(Re)producing the Nation:

A Discourse Analysis of National Libraries

Norman Rae

This dissertation was submitted in part fulfilment of requirements for the degree of MSc Information and Library Studies

Department of Computer and Information Sciences

University of Strathclyde

September 2015

Declaration

This dissertation is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MSc of the University of Strathclyde.

I declare that this dissertation embodies the results of my own work and that it has been composed by me. Following normal academic conventions, I have made due acknowledgement to the work of others.

I declare that I have sought, and received, ethics approval via the Departmental Ethics Committee as appropriate to my research.

I give permission to the University of Strathclyde, Department of Computer and Information Sciences, to provide copies of the dissertation, at cost, to those who may in the future request a copy of the dissertation for private study or research.

I give permission to the University of Strathclyde, Department of Computer and Information Sciences, to place a copy of the dissertation in a publicly available archive.

(Please tick) Yes [✓] No [   ]

I declare that the word count for this dissertation (excluding title page, declaration, abstract, acknowledgements, table of contents, list of illustrations, references and appendices) is 21,963.

I confirm that I wish this to be assessed as a Type 1 Dissertation.

Signature: Norman Rae.

Date:

Abstract

Approaching the national library from a critical realist perspective, this research seeks to re-politicise it by exposing the discursive foundations, not only of the national libraries, but also of the nation(s) that they represent. Power therefore becomes an inescapable presence; (nation)state power behind and through the library, and the discursive power of the library through which it can (re)produce the nation and its own role within it.

Discourse is consequently the focus of the research. Three national libraries are examined in the study: the British Library; the National Library of Scotland; and the National Library of Wales. All are located in the UK state, with accompanying Scottish and Welsh sub-state structures; where the British nation is challenged by overlapping and competing Scottish and Welsh nations. This contested national context presents a valuable opportunity for exploring the nationalising power of the national library, and its place within the web of state power.

From the discourse analysis of documents produced by each library, it is concluded that national libraries are indeed mechanisms of state power, in the sense that they are (re)producers of nation, if not also in a more direct manner. A discursive structure is presented through which the libraries construct their (re)presentations; and the power of the national library to (re)produce nation, and its own role as nationaliser of history, culture, and even knowledge itself is revealed. The relevance of context is identifiable in the nuances between the three libraries, but it is the shared context of national libraries in an unquestioned world of nation-states which is inescapable. They share a powerful role in discursively reproducing the nation, and, as such, the national library becomes a participant in, and (re)producer of, established structures of power – national power.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor David McMenemy at the Department of Computer and Information Sciences for his advice; Ronan Paddison for his useful suggestions and support; those friends on the course and beyond without whose support I could not have started, far less completed, this dissertation; and my family, without whom I could never have reached this point.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Chapter 1

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Introduction

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

In the panoply of libraries the national library is an impressive constituent. Though its functions may vary, its status as the leading library in the nation will usually be assured, in symbolic terms if not also in the extent of its collections. The national library holds the cultural and historic record of the nation. It is a receptacle of knowledge. What nation would not want its own national library? Look behind this glittering and worthy carapace, reconceptualise the institution as constructed through discourse, and as a (re)producer of discourse, and we reveal an alternative account. Power becomes relevant; the power of the institution, but behind it the power of the state as underpinned by nationalist discourse.

The International Federation of Library Associations defines a national library as follows:

> 'National libraries have special responsibilities, often defined in law, within a nation's library and information system. These responsibilities vary from country to country but are likely to include: the collection via legal deposit of the national imprint (both print and electronic) and its cataloguing and preservation; the provision of central services (e.g. reference, bibliography, preservation, lending) to users both directly and through other library and information centres; the preservation and promotion of the national cultural heritage; acquisition of at least a representative collection of foreign publications; the promotion of national cultural policy; and leadership in national literacy campaigns.' (IFLA, 2015)

The nation is clearly central to the perceived purpose of this institution, not only in the name 'national library', but in the functions it is expected to carry out. The library belongs to the 'nation'; the nation has an 'imprint', 'cultural heritage', 'cultural policy' and 'literacy campaigns'. It is a 'country' alongside others, those that are 'foreign'. Evidently there is no escape from the nation when discussing national libraries; and it is the discourse of the nation that is essential here.

With nations inevitably come states. The power of the state is as much hidden by the normalising of the national library through discourse as a benign, functional repository of knowledge as is the power of that library to (re)produce the nation. There is an uncritical acceptance of the nation, and, by extension, of the nation-state. Neither, the presence of power behind and through the library, nor what makes culture or anything else 'national' is routinely considered. It just makes 'sense'. This is the context of the research, and the destabilising of these unquestioned assumptions of nation and library must be its outcome.

The aim of this study is, therefore, to research how national libraries discursively (re)produce their nations, the concept of nations, and their own roles within this nation(al) context; and further, to question whether knowledge itself is nationalised[1] in the process. A critical realist philosophy underpins the research; although this comes with recognition of the existence of an underlying reality, we can only reach this through the medium of discourse. The research will, consequently, be based on discourse analysis of online documentary sources from three national libraries: the British Library (BL), the National Library of Scotland (NLS) and the National library of Wales (NLW).

The BL was founded in 1973 (Harris, 1998, p.619). While this instituted the library in its current form, it was created from a number of other institutions,[2] most famously the Library of the British Museum with its Department of Printed Books which was founded in 1753 (British Library, 2015). It is now one of the largest libraries in the world (British Library, 2015) with a wide range of collections. It is the national library of the United Kingdom, headquartered in London, the UK capital. It is funded by, and politically under the umbrella of, the UK Government.

Also within the United Kingdom is the NLS, the Scottish national library, located in Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland. It was founded in 1925 (Maciver, 1989, p.266), but again was based on an earlier institution – the Library of the Faculty of Advocates – which was itself opened in 1689 (National Library of Scotland, 2015b). Again, it is a substantial library – 'It is... ...Scotland's largest library and one of the major research libraries in Europe.' (National Library of Scotland,

---

[1] When the term 'nationalise' or 'nationalised' is used here it is with the meaning that an entity or phenomenon becomes assigned to the nation or nations, that it somehow belongs to the nation, not in the more normal use as a service or other entity being taken over by the state.

[2] These were: the library departments of the British Museum (including the National Reference Library of Science and Invention), the National Central Library, and the National Lending Library for Science and Technology (the centre for interlibrary lending, located at Boston Spa in Yorkshire). Following this, the British National Bibliography and the Office for Scientific and Technical Information in 1974, the India Office Library and Records in 1982, and the British Institute of Recorded Sound in 1983 were added (British Library, 2015).

2015a) – with legal deposit privilege for the whole of the UK. The NLS is under the ultimate political direction of the devolved Scottish Government.

Turning to the NLW, it is the oldest of the three in its current form, but does not share the longer history of the parent institutions of the other two. Founded in 1907 by Royal Charter it is located in Aberystwyth in West Wales (The National Library of Wales, 1962, p.4) rather than in Cardiff, the capital. It too has legal deposit privilege for the UK, but equivalent to the NLS it has a strong national focus. Politically it is answerable to, and funded by, the devolved government of the Welsh Assembly.

The intention is that these three will provide a breadth of coverage sufficient to draw wider conclusions about national libraries and nationalism. Nevertheless, each is the library of a different nation, has developed differently historically and with its own collections. At the same time they are all located within the same state, the United Kingdom. It is a state with competing nations; the British nation (in line with the state), and English, Scottish, Welsh and possibly Irish nations. Consequently, the comparison of two libraries of nations, and sub-states within that of the state itself, will offer the possibility of an exploration of the implications for nations and national libraries of this complex and conflicting national environment, such that there should be the opportunity to develop conclusions regarding the impacts of state, nation and associated power.

When the philosophy and the theory are outlined, and research questions are posed (Chapter 2) one is inseparable from another; this in turn is true for the conception of the methodology (Chapter 3). Together they determine the analysis, the results it generates and how these are interpreted (Chapter 4). Finally, when conclusions are arrived at, when the questions are answered (Chapter 5), the answers are irreducible from the philosophy, theory and analysis from which they are derived.

The project in its entirety is ever the product of the philosophical outlook with which the researcher has approached it. Therefore, while there are necessarily separate chapters, it is a whole work. Even as organisational necessity imposes a structure, the components cannot be considered alone. It is, in its entirety, an unmasking of the discursive underpinnings of the often revered national library; an encounter with that discourse as the power behind it, and intrinsic to it, is exposed. From this perspective, as a study of discourse, this text (and it is itself constructed through discourse) should be read not only as a tract about the research, it *is* the research and it is the researched – subject and researcher meet through its pages.

Chapter 2

●　●　●　●　●　●　●　●

Power, Nation, National Libraries: Theoretical Beginnings

●　●　●　●　●　●　●　●　●　●　●

This chapter has two interconnected purposes: firstly, to set out the philosophical starting point for the research, and secondly to build a theatrical framework in which it will sit, and to which it is intended to contribute. The former, while set out in the first section, should also be traceable implicitly through the discussion of the theoretical literature, which is after all intrinsically linked to the positionality of the researcher. By viewing the world from a critical realist perspective the approach to the topic of national libraries and their relationship with nationalism differs from that which might be taken by, say, a researcher with a realist outlook.

Thus, the research is rooted in the belief that discourse is essential to the way that society is structured, and the way that we understand the world and phenomena within it. With discourse there is power. As such, the nation is not the stable concept that it might often appear, but is constructed and discursively produced. The consequence is that national libraries cannot be removed from these power structures in general, and from the reproduction of nations in particular. They must surely be mechanisms of discursive power, and therefore be set within wider nation-state power structures.

2.1 Philosophical Underpinnings

For the realist, reality can be approached and understood 'objectively' at an ontological and at an epistemological level. '*Realism* claims that there is an external reality which exists independently of people's beliefs or understanding about it' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p.11) (Emphasis original). There is, then, no film of mediation through which one perceives the world and phenomena within it. The experience, the worldview, the politics of the observer – nothing

intervenes to distort the clarity of the penetrating view. The viewer's position is deemed irrelevant, it is everywhere as it is nowhere; these observations are neutral and apolitical.

However, as Harvey (1989) asserts:

> 'Science can never be neutral in human affairs (it would otherwise be irrelevant); attempts to put ourselves outside history and politics at best produce well-meaning pseudo-sciences (of which positivism is one example) and at worst so break the chain of moral connection between what scientists do and what society does as to sanction the grossest forms of political and social irresponsibility.' (p.3)

Our understandings, our perceptions, of phenomena cannot be removed from our positionality; we cannot stand apart from the world in which we live, throw off our cloaks of experience, socialisation and politicisation, and observe reality objectively. So while: 'In positivist science, it is surface messages that generate interest' (Hoggart et al, 2002, p.148), if one considers what is on the surface to be a social construction, that it is made meaningful in the context of a dominant worldview and through discourse,[3] then this apparently solid reality is destabilised. No longer can our viewpoint be considered irrelevant, no more are the 'reality' we observe, and our observations of it, unmediated.

Every phenomena, every object, every meaning is constructed, (re)produced and understood through discourse. 'Through discourse, we formulate belief systems of class, society, and nation; of right and wrong; of beauty and health and gender; even of how language should be used' (Strauss and Feiz, 2014, p.313). The world around us is made meaningful, it makes 'sense', through discourses produced and reproduced textually. One text[4] references another in this construction of the world, intertextual[5] links making particular representations seem 'obvious', 'natural', and 'real'.

Nonetheless, we should not draw from this the conclusion that nothing is real, that there is no reality. Rather: 'Language is simultaneously revealing and disguising reality' (Fairclough, 2000, p.154). On the ontological level it may be possible to accept that there is an absolute reality, however as we cannot objectively observe this reality then that realism does not extend to the epistemological level. Here we can only interpret phenomena through discourse and the societal norms that it (re)produces.

---

[3] For Strauss and Feiz (2014) discourse: '...is the social and cognitive process that reflects, creates, shapes, re-creates, and reifies meaning in the lifeworld' (p.1) (Emphasis original). It is: '...an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being' (Philips and Hardy, 2002, p.3).

[4] The term 'text' is used here to refer to anything that is textually produced discursively, that is it could be images, objects, sound, anything, not only written text, though it can certainly be that too.

[5] 'Intertextuality refers to the conscious or unconscious use of previously created texts.' (Aitken, 2005, p.244)

This perspective constitutes a form of critical realist view. That is it encapsulates the principle that: '…reality is only knowable through the human mind and socially constructed meanings' (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003, p.16). At the risk of oversimplification, the critical realist view of the world considers that ontologically there are real phenomena, but that this is not replicated epistemologically, where we view the world through discourse. It is a discursively produced human world, and as such it is neither neutral nor natural, but is instead the product of social and political values, and the power to naturalise and enshrine through discourse, and therefore in 'reality'. It is upon this philosophical foundation that this research project is built.

2.2 Power and the Library

It can be tempting to think of the library as an institution that is neutral and benign, its only purpose being to hold knowledge and provide this to those who require it, irrespective of their interests, needs or status. As Birdsall (1988) puts it: 'Librarians perpetuate the myth that librarianship is apolitical.' (p.75). However, such a sanitised view ignores the potential for these organisations to operate as agents of power; it would be to decline to look below the surface. As a cultural institution, and as the keeper, and indeed definer, of knowledge (e.g. what is useful knowledge and what is not; and, of particular relevance here, what is national knowledge and what is foreign knowledge), the library becomes a component of power available for the reproduction of particular discourses, ideologies and, therefore, the promotion of specific interests.

2.21 Discourse and Power

Discourses, and the social and institutional (Fairclough, 2001, p.21) structures made through them, are not neutral, valueless or natural, but reflect the dominant powers within the societies or institutions in which they are made. They normalise and reinforce the interests of power and the powerful, such that the practices and ideas constructed through them make 'sense' and are beyond question: 'Institutional practices which people draw upon without thinking often embody assumptions which directly or indirectly legitimize existing power relations.' (p.27). Furthermore:

> '…if a discourse type so dominates an institution that dominated types are more or less entirely suppressed or contained, then it will cease to be seen as arbitrary (in the sense of being one among several possible ways of "seeing" things) and will come to be seen as *natural*, and legitimate because it is simply *the* way of conducting oneself.' (p.76) (Emphasis original).

If we consider this in terms of state institutions, and particularly libraries which will often be directly or indirectly part of, or reliant upon, the state apparatus, then it becomes possible to envisage how particular dominant discourses can become normalised to the extent that they are rendered invisible: '...in the naturalization of discourse types and the creation of common sense, discourse types actually appear to *lose* their ideological character.' (p.76) (Emphasis original). The library can be cleansed of all political/ideological associations, and yet under the surface it is acting through, and reproducing, the discourses which underpin specific ideologies and social/political structures within society.

2.22 The Power of the State

The state is the principle overarching political structure through which the world is ordered. What defines the state is its exclusive sovereignty over a delineated territory (Agnew, 1995, p.456); that is, it is recognised to have authority to act within its borders and holds the monopoly of violence there. No other state has the right, according to the Westphalian[6] principles, to intervene in another state's territory (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999, p.598). Within the state there is order, as affirmed by the state authorities, and externally there is disorder – no authority has the power to oversee relations between states (unless states choose to adhere to some outside organisation). Unlike previous orders, the sovereign state, theoretically at least, can hold and apply power evenly across its territory rather than having greatest control in centres of power which diminishes with distance into frontier zones (Ruggie, 1993, p.150). It is intrinsically a mechanism of spatial power, and it has become hegemonic as the spatio-political form by which the modern world is divided.

The state can be said to have at its disposal 'infrastructural power',[7] that is: '...the capacity of the state to actually penetrate civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm' (Mann, 1984, p.189). This is an important concept in terms of how the state might exercise power and implement its will over the entirety of its territory. It can relate to any physical or organisational infrastructure, including cultural infrastructure (Hau, 2008, p.339) that is controlled by the state, and which therefore allows it to disseminate its ideology and its policy preferences through a process of socialisation and legitimisation of state authority (p.335).

---

[6] The Westphalian state emerged from the principles established in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648: 'The importance of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648... ...lay in the mutual recognition among elites of the new European territorial states as a set of neutral centers of public power...' (Agnew, 1995, p.440). Thus, state sovereignty over a given territory became the norm and accepted spacio-political structure.
[7] Infrastructural power is one of two elements of state power which Mann identifies, the other being 'despotic power', that is: '...the range of actions which the elite is empowered to undertake without routine, institutionalised negotiation with civil society groups.' (1984, p.188)

This is true even more in the modern, apparently democratic, state where direct imposition of physical power is no longer possible to the same extent as previously. Instead, this more subtle, yet arguably no less effective, means of exerting power over their territorial extent becomes paramount:

> 'Modern state power is not the spectacular performance of domination embodied in pre-modern despotisms, therefore, but instead is insinuated throughout the round of daily life. In modern societies, it is virtually impossible to perform much of daily life beyond the purview of the state.' (Sharp et al, 2000, p.7)

The extension and activation of infrastructural power allows the state to cast this invisible web of power. This imperceptible, and yet ever-present, power is discursively produced. It is the power to construct society in a particular way, and it is also, as a result, a reinforcement of existing power structures.

