The library is, as Carlyle claims, the true university. But it is that and much more. Because while

continuation courses and the heavily subsidised lectures in popular science and other means of education only apply to the adults, the library can – along with its services for them – also provide the smallest child happiness, comfort, and useful activity by offering it beautiful picture books that will nourish its sense of colour, form and taste, by providing its imagination with the nourishment that a child's mind definitely requires. We can see how the child's imagination, if not satisfied wisely and in time, itself claims its right and becomes an easy prey for unsound and harmful influences, as the contemporary popularity of cinemas and junk literature [untranslatable: "kolportagelitteratur" – low-quality literature sold by travelling salesmen]. But the library can and should become something more than a meeting place for children, youths and the elderly. It can and should become a cohesive bond between all members of society. In associations of various kinds, people are divided by different opinions, in workers and employers, abstainers and non-abstainers, in persons of various political and religious creeds. In the world of books, the library, are they all equal; each and every one of them can have their wish fulfilled, and the worst of enemies can satisfy their tastes side-by-side. Even in church, people are divided by differences of creed and beliefs, and one person does not wish to visit the other's temple. […] In sum, the library is the place where everyone – young and old, high and low, rich and poor – can meet with the same wish and in the same feeling towards the same God's gift. (Palmgren 1911, p. 49–50)

The enormous block quote above sets the stage for several lines of inquiry to come: the library as a nexus of social peace and as a meeting place that transcends the (necessarily existing but possibly transcendable) conflict lines of society, as an integral part of the continuous education of adults and children, as well as a very specific model of society and its individuals. Many of these lines of inquiry are closer to those traditionally approached by genealogical models than the more knowledge production-oriented analysis that archaeology can provide, so in several cases we will find that our analysis must depart from them with the simple yet rather unsatisfying conclusion that they represent non-discursive relations and must be analysed in full elsewhere.

In a government bill produced in 1912 – following, and in response to, Palmgren's report – a separate government grant is proposed to support the establishment of the catalogue. The sum of the grant is proposed to be 20 000 kronor, which compared to the sums of the other grants (monthly salary for the First library adviser was proposed to be 9500 kr, 5600 for the second and 3900 for the third – and the sum of all grants to all public libraries was proposed to be 50 000 kr) is a rather high number, showing how important the investigators behind the bill considered the catalogue to be (Prop. 1912:179, p. 2). The final statute, however, did not include the grant proposal, nor did it institute a national library bureau as proposed by Palmgren (SFS 1912:229). Instead, the catalogues were to be produced by the ministry of education, and referred to in the plural.

However, the statute did follow the recommendations of Palmgren (Palmgren 1911, p. 26), confirmed by most of the commentators in the government bill (Prop. 1912:179), to award grants in books – from a centralised set of catalogues, placing the national catalogue in focus. The statute also notes that the catalogues would probably not be completed in time for the implementation of the government grants, adding that until its completion books would be granted "in the order that We decide"

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(SFS 1912:229, p. 570), the "We" referring to the Swedish monarch at the time, and by extension the Swedish government. Later revisions of the statute (SFS 1914:339; SFS 1918:638; SFS 1919:488) as well as the complete re-writing of the statute of 1920 (SFS 1920:948) did not change these formulations. In fact, the only thing the new statutes of 1914, 1918 and 1919 did was to raise the upper limit of the amounts of the government grants national associations for popular education and institutions for book distribution could receive.

Though broadly supported, the proposal to award grants entirely in books was opposed by some commentators to the government bill of 1912. The bill notes that most commentators have agreed with the bill, noting the exceptions of the church chapters of Västerås and Visby who thought the arrangement would be "impractical" and three public school inspectors voiced their reservations concerning the municipal libraries. Representatives of one of the associations for popular education – the Excelsior – petitioned that the grants should only be awarded in books if the catalogue from which they could be chosen had the broadest possible selection of books, showing their obvious concern that the catalogue would lead to limited or narrow collections in the libraries (Prop. 1912:179, p. 31). While the enunciative modalities of government discourse is severely restricted with respect to dissidence given the rather limited subject and object positions the format of the government bill allows, we can still note the degree of agreement between the consulted parties around the proposition that grants should be awarded in books.

The production of a national catalogue now provides us with a textbook example of the connections between power and the production of knowledge. The catalogue as a form of knowledge works very well with a centralised collection of materials to classify and catalogue, a situation that the Swedish state already had effected through the Freedom of press act, which demanded that specimen copies of all printed works were produced for the government's benefit. Under the new rules for government grants to libraries, the catalogue also functions as an instrument of control, a gate keeper to the libraries' collections in a simultaneously positive (accepted books are disseminated and materialise as canonised parts of collections) and negative (rejected books – due to lack of time, ideology, material processes and other modes of choice – are harder though not impossible for libraries to acquire) mode. It is important to stress two things following this assertion. Firstly, we set out with the ambition to not try to unmask the ideology behind the field. While it may appear that we have located a massive government conspiracy to force a centralised paradigm of morality on to the populace – which to a degree certainly is true – we must once again stress that strong bias does not rule out objectivity or scientificity. The production of a catalogue following a given set of moral rules or a certain program for society is as much a requirement for the production of knowledge during the given period as it is historically contingent. A catalogue following the moral guidelines and the social program of the time was, in this sense, more useful than a hypothetically (and very likely impossible – but let us leave that question to the

philosophers of science for now) amoral catalogue. Secondly, while a centralised instrument of control, the catalogue is hardly omnipotent. Libraries could most likely avoid or obstruct inspection or just hide any forbidden or sanctioned works during inspections, cataloguers could slip in works outside of the authorised canon, and different views of what it meant for a work to be (im)moral could still affect any local library's collection as well as the central catalogue(s), spilling over into the official government bills and reports. An examination of the practices of resistance to this particular constellation of power would be an interesting line of inquiry, but is unfortunately outside of the scope of this thesis. A longer discussion about the debates surrounding the immorality of certain books can be found in the following section about competence, where it will be discussed in relation to the competence of individual librarians and the librarian as a delegated and authority of delimitation, as well as in the section on collections, where it will be discussed in relation to the book.

But the production of bibliographic information and book recommendations for public libraries was hardly centralised under the state's power. In 1916, the the association Sveriges allmänna biblioteksförening (SAB) ("Sweden's association for public libraries") was founded, along with their journal *Biblioteksbladet*. Along with comments on the library policy and reports from other countries and newly built or renovated Swedish libraries as well as articles on various topics of interest to librarians and library administrators, the journal also contained sorted bibliographic information of newly printed works of interest. The first edition of the journal also contained non-exhaustive bibliographic data on the latest Nobel prize winners, featuring both references to their translated works and works about the winners ("De båda senaste nobelpristagarna. Några bibliografiska uppgifter" 1916). The classification system used for the bibliographic records was similar to the one used in many public libraries of Sweden at the time of writing, and the bibliographic records featured small summaries of each work signed by the initials of their author which were expanded to their full names and titles in an index next to the table of contents of each volume.

Let us then analyse these catalogue snippets at the enunciative level, as a *statement* in the sense that archaeology is concerned with. Take, for example the literature recommendations of the first volume of *Biblioteksbladet* (*Biblioteksbladet* 1916, signature translation table p. IV; literature lists pp. 41, 82, 130, 177, and 220.). What part of these lists constitute statements? Foucault advice us not to view the statement as an atom of discourse but as "a function of existence that properly belongs to signs and on the basis of which one may decide[…]whether or not they 'make sense' […]of what they are the sign" (Foucault 2002, p. 97). We are then instructed not to look for a correlate of the statement (i.e. what it refers to), but for a *referential*, "made up of laws of possibility, rules of existence for the objects that are named, designated , or described in it" (Foucault 2002, p. 103). We are also instructed to look (carefully!) for the *subject* (which may or may not be the author

of the statement) and the *associated domain*, the other sets of statements to which the current statement is linked (Foucault 2002, p. 105–112).

For these little annotated catalogue snippets, the associated domain is of course other bibliographic entries, compounding into a complete catalogue, or rather the Catalogue. It is these other, previous statements that makes it possible to determine the pattern, makes us see that we are, in fact, observing bibliographic data. Their referential is – other statements, that is literary works, predominantly books, and they propose a number of subject positions – sometimes they have an author, either a human or an organisation, and sometimes they are anonymous. They are both aggressively temporal – tied to the publishing of new books – yet have an almost eternal quality, providing the raw material for the primary work of the librarian – to place the right book in the hands of the right person by ordering and summing up the qualities – good and bad – of the book in a brief, periodically (re)produced text.

But what orders these bibliographic entries? The idea of a Catalogue – as a human-searchable index of useful material, ordered by a pre-determined system of classification and corresponding to some proper order of books – is what Foucault refer to as a *concept*; they establish relations of ordering and succession (how books and statements about books – bibliographic notes – are ordered), attitudes (which books are good, which must be disregarded, which books are new and which are too old to be useful for anything but historical research) and they specify procedures that may be legitimately applied to bibliographic data – authorised ways of spelling out a specific author, ways in which an entire book can be reduced to a simple entry. (Foucault 2002, p. 62–71)

One thing the attentive reader will have noticed is how the idea of *information* as the abstract basic unit of knowledge is entirely lacking from the studied discourse – indeed, I have consequently used the term "library knowledge" to describe the studied field, rather than the contemporary acronym LIS. While the "knowledge" might be mandated by the early stage of development and lack of scientific formalisation one might ask – where did the I go? The answer to that question is that information in the abstract sense has no explicit place in the discourse we are studying, and subsequently the concept of the catalogue described above differs from our catalogues. The catalogue of early library knowledge is a tool for centralised control – simultaneously of the acquisition of libraries and of the *order* of books, making sure that each book is locateable. Its task is to supply the right person or group of persons with the right book(s), for the betterment of the individual in their linear development as well as for the betterment of society. As an institution of education and population development, the catalogue is the tool through which the individual can be assigned with- and educated by the correct book through their own free will, filtered through the catalogue and the librarian. Our catalogues are different. Not only are they typically mediated in entirely different ways, they also strive toward satisfying an already-existing demand in the user (another novel concept that we have not previously encountered in this inquiry) or of helping the user through an

information-managing process. They also strive toward *exhaustiveness* (normally referred to as *recall*), producing every bit of related information to a concept – with the idea that information in itself is neutral and useful. In the catalogue of early library science, there is no such thing. While there may be disagreements on the potential harms and uses for each book (as we will see in the section on collections, where we will more closely study the book), each book is part of a larger constellation as well as a force in itself, and it is still only useful for the betterment of an individual or a group of individuals as member(s) of society. Books may be useful, but beyond their potential use, they also have an almost mystic power to affect, improve or morally deprave their reader that must be closely regulated by librarians and officials.

In one of the reports from 1924 (SOU 1924:5) as well as in the following government bill from 1929 (Prop. 1929:141) and in relation to the proposed decentralisation of the public library system into central/affiliate library communities under a national library, it was proposed that libraries receiving the higher government grants – i.e. larger libraries – would be able to receive a part or all of their grants in cash, rather than in books. This was partially made possible – as stated explicitly in the reports – by the creation of educated librarians who in a sense embodied the instruments of control previously exercised through the controlled distribution of books through grants, as we will see in the following section on competence. The following statute of 1930 also mandated meetings among the grant-receiving public libraries regarding the production of a common catalogue (SFS 1930:15, see ch. III, § 22).

2.1.1 Summary

In this section, we have investigated the catalogue as a product of Library knowledge. It turned out that contrary to what could be expected, the catalogue did not function as a grid of specification within the discourse. The reason for this was the fact that the field is not about books or their ordering *per se*, but rather about the proper pairing of books with humans for the betterment of both individuals and society in large. Through this observation, we located several ties to education – popular and public – that will be investigated later.

We also discovered a *proper* grid of specification for the discourse – the society as a system progressing towards a greater level of good, consisting of groups of different interests and involving social conflict and aided by equally progressively developing distinct branches of science, and the individual as a (potentially) productive member of society with the possibility of becoming morally corrupted through urgings as well as enlightened through the acquisition of knowledge, possessing a will with varying degrees of freedom. This perspective then allowed us to investigate the decision to distribute government grants in books and the way it affected the role of the catalogue as instrument of control and knowledge-form, providing a textbook example of the relations of power and knowledge. At this point, we had to

take much care to not fall into a teleological view of history. What we discovered was not a gigantic State conspiracy of massive brainwashing – the state is not *using* the discursive formation of library knowledge to attain its goals – but rather a requirement of knowledge.

