Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593

About the journal

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (online) 2597-0593

Focus and Scope
Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies, NJLIS, is a scholarly peer reviewed open access journal, covering scientific issues and current trends in Library and Information Studies. Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies publishes Nordic and international peer reviewed LIS articles and reviews of significant LIS literature. The editorial committee consists of representatives from LIS departments in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Norway. The role of editor rotates annually between the members of the editorial committee. The journal is published on University of Copenhagen's online platform tidsskrift.dk.

Peer Review Process
Submitted articles are subject to double-blind peer-review to ensure a high level of quality. Two reviewers are assigned to each article. The editor decides on publishing after the review process and is in charge of communication with the contributor(s). Papers may be rejected directly by the editor if judged to be out of scope, deemed as sub-standard or not adhering to the author guidelines.

Open Access Policy
The journal provides immediate open access to its content on the principle that making research freely available to the public supports a greater global exchange of knowledge.

Publication Frequency
Nordic Journal of Library and Informations Studies publishes two issues per year.

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Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129681

Editorial

This fourth issue of the Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies marks the end of the second year for the journal. As the editor of a scientific journal, you have the opportunity and privilege to closely follow the development of the journal and a portion of the research field it is situated in. One characteristic of the research field of Library and Information Studies (LIS) is arguably societal relevance. The societal relevance of LIS is evident in the ways researchers from the field present inspiring, analytical, and critical studies addressing burning issues of our time. Looking back, it is clear that the Covid-19 pandemic has been – and still is – a major global crisis that keeps affecting almost every aspect of our daily lives.

In relation to the Covid-19 pandemic, Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies recently contributed with a thematic issue on research on pandemic and crisis information (vol 2, no 1), providing current research on the impact of what is now known as the first wave of Covid-19 on libraries and on young people's information behavior. For next year, the editorial committee of the journal has commissioned another thematic issue of high societal relevance: public libraries in times of political turmoil[1]. These two thematic issues highlight both the strong societal relevance of LIS research and how the Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies aims to capture issues of international significance and provide Nordic perspectives.

This fourth issue of the journal is not a thematic issue, but this open issue nevertheless clearly reflects both international topics of significance and Nordic perspectives on LIS. In this issue, the four scientific articles connect to two research areas that have historically attracted a great deal of interest from Nordic scholars within LIS: public libraries, and research practices and publication patterns. The first two research articles present studies focused on public libraries. Even though theoretical and empirical approaches differ, the two articles express an interest in how library users are constructed and positioned in relation to library policies and activities. In the first article, "Public libraries for all? A study on accessibility and participation in library policies", Lisa Engström studies the meaning ascribed to the concepts accessibility and participation in Swedish library plans, and how these concepts relate to each other as library users are constructed in these policy documents. The second article, authored by Bo Skøtt, is titled "Introducing society: A lifelong learning perspective on public libraries' contribution to integration" and presents a study that suggests a shift from the notion of

[1] See Call for Papers: https://tidsskrift.dk/njlis/announcement/view/932

integration to lifelong learning in the context of public library initiatives directed towards asylum seekers in Denmark.

The next two articles of this issue concern research practices and publication patterns. In the article "Publication practices in the Humanities: An in-depth case study of a Swedish Arts and Humanities Faculty 2010–2018", Joacim Hansson, Koraljka Golub, Jukka Tyrkkö and Ida Ahlström investigate characteristics of research practices and publication patterns against the background of digital scholarship and performance-based systems for managing and funding research. The article presents an in-depth study of publication patterns from a single faculty, as the relation between policy initiatives and publication practices are studied using bibliometric data from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Linnaeus University. The fourth article of this issue focuses a single discipline, but the perspective is transnational rather than local. In "Publishing patterns in pharmacy: A bibliometric analysis of publications from six Nordic universities", Terhi Sandgren presents a bibliometrical study of publishing patterns among pharmacy researchers from six Nordic universities using data from Current Research Information Systems.

As usual, this issue also includes a section of book reviews – this time with no less than six reviewed titles. The review section begins with two reviews of current titles from the growing body of literature on Open Access. First, Antti Rousi reviews "Open access in theory and practice. The theory-practice relationship and openness" written by Stephen Pinfield, Simon Wakeling, David Bawden, and Lyn Robinson. Then Samuel Moore offers a review of "Corporate capitalism's use of openness: Profit for free?" written by Arwid Lund and Mariano Zukerfeld. After these two reviews, we present four reviews of recent Nordic PhD theses from the field of LIS. As indicated by a study on Nordic PhD dissertations from the discipline between 2005–2014 (Tveit, 2017), to attend to PhD theses offer a broad understanding of the range of research topics in LIS. For this reason, and as a suggestion for future research, it would be interesting to see more studies charting (Nordic) LIS research from the perspective of PhD dissertations.