It should be of little surprise then that government is inclined to capture culture and cultural institutions as components of infrastructural power: 'The govermentalization of culture… …aimed precisely at more enduring and lasting effects by using culture as a resource through which those exposed to its influence would be led to ongoingly and progressively modify their thoughts, feelings and behaviour' (Bennet, 1995, p.24). But, it would be wrong to conclude that this state intervention in culture manifests itself (entirely) in cultural output which promotes a particular ideology or even reproduces a particular discourse, although it may be that.   The wider insertion and operation of cultural institutions within a state-political framework can have just as much importance in purveying a political agenda, and reproducing dominant discourses, as a more overt dictation of the specifics of cultural works (see, for example, Berizen (1991) on theatre in fascist Italy). As such, the library is a mechanism of power at the disposal of dominant actors to harness in order to reinforce the discursive foundations on which the logic of their power is based and made sense of.

2.23 Symbolism/Knowledge/State: The Power of the Library

The political significance of the library has long been recognised by those in positions of power. For example, the Library of Alexandria in Ptolemaic Egypt offered a powerful symbolism to reinforce the authority of the Greek rulers, both within Egypt and beyond: 'Setting up the Museum and Library is the setting up of Greek culture sand intellectual life in the city' (Erskine, 1995, p.42), '…the Alexandrian Library was seen as a potent political symbol which the Ptolemies would fight to protect' (p.46), and '…their establishment was not a simple academic exercise but had wider political significance' (p,.47). Although this library could not be considered to be a national library as neither modern nations nor states existed, its symbolic

power for the political establishment of the time could not be ignored, both in terms of the prestige it gave the rulers (and hence the boost to their authority) and to Greek culture in Egypt.

The two of course cannot be entirely separated in the case of Greek rulers attempting to reinforce their authority. In this regard it might also be noted that it is not only the presence of the institution itself, but the contents that have significance: '…the Ptolemies gained prestige not simply because they possessed the Museum and Library but as a result of association with the contents of these institutions' (p.46). The extensive collections (in the context of the time) that the library held added to that prestige and that symbolism, but also, of course, might be said to accord that collection of knowledge itself with a significance over that which is absent, hinting at the power of the library in this regard.

Control and influence of library operations is a facility for the perpetuation of political power that subsequent governments have also been alive to. In 19th century France successive regimes manipulated collections according to their political interests: 'Decisions about preservation, classification, inventory, and access were therefore the result not just of practical considerations or of the opinions of individual archivists and librarians but also of key shifts in national politics' (Moore, 2008, p.17). The involvement of government and its ideological position extended to such a level that: '…the story of nineteenth-century French archives and libraries cannot be separated from the story of nineteenth century French politics' (p.16).

We cannot, then, see libraries as removed from politics and operating in an entirely neutral manner, rather they are embedded within the political environment in which they exist, functioning to a greater or lesser extent as agents of power. That may be localised, and at a micro level of collection development and access,[8] as Jaeger et al (2013) discuss in terms of the United States : 'The early efforts to control collections are different than (sic) those today, but library board members, local political leaders, and community members still challenge existing materials and try to shape acquisitions' (p.176); or it may be at a higher 'national' level through 'national' collections as in France, or in the establishment of, or control over, national libraries (and their collections) as a means of ideological dissemination.

For instance, in Bolshevik Russia, the old St Petersburg library was ultimately displaced from the status of 'national library': '…the Rumiantsev Library afforded the Bolsheviks an unusual opportunity to circumvent the old national library and forge a new institution more receptive to their needs' (Stuart, 1994, p.258), providing: '…a prestigious research library and an effective

---

[8] 'Access includes not only which living persons may enter the library or museum, but which dead ones may be memorialized there. This is because the inclusion or exclusion of exhibits or displays in libraries and archives can seem to signal official approval to the public.' (Brown and Davis-Brown, 1998, p.28)

agency for political education of the masses' (p.258). That 'political education' was of course a particular politics, a politics defined and controlled by the state.

In seeing a library, and particularly a national library, as an important institution in furthering their political project, and establishing it in the minds of the people, the Bolsheviks recognised the symbolic power embodied in it just as the Ptolemies did before them. They also saw the possibilities for the definition and control of knowledge that so many others have identified; this being tied up with a recognition of the power that can give, and that: 'What knowledge one thinks should be accessible is intimately tied to one's assumptions of how that knowledge will affect the seeker' (Knox, 2014, p.11).

Libraries are not therefore apolitical, standing apart from murky ideological power struggles, resplendent in their own purity; neutral containers and assemblers of knowledge.

> 'Libraries, library services of all kinds, and librarianship are inextricably of the world and cannot exist without context. They are part of, and affected for good or ill, by the societies they serve, the communities in which they live, the countries in which they exist, and the wider world.' (Gorman, 2015, p.2)

Those societies, communities, countries and that world are all part of, and subject to, the established power structures. They contribute to the production and reproduction of discourse, and thus to the establishment and reinforcement of particular norms, sense–making and naturalisations. The state is one of those power structures, it is underpinned by discourse and so seems 'natural'; but states as we know them make 'sense' when coupled with nations. Nationalist discourse demands that nations and states correspond, that there are nation-states. It is to the nation that we now turn.

2.3 Nation: Producing a Trans-Historical Community

2.31 What is a Nation?

For many, particularly those who subscribe to the fundamental tenets of nationalist ideology, nations, and particularly their own nation (as they see it), have deep historic origins; they can be traced back far into the past. There is continuity of 'people' and of place – the national territory. Hence, the term 'nation' is sometimes used to refer to the people, sometimes to the place or territory, and on other occasions to the combined entity. It is simply 'obvious' and 'natural' that there *are* nations and that they are characterised in this way, ever-present, continuous, connecting the people of the past to those in the present and the future. It is this

primordial[9] view of the nation that tends to lie behind most people's unquestioning adoption of the concept.

Nations, as with states, are inherently territorial: 'The nation's unique history is embodied in the nation's unique piece of territory – its "homeland", the primeval land of its ancestors…' (Anderson, 1988, p.24). This territory is, therefore, more than just an adjunct to the nation as a people – the two are indivisible. The people belong to the territory and the territory belongs to the people. It is where the national story unfolds. It is also a relationship of power; power over a space, power to construct it as a place, and power to assert ownership and control over it. This is underpinned by the concept of territoriality:[10] 'Territoriality, as a component of power is not only a means of creating and maintaining order, but is a device to create and maintain much of the geographic context through which we experience the world and give it meaning' (Sack, 1986, p.219). Through a nationalist territoriality the world can be ordered by a division into unique national territories. The nations are in control of (they own) their territory and it is part of them. Thus, it is a singular territoriality, as any space can only be part of one nation – if it is 'ours' it is not 'theirs'.

The nationalist discourse has become hegemonic, and, following Fairclough, the ideological character has been lost. For the nation is now accepted almost universally, it is 'normal'. Discourses of the nation in general, and of each supposed nation in particular, are continually reproduced, and yet it is so firmly established, *so* hegemonic, that we do not notice. 'The nationalist discourse tends to naturalize itself, hiding all traces of construction and making its claims and values seem self-evident and common sense' (Ozkırımlı, 2010, p.211). To question this state of affairs, or to present an argument which does not conform to it, is contrary to what is 'obvious' and 'natural', and therefore does not make 'sense', and is either rendered ridiculous or is subject to angry dismissal.

However, from a modernist perspective, Ernest Gellner re-politicises the nation and its accompanying nationalist ideology: 'Nationalism, is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent' (1983, p.1). Here he points to an essential feature of nations and nationalism, that is, the assumption and normalisation of the principle that state and nation should be linked. And that link is geographic, made through territory; the two are spatially congruent (White, 2004, p.65). Politics and culture are fused in

---

[9] As defined by Ozkırımlı (2010): '"Primordialism" is an umbrella term used to describe the belief that nationality is a "natural" part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell, and that nations have existed from time immemorial.' (p.49)

[10] Territoriality is: '…the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence, or control people, phenomena, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area.' (Sack, 1886, p.19)

the form of the nation-state (another term which is widely and unquestioningly deployed), the discourse through which it is (re)produced rendered invisible.

Accordingly, nationalists will yearn for a state (or at least some other political structure short of a state) to accompany their nation, believing that only then is the nation fulfilled; state powers will attempt to construct a nation (where one does not already exist) to accompany their state in an attempt to forge loyalty and unity, such that their authority is reinforced. But the definition and delineation of each nation poses a problem – does territory come first or is it people? Language, religion, history, geography, or even ethnicity[11] might all be used, and indeed *are,* in various combinations, but none can generate an absolute definition. There are so many overlaps and interconnections that none can neatly divide the world (people and territory) into nations. It is not surprising then that there should be so many territorial disputes between states and from groups asserting national rights to states. For one nation's 'obvious' and 'natural' territory might also be part of another's. Some are accorded legitimacy as nations, perhaps acquiring states, others are not.

If the contradictions are to be smoothed over, and the continuous historical trajectory of a nation is to be made 'real', then mythology and the 'invention of tradition' (Hobsbawm, 1983) are essential. 'For all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion' (p.12). Thus: 'They are highly relevant to that comparatively recent historical innovation, the "nation", with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest' (p.13). Through this process, connections can be made with the past, connections highlighted in the 'traditions' practiced in the present that mark that cultural link between fellow nationals temporally separate but in communion; the modern nation is projected backwards as a trans-historical construction.[12]

In contrast, from an ethnosymbolist[13] standpoint, Anthony Smith contends that: '...nations and nationalism are no more "invented" than other kinds of culture, social organization or ideology' (1991, p.71). He does not consider this modern dimension to be such a revolutionary change bringing nations into being, rather seeing it as a change to the form of longer standing ethnic communities and their cultures (1999, p.52; 1995, p.57). Smith does acknowledge the

---

[11] The dangers of this should be self-evident in terms of exclusion and perhaps persecution, and yet it has been all too common as a focus for nationalist sentiments; though even here we might find elements of discursive construction of a supposed national ethnic group, prompting further questions about their utility in the division of the world into nations.

[12] This is a form of 'retrospective nationalism' that is a: '...tendency to project back onto earlier social formations the features particular to modern nations and nationalism.' (Ozkırımlı, 2010, p.158)

[13] The: '...ethno-symbolic approach to the study of nations and nationalism gives priority to culture, although not to the material and political domain, and highlights the role of subjective and symbolic resources in motivating ideologies and collective action.' (Takle, 2010, p.756)

transition to a modern nation, where he differs though is in his emphasis on continuity. For the modernist on the other hand there are doubtless cultural and historic components which are drawn upon in nation-making, but the construction is more significant with greater importance given to invented traditions and the role of the state.

While the approach taken here is broadly modernist, the role of culture in Smith's critique is worthy of note. The nation requires a state to protect, promote and perpetuate 'its' culture, and the state requires a nation to provide the cultural unifying forces that will lead to an identification with the state, and a loyalty to it and its dominant governing and economic class. As such, it is inevitable that the state will attempt to institutionalise culture through interventions in education, in theatre, in literature in museums and in libraries, not least a national library to gather the national literature and the national knowledge and to symbolise the nation, the state, their greatness and their congruity.

2.32 National Production

It is of course a prerequisite for any nation to be sustained that the supposed members of that nation consider themselves to be part of it – there could be no nation if nobody believed in it. This does not only apply to the historical dimension, the understanding of a shared community with those nationals in the past, but also to the present. People who consider themselves to be members of the nation must also believe that they share some bond with other individuals who are part of that nation.

If there is no clear way by which we can define that nation then this becomes a product of the imagination: '...it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (Anderson, 2006, p.6). 'It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (p.6). When one is dealing with groups of the size of most nations, and if one accepts this critical view of the concept, then they can only function as imagined communities as it is not possible for all nationals to know each other, and their commonality is a construction of myths and assumptions rather than straightforward criteria. By imagining a community the inconvenient contradictions and complications can be ignored and dismissed because people 'know' that they belong to *this* nation while someone else does not as they belong to *that* nation. It is 'obvious' because this nation is 'real' as I am part of it and because nations are conceptually 'real', they are the 'natural' and principle form of social/political (via states) structure, to question their foundations is 'unnatural' and 'ridiculous'.

However, to imagine ourselves as part of a whole that we do not see (place as well as people) requires us to know something of that wider nation both present and past (even if that is partly mythologised). This has only become possible in recent centuries as transport and communication technologies have developed and proliferated. Prior to that most people did not travel far from home and had no means of acquiring information, and therefore a sense of others living a distance away. They may have had cultural traditions, and even some historical stories, but this was not as extensive as the history and mythology that we have access to today. The obstacles to imagining a community are obvious, even where some political unit existed, and these did not have the power (the infrastructural power) of a sovereign state.

Economic and social transformation changed these circumstances and created the conditions for imagined communities, and hence nations: '…the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation.' (p.46). This rests on the contention that language is the key facilitator for the rise of the national imagined community. Billig (1995) suggests that:

> 'The concept of "a language" – at least in the sense which appears so banally obvious to "us" – may itself be an invented permanency,[14] developed during the age of the nation-state. If this is the case, then language does not create nationalism, so much as nationalism creates language…' (p.30)

Languages did not pre-date nation-states, rather it was the states that came first and demarcated and named language according to their borders (Cobban, 1969, p.26; White, 2004, p.57), national languages then become instituted, as the continuums of dialectical variation were evened out in the imposition of a national conformity.

Nevertheless, this was only possible as a result of the development of print technology – 'Print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se' (Anderson, 2006, p.134) – the writing and mass reproduction of vernacular languages allows them to be harmonised, read and adopted by people throughout the proto-nations; in turn these people can read about, and become aware of, cultural or other features that they may appear to share, and hence begin to imagine their belonging to a common community.

This technological advance is also tied up with economic and social changes as feudalism was replaced by capitalism. Consequently: 'What, in a positive sense, made the new community

---

[14] 'Invented permanencies' are concepts which have been 'created historically', 'but which feel as if they have always existed' (Billig, 1995, p.29). In other words they appear to be permanent, to have been there forever (or at least a very long time), and potentially continue far into the future, but have in fact been invented more recently, invented that is as historical features. So, for Billig, not only languages but also nations could be defined in this way.

imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity' (p.42). This, then, encapsulates the modernist interpretation of the production of the nation. It is, at least as we know it today, a relatively recent phenomenon, one which is intimately connected to the rise of capitalism, and also to the rise of the Westphalian sovereign state with which it has become synonymous.

However, there must be a process of continual (re)production of these imagined communities: 'If the world of nations is to be reproduced, then nationhood has to be imagined, communicated, believed in, remembered and so on' (Billig, 1995, p.17). Nations must be represented through discourse, and thus made 'real', 'ordinary', 'natural' and 'unremarkable'. They need to make 'sense' so that anything contrary to their logic is beyond contemplation. This process requires a demarcation of the 'inside' and 'outside', who belongs and who does not, what territory belongs and what does not; it must imagine, invent a history, a mythology and vitally, it must mark out a culture – language, literature, art, practices, whatever. Billig opines that:

> 'For such daily reproduction to occur one might hypothesise that a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices must also be reproduced. Moreover, this complex must be reproduced in a banally mundane way, for the world of nations is the everyday world, the familiar terrain of contemporary times.' (p.6)

It would neither be credible nor effective if the reproductive acts were sporadic and dramatic, yes large national ceremonies and occasions can draw upon the discourse of the nation in order for them to make 'sense', and in so doing they may contribute to the reproduction, but they are not enough. What is required is something that is everywhere, as the nation is everywhere and it is always. It cannot then be found only in one aspect of life, rather it must be entwined in everything, a constant reminder that we do not even notice, of the permanence of nations and of 'our' nation. Thus:

> '...the term banal nationalism is introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced. It is argued that these habits are not removed from everyday life, as some observers have supposed. Daily the nation is indicated, or "flagged", in the lives of its citizenry. Nationalism, far from being an intermittent mood in established nations, is the endemic condition.' (p.7)

This, for Billig, can include flags and other national symbols that we barely notice in the background as we conduct our daily lives, regular daily ceremonies and practices perhaps. Possibly we could see a national library as a national symbol which sits in the background without us consciously considering its 'national' meaning. So too other cultural institutions which are 'national' or bear some 'national' imprint that might contribute to this hidden

reproductive process. But beyond that are: '...prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, enhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making "our" national identity unforgettable' (p.93). This reminds us that it is not simply the institutions and the symbolism that they embody, nor the demarcation of what is 'ours' and what is not, such as in the determination of what is national knowledge, though this is undoubtedly crucial; the language, the everyday signifiers, are also a vital part of the process of national reproduction, of the banal nationalism that Billig has identified. We must, therefore, be aware of how an institution like a national library might banally (re)produce a place, a nation, through the language of nation.

From the critical realist perspective adopted here, the modernist view of nations as recent and related to other modern developments is convincing (while acknowledging the ethnosymbolist critique asserting the importance of earlier ethnic/cultural groups as contributors to modern nations). Furthermore, it is also intrinsic to this perspective that the nation is not only a modern construction but (re)produced through discourse. Their reality is derived from the belief, the imagining, that they exist; this belief is itself produced, and makes 'sense', through the dominant nationalist discourse. To take an approach that draws on Bilig's banal nationalism seems appropriate in this context when examining how cultural institutions like national libraries might contribute to the reproductive process through their representations of nation; not so much the fanfare of nationalist triumphalism but the subtle, background representations, unnoticed in their banality.