Bolstered by our discoveries, we went on to examine the example of *Biblioteksbladet*'s bibliographic posts on the enunciative level, where we noticed how previous bibliographic data functioned as an associative domain to provide the necessary form. We also examined the subject positions available in the bibliographic posts, noticing how they made authors of both books and bibliographic summaries appear, and how the appearance of the bibliographic notes was dictated by simultaneously aggressive temporality – in that they were about newly published books – yet possessing an almost eternal quality through their ability to compound into the Catalogue and become the browsable shadow of all the books they index. We also found the Catalogue and its rules of catalogisation to appear as a Foucauldian *concept*, presenting rules for the ordering, reproduction and construction of the bibliographic statements.

Finally, we used our new-found knowledge of the catalogue and the discursive make-up of the field of library knowledge to compare it briefly to the modern LIS – finding that the I of Information was lacking in a very serious way. As it turned out, information in the sense that we have in the contemporary LIS does not exist in the library knowledge field due to the grids of specification operating in the formation, making the search for abstract information – without a medium and without adjectives – if not impossible then at least without value.

2.2 Competence

In this section we will turn to the second part of the "three main factors of library work" (collections, librarians, library spaces) – the librarian (SOU 1924:5, p. 23). Specifically, we will ask questions of what is meant by the competence of librarians. How were competent librarians made through education, controlled and measured through inspections, and employed? What practices and skills were stressed in the government bills and reports? In this investigation, we will pass through the Foucauldian notion of authorities of delimitation to study how it became possible to move much of the apparatus of control from the central catalogue as a filter for acquisitions to keep immoral books out of the libraries' collections to the educated librarian, and how relations of power were simultaneously centralised and decentralised in the move towards a central/affiliate library organisation after 1930.

2.2.1 Educating Librarians

Many of the reports and government bills spend some time on describing the librarian's role in the local community as something of a literary equivalent of the local

priest. In Palmgren's report, the ideal librarian (of the public library) is described as "the local literary leader" (Palmgren 1911, p. 192) with a good knowledge of the local community's literary needs. Blocking this vision is the lack of professionalisation of the librarian profession. To be a librarian is something one does on the side, not a true profession, resulting in low social status – and perhaps more importantly low quality of work performed, resulting in poor administration and management of libraries. The solution to this, according to Palmgren, is a two-part process: enabling the paid librarian work through government grants and raising the status of the profession through education. This move corresponds to a clear vision of the establishment of a librarian profession as something entirely separate from other professions – most notable the teacher's, as the author note that the typical librarian is a teacher running the library on the side (Palmgren 1911, p. 194).

The details of the librarian education proposed by Palmgren is ambitious, to say the least. Courses should be held by the library bureau, which should keep a "model library" consisting of "one copy of every book in the model catalogue", noting in a footnote that the required specimen copies received by the Ministry of Justice as required by the Freedom of Press Act which currently are "of little use" could be used for this purpose, and a model catalogue for the participants to study (Palmgren 1911, p. 193). The establishment of such a model library is required by the field because the knowledge produced by library knowledge is – as is well noted by Palmgren in their proposal – simultaneously a practical and theoretical one. While theoretical knowledge can be comparatively easily transmitted through books and lectures, practical knowledge – at least to a degree – requires active work and significantly more space to be stored in.

The practical and theoretical contents of the librarian education proposed by Palmgren are similarly ambitious. Among the things they list as mandatory parts of the curriculum are: shelving, classification and catalogisation "of all kinds", systems for lending of books and the revision of the collection, book binding and proper care for books, the keeping of statistics of borrowers and lendings, and "every other branch of modern library technology", principles for acquisition and choice of material for various kinds of libraries (Palmgren 1911, p. 193). The government bill of 1912 notes similar knowledge requirements for librarians; a good librarian should have good knowledge of "the literature" as well as technical methods of library management (Prop. 1912:179, p. 34). In addition to these demands, Palmgren firmly connect the establishment of the library knowledge in relation to other fields of knowledge by proposing that the entry requirements for the librarian courses should include "at least a degree in preschool teaching or demonstrably comparable skills" (Palmgren 1911, p. 194).

In the government bill of 1912, a more detailed list of proposed tasks for the library advisers are laid out. They should, among other things: audit grant applications (i.e. have basic skills in economics), assist municipalities, schools and individual persons with their grant-receiving libraries (i.e. know about the practical

management of libraries) in addition to (when possible) visiting said libraries, produce the catalogues from which the books constituting the government grants can be chosen, assist libraries with classification and cataloguing, arrange courses for library administrators, produce teaching material in library management, send out periodical nation-wide notices regarding the state of the public library system as well as helpful advice in the management of libraries and/or lists of especially suitable literature, and compile statistics on libraries and other interesting fields. These tasks in sum represent almost everything needed for the establishment of a field of knowledge, from the compilation of existing knowledge to dissemination, education and communication. (Prop. 1912:179, p. 34)

Worth noticing is how closely related to power and control this apparatus of knowledge production is. The same central authority is to be responsible for simultaneously control (the catalogue, inspections, the administration of government grants), the production of knowledge (compilation of statistics, collection of "interesting information"), and the dissemination of knowledge (education, communication etc). There is however good reason to assume the bureau was not as effective in this as the nightmare vision of a centrally-controlled knowledge field would have us believe. In the government bill of 1929 (Prop. 1929:141), the authors note that the advisers must prioritise their advisory function, noting that the advisers have been so bound up by administrative tasks that they have to a high extent not been able to carry out their supporting duties as proposed (Prop. 1929:141, p. 68).

The same government bill, like the previous official government report from 1924 (SOU 1924:5), propose the establishment of a decentralised library system with central and affiliate libraries. As a part of this development, the bill also proposes that the librarians of the central libraries should gradually take over the inspection duties from the school inspectors, given that the state now has "access to a well-educated staff which has the potential to really help the administrators of the smaller libraries" (Prop. 1929:141, p. 36).

It seems that Palmgren's ambitious plans for the official librarian education was not implemented, because in one of the two reports from 1924 (SOU 1924:5), the authors note that the institution of an education meant for the larger public libraries "can no longer be put off without danger" for the popular libraries in Sweden (SOU 1924:5, p. 31). Lars Seldén's contribution to the previously mentioned anthology *Styra eller stödja?: svensk folkbibliotekspolitik under hundra år* confirms this, noting that the first course for librarians in Sweden was held in 1926 (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012, p. 193). The investigators note that between 1920 (when the National Board of Education was given the right to decide the distribution of grants for the education of librarians) and 1923, 16 courses for librarians and library administrators had been held, each spanning six days and having circa 30 participants. All these were, the investigators note, however focused on smaller libraries. For larger libraries, significantly longer courses would be needed, spanning "over several months". Frequent comparisons are made to the Danish courses for librarians,

noting how they span over two respective three months and feature courses on literature history, the production of bibliographies, "handbook knowledge", popular books, catalogisation, classification and the day-to-day management of a library, totalling around 300 hours. The examination included a larger homework as well as at least four months supervised internship at a larger library. Based on the Danish example, the investsigators note that a similar Swedish curriculum should contain (among the theoretically oriented courses) "knowledge of literature" and "library- and book history". (SOU 1924:5, p. 30–31)

2.2.2 Employing Librarians

As previously mentioned, at the time of the writing of the government bills and reports of 1912, as well as during the writing of the 1924 report, librarians of public libraries were typically not employed at all, but performed the function of librarian on the side, unpaid. The move toward a central/affiliate system of public libraries created the need for better educated librarians, which was likely one of the main reasons of the urging statements of the 1924 report (SOU 1924:5, p. 31).

The question of who would decide who were competent enough to be employed at the central libraries was one of the questions debated in the 1929 government bill. The National Board of Education, in their comments to the proposals laid forward in the bill, wanted the right to decide who were employed at the central libraries, as well as the requirements for who were considered to be "competent" (Prop. 1929:141, p. 98). This request also applied to the recruitment of the administrator or head librarian for any library receiving government grants above 2000 kr (Prop. 1929:141, p. 108). The final statute did contain the latter restriction but not the former (SFS 1930:15, p. 26), except for when receiving an additional government grant for the employment of personnel, which the National Board of Education was to approve both with respect to the size of the additional grant and with respect to the competence of the persons to be employed (SFS 1930:15, p. 27). The same restrictions applied for libraries appointed as central libraries – the National Board of Education was to receive a list of candidates and mark the ones they deemed possessed the required competence (SFS 1930:15, p. 31)

One of the two reports released in 1924 proposed the establishment of Provincial libraries (Landsbibliotek), grounded on some diocese- and school libraries. These were to represent nodes in the library networks of the country, serving their local province and providing an intermediate link between on the one hand the larger city libraries and the scientific libraries, and on the other hand the "proper public libraries" (SOU 1924:7, p. 485), performing tasks "analogous" to those of the "central libraries" (Prop. 1929:141, p. 96), with the addition of various duties related to the support of the local public and popular education (Prop. 1912:179, p. 27. See also the chapter on Organisation for a longer discussion on these types of libraries.). These libraries, the investigators behind the report suggested, would have quite severe restrictions placed on the persons they would employ, as these librar-

ies would serve both education and the local population. The requirements for the position is listed as:

> a) utom studentexamen på latinlinjen med godkänt betyg i latinska språket minst avlagd kandidat- eller ämbetsexamen inom filosofisk fakultet;
> b) genomgången kurs i biblioteksteknik;
> c) praktisk erfarenhet om såväl vetenskapligt som folkligt biblioteksarbete, jämte väl vitsordad tjänstgöring under minst sex månader vid något större offentligt bibliotek (stats-, lands-, stadsbibliotek) (SOU 1924:7, p. 497)

> a) in addition to a studentexamen [roughly: high school degree] in latin also at least a Bachelor's- or Master's degree in philosophy;
> b) a passing grade from a course in library technology;
> c) experience in scientific and public library work, as well as a recommendation following at least six months internship at a larger public library (SOU 1924:7, p. 497)

The report notes that the librarian should "show an interest in- and skill with the management of libraries" (SOU 1924:7, p. 497). Their main task would be furthering "popular education and research" (SOU 1924:7, p. 497). More specifically, their tasks would include "supervising the service staff, leading and allocating work within the library and parttaking in it themselves, especially in the ordering of the collections and catalogisation" as well as planning and acquisitions, compiling reports on the economic status of the library to the proposed National Board of Libraries. In addition to these tasks, the head librarian of the Provincial libraries should also "assist the administrators of the other libraries in the province regarding the management of their libraries" (SOU 1924:7, p. 497). They would work, the report proposes, for at least six hours a day (SOU 1924:7, p. 498).

The other report of 1924 also mentions some requirements for the competence of librarians. Most importantly, it proposes- and details the contents of some tests of the competence of an employed librarian (SOU 1924:5, pp 32–34). As mentioned above, competence evaluations would be performed for librarians employed by public libraries receiving grants at- and above 2000 kr. The report does not give any detailed information regarding the exact method of evaluation, but simply notes that primarily "practical experience of library work", "participation in library courses", and secondly "knowledge of literature and languages" through passed degrees (SOU 1924:5, p. 33).

During the second annual meeting of SAB, Hildur Lundberg held a lecture, later printed in *Biblioteksbladet*, that touched on some issues of the employment and competence requirements of librarians, noting that a good librarian has "good general knowledge, knowledge of books and a love for books and study" (Lundberg 1917, p. 1). In addition to these skills and properties, the librarian should have "some degree of education", Lundberg note, drily adding that many smaller libraries seem to reason that the lending of books is a "simple task" that can be performed by "anyone". A formal education in the management of libraries is necessary but not sufficient to make a good librarian. Personal properties are stressed as perhaps the most important aspects in the choice of a librarian, and the author stresses that the librarian need to be "infused [genomträngd] with the sentiment that he and the

library is meant for the public, and not the other way around" (Lundberg 1917, p. 2).

J. Lindberg in the chapter "Professionen tar form – teknik och genus i fokus" of the book *Styra eller stödja?: svensk folkbibliotekspolitik under hundra år* note that the language used to describe the librarian in the statutes of 1930 all used the male pronoun, indicating an apparent male norm. They also note in the same chapter that the higher requirements on the competence of librarians and higher degrees of professionalisation seems to have produced primarily more differentiated and hierarchialised positions of employment and salary in the larger libraries. (J. Lindberg 2012, p. 254–255)

Besides formal education and personal qualities, experience from foreign public libraries was clearly held in some esteem during the period. An obituary for Signe Widegren in the 1935 issue of *Biblioteksbladet* noted that they were considered qualified for their position as an assistant at the Malmö city library in 1914 following a combination of a formal degree followed by a career as a teacher in combination with study visits to British public libraries (*Biblioteksbladet* 1935, p. 174).