In any case, to include reviews of current PhD theses from the Nordic countries is part of our Nordic focus, and a practice that I believe will be widely appreciated as the discipline continues to expand and develop. First among the thesis reviews, Nanna Kann-Rasmussen reviews "Atmospheres of surveillance" by Karen Grova Søilen. The next review by Ola Pilerot concerns the thesis "Performing interdisciplinary knowledge: Information work in emerging interdisciplinary research" written by Eystein Gullbekk. After that, Ulrika Sjöberg reviews "Performing search. Search engines and mobile devices in the everyday life of young people" written by Cecilia Andersson. Anna Sparrman then reviews "(I) Kindly like: Participatory research with young people about identity and social media" by Amira Sofie Sandin. The review section consequently offers examples of both Nordic LIS research and Nordic perspectives on LIS research that I believe will be of interest to both researchers and practitioners within the diverse international field of LIS.

Since my year as editor-in-chief is coming to an end, I would like to take the opportunity to thank our authors, reviewers, the editorial committee, our guest editors, and the colleagues in Copenhagen managing the journal system. The making of a scientific journal is indeed a social practice, and you are all vital parts of the "continuous cycle of reading, writing, discussing, searching, investigating, presenting, submitting, and reviewing" that constitutes scholarship and a research community (Borgman, 2007, p. 47). With these introductory words, I invite you as a reader to join this cycle and to read and engage with the inspiring research presented and reviewed in this issue.

Fredrik Hanell
Editor-in-chief

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Tveit, Å. K. (2017). A celebration of diversity: LIS research in the Nordic countries as shown by PhD dissertations 2005–2014. *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science*, 58(2), 64–76. https://www.jstor.org/stable/90015282

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.127562

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Bibliotek för alla?

En studie om tillgänglighet och delaktighet i folkbiblioteksplaner

Abstract
The Swedish Library Act states that "Library activities shall be available to everyone" and other policy documents in Sweden promote the public library as a place making information and culture accessible to all. The Library Acts of Denmark, Finland and Norway include similar statements, as well as the core values of the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions. However, the concept of accessibility is seldom defined or discussed. During recent years, the concept of participation is widely used in the context of accessibility in cultural policies, including policies related to public libraries. Even so, this concept also lacks a clear meaning. Accessibility and participation are closely related to democracy; by making information accessible and by enabling participation libraries are considered as promoters of democracy. Thus, when the meaning of accessibility and participation changes, the understanding of democracy is affected. In this article, I explore the meaning of the concepts accessibility and participation in Swedish library policies. Eleven library policies are analyzed utilizing Arnsteins "ladder of participation" and Fraser's critique of Habermas notion of the public sphere. The article also discusses how the notion of democracy is affected by the different meanings accessibility and participation hold in the respective policies.

Keywords: public library, policy analysis, accessibility, participation, democracy

Inledning[1]

Den svenska bibliotekslagen stadgar i ändamålsparagrafen att "[b]iblioteksverksamhet ska finnas tillgänglig för alla" (SFS 2013:801, § 2). Även andra centrala styrdokument i Sverige uttrycker att folkbibliotek är platser som ger invånarna fri tillgång till information, kultur och annan verksamhet (se ex. Fichtelius et al., 2019, Skr 2017/18:264). Liknande skrivningar finns internationellt, exempelvis i bibliotekslagarna i Danmark, Finland och Norge (Lov nr 340 af 17/05/2000, LOV-1985-12-20-108, 29.12.2016/1492),[2] liksom i den US-amerikanska Library Bill of Rights (ALA, 1996) samt i den

[1] Studien har mottagit finansiering från Erik Philip-Sörensens stiftelse.
[2] Island har inte någon bibliotekslag.

internationella biblioteksorganisationen IFLAs beskrivning av sina grundläggande värden (IFLA, u.å.). Även i forskning om folkbibliotek framhålls tillgänglighet som grundläggande. I sin beskrivning av vad som karakteriserar folkbibliotek i USA lyfter exempelvis Richard Rubin och Rachel Rubin (2020, s. 68, *min övers.*) fem punkter, varav en är att bibliotek är ”öppna för alla med fri tillgång åt alla”. Trots detta har betydelsen av begreppet tillgänglighet inte varit föremål för djupare analyser inom biblioteks- och informationsstudier, även om tillgängligheten i sig (det vill säga huruvida exempelvis en viss grupp har tillgång till biblioteket) har beforskats i relativt hög utsträckning.