2.4 Power, Nation and the National Library

Hence, the library, and in particular the national library, should not be ignored. However, the literature in this area is surprisingly limited. What we find is a worthy and yet insufficient literature which addresses these libraries primarily in functional terms. These are works on the surface that do not take that deeper critical analytic approach that acknowledges the discursive foundations not only of their immediate subjects – national libraries – but also of nations after which they are named, and thus to the (re)production of which they might reasonably be thought to contribute. Where politics and power might impinge on these studies it will again be on the surface in terms of relationships with government, important in itself, but not enough when one understands the world from a critical realist perspective where power is inherent in discourse, and therefore the national library cannot be ignored as a politiciser of society, and as a 'national' cultural institution acting as a mechanism of national (re)production.

Despite the relative lack of studies of the discursive role of the national library, when we examine the literature on national libraries, when we consider it in critical terms, the reproductive power, the political capacity, starts to emerge, demonstrating the relevance of these institutions in relation to national reproduction. For example, Chowhury et al (2008) point to the symbolic importance of a national library to a nation:

> 'An important consideration of the design of a national library is its "monumentality" – the statement the national library building itself makes about the country it represents... ...A national library is a symbol of national pride as well as a building providing library services.' (p.36)

This symbolic power can be closely associated with the banal nationalism of Billig; simply by standing there in some grand or notable building the library is a reminder of nation, but a reminder that is there every day and becomes part of the background, yet simultaneously standing out in its grandeur, 'as symbols of national pride' (Mihalić, 1998, p.369). Indeed, the very name 'national' becomes part of this symbolism and part of its nationalising effect.

Leaving aside this symbolism, the purpose of a national library also demonstrates a distinct nationalising effect. It is, say Goodrum and Dalrymple (1982): '...a keeper of the Nation's memory...' (p.310). Furthermore: '...the national library provides a cultural focal point which transcends the present and reaches into the past. In terms of the "stuff" it secures, and into the future, in terms of transmitting human knowledge to future generations' (Brophy, 2007, p.26). There is then, it would seem, a specific cultural package that belongs to the nation for which the national library becomes responsible, firstly for gathering, and then for passing on into the future. There is a clear parallel with what we know of nationalism itself, and crucially of its construction, the invented permanency, the invention of traditions, which are essential to the creation of a nation as a historic form which will continue into the future. The library can therefore play a part in this construction.

This leads to the function and contents of the library – what does it collect and what does it do? Line and Line (1979) say:

> 'They may be national in the sense that they contain the literary production of the nation; or in the sense that they are the nation's main book museum, containing a high concentration of the nation's treasures; or in the sense that they are leaders, perhaps co-ordinators, of the nation's libraries; or in the sense that they offer a national service (to the nation's libraries or population).' (p.317)

We can see the connection between national library and nation, and the cultural role which it serves in terms of a 'national' culture. Identifying, demarcating and in effect nationalising literature, and by extension knowledge, is a function that a 'national' library appears suited to

perform, and is signalled here in the idea of 'literary production', and from that a 'national literature' (Seeba, 1991, p.354).[15]

Francis (1960) contends that: 'Speaking broadly the national library in any country is the library which has the duty of collecting and preserving for posterity the written production of that country' (p.21). While Quinton (1987) states that: '...the first and... ...overriding function of a national library...' is '...the maintenance of the *national* literary archive' (p.8) (emphasis added). It is not a universal literary archive, it is *national*. Furthermore, he says that: '...a national literature is the most powerful expression of national identity' (p.8). Here, we have recognition of the significance of 'national literature' in national identity, and it is a reminder of the relationship that was identified between nationalism and language. In addition, it is now evident that the national library is not simply a receptacle of knowledge in general, that is universal knowledge: '...the national library is a source of National Knowledge...' (Larsen, 2001, p.305). Thus, the demarcation of a national literature –separating out what belongs and what must be excluded or labelled as foreign – is part of the wider nationalising of knowledge.

The perception of the national library as somehow apart from the process of national (re)production, as not really politicised, simply performing a role of collecting 'national' literature, 'national' knowledge and perhaps some that is 'foreign' (with this being pre-determined by the nation(s) that just is/are); the belief that these acts themselves are not inherently political, nor part of the (re)making of these very nations; this is erroneous. In line with what Gorman (above) asserted: 'Libraries are not insulated in any way from the wider forces or issues at work in society' (Luyt, 2009, p.431). They are, or at least can be, mechanisms of, and for, power. As such, they will not be ignored by, or set apart from, those who exercise power in society, and in particular from the state and its interests. For example Luyt finds that in Singapore that country's:

> '...geopolitical situation at the height of the cold war made the government acutely sensitive about what ideas its citizens were exposed to. Censorship became a norm as a result. For the National Library it created the need for a policy with which to deal most efficiently and effectively with the government's demands.' (p.431)

Knowledge is not universal in terms of its access or its demarcation. The national library cannot be removed from governmental power, the discourses which underpin it, and that are reproduced by it: 'With its mandate to collect and preserve all the published cultural products

---

[15] Seeba (1991) defines national literature as: '...the body of canonized texts into which a nation's collective sense of imagined history is believed to be inscribed in images that evoke historical continuity and social unity. National literature provides, in mostly fictional terms, the cultural tradition which is ideally shared by all members of the imagined community' (p.354).

within the country, it serves to demarcate the national community and define the content of nationhood' (Takle, 2010, p.757).

This was certainly true in Singapore:

> 'During the… …process of fostering a sense of community among local Singaporeans, the library also facilitated the formation of a Singaporean national identity. With the help of the National Library, the local Chinese, Malay, Indian, European and Eurasians collectively imagined a nation called Singapore, constructed Singaporean identity and identified themselves with the constructed Singaporean identity. (Lin and Luyt, 2014, pp.670-671)

This demonstrates the national construction process and the part which a national library can play in it, bringing together hitherto different groups and defining them as one in concert with a national homeland which they share. A single national identity is then raised above pre-existing identities, and just happens to conform to the state[16] which is acting through the library to construct it.

So, national libraries, like any cultural, and particularly *national* cultural, institutions are integral components in a state power framework. They may be more or less directly manipulated by state (and national) elites, they may even be sites of conflict or subversion, but they are not removed from their context and the political and societal structures that this entails, nor are they from the discourses which underpin them. Rather: '…archives, libraries and museums help to store and create modern "imagined communities"…' and '…construct the narratives of nationality, sometimes accompanied by violent contestation' (Brown and Davis-Brown, 1998, p.20). These libraries are part of this wider cultural lattice that serves a powerful purpose in the continual banal discursive (re)production of the nation.

2.5 Three 'Nations': Three National Libraries

Having established the relevance of the nation to the national library and of the national library to the nation, it is time to turn to the three national libraries that are the subject of this study. For the BL, the NLS and the NLW the sometimes conflicting, overlapping and layered environment of the British nation with the UK state, and the Scottish and Welsh nations with their sub-state devolved governments are their respective settings.

---

[16] In this case a state existed and used the library as part of its nation building process; however, in other cases it may be a national elite in search of a state who deploy cultural institutions such as libraries in this way. There are, of course, questions as to how they can gain power over these institutions in the first place, or how they come to adopt a national project for which they then utilise institutions over which they already have power.

The British nation was constructed primarily in the latter 18th and early 19th centuries. The British identity, when it came, was, in the first instance, built around monarchy, Protestantism, democracy and empire (Weight, 2000, p.12). The religious identity with which that monarchy was associated was inherent in the characterisation of a threatening French Other (Colley, 2003, p.5).[17] This continental enemy could of course later be substituted for Germany, but British exploits further afield were also to forge a common feeling of greatness, mission and nation. The British Empire (for it is always British) (p.130) was, while it existed, a significant nationalising project, representing 'final and conclusive proof of Great Britain's providential destiny' (p.368). Through this, the nation could project its 'superior' political model, that of liberal democracy, around the world.

However, decline of religious attachment, of empire and of the significance of the role of monarchy and Protestantism; the fading of the association with democracy as a special British trait (pp.727-728), and the absence of a continental threat[18] drawn along religious lines, all have contributed to a weakening of the British nation as an imagined community, with internal tensions threatening to fracture the British state. However, whereas in Scotland and Wales alternative nations were constructed as distinct from, perhaps complementary to, but often and increasingly in conflict with, the British equivalent, in England it was different. Englishness and Britishness are much more entangled and interchangeable (in England) (Weight, 2000, p.10), adding to the complexity of the imagining and reproduction.

Within this British 'national' context sits the British Library. As previously mentioned, while it was founded in 1973, it has a considerably longer history stretching back through those early days of nation. It is claimed that: 'The Library of the British Museum was not founded upon nationalistic principles: its main benefactors understood that knowledge does not belong to nations but to mankind...' (The British Library, 1989, p.11). This presents an idea of a universal knowledge, and the BL as a universal library unencumbered by the restrictions of nationalism that might affect other national libraries. Instead, there is: 'A recognition that national

[17] Capitalisation is used here for 'Other' where it is used to denote the socially constructed entity and concept of difference through which the identity of a 'Self' is formed. The 'Other' is constructed as negative and inferior in comparison with the positive and superior qualities and characteristics of the 'Self'. This capitalisation should differentiate the use of the word in this sense from its more regular use of 'one thing and an other' where there is no particular value judgement. Just as this process of Othering would simplify its subject, so too would it bring about the simplification of the 'Self'. By defining the nation as Protestant all others within it are either rendered invisible or themselves become internal, and potentially threatening, 'Others'.
[18] Although there may no longer be a threat of war from a European Other, it could be argued that such Othering still exists when supposed threats from the European Union are characterised by some, and this could still function, to some extent, in the same way, and indeed draws upon the discourses of the past through intertextual links.

boundaries, however politically important, should play no part in the policy of acquiring materials needed for the advancement of knowledge...' (p.11).

Nonetheless, in light of the discussion so far, we might be sceptical that this library is completely distinct from others in its dismissal of nationalist principles and an escape from nationalist discourse. It may be larger than many, but it still operates under the auspices of the state, and is named for the nation. The British Library Act 1972 speaks of the 'establishment' of a 'national library' (The British Library Act, 1972) indicating that it is considered to be of the nation. As the legal source on which it is based, this Act also gives some indication of the infusion of state power into/over the library:

> 'The British Library Board shall consist of a chairman appointed by the Secretary of State and not less than eight, nor more than thirteen, other members of whom one shall be appointed by Her Majesty and the remainder by the Secretary of State...' (The British Library Act, 1972)

The library as first conceived was thus instituted, and ultimately controlled (and funded), by the state. In accordance, it was a *national* library for the British nation, but one with some hint of a wider role.

The modern Scottish nation, as with the British, was a product of the 18th century onwards, and the two were not entirely separate (Davidson, 2000, p.4). Before this the divide that existed between the Highlands and the Lowlands proved an obstacle for a unified national consciousness, the two being 'distinct societies' (p.70). This extended to the linguistic division between Gaelic in the Highlands and English in the Lowlands (p.56). It was only once the Highlands were suppressed by the British state (with the broad support of the Lowlands) that Scotland was brought together (p.5). Romanticism wrote the Highlands into a new imagining of a Scottish nation through largely invented traditions (Devine, 2006, p.233), while:

> 'Allegiance to the British Empire, pride in British global hegemony and loyalty to the popular British monarchy of Victoria ran in close parallel with the invention of a newly distinctive Scottish identity founded on the cults of Burns, Knox and a reappraisal of Wallace, historical memories burnished and mythologized by Scott and others and the notion of Scots as a pre-eminent race of empire builders, heroic soldiers, educators, doctors and engineers.' (659)

The decline of the 'British' elements of this has weakened the interconnected identities leaving a preeminent Scottish national identity, one which encompasses the whole of Scotland. Thus, Scottish nationalism could increase through the 20th century, firstly on these cultural foundations, and increasingly gaining a political dimension.

The creation of the national library should be understood in this context: 'National and, sometimes, nationalist feeling did play a part in the Library campaign, which was often goaded by a conviction that Scottish interests were being subordinated to the claims of England, Ireland and, latterly, Wales' (Maciver, 1989, p.217). The library, while not a product of a Scottish government at this time (1923) was nonetheless a 'Scottish' cultural institution aimed at fulfilling the national cultural requirements of a 'segment-state'. These: '...are not simply territorial jurisdictions within a federal state; they also contain jurisdictionally separate communities of peoples who purportedly have special claim to that jurisdiction as a homeland' (Roeder, 2007, p.12), their leaders can: '...maintain archives, libraries, and museums that preserve and display the monuments of... ...history...' (p.149)

Today, with the segment-state political structure now in place, and with authority over the library, the National Library of Scotland Act 2012, aimed at updating the legislative basis of the institution, states: 'NLS has the general function of managing the library... ...as a national resource for reference, study, research and bibliography, having particular regard to Scotland' (National Library of Scotland Act, 2012, p.1), and that it should be: 'contributing to understanding of Scotland's national culture' (p2). The (segment)state, which funds the library, is clearly requiring that it should be 'national', as a component of the nation's cultural, and the (segment)state's power-political, infrastructure.

The construction of a Welsh nation had some similarities with Scotland. For example, the Romantic period in the 19th century bequeathed a 'romanticization of Welsh landscape and castles' (Thomas, 1985, p.310). This was built upon by non-conformist religion (Morgan, 1971, p.157) and a strong liberal politics (Osmond, 2009, p.198) which differentiated Wales from its English neighbour. Subsequently: 'In the twentieth century, Welshness became associated with the values espoused by the labour movement...' (p.198) centred on industrial South Wales. However: 'A much more significant feature of Welsh nationalism since 1918 has been the cultural campaign. In practice, this has meant quite specifically a struggle to protect and encourage the Welsh language' (Morgan, 1971, p.170). Language, as a key cultural attribute, is more unifying in Wales than it has been in the past in Scotland where two cultural and physical parts of the country were divided by it. The NLW fits into this picture, having been established in 1907:

> '...with the object of preserving, and maintaining manuscripts, books, pictures, and works of all kinds in Welsh or any other Celtic language or relating to the Welsh and Celtic peoples, as well as literary works in any language on any subject which might also attain the purposes for which the educational institutions of Wales were created...' (The National Library of Wales, 1962, p.4)

The Welsh cultural focus is clear, not least in the attention to the Welsh language.[19]   This continues to be its slant in the present, and is reflected in the political 'instructions' from its funders in the Welsh Government (Lewis, 2012, p.1). In its remit letter of 2012 the Minister also makes explicit the necessity for the library to further the government's objectives:

> 'The Library's work also has clear synergies with the Welsh Government's wider strategic agenda, especially contributing to the following areas of the *Programme for Government*:
> * Culture and Heritage of Wales
> * Education
> * Public Services in Wales
> * Growth and Sustainable Jobs
>
> These synergies are reflected in my priorities for the Library during the coming year.' (p.2) (emphasis original)

The tie up between the cultural institution of the library and the (segment)state seems more pronounced here than for the BL or NLS. This reflects the interest that the (segment)state takes in the national library for its significance in national culture, but also, perhaps, the closeness to the devolved government that exists in a smaller jurisdiction (Fisher, 2011, p.269).

Cultural institutions such as libraries are, as we know, possessed of considerable power and desired by the state for this; it should then be no surprise that this is also be true of segment-state governments who are interested in furthering a national identity. After all: '...National librarians are of specific interest to policy makers and are entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that the national library truly reflects, amongst other things, the culture, knowledge and history of its home nation' (Fisher, 2011, p.269). Of course, in Scotland and Wales the libraries pre-date the introduction of segment-state government by many decades, but the libraries will now be under a closer political oversight than previously, even if they were always 'national' with discursive implications.

2.6 Towards the Research

In acknowledging the intrinsically political world in which the national library exists we must also recognise the power structures and attendant power relations which are essential to that world. The library cannot be removed from this; it cannot sit apart as a neutral agent of knowledge. It is, after all, 'national', itself an indication of the politicisation of the institution. That need not be direct political control (although it could be that), where political masters dictate collection and access policy, it need not even be state control in an administrative and

---

[19] It should also be noted that in locating in Aberystwyth in West Wales the library lies in the romantic and linguistic 'heartland' of the nation.

financial sense (though it will often be that), it goes beyond this to the discursive power infusing social life which lets the hegemonic powers in society construct, and continually reproduce, equally hegemonic discourses that lock in those power relations by normalising and naturalising them. State power makes 'sense' in this way, and it becomes manifest institutionally. In this context it becomes appropriate to ask: *To what extent are national libraries functioning as mechanisms and manifestations of state power?*

For the state, its connection with the nation allows it to strengthen its authority, to justify its power. Neither state nor nation is 'natural'; they are constructed through discourse such that they appear to be the 'obvious' and 'natural' way in which the world (its people and territory) is divided and structured. This form of territoriality is a system of spatial power which accords the state (theoretically) total power within its territory, and which connects people with constructed territorial homelands. The nationalist ideology presents a picture of primordial nations stretching back into the depths of time; a shared territory which binds a common people in past, present and future. Yet this is a construction, it is an imagined community, imagined in the modern era and projected backwards, drawing on a national mythology that combines real events with invented traditions.

We have seen how important the library can be for the powerful in their attempts to mould peoples and ingrain their status and ideologies. The national library can be seen in this context. It is symbolic of power and of nation; its name and its existence is a constant banal reminder of the nation; and its practice, its texts will also surely constitute potential banal national signifiers subtly contributing to discursive (re)production of nation and nations. It is through these that the contribution of a national library in national reproduction will be evident. Consequently this raises the question: *What is/are the discursive structure(s) through which the three national libraries in the study represent (their) nation(s) and their role(s) within them?*

Libraries are clearly not neutral, benign and apolitical. These cultural institutions are discursively imbedded in the power structures of the state (and nation). If they manifest state power, and if they make a contribution to national reproduction, and are therefore themselves constructed and manifested through nation-state discourse, then it will also be important to address the impact that has on their role as regards knowledge. The idea that they can be receptacles of a pure universal knowledge is thrown into doubt if not completely dispelled. For national libraries, formed through the lens of nationalist discourse, and viewing the world through that same lens, their characterisation of knowledge and their function in its collection and provision must surely be politicised. Hence, the question: *Considering the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the National Library of Wales, to what extent do*

national libraries represent their role as one of receptacles of all knowledge, or as collectors of 'national' knowledge?