So in sum, to be qualified for a position as librarian one would need a combination of one or several degrees within formal education, a set of personal qualities including a positive feeling toward libraries and popular education, general sensibility, and a calm temperament as well as a keen sense of order. This shows how the position of librarian as a knowing subject within the field of library knowledge was constructed in relation to other sciences/knowledge forms as well as to practical skills within the field. It is worth noting that passing grades in courses on library management and technology are described as having a *gate-keeping* function – it is a set of skills one possesses either through previous experience or through education. In other words, the knowledge field is not yet properly autonomous, but largely depends on other fields of knowledge to assert its authority. With this said, the library appears through the construction of the librarian as a surface of emergence of the objects within discourse. As a specific set of skills proper to the librarian profession were still somewhat mysticised in well into the 1930's, the library as institution for the accumulation of knowledge and as the site of work for the librarian serves to produce librarians as authorities within the field, coupled with localised knowledge that is not strictly speaking transferable. In effect, the position of librarian is a calling rather than a career. This almost mystical property of the librarian can be traced back to the fact that the position represents simultaneously an object of discourse (the good librarian) and a subject position within the same discourse, one with significant heft. It is these factors that make up the enunciative modality in which the librarian takes the position of the subject.

2.2.3 Delegating Authorities of Delimitation

One of the central changes for public libraries presented in the report from 1924 (SOU 1924:5) was the removal of the clauses regarding the centralised book distri-

bution, later implemented in the new statute of 1930 (SFS 1930:15). Following this statute, libraries could now receive government grants in cash, and not only in books selected from a catalogue. This move, of course, represented a decentralisation of the official policies regarding accession.

Instead of the centralised catalogue, the government bill of 1929 (Prop. 1929:141) as well as the earlier report (SOU 1924:5) both emphasised the librarian. In the report, the investigators note that "The guarantee for the suitable acquisition of books that, for the smaller libraries, one attempts to achieve through submitting the library's acquisitions to prior control through the regulation requiring the grant-awarded books to be chosen from the State's catalogue, can for the larger libraries (receiving grants at 2000 kronor and above) be found within the librarian [...]" (SOU 1924:5, p. 24). The same sentiment was expressed in the following government bill, where it was stated that the responsibility for the proper selection of materials eventually was the librarian's (Prop. 1929:141, p. 22).

The move toward the decentralisation of acquisitions correspond to the establishment of the librarian as an authority, as well as with a semi-centralised system of central/affiliate libraries, where the librarian's competence can be tested, verified and trust ensured. As is quite clearly stated above, the external checks and balances of the national catalogue is now moved through systems of disciplinary actions from externalised instruments of control to becoming embodied within the librarian. Together with a revised notion of (im)morality (as will be studied in the section on collections), this represents a shift within the field. The librarian as an authority of delimitation is simultaneously controlled and shaped by the structures that give it power, becomes a possible subject slot of some of the enunciative modalities offered by the field. Through the checks and balances of continued competence review in education, employment, and inspections, the librarian is ensured to possess the knowledge previously stored within the national catalogue. In this sense the system of power becomes simultaneously more efficient and powerful (as it can adapt to local conditions) and more lax (as its decentralised architecture allows more incompatible judgements to appear at the same time). Both of these aspects correspond to real needs of the field. As we will see in the section on collections, the previously rigid notion of immorality that placed the immorality *within the book* would show to come in conflict with the notions of personal and societal development that emphasised *outcomes* of reading as well as different modes of reading. This raised incompatibilities in concepts and lead to the adoption of other strategies (as will be discussed in the section on collections) – strategies that required a more decentralised and flexible form of authority for the control of (im)morality.

2.2.4   Summary

In this section we have studied the creation of the subject position as well as the authority figure represented by the librarian. We have shown how Palmgren's very ambitious plans for the education of librarians failed to be implemented for at least

20 years, resulting in a field in need of support from other scientific fields, such as literature knowledge and history, as well as already-established forms of knowledge from other countries, notably Denmark, the USA, and United Kingdom. The specifications of knowledge requirements of the library advisers closely mapped all necessary skills for the establishment of a field of knowledge – from statistics and economics to practical experience in the field and administrative abilities.

The position of librarian was described in terms of personal suitability and knowledge of the local community in a way that decentralised power. Taking interest in the question of the public libraries was described as a requirement, showing that personal properties normally considered to be belonging to the field of personality were taken up and described as occupational skills. Finally, we discussed how the librarian was increasingly delegated the responsibility of an authority of delimitation in the field in response to developments and needs within the strategies of the discourse.

2.3   Organisation

This section will trace the organisation of libraries, internally within the library and externally between libraries and other supporting institutions. It will focus on the questions of the organisation of a field of knowledge – how knowledge was accumulated, collected, transferred, centralised and decentralised over time and through which structures and relations – and on the library as a surface of emergence for objects of discourse. If the library is a privileged site of origin of certain enunciations within the discursive field of library knowledge, then what, exactly, are its unique qualities? How did the library become "for the humanists what the scientific laboratories are for the scientifically interested" (Schartau 1920, p. 10), the proper site of the authority marked by the librarian and the library administrator?

We will also continue studying the process of simultaneous decentralisation and centralisation of knowledge that occured through- and after the revised statutes of 1930 (SFS 1930:15; SFS 1930:31) and how library knowledge was simultaneously both transferable and teachable and aggressively personal as we have previously seen with the discourses on personal qualities in librarians in the section about competence, and as in the proper knowledge for the local community's literary needs.

2.3.1   Inspecting Libraries

An integral part to the project of centralisation of library knowledge – as laid out in several of the official documents and reports, including Palmgren's from 1911, is the authorisation and control of knowledge and practice through inspections. Before the changes implemented in 1929–1930, the main responsibility for the inspection of the Swedish public libraires fell on the public school inspectors. This decision, implemented in the new statute of 1912 (SFS 1912:229), was also proposed by Palmgren

in their report (Palmgren 1911). This proposal was not unanimously agreed on, as several commentators proposed that the inspection of the public libraries should rather be performed by specifically appointed personnel (Palmgren 1911, p. 210). Palmgren responded to these commentators by stating that in their experience "there is no reason to complain about the public school inspector's performance", and that many of these public school inspectors have shown a strong interest in the development of the public library system (Palmgren 1911, p. 210). In addition it would be hard to find persons competent in both education and literature locally to inspect many of the libraries in the country (Palmgren 1911, p. 210). Palmgren also note that while the public school inspectors lack the specific knowledge in the field of library knowledge, this may be compensated by the centralised system of library advisers, which can assist and teach the smaller libraries (Palmgren 1911, p. 186; 210). In following government bill of 1912, most commentators agreed on Palmgren's proposal, noting that the library advisers should handle the grant application process (Prop. 1912:179, p. 34). The minister of education commented on the proposal of letting the ministry of education handle the inspections of the public libraries by asserting that their involvement would ensure the process to be carried out on "fair" ("enhetliga", literally "unitary") and "carefully weighed" ("noggrant öfvervägda") grounds (Prop. 1912:179, p. 58). The statute of 1912 implemented the proposals of the report and the government bill in all relevant aspects (SFS 1912:229, p. 570).

When revising the statute in 1929, the field of library knowledge had developed significantly. The commentators of the 1929 government bill note that a significant weakness in the current system of inspection was the difficulty of inspecting libraries with respect to the knowledge forms proper to the field of library knowledge (Prop. 1929:141, p. 27). The public school inspectors – while doing their best – simply cannot be expected to possess significant knowledge on the management and maintenance of libraries (Prop. 1929:141, p. 27). The only thing they can do is confirm the bare minimum requirements of an inspection – if the demands laid out for the grants in the statutes are followed. The investigators also note that inspection has so far only been carried out in larger libraries (Prop. 1929:141, p. 40). Therefore, the proposed structure of the field with central and affiliate libraries was proposed to place the centres of inspection in the central libraries. The librarians of the central libraries ("the central librarian") were to carry out the inspections – as well as delivering helpful feedback and hints on the proper management of libraries – of the affiliate libraries. The transition to this system was proposed to be gradual, as central libraries were established and staffed with competent personnel with verifiable qualifications (as previously described) (Prop. 1929:141, p. 99). The National Board of Education commented on SOU 1924:5 by stating that public libraries located in school buildings should be inspected by the public school inspectors. Several school inspectors were recruited to comment on the bill as commentators, and though more than half of them left no comments on the report, some of them, as well as the public school teacher's association (Sveriges allmänna folkskollärareförening) noted their

reservations to the proposal (Prop. 1929:141, p. 51). This was hardly unexpected, as the transferal of the inspection duties from the public school inspectors to the librarians of the central libraries represented a shift in influence as well as configuration of legitimate knowledge claims. Mirroring this development, the advisers were also proposed to receive several additional aspects of the establishment of public libraries to comment on – among other things, they would have to approve the floor plans for larger library buildings (with a monthly rent above 400 kronor) receiving grants, adding architecture and furnishing of libraries to the fields in which they were given authority (Prop. 1929:141, p. 15).

The final statute of 1930 (SFS 1930:15) ended up following most of the propositions of the government bill, with some modifications. The advisers were to approve floor plans as proposed, and they were also given the primary responsibility of the inspection of the public libraries, including school libraries (but accompanied by the party responsible for the inspection of the school in question). The public school inspectors could, however, inspect libraries receiving less than 2000 kr value in grants if the library in question was located in a school building. If they notice anything worth reporting, they must do so to the librarian of the region's central library. Libraries receiving less than 6 000 kronor in grants were to be inspected by the librarian of the region's central library rather than the library advisers, and the newly instituted Provincial libraries were to be inspected "as specified elsewhere". (SFS 1930:15, p. 34)

2.3.2   Organising a Field of Knowledge

Previous parts of this thesis has suggested that one of the main purposes of several early policies in the reports and statutes regarding public libraries in Sweden was to jump start a field of knowledge. Palmgren's proposals correspond – to a degree – with an ambition of cobbling together as many parts of the existing system of public libraries and its existing forms of knowledge as possible without ill effects. A recurring theme in their report is stern warnings about an "uneconomic" "division of efforts" combined with a pragmatic stance (Palmgren 1911, see e.g. p. 28). To counteract these divided efforts, the author propose a combination of positive and negative measures. Most importantly, it would be harder for several libraries in the same area to receive government grants to encourage centralisation, and the maximum size of the grants would be considerably raised, from the previous "ludicrously low" level (Palmgren 1911, p. 165). At the same time, they also proposed the removal of the rules regarding the mandatory sharing of grants between public- and school libraries in the same municipality (Palmgren 1911, p. 165). Palmgren is quite open with their wish to centralise the Swedish public library system, claiming that it would lead to a more "economic" management of both material and labour, in contrast to the current system, where the rules for government grants have led to the opening of the maximum number of libraries alongside the municipal libraries (Palmgren 1911, p. 166). A point of discussion in Palmgren's report was whether

the inspection and administration of the national public library system should administratively reside under the ministry of education or if it should have its own organisational unit, concluding that a library bureau should be instituted, among other things with reference to a similar configuration in the USA (Palmgren 1911, p. 186–187). But one bureau would mean too strict a centralisation, leading to insufficient coverage of the country. The "middle way" proposed as a response to these conditions was to institute a library bureau (under the ministry of education) and simultaneously maintain a set of government-funded centrals for book distribution and vandringsbibliotek (mobile libraries, lit. "walking libraries") (Palmgren 1911, p. 186). The commentators in the subsequent government bill, however, argued that the institution of an entire bureau was too risky an enterprise, and instead proposed that the library advisers would reside directly under the ministry of education (Prop. 1929:141, p. 41). Their proposition was turned into statute by SFS 1912:229.