Vid sidan av tillgänglighet har begreppet delaktighet kommit att användas alltmer frekvent inom kulturpolitik och forskning (Belfiore & Gibson, 2019; Engström & Olsson Dahlquist, 2020), efter att begreppet sedan flera decennier varit vanligt förekommande i en bredare samhällelig kontext. Detta märks inom kulturpolitik och kulturinstitutioner i Norden likväl som på EU-nivå, och omnämns bland annat som en ny ”agenda för delaktighet” (Sørensen, 2016) och som en ”delaktighetsvändning” inom kulturpolitiken (Virolainen, 2016, s. 59). Följaktligen framhåller de nu gällande kulturpolitiska målen i Sverige vikten av delaktighet (Proposition 2009/10:3) och den svenska bibliotekslagen som trädde i kraft 2014 stadgar att folkbibliotek ska verka för ”delaktighet i kulturlivet” (SFS 2013:801, § 7). Inom biblioteks- och informationsvetenskaplig forskning påtalas olika aspekter av att bibliotek främjar delaktighet i samhället. Det finns exempelvis forskning som lyfter vikten av ökad informations-kunnighet för att stödja individers delaktighet (Haider & Sundin, 2019; Olsson Dahlquist & Sundin, 2020), medan andra studier undersöker hur biblioteket som plats kan främja mellanmänsklig interaktion och på så vis öka delaktigheten (Audunson et al., 2020; Johnston & Audunson, 2019; Klinenberg, 2018).

Målet att bibliotek ska tillgängliggöra information och främja delaktighet formuleras ofta i relation till demokrati. Såväl svensk som internationell forskning inom biblioteks- och informationsstudier, liksom styrdokument på olika nivåer för folkbibliotek i Sverige, understryker bibliotekets demokratiska funktion (se t.ex. Buschman, 2019; D’Angelo, 2006; Larsen, 2018; Rivano Eckerdal, 2017). Därmed framstår begreppstriaden tillgänglighet, delaktighet och demokrati som självklar i en svensk folkbibliotekskontext, där demokrati är begreppet på triangelns topp (målet) medan begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet återfinns i triangelns bas (som medel för att främja demokrati). Det är de till synes självklara begreppen i triangelns bas och deras inbördes relation som jag avser att utforska i denna artikel. Jag menar nämligen att det som vid en första anblick kan framstå som enkelt och okomplicerat vid en närmre undersökning visar sig vara invävt i större betydelsesammanhang värda att utforska och granska kritiskt. Syftet är att utifrån en analys av betydelsen som tillskrivs begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet i svenska biblioteksplaner fördjupa kunskapen om den position användaren ges i biblioteket. Därmed avser jag också ge en inblick i hur demokrati förstås i planerna.

Bakgrund

Enligt Sveriges bibliotekslag (SFS 2013:801) måste samtliga kommuner upprätta planer för bibliotekens verksamhet. Biblioteksplaner utgör tillsammans med bibliotekslagen de främsta styrdokumenten för verksamheten och biblioteksplaner refererar i hög utsträckning till lagens skrivningar, liksom till andra styrdokument (Rivano Eckerdal & Carlsson, 2018). Den första biblioteks-lagen i Sverige började gälla 1997. I ändamålsparagrafen i denna lag framhålls att ”alla medborgare ska ha tillgång till ett folkbibliotek”, vilket understryker tillgänglighetens centrala position (SFS 1996:1569, §2). Tillgång kan i det här sammanhanget förstås i betydelsen att ingen medborgare hindras från att inträda i rummet eller använda materialet. Begreppet delaktighet nämns inte i denna lag.