Finally, the constructed nature of the nation, and the lack of a clear basis for dividing the world into nations beyond the imagining of communities, inevitably leads to overlaps and conflicts over territory – a resource that is so central to the national idea. When nations are coupled with states in a combination of the cultural and the political, and when nationalist ideology demands that a nation is only fulfilled when it is realised in a state, these contradictions become the roots for territorial conflict either between states or between an existing state and a national project aimed at acquiring a state. Where these aspirant nations are equipped with cultural institutions like national libraries it opens up interesting new questions of how these libraries and that of the existing state fit into the complex, competing and contractionary national discursive frames.

The examples in this study have been chosen for this reason. In the United Kingdom, the British Library acts as the UK national library, and yet it is in England where there is no national library, despite such libraries existing in Scotland and Wales. The pressure from nationalists for political independence in the latter two, particularly Scotland, brings the position of the three national libraries into focus. If a national library cannot exist outside the power-political and discursive circumstances in which it sits, then there must be implications for these three libraries in terms of their discursive production of themselves, their roles and their knowledge. Hence, this prompts a final question: *Comparing the discursive structures and representation of these three libraries, what similarities and differences exist, and how does this relate to the nation, state and nation-state contexts within which they sit?*

That completes the four research questions which will provide a framework for the research. They seek to uncover the role of power and discourse in the representations of national libraries in relation to nations and nationalism. This is an aspect of the national library (and indeed the library more generally) that can often be ignored in the assumption that they are neutral institutions accumulating knowledge in a valueless way. The intention is that in answering these questions, in the context of the theoretical foundations outlined here, the influence of nation-state power in, and the national reproductive effects of, national libraries, might be better understood.

Research Questions

1. To what extent are national libraries functioning as mechanisms and manifestations of state power?
2. What is/are the discursive structure(s) through which the three national libraries in the study represent (their) nation(s) and their role(s) within them?
3. Considering the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the National Library of Wales, to what extent do national libraries represent their role as one of receptacles of all knowledge, or as collectors of 'national' knowledge?
4. Comparing the discursive structures and representation of these three libraries, what similarities and differences exist, and how does this relate to the nation, state and nation-state contexts within which they sit?

Chapter 3

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Methodology

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

The philosophical foundations discussed in the previous chapter are essential as a contextual foundation for both the research problem, and for the methodology that was deployed in response. The two are inseparable. 'Methodology is a more encompassing concept that embraces issues of method but has deeper roots in the bedrock of specific views on the nature of "reality" (namely, in ontology) and the grounds for knowledge (namely, in epistemology)' (Hoggart et al, 2002, p.1). Therefore, the critical realist worldview of the researcher provides the philosophical soil in which the research has grown.

3.1 Methodological Foundations

If we accept that our perception of reality must always be conditioned through a discursive lens then it is that lens, that discourse, which requires analysis; only then can we hope to approach an appreciation of reality, and indeed to challenge the interests of power that are underpinned by dominant discourses.

> 'So, in seeing language as discourse and as social practice, one is committing oneself not just to analysing texts, nor just to analysing processes of production and interpretation, but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures.' (Fairclough, 2001, p.21)

A 'surface' content analysis of documentary sources might have produced data on connections between library and state, or what a library sees as its role in terms of the nation and its culture, but it would not find the deeper reproductive mechanisms and signifiers of discursive power. A Discourse analysis: '... based on the details of speech (and gaze and gesture and action) or writing that are arguably deemed relevant in the situation and that are relevant to the

arguments the analyst is attempting to make' (Gee, 1999, p.88), would facilitate the deeper critical account that is sought from examination of these documents.

Consideration must also be made of sources of data. Interviews may generate material that could be analysed either on the surface or in terms of discourse. There is a difficulty with these however, as they tend to have an element of the artifice:

> '...the problem with methods like interviews and (to some extent) focus groups is that the researcher has to set things up by asking questions of respondents. By contrast, the beauty of naturally occurring data is that it may show us things we could never imagine.' (Silverman, 2005, p.120)

Consequently, it was considered that, with the organisational focus that the libraries presented, documents would have an advantage (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p.72), and interviews should be dismissed in favour of the 'naturally occurring data' provided by published documentary sources from the libraries. In this way the: 'Data collection is essentially non-reactive – the information collected is generally not influenced by the fact that sources will be used in research' (Hoggart et al, 2002, p.125). It was, therefore, determined that a critical discourse analysis of documentary sources would form the best method, both in terms of the underlying philosophy which informs the methodology, and the technical advantages that this presents.

Yet we should also be aware that we can never escape the discursive structures through which we see and interpret the world. Even as we critique them we do so from our own standpoint, and through the discourses and related practices which we have been conditioned to accept: 'There is no such thing as an "objective" analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is "there" in the text without being "biased" by the "subjectivity" of the analyst' (Fairclough, 2003, p.14). Notwithstanding this caveat, and with the reminder to the reader that this study – as with any other – should be read with this in mind, discourse analysis remains the most appropriate, and arguably the only, way in which to undertake research into an aspect of social life such as that which is the focus here. In examining a subject in this way we can deconstruct and destabilise the discursive foundations of the social structure(s) in question, and the power relations inherent in them, while still acknowledging our own 'biased' position and complicity in the discourse.

3.2 Corpus Selection and Sampling

Prior to the discourse analysis, a corpus[20] of documents was required from which a suitable sample could be derived: 'The difficulty for discourse analysts… …is how to identify a manageable, relatively limited corpus of texts that is helpful in exploring the construction of the object of analysis' (Phillips and Hardy, 2002, p.72). Selection is a function of the underlying philosophy, the availability of materials and any constraints on the research project itself. The critical realist philosophy, and therefore the intention to examine the discourses (re)produced by three national libraries, means that it is the documents produced by those institutions in which we are likely to find these discourses. However, the extent of the material published by the libraries in question limits the availability. Similarly, constraints of time and the scale of the research project are also pertinent.

Thus, the availability of a range of documents on the respective websites of the three libraries was first of all ascertained. Another consideration was the quality of data that these would provide. It would be necessary to extract enough such that conclusions could be reliably drawn, that is, the corpus, and the sample extracted from it, should be large enough, and of a suitable type, for this purpose.

Collections of documents such as archives of press releases, strategic plans, collection policies, blog posts and annual reviews were combined to establish these corpuses. There was a degree of purposive selection (Ryan and Bernard, 2000, p.780), as some genres of document (e.g. financial reports) were deemed unsuitable for the study in that they would not be likely to provide much material relating to the object of analysis. As these collections were relatively limited, it was not considered necessary at this stage to place further limits on their extent, the end point being determined by the limits of the document collections themselves. The aim was to build a corpus that was representative of the library rather than targeting a particular size (Bauer and Aarts, 2000, p.27).

To an extent, the processes of corpus selection and sampling were conflated. As for the corpus, purposive sampling was undertaken, in that: 'The sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzle which the researcher wishes to study' (Richie and Lewis, 2003, p.78). Therefore, what was sought were documents which would depict in some way the role of the library, its relationship with the state, cultural and historical issues/materials – anything

---

[20] Bauer and Aarts (2000) offer this definition: '…while older meanings of "text corpus" imply the complete collection of texts according to some common theme, more recent meanings stress the purposive nature of selection, and not only of texts but also of any material with symbolic functions. This selection is inevitably arbitrary to some degree: comprehensive analysis has priority over scrutiny of selection.' (p.23)

where 'the nation' (and the library's place within it) might be represented. Consequently, this involved consideration of document titles, dismissing those that appeared unlikely to meet these requirements, and scanning those that looked more promising in order to make a final decision on their inclusion in the sample (lists of all the documents included in the three samples are shown in Appendix A). There were 23 documents from the British Library, 20 from the National Library of Scotland and 19 from the National Library of Wales. Having established a sample for each library, the discourse analysis could begin.

3.3 Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has some common attributes (Strauss and Feiz, 2014, p.312), but it is also flexible: 'What unites Critical Discourse analysts is neither methodology nor theoretical orthodoxy, but a common goal: the critique of dominant discourses and genres that effect inequalities, injustices and oppression in contemporary society' (Leeuwen, 2009, p.278). Therefore, the approach taken here, while of the CDA genre, was not constrained by following a prescribed CDA method; CDA is, after all, 'methodologically eclectic' (p.277).

Firstly, it must be recognised that there will be many discourses in a document, but not all of these will be relevant to a particular study, consequently it was necessary to identify those that were relevant here. Therefore, a pilot study was carried out on each sample. This involved taking 3-4 documents for each library (of varied genre and length) and critically reading them, trying to see beyond the surface messages, look deeper, and identify intertextual links. Through this process, a range of discourses and narratives were identified, named and given codes.[21]

The samples were then subjected to analysis, and the discourses and narratives were identified through words, phrases and ideas indicative of them (see Appendix B for an explanation and example of the coding process). Discourse analysis: '…approaches text and language as forms of discourse that help create and reproduce social meaning. The focus is on the use of language and strategies of argument' (Hoggart et al, 2002, p.163). So, it is the language used, and particularly the way in which it is used, that is important. We must explore context as much as meaning, and, crucially, the intertextual links that make these words and phrases meaningful, texts being 'constituted by elements of other texts' (Fairclough, 1992, p.102).

Discourse analysis is not a method where one gathers data, analyses it, interprets it and then writes up the results; it is an integrated and iterative technique where one is constantly

---

[21] This was not assumed to be the definitive list, with others being added (or removed if found to be limited or insignificant) as the analysis proceeded in the full samples.

analysing and interpreting as one reads, building up a picture of the discourses, their interconnections with each other, and with other texts. Indeed: 'Analysis often proceeds in tandem with data collection rather than commencing with its completion' (Dey, 1993, p.37). While the approach described so far would enable a description of the discourses and narratives to be made, it is this deeper more meaningful analysis that we seek, and which is inherent to this method.

As Fairclough (2001) points out: '…if one's concern is with the social values associated with texts and their elements, and more generally with the social significance of texts, description needs to be complemented with interpretation and explanation' (p.118). There is an almost sub-conscious interpretative process at work. So, once the documents have been read and coded a considerable amount of interpretation has been completed (Ryan and Bernard, 2000, p.781). The researcher is constantly identifying patterns, finding connections and seeing the relationships between the discourses in an iterative process. Thus, interpretation does not suddenly begin when the coding ends, and ends when the explanation begins.

Explanation too is part of the ongoing analytical process. The very act of writing about the data, describing it and explaining it is also one of interpretation. What has been uncovered in the interpretation is the basis of the explanation of the reproductive power of the discourses and narratives. Simultaneously, this selection of examples, and the thought process entailed in explaining, is a furtherance of interpretation. There are no distinct boundaries between the processes. As one reads, codes, considers and writes, one is always interpreting and reinterpreting the discourses and their operations. As such, the analysis never really ends; one is constantly finding new things.

3.4 Perpetual Flux

The next chapter, therefore, constitutes the explanation, but one which is never truly complete and is always partial. All of this was, of course, undertaken from the viewpoint of a single researcher with a critical realist outlook. That positionality is an ever-present filter through which every part of the process was conducted, as much as in the very conceptualisation of the study, and must be remembered when engaging it. As the researcher is locked in an unending interaction with the discourse, one which is located rather than detached, so too will the reader relate to it from their own standpoint, finding new interpretations and alternative perspectives. It is, therefore, a work in perpetual flux, never quite complete, and ever-sensitive to the outlook of those who interact with it.

Chapter 4

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Analysing the Discourse: The Discursive Power of Three National Libraries

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

The aim of this chapter is to identify and deconstruct the discourses and narratives found in the analysis of the documents from the BL, the NLS and the NLW. The results of the discourse analysis are understood in the context of the theory set out in Chapter 2. Thus, this will be a story of power. It is also one of nations. The three institutions studied here are, nevertheless, libraries, and consequently what are discussed are national *libraries*; libraries with a contextual background relevant to the consideration of their discursive (re)productions. Each of these strands of theory will be present, and it is at the intersection of these that the following discussion takes place.

4.1 The Discourses and Narratives

A number of interrelated discourses (*Table 4.1*) and narratives (*Table 4.2*) were identified. In each case, the name accorded by the researcher is given, together with a short description to offer a sense of what it entails. While some of these were particular to one library, others (most in fact) were common to two or all three. However, it should be noted that, though a discourse or narrative may be essentially the same, there may be some variations in its construction due to the different context and alternative interconnections. Also, the prevalence, and therefore the significance,[22] of some may vary; this will be indicated where relevant.

---

[22] It should also be noted that significance here is not solely the product of frequency, though this plays a part, it also involves the contribution a discourse makes to the overall construction in the way it combines with others in the given contextual setting. Therefore, a judgement has been made by the researcher, in the process of the analysis, of what importance and relevance each discourse and narrative has.

Table 4.1

Discourses

Name	Description
Identity/Difference	A binary discourse that defines identity through difference(s). It lies at the base of all other binaries as the most deeply established discourse.
Self/Other	Another binary discourse, it constructs the Self in Relation to the Other. That is, a nation can be defined according to what it is not – another nation.
Inside/Outside	This binary marks the difference between the Inside and the Outside. In terms of a nation, that is within the national territory as opposed to beyond it, and within the national group or not.
Positive/Negative	This binary implies that that which has the identity, the Self, the nation, is Positive and good, be that in values or characteristics. In comparison the Other is less than good or Negative.
Nation	A discourse which underpins the idea that nations exist, they are 'natural' and 'obvious'. This is true of nations in general as the principal organising structure of humanity, and for a specific nation.
Global	The Global discourse is not necessarily contradictory of the Nation discourse. Rather it suggests a global outlook which is international (accepting of the world of nations), but is inclusive of globalising forces, and a place for the nation within the wider world of nations.
History	This discourse normalises both a history as an essential element of nations, and the assumption that this is an 'obvious' and 'natural' thing for national libraries to collect and preserve.
Culture	Culture is a discourse that underpins the concept of national culture as a defining component of a nation (and hence closely related to History), and the vital role that a national library plays in preserving and maintaining this as a cultural institution.
Knowledge	The Knowledge discourse is related to History and Culture in that the national library's role is to accumulate the nation's knowledge (and possibly 'Outside' knowledge). It is an essential role of a library as a receptacle of knowledge.

Figure 4.2

Narratives

Name	Description
Transhistorical	This narrative characterises the purpose of the national library as carrying the knowledge it has gathered from the past to the present and into the future.
Superiority	Primarily a narrative of the BL, it projects an image of the library as better than Others through the scope and extent of its collections.
Language	A narrative that is found in the NLS and NLW, and which privileges language as a particularly important and defining cultural element of the nation, and therefore one which the library must be involved in preserving and promoting.
Public Policy	The Public Policy narrative relates to the NLS and, especially, to the NLW. It promotes the importance of operating the library in line with government policy, and therefore the priorities and principles of the state.
Welsh	A narrative of the Welsh nation exclusive to the NLW.
Scottish	A narrative of the Scottish nation exclusive to the NLS.
British	This is a narrative of the British nation which is mainly restricted to the BL, but it also has limited use in the NLS and the NLW. It may also have sub-narratives or counter-narratives of Englishness and United Kingdom which could undermine its effectiveness or conflict with it.

As has already been suggested, these discourses and narratives do not all float independently. Rather, they are interrelated; they connect to, and support, each other, the characteristics of one being essential for the characteristics of another and vice versa. In short, they can be said to form a structure, a discursive structure, the entirety of which underpins the constructions of nation and library.

Each discourse and narrative has its place in this structure from where it acts upon the others, and it is useful to think of this in terms of nested discourses; that is, within the discursive structure there are a number of layers depending on how deeply a discourse is embedded. Those that are deepest are arguably those with the greatest power, they are the most difficult to detect as they have become so established and accepted, so normalised, that we take them for granted to an even greater extent. Conversely, those at the surface are the most specific to a particular situation, phenomenon or scenario. This is where the narratives are found; they tell a story of something in particular, and are underpinned by the layers of discourse beneath.

Accordingly, the discourses and narratives in this study have been represented diagrammatically below (*Figure 4.1*). It is important to recognise, however, that a visual representation can be over simplistic. It is certainly useful in aiding our understanding of their interrelationships, but can perhaps diminish the complexities of these as they are not as rigid as this suggests.

Four binary discourses have been identified here. A binary discourse is, as the name suggests, one which has two sides, everything must be either one or the other – there are no other alternatives, and no grey areas. Such discourses are central to nationalism where a person or a place is either part of the nation or is not. This is how the identity of the nation can be constructed and made singular (one is either the national of one nation or of another).

Therefore, the binary discourse of Identity/Difference operates through everything else. Connolly (1991) explains: 'An identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become socially recognized' (p.64), 'To possess a true identity is to be false to difference, while to be true to difference is to sacrifice the promise of a true identity' (p.67). National identity ultimately makes 'sense', and is itself constructed through, this contrasting of socially constructed differences. The other binaries are drawn upon and, in so doing, (re)construct this core discourse.