A recurring theme in the history of library knowledge of this period in Sweden is – as the reader has no doubt noticed by now – centralisation. This should not be surprising, given that the establishment of a field of knowledge requires a lot of communication, and the cheapest, fastest and easiest way of alleviating communications is probably centralisation. In other words, the establishment of central authorities, catalogues, standards and physical libraries is not so much a scheme for control (though it certainly shows a will in some parties to centralise that as well) as a required procedure for the establishment of the (or indeed, a) field. In fact, the concept of centralisation is for many parties in the studied documents used as *synonymous with* organisation and effectivity, perhaps most notably – as seen above – by Palmgren. This sentiment can be clearly observed in the reports and government bills preceding the new statute of 1930, as well as in the older statutes discussed above. In the government bill preceding the statute of 1912, the investigators note that all commenting authorities and others agree that a central authority is needed and that the discussion is mostly about whom or what will fill that role and details regarding the allocation of resources (Prop. 1912:179, p. 32). In the government bill preceding the 1930 law, it was also noted that more co-operation between libraries was needed. The investigators note a crucial lack of organised co-ordination between libraries within the same municipality, noting that study circle libraries and public libraries often have virtually no contact, leading to unnecessary waste of resources (Prop. 1929:141, p. 11). On the same note, the investigators also make the argument that the needs of patrons of smaller country libraries with more narrow interests cannot be met without co-ordination between libraries (Prop. 1929:141, p. 12), mirroring our contemporary concept of the long tail – the idea that a small and specialised demand may aggregate to constitute significant forces with a wider geographical area. The proposal to institute a system of central and affiliated libraries with a central library in each municipality correspond to the managed construction of co-operation between larger and smaller libraires in the same municipality as well as between libraries in different municipalities (Prop. 1929:141, p. 23–24).

But the work toward greater centralisation and unity in the management and function of public libraries in Sweden during the period also proceeded through other areas than public policy. In an article in Biblioteksbladet, Tynell (one of the journal's editors at the time), wrote about the possibilities and advantages of using pre-printed catalogue cards in Swedish public libraries, noting in the opening lines that "several commentators mean that the library catalogue of the future must necessarily involve […] pre-printed catalogue cards, making the task of catalogisation a common enterprise for the entire country or even better an international effort" (Tynell 1917, p. 144). The argument is that though an expensive enterprise, the central production of catalogue cards would eventually lead to the conservation of labour, as well as "greater readability and beauty" compared to hand-written catalogue cards produced locally (Tynell 1917, p. 146). Tynell then proceed to elaborate how to implement a system of centrally printed library cards in Sweden, including detailed descriptions of card layout and form factors, consequences for local choices of classification systems and calculations of the required number of printed cards. The article ends with a plea for interested libraries to contact the author, "preferably giving the number of pre-printed cards needed each year" (*Biblioteksbladet* 1934, p. 152).

2.3.3   Organising the Library

The library as a physical space was governed by a division of *functions*. Reports of newly built and renovated libraries in *Biblioteksbladet* during the period followed, as a rule, a similar pattern. The libraries had one or several main halls with open shelves, where the lending desk was also located. In addition they had one or several reading halls, typically with work stations available for the patrons, and if resources were available a separate children's or youth section. Close to the reading rooms were usually the library's handbook collections. This layout closely followed the revised rules for additional grants established in SFS 1930:15, where additional grants were available for libraries providing their patrons with access to specialised reading rooms and handbook collections under "expert guidance" (SFS 1930:15, p. 27). One report from a library in Filipstad from 1932, written by Axelson who also made the plans for the library, described how the local wings of ABF (the worker's movement's national organisation for popular education) and IOGT (the Swedish wing of the international order of good templars) had pooled their study circle libraries to produce a city library. The resulting library consisted of one larger hall with open shelves and an adjacent reading room, as well as a separate room for study circle and a set of offices for the librarians (Axelson 1932). A similar report from the following year about the opening of Kristinehamn's city library in new spaces also featured a reading room next to two rooms with open shelves, though no mention was made of any children's section (G. Nilsson 1933).

Another remarkable example of the organisation within the library at the time was the proposition for a central library in Stockholm published in Biblioteksbladet in
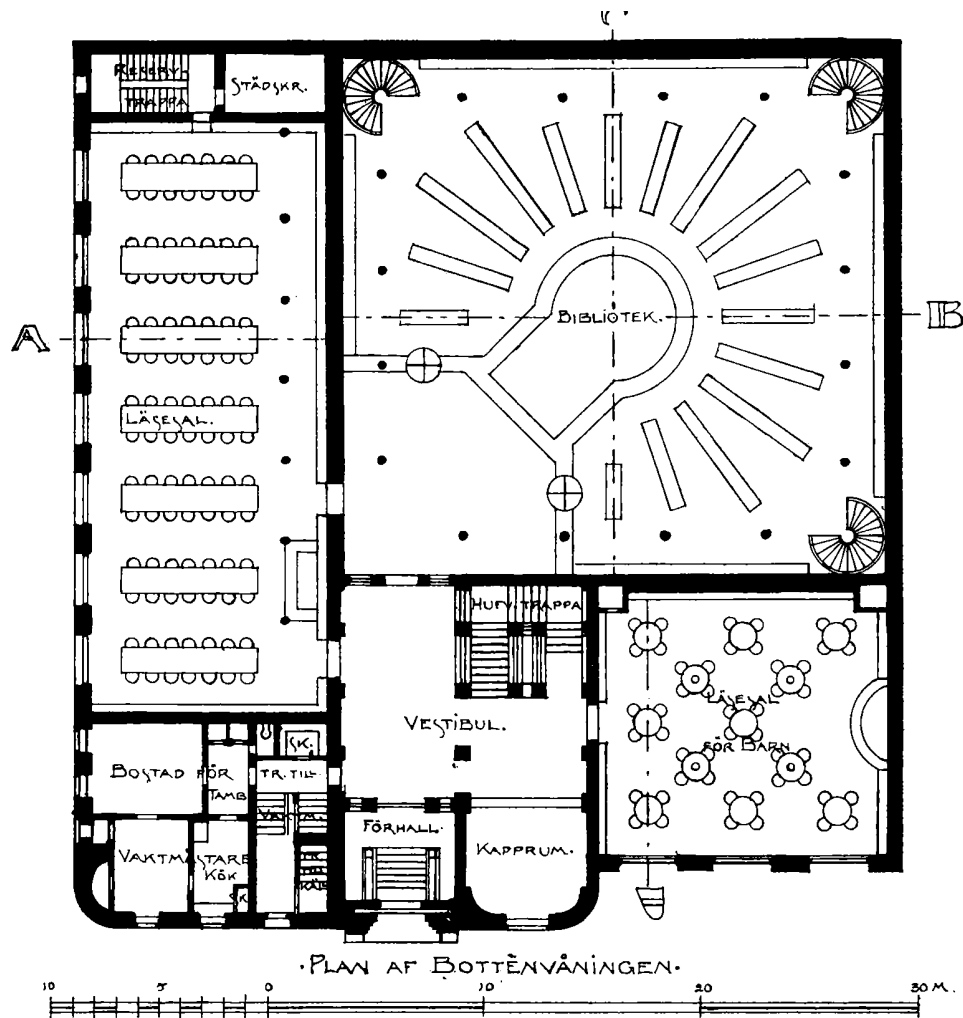
Figure 2.1: Proposed floor plan for the new City library of Stockholm. Artist unknown. (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917, p. 228)

1917 (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917). The draft floor plan, shown below, consisted of one children's and youth section on the ground floor, a large lending hall with open shelves and a lending desk in the middle of the room, from which "free view over the entire library is possible" (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917, p. 232), mirroring Bentham's famous plans of the *Panopticon*, an observation that has previously been made by e.g. J. Lindberg (J. Lindberg 2012, p. 230). The main section – the one featuring the lending desk – would have a large glass ceiling. The library would also feature a reading hall with work stations for 96 persons and a reference library, in addition to various rooms for special tasks (e.g. collections of municipal literature) on the top floor. See ill. 2.1 (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917).

As seen above, the library functions as a segmented and internally specialised space, performing various different services for its patrons. At its (often literal) center is the lending desk and the open shelves. These spaces not only order books, but also tasks. In this sense, the library serves as a surface of emergence for discursive objects. Not only is the library the proper space of the librarian as an authority, it

is also the source of much of that authority and was itself iaffected by them – as we have seen on several accounts above, librarians partook in many aspects of the construction of libraries, including the production of floor plans (and, in the case of the proposed central library of Stockholm mentioned above, also sketches of the building's *facade* (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917)). In this way, the library became the surface of emergence of books, *oeuvres*, authorships, social problems, patrons, knowledge needs, personal reading development, study circles et cetera.

We have now described authorities of delimitation (the advisers, the authorities within the public education system, the various ministers, and the librarians), surfaces of emergence (libraries, the various parliamentary halls), and grids of specification (the individual and the society), but how do they interact? What were the relations between them? As stated above, the library as the proper location of the librarian is a two-way relationship: the librarian shapes the library and is simultaneously shaped by it. It becomes the primary interface toward the surrounding environment, the tool from which the librarian siphons lending statistics and traces the local needs, trying to establish their position as – in the words of Palmgren above – the local literary leader (Palmgren 1911, p. 192). This flow of communication – in some sense statements – also establishes access to the resources offered by the state through official grants. It is through and in the library that the librarian may – through the grids of specification – locate and order with assistance of catalogues and other tools the proper books based on the grids of specification, their use for society and groups and their proper place in a patron's personal reading development.

2.3.4   Summary

In this section we have examined the organisation of the field of knowledge that we have been referring to as library knowledge. We have investigated how the inspection of the Swedish public libraries was implemented by the public school inspectors and the discussions surrounding that decision. We then proceeded to review the discussions surrounding the question in the reports and government bills of 1924 and 1929, noticing the shift in emphasis toward a need to inspect libraries with respect to library knowledge rather than just the (lack of) fulfilment of the requirements of the government grants, as well as the proposed resource of making the emerging central libraries *centres of inspection* through a gradual transformation. Through this process, a number of additional aspects of libraries were also included in the set of inspectable and reviewable qualities, such as floor plans, corresponding to an expansion of the field of concern for the field to encompass tasks such as architecture. We also examined how Palmgren's report and the subsequent government bills used the carrots and sticks available via the government to coerce the previously disorganised and "uneconomic" library field into the early stages of a field of knowledge, as well as how the establishment of central libraries was used as a means to encourage (and possibly enforce) a greater degree of intercommunication and co-ordination into the field. Finally, we examined how libraries themselves were organised and functioned

as surfaces of emergence for objects of discourse and found that they were frequently organised into sections, separated by expected task, in a structure that in some cases came eerily close to the designs for Bentham's *Panopticon* prison. With these pieces in place, we were then able to reflect briefly about the interaction of the previously mentioned concepts – the grids of specification, authorities of delimitation, surfaces of emergence.

2.4   Education

This section of the thesis will investigate the ties between the various fields of education and the discursive formation we are trying to excavate. Right from the start statements belonging – at least rhetorically – to the discursive fields of public and popular education have followed us. Representatives of the public school system have been observed to make statements about various topics relating to the management of libraries – what books should be read, where libraries should be physically placed and so on. Representatives of several movements for popular education have also been seen to make statements about how best to run a library and – more pointedly – about the library's position in society.

Moreover, models, tools and concepts from the field(s) of education have been appearing disturbingly often in the material. Should we, in fact, consider library knowledge to be a small part of a much larger pedagogic field? While answering this question well and mapping the exact nature of the relations between the fields of education and library knowledge will take most of this section, the short answer is that while there are strong ties between the respective fields, library knowledge produces objects, raises authorities and establishes relations that cannot be considered parts of any other discourse. And while representatives of the public school may speak of the proper books for the proper pupils and representatives of the movements for popular education may describe public libraries as supplements to the study circle method, none of them speak (or are allowed to speak) authoritatively on e.g. matters of cataloguing or classification.

2.4.1   The library and the Public School System

In the official reports and government bills, the library is frequently described as a supplement to the government programs for public education. In fact, those are Palmgrens actual words in their report from 1912 (Palmgren 1911, p. 2), where they go so far as to claim them to be "necessary". As described above, the discourse of public libraries relies heavily on a view of the individual as simultaneously free-willed and controlled by urges. Many speakers within the field focus heavily on the negative or corrupting side of these urges, but they can also serve to enhance positive outcomes. Indeed, this may be seen as one of the founding principles of the "free and voluntary" model of popular education – that a taste for knowledge

can be acquired and then proceed to enhance itself. In their report, Palmgren also note that the populaces' love of reading has been awakened by the increased degree of literacy, but that the State has so far neglected to care for *what* the populace is reading (Palmgren 1911, p. 7–8). The public library is therefore prescribed as a positive solution, a "medicine" (Palmgren 1911, p. 8), in its most literal form – by supplying the people with a cheap, accessible source of sanctioned books, the library can provide society with a means of controlling the populace's reading beyond the more strict disciplinary institutions of the school.