Den nu gällande bibliotekslagen trädde i kraft 2014 och ändamålsparagrafen lyder: ”Biblioteken i det allmänna biblioteksväsendet ska verka för det demokratiska samhällets utveckling genom att bidra till kunskapsförmedling och fri åsiktsbildning” (SFS 2013:801, §2). Därmed framhävs bibliotekets demokratiska roll mer explicit i den nya lagen, och en liknande utveckling kan ses i andra nordiska länder, såsom i Norge och Finland (Audunson et al., 2020, s. 4). Andra viktiga förändringar som började gälla när den nya lagen trädde i kraft är att ordet ”medborgare” har strukits ur den ovan citerade formuleringen om alla medborgares rätt till folkbibliotek, vilket vidgar innebörden av vem som har tillgång till biblioteksverksamhet. Begreppet delaktighet har också inkluderats i lagen genom skrivningen: ”Folkbiblioteken ska verka för att öka kunskapen om hur informationsteknik kan användas för kunskapsinhämtning, lärande och delaktighet i kulturlivet” (SFS 2013:801, §7). Dessutom har kravet att alla kommuner och regioner ska anta biblioteksplaner, som i någon form har funnits sedan 2005, förtydligats (Hedemark & Börjesson, 2014).

Kungliga biblioteket, KB, har tillsammans med kommunerna och regionerna i uppdrag att följa upp arbetet med biblioteksplaner. Enligt KB hade 97 procent av kommunerna en aktuell biblioteksplan år 2020 (Kungliga biblioteket, 2021). Åse Hedemark och Lisa Börjesson (2014, s. 110) konstaterar i en artikel att det är ”befogat att säga *att*, men svårt att säga *hur* planerna påverkar på organisatoriska, förvaltnings- och politiska nivåer”. Detta har Johanna Rivano Eckerdal och Hanna Carlsson (2018) försökt åtgärda i en studie om hur bibliotekarier förhåller sig till styrdokument i det vardagliga arbetet. Deras undersökning av folkbibliotek i fem skånska kommuner visar att styrdokument, såsom biblioteksplaner, påverkar hur bibliotekarierna agerar även om de inte alltid lutar sig explicit mot specifika skrivningar, genom att bibliotekarierna delvis har internaliserat dokumentens innehåll. Detta menar jag pekar på vikten av hur biblioteksplaner formuleras och vilken betydelse dessa skrivningar ges.

Tidigare forskning

Denna artikel undersöker den betydelse som begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet ges i biblioteksplaner. Nedan presenteras därför en överblick av hur dessa begrepp har diskuterats och använts i tidigare forskning inom biblioteks- och informationsstudier och närliggande discipliner samt i styrdokument.

Tillgänglighet är ett begrepp som används flitigt i vardagligt tal inom olika yrkes- och policyområden och i forskning – både i Sverige och internationellt. En omfattande kartläggning som gjordes 2013 över styrdokument och rapporter på EU-nivå visar följaktligen att frågan om tillgång till kultur har fått en allt större betydelse i sådana dokument (NCR, IRMO och Interarts, 2013). I Sverige tas frågan om tillgänglighet upp i den statliga kulturpropositionen *Tid för kultur* (Proposition 2009/10:3) och i statliga utredningar, såsom utredningen *Kultur i hela landet* (Skr 2017/18:264).

Inom forskning är det framför allt inom geografi och i undersökningar som på olika sätt rör personer med funktionsnedsättningar som begreppet tillgänglighet är centralt (Carpentier, 2015). Relationen mellan tillgänglighet och geografi samt vissa målgrupper märks också inom biblioteks- och informationsstudier, där det finns tillgänglighetsforskning som undersöker hur personer med funktionsnedsättning kan tillgå biblioteksrummet, bibliotekets material och webbresurser (se t.ex. Hill, 2011; Ikeshita, 2020; Pionke, 2017), samt forskning som rör tillgängligheten till bibliotek i länder eller regioner med stora avstånd till biblioteken (se t.ex. Salman et al., 2017), vilket också inkluderar delar av Sverige (Hansson, 2019). Det finns också studier av hur olika minoritetsgrupper kan tillgå relevant material i bibliotek (Bain & Podmore, 2020; Goldthorp, 2007). I den nämnda forskningen, som rör personer med funktionedsättning, minoritetsgrupper och geografiska avstånd till bibliotek, är det ofta *bristande* tillgänglighet som står i centrum. I studierna definieras eller problematiseras sällan begreppet tillgänglighet, utan betydelsen tas för given (även om forskning som exempelvis diskuterar den kanadensiska och den US-amerikanska lagens definition av tillgänglighet delvis behandlar begreppet, se exempelvis Lazar & Briggs, 2015).