Identity/Difference can, therefore, be understood as underpinning everything else; making it all meaningful; but it is so deep, so inherent to these other binaries, that it can only really be identified through them. Consequently, there will be no quotations here showing an example of

Identity/Difference; instead, it should be ever-present in the reader's mind as it is in the texts. Wherever a binary discourse is found Identity/Difference is there too, in fact, wherever any of the discourses or narratives are found, it is there in the background. The discussion will now proceed through the other layers starting with the other binaries.

Figure 4.1
Discourse Diagram
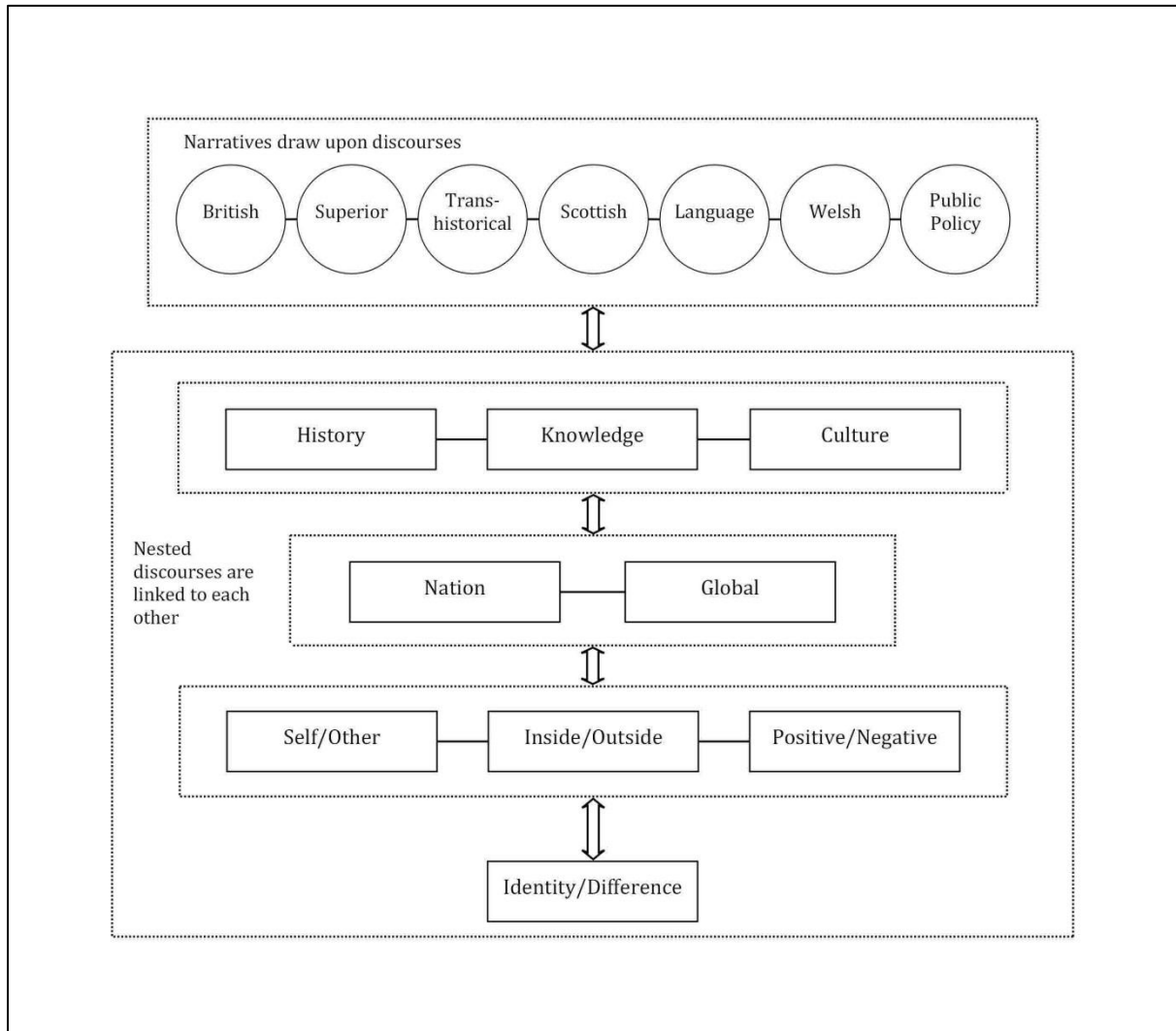
4.2 Binary Discourses

One of the simplest and starkest ways in which the Self/Other binary can be deployed is in the naming of 'our' nation in contrast to the naming of 'theirs', that is an Other, any other.

> 'Profiling the influential contributions the early South Asian community made to Britain, the exhibition, accompanying website and educational programme will provide a history of Indian-British connections during this period and engage new audiences with a fresh perspective on the impacts on both nations of their shared heritage.' (British Library, 2012a)

Here, India and Britain are placed together in a press release describing an exhibition at the BL. In doing so, the 'fact' of the British Self is reinforced by its not being the Indian Other. Note also that the Indian community is not part of the Self, it is 'influencing' from the Outside, and indeed it is not an Indian community at all, it is 'South Asian', rendering it less that solid where the British nation is clear and whole, more absolute in its nation-ness. The library's choice of exhibition, what elements of its collection it selects, and how it defines this, are all relevant in its reproduction of this nationalist discourse. It is an expression of power, as much as it is a demonstration of the discourses that underpin the thinking and practice of the library.

There is also evidence of the Inside/Outside discourse, they are after all very closely connected given the important territorial dimension of the nation, and the fact that the group, the people, is a collective that one may be either within or beyond. The Indians came *into* Britain and existed as a community physically inside the *territory*, and yet not quite inside the *nation* as a people – they are discursively separated. This is more clearly expressed in the following statement by Green (2008) of the NLW: 'National libraries as cultural magnets may succeed in attracting not only people from their own country but also visitors and tourists from abroad' (p.2). On one side is their 'own' country and on the other is 'abroad', which lies Outside.

'Country' is itself a word which is discursively permeated. It is frequently used when referring to nations, to states and to nation-states. *The* country implies 'our' country not 'theirs'. Thus, by using this word the author links intertextually to numerous previous texts in which it has been used in a very national sense (as opposed to a type of landscape – the countryside – though this too can be nationalised discursively). We are conditioned to know that 'their own country' means the Inside, the national home. It is 'obvious' and uncontroversial and it is combined here with national libraries such that they too become part of that national Inside, that 'home' of the nation.

A Positive/Negative discourse is also drawn upon, though primarily in terms of the positive side of the binary. For example, reflecting on the purchase of a medieval manuscript by the NLW, a press release notes that: 'The rare 14th century medieval manuscript... ...is considered to be among the jewels of Welsh civilisation and a crucial symbol of national identity' (National Library of Wales, 2012). This manuscript constitutes a 'jewel' of 'Welsh civilisation' (for apparently there is such a thing). A jewel is of course a thing of beauty and value. Consequently, it not only reflects positively on 'Welsh civilisation', and thus the Welsh nation, but also on the library which has now added this to its collection, the *national* collection. Just as the collections of the library of Alexandria strengthened the prestige of the Ptolemies, the library is enhanced and Positive because it holds the great treasures of the nation, and the nation is shown to be

Positive by the very fact that it has a national library with such a collection. The Positive characteristics with which the library is imbued (via the Positive/Negative discourse) are lent by the nation, but contributed to the nation by the library, in turn this enhances the Self over the Other, and helps to demarcate the difference between Inside and Outside.

4.3 Nation and Global

The following passage draws upon the Nation discourse:

> 'National libraries of small states may have a particularly important role in an increasingly globalised world; they will be entrusted to look after the national cultural identity expressed in the specific cultural output and legacy of that country and ensure that it is preserved and made available to the world, especially if it may be overlooked by major global players. The role of national libraries in guaranteeing access to national resources and heritage will endure.' (Hunter and Brown, 2010, p.32)

Country and nation become one, and a nation can have a 'cultural identity', 'resources and heritage'. This is part of the nation concept encapsulated in the Nation discourse that says that a nation is more than a group of people or a territory, it is both, and it is a form which can have characteristics as of a being.

The Global discourse makes an appearance here too. To an extent, this is one which indicates a level of threat to the nation; the national library is required to protect the essence of the nation from globalising forces that could sweep it away without 'major global players' (libraries such as the British Library perhaps) taking any notice. Nonetheless, this is not a message of the advance of a non-national world; it is more a reflection of a belief in the need to defend the nation in its cultural manifestation, as this discourse is also drawn upon in terms of the library acting globally to promote the 'national' culture.

To an extent this is also true of the BL which aims to: '...make accessible the nation's and the world's store house of recorded knowledge...' (British Library, 2011, p.5) A clear distinction between the National Inside and the Global Outside is drawn, demonstrating how the Global discourse is constructed, not in opposition to the Nation, but as an essential part of it in terms of the binary discourse Inside/Outside. Look further though and it also becomes apparent that the BL is placed rather differently from the NLS when it comes to this National/Global dichotomy:

> 'The British Library has a distinctive and important role to play alongside others in this global system. For reasons of history – cultural, imperial, mercantile – our collection is perhaps the most international of its kind anywhere in the world, with rare or unique items reflecting all major language groups and faith traditions. We have both growing opportunity and growing responsibility to use the potential of

digital to increase access for people across the world to the intellectual heritage that we safeguard.' (British Library, 2014, p.32)

Although there is a 'global system' of which the library is part, this remains within the structure of nations and nation-states. The word 'international' is one which represents both discourses; while it depicts a global concept, it is one of nations. It is the library's role within this, not simply to collect some non-national material for its national users, but to collect and make available this Global collection for a Global community, albeit one which is inter*national*.

It is, then, a global library and a national library simultaneously. It should not be ignored how the library suggests it has come to such a position, for that too is underpinned by Nation. An imperial past, an imperial British *national* past, has left this legacy of a Global collection, and hence a Global role. The Global discourse is, therefore, quite significant for the BL and its representations in a way that it is not for the NLS and the NLW, where it is much less frequently evident. However, it does not undermine the Nation discourse; instead, it facilitates the representation of these libraries and their collections as, either providing and protecting national culture and knowledge while also making available some international knowledge, or as a national library fulfilling a Global role of storing and providing global knowledge to an inter*national* audience.

4.4 History, Culture and Knowledge

References to preservation and to historical roots of collections are indicative of the History discourse. Since libraries collect, history must be expected to have significance to them as institutions – 'national memory' (British Library, 2014, p.13) institutions. Once again there is a suggestion of the nation as distinct from its individual members, as it is accorded a collective *national* memory, such that, for example: 'The memory of Scotland lives within our collections and we are committed to providing access to these riches to assist as many people as possible to learn and understand about their past' (Wade, 2013, p.6). It is 'their past', their history, a *national* past and a *national* history, remembered collectively as a 'national memory'. More than that, it 'lives within' the collections, almost as if the very essence of a nation is found in the collections of the national library. As Brown and Davis-Broun (1998) put it: 'Since much of history is inscribed in documents, narration of the nation-state has been assigned largely to archives, libraries and museums of history' (p.20). Thus: 'A *national* collection has a particular emphasis: it reflects the nation's life, history or aspirations' (National Library of Wales, 2015). (Emphasis original) It is not like any other library collection, it is national and so it is part of the

nation. The nation has a 'life', as it has a past or 'history', and a future for which it has 'aspirations'.

It is a prerequisite for a nation to have a history, and that history imbues it with meaning as an entity, a community imagined. National mythology and invented traditions do, it must be remembered, play a vital part in the formation of these imagined communities; they offer a collective link between a people, past and present, something they can share internally that differentiates them form the Other.

The combination of the fundamentals of nationalist ideology, with its discursive foundations, and the national library as a collecting institution of 'national' historical items, makes the History discourse one which can effectively tie the library as an institution into the national project. It relates to the other discourses (most immediately Nation) reinforcing their meaningfulness, while also being normalised through this interaction with established discourses of nation, such that all ideas of national history make 'sense'.

Similarly Culture is a discourse which makes 'sense' in combination with other discourses, not least History, and is also powerful in the construction of the library. The library is considered to be a cultural institution, but what we mean by culture is largely unsaid; the discourse of Culture makes it 'obvious' and unquestioned, even unquestionable. Place this discourse alongside those of the nation and a 'national' culture is made meaningful; combine it with History and that 'national culture' can become part of the historical and invented tradition of the nation. So the NLW can proclaim itself to be: '...a central **cultural institution**. It serves as a collective long-term memory for Wales, and helps to define, for the people of Wales and for the world, part of what is meant by "Welsh culture" or, more properly, "Welsh cultures"' (National Library of Wales, 2011, p.1). (Emphasis original) We are left in no doubt that culture is crucial to this institution in the way it is constructing itself, nor can the national ownership of culture go unnoticed, it is categorically made Welsh. Even the indication of multiple cultures which might threaten the unitary conception of the nation is linguistically subdued by the Welsh addition. These cultures are all Welsh.

Closely associated with Culture, and already becoming apparent in some of the passages above, is the final discourse – Knowledge. This is absolutely fundamental to what we understand to be the purpose of a library; that is, the discursively constructed idea of a library as a receptacle of knowledge. When this concept meets that of nation in the site (physical and/or metaphysical) of a national library, it may be expected that there will be some impact on the characterisation of knowledge, and simultaneously feedback to the construction of the nation.

A nationalising of knowledge does indeed appear, but it becomes more complex when examining the different libraries. From the British Library, the assertion is that: 'We have a global role contributing to the advancement of knowledge around the world and we partner with others to connect people with information wherever it is held' (British Library, 2012b, p.1). We are already aware of the importance of the Global discourse to representations of the BL, but here, when placed alongside Knowledge, this is developed. Knowledge extends globally, and the library operates at this scale too in 'advancing' this fundamental commodity of its creed.

However, before we leave with the impression that the BL is not in fact a national library at all, but one which is truly unbounded, a library for the world, containing universal knowledge, it is necessary to consider the following:

> 'The UK in common with many developed and developing nations, is shaping an industrial strategy that puts investment in knowledge, innovation and creativity at the heart of its recipe for long-term, deep-rooted economic growth. Competitive success in such a world depends upon the freest possible flow of ideas, inspiration and information, and libraries – not just this one, but the whole, inter-connecting system across the UK, public and academic – are the vital enabler of that. (Keating, 2014, p.5)

The discourse of Nation cannot be missed here, as the Self is placed in economic competition with the Other. The library generally, but including the BL, is presented as vital to this national competitive challenge, and it is its Knowledge that gives it this role, as words like 'innovation', 'creativity', 'ideas', 'inspiration', 'information' as well as 'knowledge' indicate.

Entwining these discourses allows us to understand a library's role as being to contribute to this national effort. In this we can see a practical example of the inability of the library and its knowledge to exist outside of its context, the influence of the state and its economic priorities comes through. Nonetheless, it is apparent that the knowledge is not overtly national; it is being put to a national purpose. Thus, there is not necessarily a contradiction of the idea of a global library with a universal knowledge.

A similar, but subtlety different, construction of the discourse is evident for the NLW:

> 'This record of the "matter of Wales" (and of the other Celtic countries) is, however, part of a wider, indeed worldwide, domain of knowledge, produced in many languages and over many centuries, which the library attempts to represent in its collections for the benefit of others.' (National Library of Wales, 2011, p.3)

Although this is recognition that the national Knowledge is not completely separate from that of the world, there is still a distinction between the two, between the Inside and the Outside, the products of the Self and of the Other.

Indeed, in their strategic plan (with a title that itself draws heavily on the Knowledge discourse – 'Knowledge for All') they contend that: 'Providing access to quality Welsh and global knowledge resources will enable the National Library of Wales to make a significant contribution to building a productive, connected, skilled and literate Wales' (National Library of Wales, 2013, p.2). The division is made between knowledge that is Welsh and that which is not, which is from the Outside and belongs to the Other. The library aims to provide access to the non-Welsh knowledge, but this is not so much a global role as a service to the Welsh nation. As with the BL there is a national economic function, but it is not accompanied by a global purpose.

Where the global purpose is not so significant, where a library is more nationally focussed, a discursive division between supposedly global and national knowledge begins to open up. In the NLS collecting strategy Newton (2008) asserts that:

> 'As Scotland's national library we are committed to collecting comprehensively the output of Scottish writers and publishers, at the same time we are privileged by Legal Deposit legislation to be able to claim a copy of everything published in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland; and we are also committed to providing access to all the knowledge of the world.' (p.9)

An expression of two Insides and Outsides is apparent, reflecting the complicated political and national circumstances in which this library operates. Nevertheless, it is the Scottish Self that is uppermost, as the writers and publishers are Scottish while other works are only published 'in' the UK and the Republic of Ireland. However, these national demarcations are also, by extension, demarcating Knowledge: as there is Scottish knowledge, so there is UK and Irish knowledge, and (the important word) 'also' knowledge from the rest of the world. This library is not acting globally like the BL; it is seeking to provide *access* to this knowledge, not to advance it *per se*.

4.5 Historical, Cultural and Political Narratives

Four narratives can be identified as contributing to the writing of library into nation and nation into library. The first is present to some extent in the documents of all three libraries – that is the Transhistorical narrative. As the name suggests, this narrative is closely related to the History discourse, but it is more specific and does not just refer to the past, but to the present and future as well. It tells a story of the place of the library in the conveyance of knowledge to the present, and to the future.