But the dynamics of literary appetite is more complex than a simple matter of supply and demand. Palmgren notes that especially school libraries need to focus more than they have previously done on the students' "rightful demands for 'funny books'" (Palmgren 1911, p. 14). The public library – and especially the school library – needs to sugar the medicine. A similar comparison is made in a lecture by Odal Ottelin, held in January 1918 and published in *Biblioteksbladet* the same year. In the lecture, Ottelin postulates that the "appetite" of the reader is developed linearly from a reading for pleasure to progressively more advanced modes of reading (Ottelin 1918). The notions of reading development as laid out here by first Palmgren, then Ottelin can be considered to be a *strategy* for the field in the archaeological sense, closely tied to the non-discursive relations binding it together with the field of education.

Despite all the similarities- and co-operation between the school system and the public libraries, the early government bills, reports, and finally the statute of 1912 all mandated a physical separation of public libraries and school libraries (SFS 1912:229; Palmgren 1911; Prop. 1912:179). Palmgren frames this in a language of the need for autonomy for the school library, noting that the school library must "enjoy freedom and independence in management" and has the right to manage acquisitions and ordering of books "with exclusive regard to the needs of the school" (Palmgren 1911, p. 162). Other activities should only be partaken "in so far as they do not negatively affect the library's work in and for the school" (Palmgren 1911, p. 162). Limberg, in their contribution to (Frenander and J. Lindberg 2012) ("Från biblioteksstadga till skollag – skolbibliotekens plats i folkbibliotekspolitiken 1911–2011") note close ties between the development of new theories of learning within the public school system and an interest in school libraries. A greater emphasis on the student's personal reading development made libraries a necessity (Limberg 2012, p. 145). In the same text, they also note that Palmgren's division of libraries in school libraries and public libraries effectively meant the annexation of several existing local parish libraries under the local public schools (Limberg 2012, p. 145).

However, making the distinction between a public library and a school library is not as simple as it might sound. Palmgren actually spend half a page of their report discussing the issue (Palmgren 1911, p. 162). Their conclusion is that the main difference between school libraries and public libraires is where they are housed and the intended purpose of the space and not the name of the library or type of organ-

isation funding it, noting an exception for libraries that happen to be located in a school building, but which retains control over a space for their own exclusive use – assuming there is also a school library located in the same building or the public library in question has the means and will to perform that function. Based on this reasoning, the statute ended up requiring that libraries housed in school buildings ("buildings meant for education") would receive government grants "only if an additional, designated school library also exists [in the school building]" (SFS 1912:229), in which the attentive reader will notice that the latter part of Palmgren's argument acknowledging the possibility of a combined public/school library was lost.

The rule enforcing the separation of school libraries and public libraries for grant-receiving libraries was removed in the new statute of 1930 (SFS 1930:31). This move was proposed in one of the two reports from 1924 (SOU 1924:5). The authors of the report note that "In some circles, especially among teachers, it is sometimes argued that the school library should be the affair of the school. [The proponents of/representatives for] The public libraries have, on the other hand, claimed that a large public library has a greater ability to provide the schoolchildren with books and reading places than the school typically has" (SOU 1924:5, p. 17). Three possible solutions regarding the future organisation of relations between the school and the public library are presented, with the authors noting that each example has to some degree seen a practical application in the country: strict separation of concerns between children (the school system) and adults (the public libraries), duplicate efforts – keeping both a school library under the management of the school, complemented by the public library's children's section, and the assimilation of the school libraries under the public library system as well as into the physical public libraries (SFS 1930:31, p. 17). Noting that the demand for the separation of public libraries in addition to an observed lack of desired effects has also caused some public libraries to leave their previous spaces in school buildings for new ones that are "in every respect much worse", the authors of the report concludes by recommending that the rule be lifted but do not put forward an explicit recommendation of one of the three proposed strategies (SFS 1930:31, p. 18).

In several official documents, authorities in the system for education have been incorporated as authorities in the field of library science. Such an example can be found in the 1912 government bill on libraries mentioned earlier, where the minister of education is given their own entire section to comment on the current state- and development of libraries in Sweden. In this section, they stress the overlap in librarians and teachers, noting that it is common for the same person to have both functions. Most of the section, however, is dedicated to what can be described as inflamed rhetorics against junk literature ("kolportagelitteratur"), describing the spread of its consumption in medical terms in a similar way to what Palmgren was shown to have done in the previous report mentioned earlier in this section of the thesis (Prop. 1912:179, p. 46–47).

When the school's views on morality changed, these changes were also reflected on the policies and statutes regulating grants to public libraries. In the new statutes of 1920 (SFS 1920:948), the sections regulating grants to school libraries were altered to include the following description for school libraries:

> […] att under inga omständigheter populärmedicinska arbeten, som på ett ingående sätt behandla samhällsskadliga eller osunda sexuella förhållanden och äro av beskaffenhet att i sedligt avseende kunna inverka skadligt, om de sättas i händerna på unga och omogna läsare […] få med skolbiblioteken införlivas; (SFS 1920:948, p. 2866)

> […] under no circumstances must works of popular medicine that give a detailed description of sexual relationships that are unsound or dangerous to society and that can, with respect to morality, have harmful consequences if accessed by young and immature readers be incorporated into the school libraries; (SFS 1920:948, p. 2866)

These representatives of- or rather the entire school system, with the notable example of the aforementioned minister of education, function as an authority of delimitation. They are not alone in this, which is why they must repeatedly stress their views on morality and the proper book in the proper place as well as the library's part in the process of education. In the next section we will see, among other things, how many of these representatives and the way they lay out their grids of specification are challenged by authorities of other function within the movements for popular education. At this point, we can note that the school and the school library, in addition to the state institutions and the public libraries, are a site of emergence for discursive objects – for books, authors, and entire subsets of collections, entire systems of classification, and individuals. The strategy of reading development functions as a bridge between the public library and the library science and the school, making the library simultaneously useful and understandable as a partner for the school system.

2.4.2   The Library as Institution of Continuous Popular Education

While much of the influence of the public school system on the developments of libraries during the period certainly have a very centralised quality, since much of it passes through other official institutions – not to mention the direct involvement of the ministry (and minister!) of education in the studied official government documents and the inspection duties carried out by the public school inspectors as previously described, the representatives of the movements for popular education represent a much more decentralised, grass-roots approach. Palmgren show a great concern for their involvement in the development of the public library system in their 1911 report on libraries, though this is perhaps more than anything else a matter of their previously mentioned pragmatic approach. They note that the popular organisations gives the lives of their members "a higher, more idealistic content than the everyday toil" (Palmgren 1911, p. 169). This general milieu, they note, would show – indeed has shown – promise in developing and creating an interest in libraries, while simultaneously making note of the much worse performance of some of the more entrenched and conservative institutions of pure popular education

("de rena bildningsrörelserna"), as these have had "a tendency towards charity" thus attracting a much smaller interest in the general public despite "allowing one or another worker on the administrative board" (Palmgren 1911, p. 170–171).[1] Investing in these early libraries is thus a necessity, even though it might not be what the author would consider the ideal solution. Any approach to (re-)establish a public library system without the popular movements would need to waste resources on "undoing what has been already done" in the field (Palmgren 1911, p. 171). In their text for *Styra eller stödja?: svensk folkbibliotekspolitik under hundra år*, Torstensson also note that this could equally be seen as a way for the state to form closer bonds to the movements for popular education, enabling it a higher degree of control than it would have otherwise enjoyed (Torstensson 2012, p. 132).

But when making such an investment, the State must make sure that its resources are used as intended. The grant-receiving institution must prove itself to have the "organisational rigidity" and that it is being "run with such a degree of seriosity" that it can be found to deserve government grants (Palmgren 1911, p. 172). Therefore, the author propose that grants should not be awarded to individual libraries, but rather to the national organisations ("riksorganisationer") for public education, primarily with reference to the difficulty of inspecting and verifying a large number of small libraries. In this sense, the national organisations would serve as funnels (or possibly sieves) for grants, while at the same time providing the required security. These national organisations should be sufficiently large to warrant government support – they should at least have 20 000 members (Palmgren 1911, p. 172). In addition to these entry requirements, Palmgren also proposed that the statutes would require the grant-receiving organisations should have to institute an organ dedicated to the management of the movement's/organisation's libraries, performing much of the administrative- and monitoring functions of an administrative librarian (such as keeping track of the numbers of lendings and returns as well as expenses and earnings) (Palmgren 1911, p. 178).

The movements for popular education did not just play an external role in the development of public libraries in Sweden, as could be assumed from Palmgren's statements above. In fact, they played such an important part that one of the two reports from 1924 that were used as material here actually was about the development of the popular education, titled *Betänkande med utredning och förslag angående det fria och frivilliga folkbildningsarbetet: överarbetning av ett den 25 maj 1923 av Folkbildningssakkunniga avlämnat utlåtande* (*Report regarding- and with proposals for- the free and voluntary popular education*). This report featured several investigating members on the committees from the movements for popular education, many of whom made statements pertaining to the management and organisation of libraries. In chapter II ("The goals and tasks of popular education") the invest-

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[1]These comments are directed at some rather narrow details of the Swedish politics of popular education. The movement that Palmgren here are seen to rather drily critique is the more liberal/conservative and (as they state) charity-oriented wing of the movement, with more emphasis on fostering the people than would be found e.g. within the more grass-roots approach represented by the broader organisations for public education.

igators give their definition of popular education, stating that "popular education means that one targets *everyone* regardless of previous education or social class" (SOU 1924:5, p. 9. Emphasis original.). The purpose of the popular education is to "in the greatest possible number of people awaken their [medborgarsinne = roughly 'sense of community/membership in society'] and appreciation for the spiritual values" (SOU 1924:5, p. 9). Popular education, it is noted, targets the adult population in the first hand, which leads to radically different methods than the public education's. Instead, the focus is on producing self-initiated activity in the subjects. In addition to these observations, during the period in question, expenses for the public libraries were declared under the heading of popular education in the state budgets (See eg. Prop. 1923:1, 8th main heading, paragraph 243.). The system of popular education, then, replaces the institutionalised discipline structures of the public education with regimes of *self-discipline*, often based in collective action. (SOU 1924:5, p. 9)

Such a self-initiated educational action fits very well with the notions of agency ascribed to the book within the field of library knowledge – as we will see in the final section on collections. It also meshes very well with- and almost assumes- a system of public libraries, which the authors of the report also note (SOU 1924:5, p. 9). The universal suffrage had, they note, created an acute need to educate the public, raising a number of issues (SOU 1924:5, p. 11). Among these were the need to handle political questions in the context of the popular education movement, while still avoiding "propaganda" (SOU 1924:5, p. 11). On this note, the authors explain that the libraries of the non-governmental organisations belonging to the movements for popular education have often been more agile and shown a greater ability to adapt to "the tendencies of the age" than the municipal- and other public libraries (SOU 1924:5, p. 56). Against this advantage they place, by now not very surprisingly, the danger of inefficient splintering of resources (SOU 1924:5, p. 56).

As a matter of fact, an entire section of the report is dedicated to the role of the public libraries within the enterprise of the popular education. [2] In this section, the authors note that "the book is the primary means of education and personal reading one of the most important grounds of all knowledge" (SOU 1924:5, p. 14). In this sense, the library is constructed primarily as a conduit between the book and its reader(s). But the library is not only the most important and efficient means of education, it is also the most versatile, in the sense that it may satisfy a number of different needs and demands (SOU 1924:5). In this sense, the public library forms a support for the study circles and for the self-education of adults, in some cases by literally providing room and other resources in addition to books as we saw in the section on the library as space above. The authors echo the same sentiments as previously formulated by Palmgren (recall the large block quote earlier), when they

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[2] Actually, the forumlation used is "folkbildningsarbetet" which would literally translate to "the task/work of educating the people", indicating a much more clear goal than the more fuzzy translation of "popular education" would imply.

stress that the public library must be a library for everyone, rather than an organisation acting in the interest of some or other social or political group. "Different social classes and parties, different interests, persons of different ages should be able to meet in the library" (SOU 1924:5, p. 15). In this sense the public library represents simultaneously a unifying force within society, but also a means of continuous education after the citizen has left the educational institutions. Popular education is simultaneously an extension to the system of public education, yet also an perpetually open task, never finished.