Under det senaste decenniet har begreppet delaktighet i allt högre utsträckning tagits i bruk i relation till kultur, medier och kommunikation (Jancovich & Bianchini, 2013), inte minst i de nordiska länderna (Engström & Olsson Dahlquist, 2020; Sørensen, 2016). Forskningen kan delas in i sådan som diskuterar den mening begreppet delaktighet ges (se t.ex. Carpentier, 2015; Virolainen, 2016), sådan som analyserar problematiseringen av icke-delaktighet (se t.ex. Balling & Kann-Christensen, 2013; Lindsköld, Hedemark & Lund, 2020; Stevenson et al., 2015,) samt sådan som undersöker delaktigheten inom ett visst fält eller en institution – till exempel bibliotek (se t.ex. Goulding, 2009; Sung & Hepworth, 2012). Trots denna relativt omfångsrika forskning om delaktighet framstår begreppet fortfarande som svårdefinierat och vagt (Carpentier, 2015).

Genom denna artikel ger jag mig in i och kastar ljus över den begreppssvärm som delaktighet och tillgänglighet är en del av i en svensk bibliotekskontext. Men avsikten är inte att nå fram till en slutgiltig definition av begreppen, utan istället vill jag genom analysen av den betydelse som begreppen ges undersöka den roll användaren tillskrivs i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna, samt vilka konsekvenser detta får för synen på individens roll i det demokratiska samhället.

Teori och metod

Analysen består av närläsning, tolkning och reflektion kring vilken betydelse begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet ges i de utvalda biblioteksplanerna, samt en kontextualisering av denna betydelse i relation till bibliotekets demokratiska roll och användarens position. Min epistemologiska utgångspunkt är att språk är handling som formar förståelsen av omvärlden och vårt agerande i denna, och därmed bidrar språk till att forma omvärlden. En analys av centrala begrepp i biblioteksplaner är därmed i förlängningen en analys av den förståelse av verkligheten som dessa dokument förmedlar, vilket också får materiella konsekvenser.

För att genomföra analysen tar jag framför allt hjälp av Sherry R. Arnsteins (1969) numera klassiska delaktighetstege för att synliggöra de olika nivåerna av delaktighet, men också för att analysera begreppet tillgänglighet. Nedan beskriver jag Arnsteins delaktighetsstege och ger en kort introduktion till övrig teoretisk inspiration som färgar denna artikel. Därefter beskriver jag mitt tillvägagångssätt.

1969 publicerade Sherry R. Arnstein artikeln *A ladder of citizen participation*, som fick stort inflytande över hur begreppet delaktighet har använts därefter, både inom akademin och inom flera praxisfält. Med sin modell av en delaktighetsstege visar Arnstein att delaktighet inte är ett begrepp med självklar och entydig innebörd. Modellen har fått ett stort inflytande inom flera områden, såsom politik och stadsbyggnad, liksom inom flera relaterade vetenskapliga discipliner. I Sverige har exempelvis dåvarande Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (numera Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner) översatt modellen till en egen delaktighetstrappa med fem steg och statliga myndigheten Boverket har gjort en delaktighetstrappa med fyra steg (Boverket, 2021; Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2013). Jag avser att läsa och analysera biblioteksplanerna i dialog med Arnsteins modell, för att därigenom få syn på vad delaktighet och tillgänglighet "är" i planerna, samt diskutera relationen mellan begreppen.

Arnsteins (1969) modell i form av en stege sträcker sig från de två lägsta stegen, där medborgaren inte har någon form av delaktighet, via tre mittensteg där medborgaren ges en form av symboliskt inflytande, till de tre översta stegen som representerar verklig delaktighet och reellt inflytande, om än i olika hög utsträckning. De två nedersta stegen benämns (1) *manipulation* och (2) *terapi* och tillsammans utgör de fasen *icke-delaktighet*. Dessa steg används för att ge sken av verklig delaktighet, men syftar endast till att utbilda deltagarna enligt de styrandes syften. De tre nästkommande stegen,

(3) *informerande*, (4) *samråd*, och (5) *jämkning*, står för *symbolisk delaktighet*. Det innebär att deltagarna får information och ges möjlighet att komma till tals, utan att för den saken skull säkras något inflytande. Överst finns de tre stegen (6) *partnerskap*, (7) *delegerad makt*, samt (8) *medborgarkontroll.* Dessa tre steg utgör allihop *medborgarmakt,* men i olika hög utsträckning – från möjligheten att vara med och förhandla och ha inflytande över besluten till fullt beslutsfattande (Arnstein, 1969). Arnstein (1969) betonar att delaktighetsstegen är en idealtyp, och därmed en förenkling av verkligheten. Hon pekar också på konsekvenser av denna förenkling, såsom den binära uppdelningen i två till synes homogena grupper; invånare som saknar makt å ena sidan och makthavare å andra sidan.