Hence: 'The National Library of Scotland is an organisation that has to take the past, present and future equally seriously. As our collections stretch back nearly 1500 years, we are surrounded

by history, knowledge and enlightenment' (National Library of Scotland, 2007, p.2). 'Past', 'present' and 'future' are sighted here to emphasise the temporal extent of the library's role as the transhistorical story gets told. And in the context of a national library, with the ever-present discourses of nationalism, the nation is integral to this purpose: 'The principles reflect the fact that the Library's collections form one unified collection and the importance of developing the collection for the good of the country and its people, both in the present and future' (National Library of Wales, 2010a, p.8). It is the continuing nation that the knowledge is collected for. Nations have permanence, as implied by the discourses which underpin them, so the provisions of a national library must transcend time

The BL's world role, together with the scale of the library and its collections, informs the production of a second narrative – Superiority. This narrative is almost exclusive to the BL, although there are hints of it in the way the other two libraries represent the qualities of their collections. It is encapsulated in the following passage which appears at the end of the library's press releases:

> 'The British Library is the national library of the United Kingdom and one of the world's greatest research libraries. It provides world class information services to the academic, business, research and scientific communities and offers unparalleled access to the world's largest and most comprehensive research collection.' (British Library, 2010a)

The narrative is clearly underpinned by the Positive/Negative discourse, but it is quite specific to the library and its attributes over all (or most) other libraries. 'Greatest', 'world class', 'unparalleled', 'largest', 'most comprehensive'; all contribute to the story of the British Library as Superior to others. Perhaps, when combined with the Nation as 'the national library of the United Kingdom', this also transfers to a Superiority of nation over Others, something that is familiar in nationalist ideology and the discourse which underpins it.

In both the NLS and the NLW, a Language narrative is significant, though to a greater extent in Wales (where Welsh is much more widely spoken than Gaelic is in Scotland).

> 'The Library acquires material in one or the other of the two main languages in Wales – Welsh and English. It also receives material relevant to Welsh communities of ethnic origin outside Wales – and, where appropriate, in other languages which were and are spoken, and which were and are written, in Wales and beyond.' (National Library of Wales, 2010a, p.10)

This cultural element of the nation is presented by the library as an essential part of what it does and what it is. The Culture discourse is obviously important here. Although this passage mentions other languages (or Other languages) from 'outside' Wales, it is Welsh and English

that are most prominent, and Welsh is particularly important in how the narrative is constructed.

As noted above, the narrative is not as prevalent in the NLS documents, nor is it constructed in the same way.[23] Gaelic is the language that takes most attention as an alternative to English, which is by far the dominant language in Scotland.[24] Nonetheless:

> 'At the heart of the Library's mission is the need to collect, preserve and provide access to Scotland's recorded culture. Gaelic forms a key element of this culture and we believe NLS holds the pre-eminent collection of Gaelic material in the world.' (Wade, 2012, p.3)

Through the Language narrative and the Culture discourse, Gaelic becomes an inherent part of a culture, a Scottish culture. Another language also comes into the Language narrative in Scotland to add to this cultural package:

> 'For generations, the use of Scots was shunned in the classroom, but all that has changed under the Curriculum for Excellence which recognises that the languages, dialects and literature of Scotland provide a rich resource for children and young people to learn about Scotland's culture and identity.' (National Library of Scotland, 2014)

With this we impinge on a debate over whether Scots is a language or a dialect of English, and this is hinted at in the passage. Considering the relationship between nation and language, the state may look to promote languages (and create them) in a national construction (and self-justifying) project, equally it may try to suppress them to promote unity within the nation-state. Identifying a language as *of* the nation can form an important component of national construction as part of a wider nationalising of culture. 'Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities' (Anderson, 2006, p.133). The national library has power in this regard. It is a cultural institution, it is a repository of knowledge, and it can help to nationalise and promote languages as elements of national culture. This cannot be anything but political.

The Public Policy narrative is one which speaks of the role and place of the library in relation to the state. It is quite notable in the Welsh documents, and in the part it plays in the construction of the NLW's role. It underpins a conception of the library as necessarily, and even desirably, being in tune with government policy. As such: 'In future, as competition for government's attention and resources becomes ever more fierce, the Library will need to demonstrate not just

---

[23] This is not surprising as Welsh is not generally spoken in Scotland, other than presumably by any Welsh speakers who move there, visit or learn the language. These will be very few in number.

[24] Gaelic is, at present, spoken by a very small number of people, although in the past it was more widespread and divisive.

that its activities are congruent with public policy but that they are an essential element of it' (National Library of Wales, 2010b, p.7). The Public Policy narrative comes through clearly in this text, as it underpins an argument for the library to be effectively part of the machinery of government, at the state's disposal to further its policy objectives. As Berezin (1991) notes: 'Modern states frequently mobilize social and cultural institutions to disseminate ideological beliefs and to shape the public identities of their citizens' (p.639). The financial influence of government on a national library is always going to offer a potential leaver for the state, but this narrative, written into the NLW vision of itself, appears to lead to the willing acceptance that its role is to act at the behest of the state, a component of its infrastructural power.

We also saw an indication of state influence in the reference to the 'Curriculum for Excellence'[25] in the quotation from the NLS above. This is a sign of a milder, or less developed, version of the Public Policy narrative which is detectable, as in recognising where the library can: '...contribute directly to Scottish Government policy priorities' (National Library of Scotland, 2010, p.4). However, this is very infrequent, but may offer a glimpse into the power of the state laying behind the library. Although no such narrative is evident in relation to the BL this should not lead us to believe that state power and influence is completely absent.

> 'Within a nation-state, a national library fulfils a similar function as the census, maps and museums. Intertwined with each other, these three elements comprise a classificatory grid that can be applied to anything under the state's control such as people, religions, languages, cultural products, monuments and so forth.' (Takle, 2010, pp.758-759)

As ever, these libraries are not floating apart from their surroundings; their socio-political environment is important.

4.6 Narratives of Nations

The final three narratives should already have been apparent from many of the quotations; they relate to the three 'nations' represented by the libraries; they are specific national narratives – Welsh, Scottish and British. It has of course already been explained how a discourse of Nation is reproduced in the documents of all three libraries, but that is a discourse which underpins the assumption that nations in general exist, and that there can therefore be particular nations.

It is these individual narratives that, when combined with the other discourses and narratives discussed here, can depict the 'reality' of a particular nation, what it is, what it means, and, in this context, how the national library fits into it. Without the discourse this is meaningless as

---

[25] This is part of Scottish Government education policy.

none of Wales, Scotland or Britain makes 'sense'; and without the narrative(s) the discourse lacks any contextualisation that normalises it to the point where it is (or appears to be) ideologically empty, in Fairclough's terms.

Thus:

> 'The Library has a vital role as a collector and guardian of the intellectual record of the life of Wales and the Welsh people. This is important in itself, and is also an important element in defining the cultural identities of the country.' (National Library of Wales, 2011, p.3)

The narrative is indicated in the use of 'Wales' and 'Welsh, but more than that, in the simple stating that Wales has 'life', it has 'people' and it has 'cultural identities'. Indeed, it is simply 'the country'. The narrative is supported here by the Nation discourse, but there is also evidence of History, Culture and Knowledge, in addition to the basic Self/Other binary and ultimately, underlying all of these, Identity/Difference. It is the national library itself that 'has a vital role' when it comes to protecting the historical knowledge of the nation that is Wales, but also in defining it through its culture (and hence the definition of that culture as Welsh).

Consequently, this is shown in what the library collects. For example, the acquisition in 2014 of a historic atlas:

> 'In July the Library purchased the Welsh component of the "Theatre" known as the "Second Booke containing the Principality of Wales". The volume comprises a general map of Wales, flanked with inset views of the county towns plus four cathedrals and thirteen individual maps of the Welsh counties each with one or two urban insets.' (National Library of Wales, 2014)

The choice of 'Welsh' materials is an act which identifies them as 'Welsh', helps to (re)make that nation, and tells the story of what Wales is, and what it means, through the Welsh narrative. Furthermore, in this particular case, the acquisition of maps that are 'of' Wales, especially those that are historical, suggesting a past, a History, to the nation, reinforces the siteing of that nation in a space. The place, the territory, of the nation is mapped and it is normalised. The national library is choosing to acquire maps of the Welsh nation; this seems 'natural' in the context of the Nation discourse, but it also reproduces that nation, and the narrative that says there *is* a Wales and it is located. By the casual and widespread use of the words, and of the artefacts, that have become part of this narrative, part of a series of interrelated texts, that narrative and that nation appear banal and normal. We do not question the use of the words 'Wales' or 'Welsh', or why the National Library of Wales would acquire maps of Wales, we just accept it as 'natural', it is in the background, and yet in this it is reproducing that concept.

The same can be said of the NLS where the Scottish narrative is ubiquitous. Again, the nation is named and it is a place: 'The National Library of Scotland exists to advance universal access to knowledge about Scotland and in Scotland' (National Library of Scotland, 2010, p.2). There is also, we discover, 'Scottish life': 'Over the past decade, the National Library of Scotland (NLS) has moved to a more central role in Scottish life. Our profile has risen both within Scotland and beyond' (p.1). The Scottish narrative writes the Scottish nation through the discourse of Nation, and through the deeper Inside/Outside and Self/Other discourses that say that there is a place and a people. The 'life' exists within that place and those people.

For the library, there is Scottish knowledge that can be collected and preserved. Not only that, the library sees itself, its role, becoming more important within this nation, and consequently in the (re)writing of the narrative. If this is so, its power increases. The library, named as Scottish, and gathering (and defining as) Scottish collections, functions more effectively as an example of banal nationalism if is it is more noticeable, and yet banal by its very permanence.

The British narrative might appear to be much the same in essence. It is evident in references to 'British ingenuity' (British Library, 2010a) and here for instance:

> 'The UK's national library is one of the greatest libraries in the world. Our purpose is to make our intellectual heritage accessible to everyone, for research, inspiration and enjoyment. We build, curate and preserve the UK's national collection of published, written and digital content.' (British Library, 2012b, p.1)

There is undoubtedly a British idea being constructed through the discourse of Nation; a British narrative that tells us of the existence of a British national entity.

However, this narrative is somewhat unstable. Take the 'Writing Britain project with four city libraries across England' (British Library, 2012c). One might question why the project is only in England if it is 'writing Britain'. Perhaps it is merely the locations that were chosen, but this suggestion of instability is furthered, for example, by the juxtaposing of 'English navel explorer's' with 'British naval pioneer' (British Library, 2010b) in a press release about a historic journal being acquired. These are only hints, and might portray elements of an English sub-narrative, or even an emerging English counter-narrative in the context of the political situation in the UK. However, it should not be forgotten how the British nation was constructed in a complex and conflicted manner. In England, English identity effectively became British identity, whereas elsewhere it was a multiple identity alongside an uneasy overlapping of nations.

In line with this, there are also some traces of the British narrative in the documents of the NLS and the NLW. So: 'NLS took a major role this year in a national project to compare storage

environments and the patterns of book use in copyright libraries across the UK' (National Library of Scotland, 2007, p.19). The nation here is the British nation. Yet at other times it appears that, while there is a discursive recognition, as well as a recognition in practice, of the existence of this wider entity, the narrative is not so much British as UK: '...our priority to meet expectations of preservation for the future will be a central focus on everything Scottish, and as much as we can reasonably acquire of the wider UK material' (Newton, 2008, p.13). The possibility is, then, for a sub-narrative or counter-narrative depicting the UK as a state identity in acceptance that the state currently exists. This would not have the full national characteristics of the Scottish or Welsh narratives, but still draw on much of the nationalist discourse as an Inside is constructed. This is challenging for the (re)production of the Scottish and Welsh nations, but their more dominant narratives render it marginal. It is the construction of the British nation, and the narrative of nation (re)produced by the BL, that becomes more fluid, and apparently less 'natural', as a result of these conflicts and overlapping layers of identity construction.

The BL has to contend with the situation where it is a national library for a nation which has two further national libraries related to competing nations. At the same time it adopts a global self-image, which at once weakens the 'national' identity as expressed through the British narrative, (which is undoubtedly less clearly characterised than that of Welsh and Scottish in the NLW and the NLS), and provides an outlet through which the library can construct its role as a meaningful component of the British nation, without a necessity to confront the internal complexities that undermine that nation discursively and politically. The British nation and the associated narrative can then be left in a vague and rather confused state while the BL can stand apart as a symbol of Britishness, fulfilling its 'great' purpose as a library for the world.

4.7 National Library Located: An Instrument of Discursive Power

Many similarities can be discerned in the representation of nation, and of the role of the national library within it, that the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the National Library of Wales (re)produce. There are also notable differences. This should not be surprising as each is a different institution in a unique context, but they also share contextual features: they exist in a world of nations, a national world; they are located in the same state, even if there are sub-states or segment states within it; and they are all national libraries.

In each case, a national identity is reproduced through the power of binary discourse. The national Self is opposed to the Other, the Inside is the Positive reflection of the Negative Outside. As such, Self/Other, Inside/Outside and Positive/Negative all interact and support each other

while drawing on the deeply ingrained Identity/Difference to forge the components of the identity of that Self. This is the essence of Nation, the discourse that underpins the assumption and unquestioning acceptance that we live in a world of nations, everyone is a national, everywhere is Inside one national territory or another and each nation must surely coincide with a state in some form. While *a* nation is national, *the* nation is international – it is part of the Global world of nations. Hence, while the BL may present a global role, it is not a *non*-national role; it is still a national library for the British nation. And it is the national library as a concept that brings key discourses to the structure(s) here. History, Culture and Knowledge, each is nationalised in interaction with the nationalist discourse, and each comes to play a significant role in reinforcing the nation. Every nation must have its history and its culture, and the library can gather this in the form of national knowledge, and demarcate it as national (if as a national part of a wider knowledge), by the very fact it is collected by the national library, and through its categorising and naming it as such. The library is always the receptacle of knowledge, and here it can nationalise that knowledge.

Through these discourses the narratives become rooted and appear logical, as the narratives in turn give the discourses their meaning and their normality. It makes 'sense' for a national library to collect *national* history, *national* culture – *national* knowledge – as it provides the institutional container in which these vital features of the nation can be carried from the past, into the present and on to the future. It is 'obvious' that a library would carry out this Transhistorical function. For the BL its sheer quantity of knowledge makes it Superior, and justifies its Global role as well as being representative of the nation.

Language is a defining cultural component for Scotland and Wales, as it is in the construction of so many nations. Their particular languages – Welsh, Gaelic, Scots – are distinguishing features, and require the national libraries to protect and promote them. Such tasks, as with wider elements of national culture and knowledge, can be aligned with government policies and make 'sense' through the Public Policy narrative.

While this might indicate a degree of state intervention, it is the hidden application of state power which is arguably more significant. For it is through the entire discursive structure that the library becomes a mechanism by which the power of the (nation)state is directed. Welsh, Scottish and British narratives define these nations as particular, as different, and yet all *as* nations. By acting through its representations, through its collections, through its definitions, and through its very existence as a national library, the library can reproduce this construction of the world of nations, and the construction of a particular nation. It is this that supports the state, for the state requires the nation. Certainly, the greater the direct influence that the state

has over the library the more precisely it can direct it for its own ends; ranging from the apparently more distant relationship between government and the BL to the tighter connection with the NLW. However, the libraries can act in delivery of state aims without instruction via their continual discursive reproduction of the national context, within which the state is formed and in which the library is then instituted; when that context is itself unstable, such as in the British nation/state, this will be reflected in the library's representations too. Again, the library cannot be removed from this, it is of its place and it (re)makes that place. It wields power as an institution, and it is an agent of nation-state power as discursively realised.

Chapter 5

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Conclusion

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

From the beginning, this study set out to problematise familiar perceptions of national libraries as apoliticised containers of knowledge, cultural institutions that nations will, and should, naturally have or seek. The uncritical has been substituted for the critical as the national library has been approached from an alternative perspective, one where discourse cannot be ignored, where power is an inescapable presence, and where the nation, as a social construction is as intrinsic to the national library as it is to the state into whose web of power that library is enmeshed. The theoretical basis for the research was established in Chapter 2, and the analysis of three national libraries was interpreted and explained in/through Chapter 4, now, in this final chapter, theory and analysis will be brought together. Four research questions were derived from the theoretical discussion, these inspired the direction of the analysis and they will provide the framework for the following deliberations. Given the nature of the topic as one examining the often imperceptible and spectral phenomena of discourse and power, answers will take the form of discussions around the issues as opposed to absolute statements. The prospects for the development of research in this area, will be the subject of a final section.

5.1 To what extent are national libraries functioning as mechanisms and manifestations of state power?

The BL, the NLS and the NLW all rely on the state (sub-states in the latter two) for their legal basis and financial resources. In this sense, we could conclude that they are indeed manifestations of state power. However, this is only circumstantial; the real power is arguably discursive. Certainly, the NLW and, to a lesser extent, the NLS show narrative evidence that they see themselves as functionaries of the state. They must further the cultural priorities dictated to them, they are there to aid the state in its work; not so far removed from the Bolshevik vision for the Soviet national library. This too, though, is not beyond the realms of

discourse and the power that lies behind it. And it is for this reason that we should not conclude that the absence of obvious state direction in the BL means that it is beyond the interfering tentacles of the state.

These are *national* libraries. We see it in their names, but now we can also see that it is discursively produced. They are instituted, and they exist, in a world of nations, a world of states and, by the territorial and discursive linking of these, a world of nation-states. They do not stand outside this discourse; rather, they (re)produce it as they construct their own role within that context. In so doing, they (re)produce that world of nations, and they (re)produce their particular nations.