The work on SOU 1924:5 was accompanied by a larger conflict within the investigating committee, leading to – among other things – the existence of *two* published versions of the report, an unofficial version printed by Olsson themselves (O. Olsson 1923) and the official government-printed version (SOU 1924:5). Both versions end by a number of separate statements from named committee members as well as the director of the committee. One of these named members is Oscar Olsson, who, as was mentioned previously, is a strongly canonised figure in the history of the Swedish popular education. In their separate statement, Olsson voice several complementary and sometimes dissenting views. Some of these regard technical details regarding economic support for study circles that are not relevant here (SOU 1924:5, p. 199). Among these complaints are perhaps the more relevant one that touches on the conflict between the "professional librarians' interests of professionally-led municipal institutions" and the "experiences of the free study circle libraries role in the development of the popular education and the public library system" (SOU 1924:5, p. 201). In other words, Olsson stressed the study circle form and its role within the popular education much more than the other committee members. In addition to this, the conflict seems to have resided around the encouragement of study circle libraries to become incorporated in the municipal libraries, in addition to differing opinions on the status of the report following an earlier deadline and the revision and status of the report document itself. In their strongly biographical dissertation on Oscar Olsson and their politics, Törnqvist note several details regarding the conflict and the publication of the reports. Among other things, they note that the conflict eventually made its way into the national press following Olsson's publication of the unfinished report. Olsson themselves claimed that they did so out of fear that Claes Lindskog, who were tasked with revising the report following the earlier deadline and the committees suspicions that Olsson would not be able to adequately finish the report in time, would remove important details from the report (Törnqvist 1996, p. 282–283). Several complications in the review process, leading to two different editions of the report in various stages of revision being registered in the government's archives under the same registration number, with additional public controversy following (Törnqvist 1996, p. 291–294).

Another slightly different voice on the public library's role in the popular education can be found in Lundberg's text in *Biblioteksbladet*, mentioned earlier. In it, the author expresses the need for moderation in the enterprise of popular education

and the spread of good literature. The task of introduction of "higher" literature must be managed with "tact" and discernment, because "adults do not want to be lectured" (SOU 1924:5, p. 4). This strategy of the self-initiated, competent, adult patron is somewhat at odds with the more authoritative strategy of reading development as described above. While there is certainly an overlap, a shadow of a conflict can certainly be detected.

These ranges of different opinions, thoughts, strategies and priorities in the relation between the public library and the popular education show that there is a considerable variation in opinions and analyses, while still all parties accept the same grids of specification – the society and the individual. The question is, instead, the degrees of resistance from individuals, and paths of personal development. While the official documents argue for a more explicit plan of popular education and fostering of citizens, commentators like Lundberg above (who, let us not forget, was not only allowed to lecture at the national library association's annual meeting, but also had their lecture printed in the same association's journal and thus certainly was allowed – at least briefly – some position of authority within the field) stress a more "soft" approach to popular education.

2.4.3 Summary

In this section we have investigated the relations between library knowledge and education – popular and public. We have seen that there have been close ties between the public libraries and the popular education from the start, with the library being seen as a necessary "supplement" to the system of public education. In this relation, we have examined how literary appetite in the form of reading development have functioned as a strategy. We have also examined how the authorities of the public education system functioned as partial authorities of library knowledge, and how the physical separation between school libraries and public libraries was created, instituted, and later abolished.

In addition to this, we have also mapped the relations between library knowledge and the movements for popular education, showing that the library functioned as a "supplement" here as well, though also as an actual space for these movements (and their study circles) to unfold in. We have also discussed the consequences of- and differences between targeting adults rather than children, and the varying ways in which this can be managed. Finally, we have located the popular education's twin to the public education's strategy of reading development – the self-initiated education.

2.5   Collections

In this final section, we will approach the concept of the collection and its primary substance – the book. We will investigate the role that the development of collections and the book had in the field of library knowledge. How and where did books

and collections appear as objects of discourse? What were their properties and how did this relate to the grids of specification, the strategies and the concepts we have investigated? How did the authorities (of delimitation and otherwise) present themselves in relation to the books and the collections? A lot of these questions will pass through the issues of acquisition and deaccession, what is now known as "collection development", where we will look at the rules for accession and deaccession given by the statutes and argued for in the government bills and reports.

We will also spend most of this section examining the grid of specification associated with books as a collective phenomenon rather than individual material products. This grid will – of course – show close ties to the individual and the society, as well as the concepts and strategies we have previously described, most importantly the strategy of individual reading development. Finally, and in relation to this description, we will also investigate the relations of the field to other ("new" – at least to the field of library knowledge) media forms, perhaps most importantly the daily press, that plays an important role as an antithesis to the book in several enunciations.

2.5.1   Books

The book, as described in the field of library knowledge, is not so much a dead item or a resource in which the patron/user can find what they are looking for, as a force in itself. Books, in the discourse of library knowledge, are *actors* on a fundamental level. We have seen this in the discussions mentioned above regarding the control of access to books, and we will see how the strategy of immorality was developed and altered between the two sets of reports, statutes, and government bills in the later section on immorality. We can see this in the minister of education's outlashing at junk literature and its dangers (Prop. 1912:179, pp 46), but it is just as apparent in the recurring theme of children's and youth's reading. Books seem to exert an almost gravitational pull, tugging their readers along and producing positive effects way beyond the direct access to information, leading authors like one of the editors of *Biblioteksbladet*, Hjelmqvist, to claim that "fiction now has a value for education" (Hjelmqvist 1916, p. 21). Like Mary Poppins, the librarian as provider of books must sugar the medicine of the more difficult literature with more accessible books. The gravitational pull of the book and its power to make a reader out of anybody exposed to it does the rest.

Besides functioning as a force in itself that needs to be controlled, regulated and ordered, the book also fits like a key in a lock into the strategy process of reading development. The right book introduced at the right point in a patron's process of reading development may further their development. This is because the book, in the words of Palmgren, not only encourages but literally "forces the reader to self-activity" (Palmgren 1911, p. 232). Through the book, "the lives of every human being can become richer and happier" (Palmgren 1911, p. 26). Here we can also recall the argument made by Ottelin about the development of an appetite for books.

The books are also material and physical objects requiring special care, ordering and placements on shelves. Not only do they carry the threats of social infection through immorality, they also carry the very real threat of physical infection in addition to their own ability to become sullied, tainted or otherwise destroyed by misuse. The book can in other words also carry literal infection, through germs or viruses, especially if it is dirty (Palmgren 1911, p. 97). Therefore, the proper care and handling of books is one of the skills Palmgren propose that librarians should learn as part of their education (Palmgren 1911, p. 193). In addition to the moral and physical possibilities of infection, the book or rather the entire collection, may also carry social infection. If the collections are allowed to become too dirty, mistreated and ragged, the library will scare away the "better part" of the patrons, making the library a "hot cabin with books in it", i.e. expose it only to those who do not appreciate it for its books (Palmgren 1911, p. 97). In addition to carrying disease, (im)morality and practical usability, the book may also hold historical value and therefore qualify for conservation – even though the book may lack a practical use for any actual patron of the given library. The need to save a number of old books stored without protection from fire while still carrying considerable historical value currently held in the collections of the underfunded diocese libraries was one of the reasons for the SOU 1924:7's proposal to institute Provincial libraries (SOU 1924:7, p. 4). Most notable among the book's properties to us, perhaps, is that the book seldom appears in the role of a commodity in any of the studied reports, government bills, and statutes. While the books are sometimes bought, they are just as commonly bound by the libraries themselves or the government-funded distribution centrals (See e.g. Palmgren 1911, p. 200).

Based on these observations, we are now ready to postulate that the book functions as a third grid of specification – besides the previously mentioned society and individual. This grid describes books as as physical objects requiring care and protection, as carriers of meaning and risk of socially infectious immorality, and as bearers of social history and knowledge with a value in itself. They are however *not* described as products of economic labour, though they merely function as an *instrument*- and inducer of intellectual labour. As a grid of specification, the book interacts with the strategies of reading development and immorality, enabling readers of being placed as more or less susceptible to one or other book for their personal reading development, or more or less vulnerable to a certain immoral book. The grid of books allow libraries to formulate strategies of access to material as well as physical handling and protection of books. What system of classification would be best to handle the given book? The reason that the book can function simultaneously as object and as a grid of specification is that the objects of library knowledge are not primarily books, but rather necessary knowledge to manage libraries, including architecture, furnishing, choosing the correct system of classification, the production of librarians, and the library's place in society. The book becomes one of several axes on which types of classification schemes, kinds of libraries and patrons may

be distributed and understood. To make matters slightly less confusing, I will from now on use Books when talking about the grids of specification and books, the book when talking about specific objects of discourse.

2.5.2 Immorality as Strategy and Contradiction

One recurring strategy in the reports, statutes, and government bills is the concept of (im)morality. It is introduced rather strongly in the government bill of 1912 in the context of the regulation of access to books. In the bill, it is proposed that books with immoral content should not be allowed in libraries, and if found by inspectors and not rectified, should lead the withdrawal of government funding (Prop. 1912:179, p. 26). The same bill also contains comments on this proposition from various representatives of different organisations and authorities. The Swedish Adult Education Association (Folkbildningsförbundet) mentioned in their comment that they would prefer to target "immoral *purpose*" rather than *content*, a fine but important distinction. Other representatives mostly made requests to include other types of content such as content that is "hostile to religion" (proposed by the church chapter of Uppsala, "presenting a danger to society" (the church chapter in Skara and two public school inspectors), or "notoriously incomprehensible for the library's target audience" (Prop. 1912:179, p. 32). None of these alterations were, however, actually implemented in the final statute (SFS 1912:229). The minister of education, in the same bill, also touched on the subject, adding that it is entirely possible for literature to be simultaneously immoral and have a high artistic value, while adding that the proposed formulation should be kept as it is. Specifically, it should neither be weakened, nor extended to "religious, political or social content" as such rules would be much harder to enforce and agree on (Prop. 1912:179, p. 58). In other words, there was some degree of unity around the strategy of immorality as a middle ground in the bill of 1912, though this unity still contained the possibility of disagreeing.

The strategy of immorality was perhaps mostly useful in relation to the field of public education, as it meshed well with the needs and goals of the system of education. This is also apparent from the modifications made in 1920, when the statute was extended with rules regulating the access to works on popular medicine for what might be called an unprepared audience – as previously mentioned (SFS 1920:948). Such an extension involved something of a revision of the strategy of immorality, as it now became possible for a work to be moral and proper in one setting (for a mature and prepared public) yet immoral in another, a deviation from the previously formulated rules that dictated that immorality was at the edge of a book – i.e. making books possible judge outside of their social settings and, as it were, mostly by their covers.

By 1924 and the publication of the two reports (SOU 1924:7; SOU 1924:5), the strategy had shifted considerably, supporting a fully incompatible set of arguments, thus producing a point of diffraction in the discourse. In the report, the argument is made that weight should be put on the *effect* of the book (much, but not entirely, like

the previously mentioned proposition made by Folkbildningsförbundet in the government bill of 1912) rather than its content or the author's intentions (SOU 1924:5, p. 25). The current formulation is not efficient enough. Among other things, it cannot correctly address, it is argued, some works of poor quality "that on a first glance appears to be highly moral" (SOU 1924:5, p. 25). The current formulation is also too narrow in the sense that it allows work of low artistic quality (SOU 1924:5, p. 22). But it is also too wide, because there sometimes exist legitimate reasons for incorporating otherwise immoral books, e.g. when studying an *oeuvre* or when satisfying "the interests of a large and mature public" (SOU 1924:5, p. 25–26). To remedy these weaknesses, the investigators propose that the statute should be changed to regulate the *tendency* of the library's acquisitions, in addition to including low artistic quality among the causes for exclusion.

This shows a quite large shift, from judging individual books to entire collections and tendencies (entirely different types of objects), from immediately knowable immorality to a context-sensitive form of immorality more closely connected to the personal reading development, and from solely considering immorality of content to encompass artistic quality (as an independently measurable quality). In other words, this new form of immorality is incompatible with the previous form(s). Works previously allowed are now banned – and the other way around. This new form of immorality is much more sensitive to the social nuances of a library geared toward an adult public, thus as a strategy, representing a re-negotiation of the relations to public education system and the movements for popular education. It also requires greater tact and more localised knowledge, in other words the decentralised authority of the librarian (as previously described and as argued for explicitly in Prop. 1912:179, p. 22). The final formulation of the statute, as effected by statute SFS 1930:15, ended up with a formulation requiring that a library "whose collection the National Board of Education does not find to in general be in a satisfactory state with respect to moral and artistic quality may only receive government grants on the condition that the library implements the directions […] given by the Board", with the addition of a clause similar to the one that was added in 1920, requiring that "the administrative board of the library must see to it that literature that with respect to morality may have harmful effects if accessed by young and immature readers must not – through lending or other means – be accessed by persons who cannot be considered sufficiently mature" (SFS 1930:15, p. 26), showing that these regulations were rather blunt instruments compared to the fairly nuanced arguments being made in the other studied documents.