In this they are servants of the state. For the state requires the nation to accord it legitimacy. The national library becomes part of the cultural infrastructure through which the discourse of nation and of 'our' nation is (re)produced, normalising the territory, normalising the people, and normalising the interconnection between the two. This is the territory and the people that the state rules, that it claims sovereignty over in the (nation)state system. It is the nation that the nationalist in a segment-state wishes to (re)construct to further claims of difference and distinctiveness, and that the national of the existing state looks to (re)enforce.

For the state, then, the national library is an instrument of infrastructural power; it is one which can (re)produce the discourse of the nation such that it can support the state. It does so in a banal way; it is just there in the background, defining 'national' culture, 'national' history, 'national' literature. The discourse is so deeply established, the ideology sucked out of it, that this is 'natural'. The library does not need a fanfare to undertake this discursive work; it is the very banal character of it that enhances its power, power unconsciously deployed for the state.

5.2 What is/are the discursive structure(s) through which the three national libraries in the study represent (their) nation(s) and their role(s) within them?

The BL, NLS and NLW all show evidence of a discursive structure based on binary discourse. This is characteristic of nationalist discourse. It is, after all, what underpins the concept of the nation; one either belongs or one does not, is Inside or Outside. Ultimately, it is the basis for national identities defined through difference from the Other, the Identity/Difference binary at the very core. For each, then, nation is central, as one might expect of a national library; they are libraries which operate in and for their nations in an inter*national* environment of many nations.

The implication is that when discourses with particular relevance to the construction of the library as a cultural institution are placed within this framework they too are written nationally. Thus, the function of a library becomes not just the accumulation of culture, history and knowledge from within a nation, it also, by extension, nationalises these. All are seen and understood through the national binary discourse.

By drawing upon individual national narratives these attributes of the nation can become part of the nation, and part of that story of what the nation is. Hence, the nation, as a historical entity, can be mythologized, its traditions can be 'invented'; as a longstanding and continuing community, it can be projected back from its construction in the present. And, in Anderson's terms, it can be 'imagined' through this shared history and culture. The culture is, of course, not entirely without substance, there are historical components that can be drawn into this discursive construction (Smith's view of nation offering something here), such as language, so important for the NLW, and to some extent for the NLS; but it is the transhistorical role of the library that helps to forge this primordial nation.

So, while there are individual narratives reproduced by each library that characterise and depict the specific role of, and place for, that library within its nation, the overall picture is the same, and the discursive structure is largely repeatable. Nation, and its binary discourse, is vital to each library's representations. The library is part of, and it is there to further and preserve, the culture and history of the nation. That is what a *national* library is for, it is 'obvious' when understood through the discursive structure. Equally, through that same discursive structure, each national library can also nationalise, it can contribute to that ongoing process which sustains the nation, and which makes it attractive as a mechanism of infrastructural power for the state.

5.3 Considering the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the National Library of Wales, to what extent do national libraries represent their role as one of receptacles of all knowledge, or as collectors of 'national' knowledge?

Therefore, we can start to see how each of these libraries, in its own way, can be represented as a receptacle of 'national' knowledge. Yes, they can also collect non-national knowledge, but it is 'foreign' knowledge more than it is not-national; that is, it does not belong to the nation, it is from the Outside, so the discursive division remains. The discursive structure discussed above is that through which this nationalising of knowledge is accomplished. Since the library itself is

national, and as it functions as a nationalising device within the web of state power, knowledge is inevitably nationalised.

Subtle differences can exist in how this occurs as we can see from each library; in some, like the NLS, it seems more pronounced, while in others, like the BL, it is less so, where its Global role and its unstable nation mean that national knowledge becomes more a component of the wider body of knowledge put to a national purpose. Nevertheless, the nationalising effect that the library can deliver through its discursive power is evident. The choice of what to collect acts in itself to define what is 'national' and what is not. If the national library of Wales, say, chooses to collect maps of Wales that is to say that those are Welsh, and to reinforce the idea that Wales is a place, a territory, a nation. Each library limits its collections and prioritises the acquisition of 'national' knowledge, which is assured of its nationness by its being acquired by the library of the nation; it differentiates in its collections between what is national and what is not. The functionalism that tends to characterise studies of national libraries begins to crack when their role as, not just demarcators of national culture and history, but of knowledge itself becomes apparent; little surprise then that they should become attractive and useful for the powerful interests of the state.

5.4 Comparing the discursive structures and representation of these three libraries, what similarities and differences exist, and how does this relate to the nation, state and nation-state contexts within which they sit?

In the BL there was a greater conception of a wider global knowledge, this was part of the expression of the global role which the library casts for itself. This was the most notable difference between it and the other two examples. To understand it we must reflect on the context that each exists, and constructs its representations, within.

For the BL, the nation was constructed through an imperial past of global power; from this the library has derived not only many of its collections but also its self-image. As a component of the British nation, the library also inherits this sense of globalism and, therefore, is constructed as not just a library for the nation but for the world. As such, it must collect globally.

However, it is still the *British* Library, a national library, and the same discursive structure can be identified. This library does not transcend the nation and its discourse; through discourse it is 'superior' because it has that history, scale and status and, as with all the libraries, it becomes a symbol and constructer of the nation. Nonetheless, this globalism, even if not contrary to the

nation, appears also to be a way out from the underlying facture in that nation. As evident in the contradictions in the British narrative, the challenge that the nation and the state face from internal alternatives cannot but impact upon the way the library represents itself and (re)produces discourse.

The NLS, with a contextual environment of a segment-state within the UK, and a nation more prominent than the British counterpart in the post-imperial situation, that is not entirely apart from and yet, through binary nationalist discourse, must be contrary to the British nation, is more nationally focused with a clear identification of a Scottish culture, history and knowledge. Its role is to retain and further this as part of the nation, not least as regards 'Scottish' languages, an area absent from the representations of the BL. Language is a cultural feature ever-useful in (re)constructing a nation, and is utilised by states in this way. A national library like the NLS sits within the apparatus by which this can be achieved. This smaller nation, with its devolved government closer to the library, can also make the institution more accessible for government to exert its power directly. Where nation in Scotland increasingly means Scotland rather than Britain, the power of the library in national production becomes more apparent than for the BL with its diminished and challenged conception of nation.

There are many similarities for the NLW. Here too language is important but even more so than for the NLS. The more widespread use of Welsh historically, and in the present, has made it more clearly definitive of 'Welsh culture', the commodity which the library is charged legislatively and discursively with collecting and preserving. Again, the relationship with government is closer here than for the BL or even the NLS. As such, the political structures help to define the discursive production of the libraries role. It is characterised as serving not just the wider interests of a Welsh nation but, in so doing, serving the interests and policy objectives of the Welsh state as it impinges upon it. As the smallest nation and the smallest library, this closeness might be explained, as may be the greater focus here on the Inside, the nation over the Outside, in its collections.

Where the BL has its global role, the NLS is more nation-focused but with some interest in an inner-Outside of the UK, and in providing Outside knowledge to the nation; NLW does this too, but the focus is to a far greater degree on the nation. Context, then, has a large part to play in the way the role of a national library is constructed. The nation and the state matter because these libraries are made through the discourse of these phenomena; and yet they share the basic underlying discourse, the deep structure of nations and of libraries – national libraries. They simply cannot be taken away from their situations; they are sited in nations, and in a world of nations.

5.5 Further Research

This study has only touched the surface of the subject of nationalism and national libraries. It should, though, be an indication of what can and should be an extensive area of future research. This research has been constrained in its extent by time, resources and by the necessity of any project to impose certain limits to allow it to be manageable. As a subject that has undergone almost no investigation, one might imagine many potential avenues for research: firstly, examination of a wider range of libraries would allow further comparison to be made to test whether the same nationalist discourse applies beyond the UK, and to investigate further what implications each national context has; secondly, a focus on tracing the influence of state power through policy and direction; thirdly, it would be worthwhile to undertake in-depth research on the collection policies of such libraries in terms of nation.

The aim here has been to open up the subject by destabilising and problematising assumptions of the 'obviousness' of the national library. By accepting the established image of the library as 'neutral' and lacking ideological or political essence, the national library is left as a functional mechanism rather than one in which power is an inseparable presence. The nation is there, as the state is there, for the library is constructed discursively in the nation-state context. To ignore this is to endorse and acquiesce to the structures and power relations that the libraries help to (re)produce. We may never be able to escape from discourse, but we can critique it, we can attempt to understand it and the power relations that it institutes, not least through the institutions of culture that are national libraries.

References

Where the year of publication is an unconfirmed estimate, this is indicated by an asterisk*.

Agnew, John (2005), Sovereignty Regimes: Territoriality and State Authority in Contemporary world Politics, *Annals of the association of American Geographers*, 92(5), pp.437-461.

Aitken, Stuart C. (2005), Textual analysis: Reading Culture and Context. In Flowerdew, Robin and Martin, David (Eds.), *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project (Second Edition)*, Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Anderson, Benedict (2006), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Revised Edition)*, London: Verso.

Anderson, James (1988), Nationalist Ideology and Territory. In Johnston, R. J.; Knight, David B. and Kofman, Eleonore (Eds.) *Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography*, London: Croon Helm.

Anderson, James and O'Dowd, Liam (1999), Borders, Border Regions and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance, *Regional Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 7, pp.593-604.

Bauer, Martin W. and Aarts, Bas (2000), Corpus Construction: A Principle for Qualitative Data Collection. In Bauer, Martin W. and Gaskill, George (Eds.), *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Bennett, Tony (1995), *The Birth of the Museum: History, theory, Politics*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Berezin, Mabel (1991), The Organization of Political Ideology: Culture, State, and Theater in Fascist Italy, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56, No. 5, pp.639-651.

<div align="center">References</div>

Billig, Michael (1995), *Banal Nationalism*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Birdsall, William F. (1988), The Political Persuasion of Librarianship, *Library Journal*, Vol. 113, No. 10, pp.75-79.

British Library (1989), *The British Library : Past Present Future*, London: The British Library.

British Library (2010a), *British Library Exhibition Celebrates Ingenious Britons*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/press-releases/2010/august/british-library-exhibition-celebrates-ingenious-britons Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2010b), *British Library Successfully Stops English Naval Explorer's Journal from Sailing Abroad*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/press-releases/2010/march/british-library-successfully-stops-english-naval-explorers-journal-from-sailing-abroad Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2011), *Growing Knowledge: The British Library's Strategy 2011-2015*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/strategy1115/strategy1115.pdf Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2012a), *Beyond the Frame Celebrates Cultural Impact of Indians on Britain*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/press-releases/2012/february/beyond-the-frame-celebrates-cultural-impact-of-indians-on-britain194 Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2012b),* *From Stored Knowledge to Smart Knowledge: The British Library's Content Strategy 2013-2015*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/stratpolprog/contstrat/british_library_content_strategy_2013.pdf Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2012c), *The British Library Launches Regional Writing Britain Project With Four City Libraries Across England*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/press-releases/2012/december/the-british-library-launches-regional-writing-britain-project-with-four-city-libraries-across-englan Accessed: 2/8/15.

British Library (2014),* *Living Knowledge: The British Library 2015-2023*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~/media/bl/global/projects/living-knowledge/documents/living-knowledge-the-british-library-2015-2023.pdf Accessed: 2/8/15.

References

British Library (2015), *History of the British Library*, London: The British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/quickinfo/facts/history/ Accessed: 19/8/15.

Brophy, Peter (2007), *The Library in the Twenty-First Century (Second Edition)*, London: Facet Publishing.

Brown, Richard Harvey and Davis-Brown, Beth (1998), The Making of Memory: The Politics of Archives, Libraries and Museums in the Construction of National Consciousness, *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp.17-32.

Chowdhury, G. G.; Burton, Paul F.; McMenemy, David and Poulter, Alan (2008), *Librarianship: An Introduction*, London: Facet Publishing.

Cobban, Alfred (1969), *The Nation State and National Self-Determination*, London: Collins.

Colley, Linda (2003), *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (Third Edition)*, London: Pimlico.

Connolly, William E. (1991), *Identity\Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, Ithaia and London: Correll University Press.

Davidson, Neil (2000), *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, London: Pluto Press.

Devine, T. M. (2006), *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007*, London: Penguin Books.

Dey, Ian (1993), *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*, London: Routledge.

Erskine, Andrew (1995), Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria, *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 42, No. 1, pp.38-48.

Fairclough, Norman (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge: Blackwell.

Fairclough, Norman (2000), *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.

Fairclough, Norman (2001), *Language and Power (Second Edition)*, Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.

Fairclough, Norman (2003), *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge.

Fisher, Biddy (2011), Redefining Librarianship. In Baker, David and Evans, Wendy (Eds.), *Libraries and Society: Role, Responsibility and Future in an Age of Change*, Oxford: Chandos Publishing.

References

Francis, F. C. (1960), The Organization of National Libraries. In (Editor unknown), *National Libraries: Their Problems and Prospects*, Paris: UNESCO.

Gee, James Paul (1999), *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, London: Routledge.

Gellner, Ernest (1983), *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Goodrum, Charles A. and Dalrymple, Helen W. (1982), *The Library of Congress*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Gorman, Michael (2015), *Our Enduring Values Revisited: Librarianship in an Ever-Changing World*, Chicago: ALA Editions.

Green, Andrew (2008),* *National libraries: Where Next?* Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/dogfennaeth_gorff oraethol/darlithoedd_ac_erthyglau/dog_gorff_dar_erth_nlwnS.pdf Accessed: 5/8/15.

Harris, P. R. (1998), *A History of the British Museum Library 1753-1973*, London: The British Library.

Harvey, David (1989), *The Urban Experience*, Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Hau, Matthias vom (2008), State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism: Comparative Lessons from Mexico and Argentina, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp.334-354.

Hobsbawm, Eric (1983), Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terrence (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoggart, Keith; Lees, Loretta and Davies, Anna (2002), *Researching Human Geography*, London: Arnold.

Hunter, Davis and Brown, Karen (2010), *Thriving or Surviving? National Library of Scotland in 2030*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/808985/future-national-libraries.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

IFLA (2015), *About the National Libraries Section*, IFLA: The Hague. Available: http://www.ifla.org/about-the-national-libraries-section Accessed: 7/8/15.

References

Jaeger, Paul T.; Gorham, Ursula; Sarin, Lindsay C. And Bertot, John Carlo (2013), Libraries, Policy, and Politics in a Democracy: Four Historical Epochs, *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, Vol. 83, No. 2, pp.166-181.

Keating, Roly (2014),* Introduction. In British Library (Ed.) *Living Knowledge: The British Library 2015-2023*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/britishlibrary/~/media/bl/global/projects/living-knowledge/documents/living-knowledge-the-british-library-2015-2023.pdf   Accessed: 2/8/15.

Knox, Emily J. M. (2014), Supporting Intellectual Freedom: Symbolic Capital and Practical Philosophy in Librarianship, *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, Vol. 84, No. 1, pp.8-21.

Larsen, Steen Bille (2001), National Libraries – A Dumping Ground or a Source of National Knowledge, *Liber Quarterly*, 11, pp.298-306.

Leeuwen, Theo Van (2009), Critical Discourse Analysis. In Renkema, Jan (Ed.), *Discourse of Course: An Overview of Research in Discourse Studies*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Lewis, Huw (2012), *National Library of Wales: Remit Letter 2012-2013*, Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Lin, Hui and Luyt, Brendan (2014), The National Library of Singapore: Creating a Sense of Community, *Journal of Documentation*, Vol. 70, No. 4, pp.658-675.

Line, Maurice B. and Line, Joyce (1979), Concluding Notes. In Line, Maurice B. and Line, Joyce (Eds.), *National Libraries*, London: Aslib.

Luyt, Brendan (2009), Colonialism, Ethnicity, and Geopolitics in the Development of the Singapore National Library, *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp.418-433.

Maciver, Iain F. (1989), The Making of a National Library. In Cadell, Patrick and Matheson, Ann (Eds.), *For the Encouragement of Learning: Scotland's National Library 1689-1989*, Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Mann, Michael (1984), The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results, *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 25, Issue 2, pp.185-213.

References

Mason, Jennifer (2002), *Qualitative Researching (Second Edition)*, SAGE Publications Ltd. London.

Mihalić, Marina (1998), Information, Reference and Document Supply – New Priorities for National Libraries, *Library Management*, Volume 19, Number 6, pp.366-370.

Moore, Lara Jennifer (2008), *Restoring Order: The Ecole des Charles and the Organization of Archives and Libraries in France, 1820-1870*, Daluth, Minnesota: Litwin Books.

Morgan, Kenneth O. (1971), Welsh Nationalism: The Historical Background', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp.153-172.

National Library of Scotland (2007), *Annual Review 2006-2007*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/22501/2006-2007-annual-review.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

National Library of Scotland (2010),* *Connecting Knowledge: NLS Strategy 2011-14*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/896838/2011-2014-strategy.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

National Library of Scotland (2014), *Oor Wullie's Scots Guide*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/news/press/2014/10/oor-wullies-scots-guide Accessed: 3/8/15.

National Library of Scotland (2015a), *About Us*, Edinburgh: The National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/about-us Accessed: 19/8/15.

National Library of Scotland (2015b), *Brief History of the National Library*, Edinburgh: The National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/about-us/what-we-are/nls-history Accessed: 19/8/15.

National Library of Scotland Act 2012, *National Library of Scotland Act 2012*, London: The Stationary Office.