Finally, this new notion of immorality – as a strategy – contained the possibility of the argument made by Ottelin in the previously mentioned article "Böckerna och vi", showing that in some sense, the two notions of immorality existed side by side at least with respect to temporality. The argument that Ottelin make by claiming that it is they alone who may tell which stage they are currently at in their reading development is that they are the sole judge of the morality – or at least the artistic

quality – of the books they are reading, representing a shift of authority if not abstract concept.

2.5.3   The Daily Press as Anti-book

While the book frequently appears as the atom of the collection and in several enunciations function as the core that the entire enterprise of the library and the popular education orbit, the attitudes toward the daily press are significantly more varied. The daily press is frequently compared infavourably to the book as a medium of communication – to say the least. If the book is ascribed the ability to induce reflection in its reader, forcing (and sometimes even luring) its reader to think, the press frequently appears as the negation of these properties. At the second annual meeting of SAB Kjellberg held a lecture, later published in *Biblioteksbladet*, about the book's role as carrier of cultural values. In this article, they posit the newspaper as the antithesis of the book, noting that the newspaper reading has "displaced" the book reading, as the newspaper provides "the diverse and varied, the news of the day, forgotten tomorrow, the sensations that brighten up the moment, while the book on page after page, printing sheet after printing sheet handle the same subject without bold subheadings and even bolder top-level headings" (Kjellberg 1916, p. 164).

The attentive reader will here notice that the language used to describe the daily press is very similar to that frequently used to describe our current state of "information overload" and the social media. And like in our contemporary setting, not all authorities in the field thought this foreign (for lack of a better word) media form was the threat that e.g. Kjellberg thought it to be. In the second annual edition of *Biblioteksbladet* (1917), several articles handling the subject of the daily press and similar media forms from the perspective of the library appeared, most notably "Dagspressen och biblioteken" ("The library and the daily press") (G. Lindberg 1917) and the published opening lecture from the third annual meeting of SAB on the national indexing of journals entitled "En svensk tidskriftsindex" ("A Swedish journal index") ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917), both in 1917.

The former lecture/article (G. Lindberg 1917) present a much more positive view of the daily press, suggesting that e.g. Ellen Key's disdain for the daily press is an example of "what I [the author] would call snobbism" (G. Lindberg 1917, p. 173). The author specifically note that the spread of the daily press can serve to awaken the interest in other issues (i.e. affect and further the person's reading development) (G. Lindberg 1917, p. 173). But the primary purpose is – as the title of the lecture/article suggest – to devise a strategy for the library's interaction with the daily press. In an attempt to raise the contents of the daily press to the levels considered worthy of the library's attention, the author propose that a selection of interesting material from the press should be made, extracted from the newspapers (as they take up too much space) and compiled in books based on subject – "a book for history, one for literature, one for social issues et cetera" ("En svensk tidskriftsin-

dex" 1917, p. 174). The author also appeal to the newspaper companies to introduce a special "library subscription" for their newspapers, in effect proposing that the libraries should receive newspapers for only the postage fees (G. Lindberg 1917, p. 174).

In the latter article/lecture, the authors are noting that the indexing (i.e control) of the daily press would be an impossible enterprise, taking the example of a similar Finnish project to index all Finnish literature including a selection of newspaper clippings, which took nearly 20 years to complete and ended up producing "600 000 notes", now stored in 156 cardboard boxes located in Helsinki ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917, p. 217). Even in this, more positive setting, the daily press represent the ocean of data, beyond the control of the libraries' catalogisation schemes. The author (or perhaps rather, the speaker), note that the task of assimilating the journals into the field of library knowledge would require two bibliographies – one for the already published journals, and one – continuously updated – for the newly printed editions ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917, p. 217). The bibliography should have two kinds of indexes – one for authors, and one for subject, made "as specific as possible" ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917, p. 218). In the continued discussions, several proposals are made as to what kinds of materials to include and exclude. Among others, it is proposed that "journals exclusively containing news", "children's journals", and "purely political journals" should be excluded entirely, and that "shorter notes", "meeting summaries", "public notices" and "every kind of fictional contribution" should not be indexed, after inspiration from Poole's index of journals ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917, p. 220). It is also noted in the article, that several persons present at the meeting made various comments, mostly regarding what types of material that should be included and excluded ("En svensk tidskriftsindex" 1917, p. 221).

These approaches represent attempts to address other media forms – and most importantly – other *statements* through the concepts and the grids of specification offered by the catalogues and indexes. These enunciations studied above represent different ways in which the field tries its hand with these new media forms to find out whether they are moral, immoral or a bit of both, when to reject or accept them, and how they are to be ordered, hashed and re-produced as bibliographic metadata. The concept of the newspaper collections set forward by Lindberg – e.g. – represent an effort to allow the daily press to pass through a process of transformation – remediation – to re-appear as a slightly altered statement, much more close to the book – and thus possible for the field to address, accept, and order. Worth noticing is that this process is not only geared toward the more abstract function of the media, but also – as it must be – toward their material conditions. The daily press is a part of an entirely different social and economic assemblage, which is apparent in the different types of reception it receives within the field compared to e.g. journals. As objects of bibliography, both the journal and the daily press offer very different interfaces (indexes, tables of content, publisher information[…]) and objects (authors

most notably) than books would traditionally do. Therefore, the fact that many of the responses – e.g. building an actual index for journals – are distinctly material does not negate their discursive nature/function. Remediating a book as a catalogue card, a set of newspaper clippings in a book, or a journal as one or several entries in a given index is simultaneously a product of discourse (i.e. governed by a specific set of rules and regularities such as rules of catalogisation, conventions never spoken of such as the concept of the author, locally made decisions etc) and discourse themselves given that they are statements themselves, forerunners of other similar statements – other bibliographic data – producing a genre, as it were.

2.5.4   Summary

In this section we have studied the atoms of the collections, beginning with the books. As it turned out, books function as agents, able to further a person's reading development by a timely introduction. They also function as surfaces of infection – social (i.e. scaring away the well-mannered population through their filthiness) and physical (i.e. transmit disease) as well as morally (as in introducing immorality through their content). Due to this function of ordering, we – somewhat confusingly – introduced a third grid of specification referred to as the Book. The strategy of immorality was also described in relation to a point of diffraction that peaked around 1924, when there were two different but incompatible theories of immorality, one claiming that a book had an immoral *content* and another claiming that a book became immoral in a given *context*. The resolution of this incompatibility involved a negotiation with the fields of public and popular education, where a more adult-oriented perspective of contextual immorality was furthered.

Finally, we examined the attempts made within the field of managing other types of statements (media forms) than the book by a short study of a number of articles regarding the indexing, and inclusion of, daily press and journals into the library. Here, concepts and strategies of remediation of statements in journals and the daily press were proposed in an effort to increase the horizon of the field to encompass these other media forms. In the process, several strategies were re-negotiated – the new media forms' relations to the reading development were discussed, as well as their (im)morality.

3 Conclusion and Discussion

In this thesis, we have investigated the field of library knowledge during the period between 1912 and 1939 (approximately). We have located and studied the central concepts of the catalogue, the notions of competence and reliability of librarians, the internal organisation, the relations to public and popular education, and finally the notion of the collections. In these investigations, I have found that despite first appearing to be one, neither the national catalogue nor any other catalogue functioned – within the entire formation – as a grid of specification. Rather, the Catalogue – in conjunction with its rules of classification – functioned as a concept, in effect establishing relations of ordering and succession of statements, regulating attitudes and proposing procedures that could be legitimately be applied to transform them – such as the modification of books into bibliographic entries in a catalogue or the transformation of a set of bibliographic entries into other sets of data. Finally, we also located two of the formation's *actual* grids of specification – the individual and the society. These were systems of division of statements (books, reports, speeches and lectures) that was almost universally agreed upon and which the specific knowledge was – so to speak – wrapped around, providing it with rigidity. It was along these grids that individual books, strategies, classification schemes was divided up and understood as objects of discourse. By digging deeper into the catalogue and the bibliographic data, we found that the catalogue (not capital C) functioned as simultaneously an instrument of control and knowledge. The same instrument that made books indexable, understandable, and locatable also made books non-locatable, non-indexable, and impossible. This control, though deliberately debated and in several senses controlled (or rather – interlinked) with systems of norms and morality, is not entirely teleological. It is not the case that the State is using the systems of public libraries to control its citizens – though it certainly at times has tried. Rather, these conditions are conditions of knowledge itself. In this sense, this analysis differs from e.g. the governmentality approach.

We also studied structured bibliographic information and the bibliographic entries as statements and found that they function as the associated domain of other bibliographic data, providing a setting – what the genre theorist would probably refer to as the genre of bibliographic data. At the same time we also noticed how the concept of abstract information was lacking from the discourse. Due to the functions the grids of specification provided, no such thing as abstract, transferable information

in our contemporary sense can exist in the field. Rather, all knowledge has a function in society and for the individual's development, and books and other sources of knowledge are understood in that sense.

In our quest to understand what was meant within the field by "competence", we studied the creation of the librarian as a subject position in one of the fields' enunciative modalities – in the possible ways of speaking from within- and -about libraries. We studied how the librarian was put together as authorities within the field, and how they functioned as authorities of delimitation and as experts. The librarians were, we showed, lifted to their elevated positions through authority made imported from other fields of knowledge – primarily the humanist sciences, a solution to the bootstrapping problem of scientificity – how to make a previously unstructured field of knowledge structured. The librarian, then, was shown to take their place in the internal organisation of the field, sometimes not only as a localised expert, but also as an inspector and as a general authority in wider circles. We showed how the centralisation and decentralisation of the field was made possible, how knowledge was constructed through the employment of experts – the library advisers – that would collect and compile the information needed to formulate a field of knowledge and inspect (police, one is tempted to say) the dissemination of knowledge. This inspection shifted with the creation of the fields' own authorities, from a simple matter of keeping out the wrong books and ensuring the most rudimentary compliance with the statutes, toward an interest in the dissemination and propagation of the "proper" knowledge of the field – such as methods of catalogisation and other similar library technology. With the advent of such experts – as well as the functions of the central libraries as simultaneous centres of inspection – the amount of inspectable information could be broadened to encompass e.g. floor plans and library building schematics. The amount of things that the field could name, order, or have one (or several) opinions on increased. A lot of this organisation was made possible from the use of positive and negative methods to employ a regime of organisation, which as time progressed appeared more and more as *intercommunication*. This field also appeared as perpetually permeated by neighbouring knowledge fields' authority and authorities. The field of library knowledge appears to span two poles – the poles of popular education and public education, allowing a multitude of outside authorities to leak into the field. These relations represent a continuous and dynamic (re)negotiation, sometimes – as in the case of the mandatory separation of public and school libraries – leading to separation, and sometimes to very close collaboration. The strategies of self-initiated education and reading development appeared as matching strategies in negotiating the relations to these two respective outside fields, enabling the field of library knowledge to simultaneously become useful to them both, while still keeping its own authority.

Finally, we investigated the libraries and their collections, showing how libraries as surfaces of emergence of objects (study circles, well-educated individuals, good books, issues of society) were subdivided into tasks and structured around the

librarian in a fashion sometimes reminiscent of the *Panopticon*, such as in the proposed plans for the city library of Stockholm from *Biblioteksbladet* discussed above (K. Kjellberg and Adde 1917, p. 228). In these libraries, the collections appeared with the final grid of specification – somewhat confusingly labelled Books – allowing individuals and their reading development to be connected with their appropriate books. In this sense, books (the type of object) appeared as surfaces of infection – social, physical, and moral – and as actors in themselves, capable of furthering the moral and social development of individuals along their grids, as well as destroying or tainting them. In this setting, immorality appears as two strategies, one primarily operating before the period 1924–1930 and one after, with two incompatible ways of locating books as moral or proper to a given library, both having repercussions on the relations to the fields of public and popular education. Finally, other media forms such as the daily press and journals were investigated, making it possible how the field was attempting to remediate these other media forms to suit its grids of specification, strategies and concepts.