National Library of Wales (1962), *The National library of Wales: A Brief Summary of its History and its Activities*, Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales.

National Library of Wales (2010a), *Collections Development Policy 2010: Principles and Guidelines*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/dogfennaeth_gorff oraethol/dog_gorff_pol_dat_cas_10S.pdf Accessed: 5/8/15.

References

National Library of Wales (2010b), *Twenty-Twenty: A Long View of the National Library of Wales*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/dogfennaeth_gorff oraethol/dog_gorff_gwel_2020S.pdf Accessed: 5/8/15.

National Library of Wales (2011), *The Agile Library: The Library's Strategy 2011-2012 to 2013-2014*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/dogfennaeth_gorff oraethol/dog_gorff_strat_llgc_11_12_13_14S.pdf Accessed: 5/8/15.

National Library of Wales (2012), *HLF Helps Bring Rare Medieval Treasure to its Natural Home*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/services/media-and-business/press-releases/2012-press-releases/hlf-helps-bring-rare-medieval-treasure-back-to-its-natural-home/ Accessed: 5/8/15.

National Library of Wales (2013),* *Strategic Plan 2014-2017: Knowledge for All*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/fileadmin/fileadmin/docs_gwefan/amdanom_ni/dogfennaeth_gorff oraethol/corff_strat_KnowledgeforAll_2014_2017S.pdf Accessed: 5/8/15.

National Library of Wales (2014), *Speed's Wales: A Recently Purchased Atlas*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/blog/?m=201408 Accessed: 5/8/15.

National Library of Wales (2015), *A National Collection*, Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales. Available: https://www.llgc.org.uk/blog/?m=201501 Accessed: 5/8/15.

Newton, Cate (2008), *Integrated Collecting Strategy*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/22389/2008-collecting-strategy.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

Osmond, John (2009), Welsh Independence in an Era of Interdependence. In Perryman, Mark (Ed.), *Breaking up Britain: Four Nations After a Union*, London: Laurence and Wishart Limited.

Özkırımlı, Umut (2010), *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Phillips, Nelson and Hardy, Cynthia (2002), *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

References

Quinton (Lord) (1987), *The Idea of a National Library, Roberts Lecture – 3 December 1987*, Stirling: University of Stirling.

Richie, Jane and Lewis, Jane (2003), *Qualitative Research Practice: a Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Roeder, Philip G. (2007), *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Ruggie, John Gerard (1993), Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International relations, *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp.139-174.

Ryan, Gery W. and Bernard, H. Russell (2000), Data Management and Analysis Methods. In Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Second Edition), Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Sack, Robert David (1986), *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seeba, Hinrich C. (1994), "Germany – A Literary Concept": The Myth of National Literature, *German Studies Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp.353-369.

Sharp, Joanne P.; Routledge, Paul; Philo, Chris and Paddison, Ronan (2000), Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance. In Sharp, Joanne P.; Routledge, Paul; Philo, Chris and Paddison, Ronan (Eds.), *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*, London: Routledge.

Silverman, Davis (2005), *Doing Qualitative Research (Second Edition)*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Smith, Anthony D. (1991), *National Identity*, Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press.

Smith, Anthony D. (1995), *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, Anthony D. (1999), History and Modernity: Reflections on the Theory of Nationalism. In Boswell, David and Evans, Jessica (Eds.), *Representing the Nation: A Reader*: Histories, Heritage and Museums, London: Routledge.

Strauss, Susan and Feiz, Parastou (2014), *Discourse Analysis: Putting Our Worlds into Words*, New York and Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

References

Stuart, Mary (1994), Creating a National Library for Workers' State: The Public Library in Petrograd and the Rumiantsev Library under Bolshevik rule, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 72, No. 2, pp.233-258.

Takle, Marianne (2010), National Reproduction: Norway's New National Library, *Nations and Nationalism*, 16(4), pp.753-773.

The British Library Act 1972 (2015), The British Library Act 1972. In The British library (Ed.), *About Us*, London: British Library. Available: http://www.bl.uk/aboutus/governance/blact/ Accessed: 6/8/15.

Thomas, Ned (1985), Images of Ourselves. In Osmond, John (Ed.), *The National Question Again: Welsh Political Identity in the 1980s*, Llandysul, Dyfed: Gomer Press.

Wade, Martyn (2012), Foreword. In National Library of Scotland (Ed.) *NLS Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/1093350/2012-2017-nls-gaelic-language-plan.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

Wade, Martyn (2013), Introduction by the National Librarian and Chief Executive. In National Library of Scotland (Ed.), *Annual Review 2012-2013*, Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland. Available: http://www.nls.uk/media/1099085/2012-2013-annual-review.pdf Accessed: 3/8/15.

Weight, Richard (20-02), *Patriots: National Identity in Britain 1940-2000*, London: Macmillan.

White, George W. (2004), *Nation, State, and Territory: Origins, Evolutions, and Relationships, Volume 1*, London: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Appendix A

• • • • • • • •

Document Samples for the Three Libraries

• • • • • • • • • • •

Where the year of the document (shown in brackets) is an unconfirmed estimate, this is indicated by an asterisk*.

The British Library

Press Releases

Beyond the Frame Celebrates Cultural Impact of Indians on Britain (2012)

British Library at St Pancras Receives Highest Listed Building Status (2015)

British Library Exhibition Celebrates Ingenious Britons (2010)

British Library Opens National Newspaper Building (2015)

British Library Successfully Stops English Naval Explorer's Journal from Sailing Abroad (2010)

British Library's 2020 Vision Launched Today (2010)

Georgians Revealed Opens Offering a Rare Glimpse of Unseen Treasures from the Era and Showing What the Georgians did for us (2013)

Hidden History of the British in India (2014)

Last Chance to See Georgians Revealed: Life, Style and the Making of Modern Britain (2014)

Last Chance to See Terror and Wonder: The Gothic Imagination at the British Library (2014)

London: A History in Maps Promises to Reveal the Capital's Inside Storey (2012)

New Exhibition Explores Islam, Trade and Politics on a Journey across the Country (2012)

Saving Forgotten WW1 Family Stories: Yorkshire Urged to Contribute to Unique Online WW1 Archive Europeana 1914-18 (2014)

The British Library Launches Regional Writing Britain Project With Four City Libraries Across England (2012)

The Nation is Captured in conversation as Over 350 Recordings From the Listening Project are Made Available Online by the British Library (2013)

The Power of Partnership (2012)

Two Rare Manuscripts Saved for the Nation (2014)

Unlocking the Nation's Memory – British Library Newsroom Officially Opened (2014)

Writing Britain: Wastelands to Wonderlands 11 May – 25 September 2012 (2012)

Visions, Strategic Plans and Annual Reviews

Growing Knowledge: The British Library's Strategy 2011-2015 (2011)

Highlights January 2014 (2014)

Living Knowledge: The British Library 2015-2023 (2014*)

Content Strategies

From Stored Knowledge to Smart Knowledge: The British Library's Content Strategy 2013-2015 (2012*)

The National Library of Scotland

Press Releases

Exhibition on 400 Years of News (2004)

Exhibition on Scotland's Achievements (2013)

Library Welcomes Cultural Review in Scotland (2004)

National Library Puts New Scots in the Picture (2006)

Oor Wullie's Scots Guide (2014)

Scotland: Mapping the Nation (2011)

Scots Scriever Sought (2015)

Strategic Plans and Other Plans and Reports

Connecting Knowledge: NLS Strategy 2011-14 (2010*)

NLS Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017 (2012)

Thriving or Surviving? National Library of Scotland in 2030 (2010)

Annual Reviews

Annual Review 2003-2004 (2004)

Annual Review 2004-2005 (2005)

Annual Review 2005-2006 (2006)

Annual Review 2006-2007 (2007)

Annual Review 2007-2008 (2008)

Annual Review 2009-2010 (2010)

Annual Review 2010-2011 (2011)

Annual Review 2011-2012 (2012)

Annual Review 2012-2013 (2013)

Content Strategies

Integrated Collecting Strategy (2008)

The National Library of Wales

Press Releases

Click to Save the Nation's Digital Memory (Unknown)

HLF Helps Bring Rare Medieval Treasure Back to its Natural Home (2012)

ITV Wales Archive Donated to the National Library of Wales (2012)

Welsh Newspapers Online (Unknown)

Blog Posts

A National Collection (2015)

Familiarity and Strangeness (2014)

Speed's Wales: A Recently Purchased Atlas (2014)

Visions, Strategic Plans and Reports

National Libraries: Where Next? (2008*)

Notes from a Small Country (2011)

Strategic Plan 2014-2017 Knowledge for all (2013*)

The Agile Library: The Library's Strategy 2011-2012 to 2013-2014 (2011)

Twenty-Twenty: A Long View of the National Library of Wales (2010)

Annual Reviews

Annual Report 2013-2014 (2014)

A Library and More: Annual Review 2010-2011 (2011)

Annual Review 2012/13 (2013)

Annual Review 2011/12 (2012)

Review of the Year 08/09: Sharing our Riches (2009)

09/10 Review of the Year: Searchable Riches (2010)

Content Strategies

Collections Development Policy 2010: Principles and Guidelines (2010)

Appendix B

•   •   •   •   •   •   •   •

Discourse Analysis: Coding Process and Example

●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●   ●

It was explained in Chapter 3 that the discourse analysis was carried out on samples of documents from the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the National Library of Wales. The process applied in the analysis of these documents is discussed here, and a sample document (a press release from the BL on 13th February 2012 – *Beyond the Frame Celebrates Cultural Impact of Indians on Britain*) is shown to demonstrate the coding.

The initial process of discourse analysis involved reading and coding the documents, utilising the codes created from the pilot study (and developing more where necessary). Whenever a word, phrase or passage that drew upon, contributed to the construction of, or were representative of, particular discourses or narratives was found this would be marked using brackets,[26] and the relevant code was written in the margin alongside the word/phrase/passage.[27] The example on the following pages demonstrates this, with the various bracketed components, and codes for the different discourses and narratives in the margin.

Identifying key passages that might form part of the subsequent interpretation and explanation stages of the analysis was a second important part of the process. 'Deriving data' (Mason, 2002, p.116) when analysing documents may: '...mean that you will select elements of them, record specific things about them (for example, this might be literal quotations from a document...)' (pp.116-117). It would not be practical to include every identified example of the discourses and narratives, only a small number of quotations would ultimately be used in the writing up, therefore it was useful at this stage to identify or derive key examples upon which the

---

[26] Square brackets were used, however, if there was a further word/phrase/passage within this, of particular note or perhaps identifying a particular discourse or narrative within a larger passage containing more than one, it would be marked with curved brackets.

[27] If more than one discourse or narrative was drawn upon then all the relevant codes would be included.

interpretation and explanation could be built. Not every example is as effective in demonstrating the use of the discourses; some, though, are particularly good, and may show how they interrelate with each other. By carefully selecting these one also continues the ongoing process of interpretation which starts as soon as the analysis of the documents has begun.

So while it is necessary to code every example to gain a full picture of the discursive underpinning of a document it is this more detailed derivation of the data that drives the interpretation process, and eventually serves the explanation. On completion of the coding of a document the discourses and narratives identified were marked on a cover sheet (Appendix C); this also had space for comments should anything important or particularly useful be found in the document.

Press Office

Beyond the Frame celebrates [cultural impact of Indians on Britain]

CU SO BR

Mon 13 Feb 2012

Open University and British Library exhibition to tour Southern India, beginning in Mumbai on 13th February

British Library website and multimedia timeline at www.bl.uk/asiansinbritain [http://www.bl.uk/asiansinbritain] to bring [the history of the Indian presence in Britain] to a wider audience

SO IO BR HI

British Council's Connecting Classrooms to run linked educational activities

[Beyond the Frame: (India in Britain), 1858-1950 celebrates the often overlooked, long (history) of the (Indian presence in Britain.)] *This ground-breaking exhibition, part of a larger Open University led project, Beyond the Frame: Indian British Connections*, takes a new look at this [little-known history] and will tour Southern India from 13th February starting at the British Council in Mumbai and touring to British Council offices in Pune, Hyderabad and Chennai.

SO IO BR HI

HI

Hundreds of these fascinating lives are celebrated in the *Beyond the Frame* project including:

- Dadabhai Naoroji- elected Liberal MP in North London in 1892 and [the first Indian to be elected to parliament in Britain]

SO BR

Sophia Duleep Singh -Indian princess and Suffragette who marched alongside Emmeline Pankhurst to parliament in 1910, and was a major campaigner for women's rights

- Mulk Raj Anand – renowned novelist, was Indian programmes writer for the Indian section of the BBC's Eastern Service in the 1940s, where he worked closely with George Orwell. Abdul Karim - servant and teacher of Hindustani to Queen Victoria.

Victoria was said to be closer to Karim than she had been to John Brown.

Gandhi - his trip [to Britain] in 1931 captured the public imagination and he was mobbed by enthusiastic crowds, particularly in the East End of London and by mill workers in Lancashire. He also met with actor Charlie Chaplin.

BR

A multimedia timeline and [*Asians in Britain* website] has been created in partnership with the British Library in London to bring these stories alive for a much wider audience -http://www.bl.uk/asiansinbritain *[http://www.bl.uk/asiansinbritain]*

SO BR IO

Based on extensive archival research deriving from the 3-year project *Making Britain: South Asian Visions of Home and Abroad, 1870-1950* (funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council between 2007-10), this exciting follow-on is led by the Open University and directed by Professor Susheila Nasta in collaboration with Penny Brook of the British Library. The current exhibition and activities continue to be supported by the AHRC, The Open University and the British Library with new partners, the British Council India, the World Collections Programme and the National Archives of India.

As part of the British Council's Connecting Classrooms programme there will be a range of educational activities running alongside the exhibition. A teachers' pack will accompany the Indian run of the exhibition with free worksheets for school children.

[Profiling the influential contributions the early (South Asian community) made to (Britain), the exhibition, accompanying website and educational programme will provide (a history of Indian-British connections) during this period and engage new audiences with a fresh perspective on the impacts on (both nations) of their (shared heritage).

SO BR IO HI NA SO HI

Spanning almost ten decades from the period of the Raj to the better-known era of migration post-World War II, the exhibition and related website will focus on (Asian-British engagement) on (British soil) during this time in a range of areas including (cultural and intellectual life), resistance and activism, (national and global politics), the arts and sport.

SO BR CU KN GL

The exhibition looks at the impacts of individuals, communities and political movements on (British life) and their wider relevance (in India). It uses reproductions of contemporary accounts, posters, pamphlets, diaries, newspapers, political reports and illustrations, to build up a clear picture of the diverse and rich

BR IO

<mark>contributions (Indians have made to British life).]</mark> **SO BR**

Following the launch in Mumbai, *Beyond the Frame: India in Britain* will tour Southern India at British Council libraries, starting in Pune on 17th February, Hyderabad on 21st February and Chennai on 27th February. The exhibition will be open to the public in each of these locations for at least one week.

In November and December 2011, the exhibition toured Northern India, launching at the British Council and National Archives of India in Delhi and visiting Kolkata and Ahmedabad. The National Archives of India hosted the exhibition and displayed it alongside complementary materials from their own collection. During 2011-12, the National Archives will also feature the exhibition at regional archives in Jaipur, Bhubaneswar, Pudducherry and Bhopal.

Project Director, Professor Susheila Nasta MBE of the Open University comments;

"*In taking the exhibition to India we want to swivel the perspective to examine India's role within Britain (rather than Britain's well documented imperial influence in India). The exhibition will trace Indian-British interactions across the race, class, gender divide and draw public attention to the complex realities of both countries' intertwined histories. The accompanying activity for schools, the timeline, microsite and online database extend the interest in this project to a very wide audience. We hope that this work will capture people's interest and make them appreciate the huge impact that people from India have had on British life.*"

For more information about the exhibition or any of the supporting projects go to www.open.ac.uk/Arts/south-asians-making-britain *[http://uk.sitestat.com/bl/press /s?www.open.ac.uk.arts.south-asians-making-britain&ns_type=clickout&ns_url=http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/south-asians-making-britain]*

Appendix C

• • • • • • • •

Document Cover Sheet: Sample and Explanation

• • • • • • • • • • • •

An annotated sample of a document cover sheet, as used in the discourse analysis, is shown on the following page. The section at the top is for recording general information such as the title and the year of publication; in the middle is the section for keeping note of the discourses and narratives that the document contains evidence of; finally, the section at the bottom is for any additional comments. On completing the analysis of a document, all the available details about it are filled in at the top, and then the boxes for those discourses and narratives identified within it are ticked, before any other useful information is noted in the comments section.

Document Cover Sheet: Sample and Explanation

This box contains the title of the document.

This is the year of publication of the document.

The type of document equates to the document genre (e.g. press release, annual review etc.).

In this box the date of publication of the document is entered (if one is available).

Title				Code	
Year		**Date**		**Author**	
Type					

Discourses | | | **Narratives**

Discourse Code		Discourse Code		Narrative Code		Narrative Code	
SO				TR			
PN				SP			
IO				LG			
NA				PP			
GL				BR			
KN				SC			
CU				WL			
HI							

Comments

The Author is the individual(s) or organisation to which authorship has been attributed for a document.

The code is in the form of letters to denote the library, and two digits to identify the number of the document within the sample. Thus, the code NLW07 represents the seventh National Library of Wales document analysed. These codes are useful when attempting to keep track of references for quotations.

The comments section is available for any additional information. This may be notes of general impressions, if a document appears to be very important in terms of the overall themes, or includes particularly useful passages, this could also be added here.