Have we, in fact, studied a discursive formation? Let us return to a slightly shorter version of the definition given in the introduction:

> Whenever one can describe between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion ["an order in their successive appearance […], assignable positions in a common space, […] a reciprocal functioning […]"], whenever between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can find a regularity […] we will say […] that we are dealing with a discursive formation. (Foucault 2002, p. 41–42)

We have certainly mapped positions between the studied statements – the government reports, the bills and the statutes – spread across the grids of society, Books, individuals and related them to morality and immorality, and to the strategies of self-initiated education and reading development. In other words, it was a fruitful or at least possible way of looking at the field of library knowledge to consider it to be a discursive formation in the Foucauldian sense.

My research questions were:

1. For early library knowledge in Sweden, what did it mean to be/become a field of knowledge within which there could be varying opinions, hard facts, experts, and different opinions?

2. How did library knowledge negotiate the relations with other fields of knowledge and external experts/authorities?

3. How was the early library knowledge field structured? What were the systems of norms that governed it?

I believe I have answered questions 1 and 2 above by showing the concepts, strategies, authorities, and grids of specification that made it possible to, as it were, have an opinion on something in the field. Included in this investigation was also the mapping of the field's relations to the fields of popular and public education, which would together with the comments on the relations to the state and politics provide

for an answer to question 2. The answer to question 3 was also certainly found in the investigations of the strategy of morality, and the grids of specification provided by the society, the individual and the strategic reading development and self-initiated education. Finally, for the more implicit question about the application of Foucault's archaeology, the proof of this particular (admittedly rather unsavoury) pudding was in the eating, or perhaps rather in the writing. I have certainly tried my best to apply archaeology, showing one of the indubitably many ways in which this can be done.

A close but not entirely unrelated question is if the investigation was meaningful compared to similar enterprises. It turns out that Frenander in their contribution to the anthology *Styra eller stödja?: svensk folkbibliotekspolitik under hundra år* have produced a very similar investigation titled "Statens förhållande till folkbibliotekspolitiken, 1912–2012" (Frenander 2012). Their period of study is wider than mine, and they do not use Foucault's archaeology as method (or indeed any named method at all), but their material is very similar to mine. The questions asked by Frenander are, however, quite different: "How does the state motivate its activities?", "Why is the state's actions considered important?" etc (Frenander 2012, p. 21–22). The focus is thus much more teleological in nature mine – it is about locating action within the State and to find out *why* and *how* the state did what it did, while this investigation has focused much more on entire systems, rather than mapping the interests or reasonings of individual agents. In comparison, we have stayed as far away as possible from such models of influence in this investigation. While Frenander notes several points very similar to mine – such as the tendencies toward centralisation (Frenander 2012, p. 29) and the grids of specification of the individual and the society (though by other name) (Frenander 2012, p. 27) – they also employ several very different methods. Historical change is located in psychological processes and explained by *zeitgeists* (the spirits of an age) (Frenander 2012, p. 25–26) such as the "belief in a brighter future" (Frenander 2012, p. 27). Our investigation, by contrast, locates historical change in the systems of knowledge themselves, in their structures, without having to postulate ontologically problematic *zeitgeists*. We can also explain changes such as the shift in the definition of immorality in terms of the structure of the field and its relations to other fields without moving our modes of explanation to theoretically incomprehensible external actors such as idealistic notions of "ideology" that must be presupposed by the analysis. In this sense, our investigation puts the focus on the functions of knowledge itself – how it is formed, modified, and made possible, and not as the instrument of external agents or a blank sheet to be inscribed by ideology.

In addition to the comparison to Frenander's work above, there is good reason to return to Dan Andersson's study (Andersson 2009). The main difference between their inquiry and mine – in addition to the previously mentioned genealogical theoretical standpoint – is its aim. While I am discussing the development of a field of knowledge, Andersson is studying the formation of the modern individual in relation to the construction of the library, which is a quite different task (Andersson 2009, p.

21). This goal leads them to discuss relations of power in much greater detail than I have done, as the exercise and construction of power is a central part of their inquiry as well as their theory. In this area, however, their findings are somewhat similar to mine; the paradigm of pedagogisation – the shift toward a system of continuous education of the citizen – plays a central part in their analysis, as does the notion of the *Panopticon* (Andersson 2009, p. 192). They also spend an entire chapter on the selection of books and its power relations (Andersson 2009, ch. V), whereas I merely noted that the proper choice of books was an integral part of the organisation of the field.

Has the object of our study been a science? While library knowledge (in the Swedish context) have never once in the studied material made any claims to be a science, it can be said to have crossed the threshold of positivity if not earlier, then somewhere between 1911 and 1913, when it clearly was possible to make statements about libraries that were neither entirely placed within the discourse of public policy/politics, the discourse(s) on popular education nor the discourses on public education. At the very latest, during this period, it became or had already become possible to be an expert on libraries in themselves, and to formulate knowledge about the scientific, sound and modern management and organisation of libraries and library books without staying entirely within any of the aforementioned discourses. We have, in fact, shown how the field produced and operated its own rules for the formation of statements through strategies, concepts and grids of specification.

However, the official reports on libraries from this period does not show a formalised system of judgements about statements, but instead relies on support from other discourses for their justification, e.g. the discourses on public and popular education or public policy, as we have shown. It also does not display any explicit axioms or self-legitimised propositional structures, nor does it follow any general scientific norms in the sense that "real" fields of science can, which is one of the main reasons that so much academic knowledge external to the field was required to prove one's competence as we found in the section on competence. The field also does not – in the given period – display any central norms for the formulation of knowledge. So in sum, the field seems to have crossed only the threshold of positivity and none of the others during the studied period. To directly answer the question above – the field has not been a science during our period of study.

As one of very few examples of applied archaeology within the field, it would be a good idea to ask if we have used the theory well. Firstly, have we used the full theory or merely a subset? While we have explored most of the central notions, some have been left mostly unused. Specifically, the parts of the theory detailing the more macro perspectives – the archive and the historical a priori – have been left unutilised and only vaguely featured in the background of the analysis. An analysis more actively involving these notions would require a significantly larger material and become a much more complex task, as it would require mapping a much larger larger area of the discourse. Also, this thesis certainly has not focused as much on

conflicts, exclusion and irregularities as the theory would have preferred. This is mainly due to the extremely streamlined material – official documents – that due to their nature have a tendency to gloss over conflict, even in such apparent cases as with the two versions of the official reports on popular education (O. Olsson 1923; SOU 1924:5).

What, then, have I failed to do? In keeping with the theme of the previous paragraph, I would like to point out that there is virtually no resistance or indeed friction of any kind in the discourse as described in this thesis. This is almost certainly not an entirely true model of the actual events, and would preferably need to be rectified in/by future research. The issue here is that due to the very nature of an emerging field of knowledge, dissenting voices are harder to find. There may, however, be stories of forbidden books lended, of other ways of understanding morality and immorality in protocols and other records available through the archives, and the project of excavating the public libraries of Sweden using Foucault's archaeology is by necessity not complete until these are considered as well. How were the catalogues of 1912 and forward formulated? Who wrote them? On what grounds were books considered or rejected? Also, the processes that led to the canonisation of several important characters such as Oscar Olsson and Valfrid Palmgren should be studied in their own right. What eventualities made their timely appearance possible? Also, the issue of actually making this knowledge useful in practice still remains. How can the historical function and formation of the field of library knowledge in Sweden be applied to the contemporary setting? How can our history be applied for the furthering of useful values in the world of today? How does the introduction of the notion of information change the field? Is the Library and information science still structured around the grids of the society, the individual and the Book, or has the notion of information introduced a different set of distinctions in which knowledge is produced?

4 Summary

In this thesis, I have used Foucault's archaeology to study the field of early library knowledge in Sweden roughly between 1912 and 1939. The intention was to simultaneously experiment with a previously under-utilised theory in the field and to contribute to the understanding of the contemporary LIS field through an added understanding of its history, using primarily the two government official reports published during the period (SOU 1924:7; SOU 1924:5), the government bills following them (Prop. 1929:141; Prop. 1912:179), and the final statutes published during the period (SFS 1912:229; SFS 1920:948; SFS 1930:15; SFS 1930:31) with modifications. Some articles and speeches published in the journal *Biblioteksbladet* was also used.

My research questions were:

1. For early library knowledge in Sweden, what did it mean to be/become a field of knowledge within which there could be varying opinions, hard facts, experts, and different opinions?

2. How did library knowledge negotiate the relations with other fields of knowledge and external experts/authorities?

3. How was the early library knowledge field structured? What were the systems of norms that governed it?

During my investigation I focused on the catalogue (national and otherwise), the competence of librarians, the organisation of the national public library system and the field of knowledge, the role of education in the development of a library knowledge, and finally the notion of collections and their development. I found that the catalogue was not a grid of specification in the Foucauldian sense, but rather a concept – that it established relationships of ordering and succession of statements (e.g. books), attitudes, and proposed specific procedures that could be applied to them, such as the production of individual bibliographic entries from entire books. It also functioned as an instrument of centralised control. I also located an actual grid of specification – assumptions that specific knowledge is "wrapped around" – that was almost universally agreed upon; the society, the individual, and Books. On this grid, the society is a system, featuring groups with different interests and progressing toward a greater level of good, aided by progressively developing distinct branches of science, with the individual as its atom. The individual is capable

of simultaneously being a productive member of society through theaquisition of knowledge, and becoming morally corrupted through urgings. These urgings can be either strengthened or combated through books – as simultaneously physical objects requiring care and protection and carriers of meaning and risk of socialy infectious immorality in addition to social history and knowledge.

This grid spanned across the two external poles of popular and public education, which interacted with the field through discursive and non-discursive relations. Especially in the case of the public education, several external authority figures were seen to figure as authorities within the field of library knowledge, though the development after the new statutes of 1930 led to a greater degree of professionalisation and – in effect – the production of authorities internal to the discourse, such as the professional librarian.

Because knowledge as understood by the field was mapped out on this axis – these grids of specification – information as we understand it today was not a central issue for the field. Knowledge was always already embedded in a social context, and functioned as a tool in the production of subjective citizenship as well as membership in smaller societies and groups. Providing the right patron(s) with the right book(s) was not only a function of various models and notions of personal (reading) development and mental faculties, but also a matter of understanding their social setting and current/future role in society.

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SFS 1928:239. *Kungl. Maj:ts kungörelse angående ändrad lydelse i delar av kungörelsen den 31 december 1920 (nr 948) angående understödjande av folkbiblioteksväsendet / given Stockholms slott den 22 juni 1928.*

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SFS 1935:242. *Kungl. maj:ts kungörelse om ändrad lydelse av §§ 34, 52 och 53 i kungörelsen den 24 januari 1930 (nr 15) angående understödjande av folkbiblioteksväsendet / given Stockholms slott den 17 maj 1935.*

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AppendixA   Glossary (Swedish–English)

Swedish	English
Allmänna bibliotek	Public Libraries
Biblioteksföreståndare	Library administrators
Bibliotekskonsulent	(Library) adviser
Biblioteksnämnd	Panel of lay librarians
Biblioteksöverstyrelsen	Board of libraries
Departement	Ministry
Departementschef	Minister
Domkapitel	church chapter
Eckliastitsdepartementet	Department of education
Filialbibliotek	Affiliate library
Folkbibliotek	Public Libraries
Folkbildning	Popular education
Förmedlingsanstalt	Institution for book distribution
Justitiedepartementet	Ministry of Justice
Kolportagelitterature	Kolportage litterature
Kommun	Municipality
Lag [författning]	Statute
Landsbibliotek	Provincial libraries
Länsstyrelse	County Administrative Board
Läslust	Love of reading
Mönster- (katalog/bibliotek)	Model- (library/catalogue)
Nykterhetsrörelsen	The Temperance movement
Ortsbidrag	(Untranslated)
Osedligt	Immoral
Planmässigt	Planned
Pliktexemplar	(Required) Specimen copy
Proposition	Government bill
Riksförbund	National associations
Sakkunniga	Commentators or Investigators depending on role
Skolbibliotek	School Library
Skolöverstyrelsen	National Board of Education

Statsbidrag	Government grant
Statsråd	Cabinet minister
Stift	Diocese
Tryckfrihetsordningen	Freedom of presss act
Vandringsbibliotek	(Untranslated)
Yrkande	Petition