Som framgår av denna beskrivning så analyserar Arnstein endast begreppet delaktighet (”participation”), och inte tillgänglighet. Trots det menar jag att hennes modell i viss utsträckning kan användas för att kasta ljus på begreppet tillgänglighet, då den första fasen (icke-delaktighet) och andra fasen (symbolisk delaktighet) inkluderar tillgänglighet i olika hög utsträckning. Enligt modellen innebär nämligen steg 3, 4 och 5 att medborgarna får tillgång till information och de får veta vad som sker, även om de inte ges inflytande över processen. Därmed får delaktighet på de lägre nivåerna av stegen en betydelse som ligger mycket nära begreppet tillgänglighet, vilket jag återkommer till i min analys.

I min analys av begreppet tillgänglighet är jag också inspirerad av Nancy Frasers (2003) teori om offentligheter. Fraser (2003, ss. 139–140) visar att den av Habermas uppburna offentligheten vilar på utestängningar utifrån kön och klass. Dessutom framhåller hon att ”den offentliga sfären” i själva verket aldrig har varit *en* offentlig sfär utan flera, bestående av exempelvis offentligheter för kvinnor och för svarta (Fraser, 2003, s. 142). Därmed bidrar Frasers teori till att möjliggöra en diskussion om hur olika användare och grupper av användare kan tillgå bibliotekets rum och tjänster. På så vis kan den binära uppdelningen i personer utan makt (biblioteksanvändare) och makthavare (tjänstepersoner), som Arnstein varnade för att bruket av hennes idealtyp kan leda till, nyanseras genom att det blir möjligt att belysa skillnader och ojämlikheter mellan användare.

Jag vill slutligen introducera Nico Carpentiers (2015) analys av begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet. Carpentier framhåller att närvaro, i kombination med frånvaro av sådant som hindrar tillgång till det som är närvarande, möjliggör tillgänglighet. När Carpentier (2015, s. 10) i detta sammanhang talar om närvaro är det i form av: ”objects and people, the presence of information (and ideas and knowledge), presence in specific spaces or presence in specific institutions (or organizations)”. Utifrån detta kan vi konstatera att exempelvis närvaro av viss teknik, kunskap och personal i biblioteket kan tillgängliggöra digital infrastruktur, men det medför inte nödvändigtvis digital delaktighet. Tillgänglighet har därmed en praktisk dimension, i form av fysisk tillgång till något, och en kognitiv dimension, i form av individens möjlighet att tillgå detta. I analysen framkommer det att sådan närvaro inte medför tillgänglighet för alla användare, beroende på skillnader mellan användarna relaterade till en av, eller båda, dimensionerna.

Vad gäller delaktighet konstaterar Carpentier (2015) att betydelsen av delaktighet är politisk, genom att vårt sätt att praktisera demokrati åtminstone delvis beror på hur vi förstår begreppets innebörd. En minimalistisk förståelse av delaktighet relaterar till en förståelse av demokrati som en representativ process, medan en maximalistisk förståelse inbegriper aktivt deltagande av invånarna (Carpentier, 2015). Detta förhållningssätt ligger i linje med utgångspunkten för denna artikel, då jag hävdar att den betydelse som begreppen delaktighet och tillgänglighet ges i biblioteksplaner påverkar förståelsen av demokrati.

Biblioteksplaner som forskningsmaterial
För att uppfylla denna artikels syfte analyseras kommunala biblioteksplaner. Biblioteksplaner är styrdokument, vilket innebär att biblioteksplaner tillsammans med andra texter, såsom lagtexter och politiska och administrativa dokument, reglerar verksamheten (Hedemark & Börjesson, 2014). Min utgångspunkt är att språk är görande, att texter är medskapare av verkligheten och att styrdokument föreskriver vissa handlingar och normer (Bacchi, 2009).

Materialet består av 11 biblioteksplaner som valdes utifrån att biblioteken är belägna med stor geografisk spridning över Sverige, samt för att säkra en variation i kommunernas storlek. Följande kommuners biblioteksplaner ingår i undersökningen: Arvidsjaur, Botkyrka, Dorotea, Falun, Forshaga, Helsingborg, Hylte, Norrköping, Trollhättan, Vaggeryd och Umeå. Biblioteksplanerna är i skrivande stund, år 2021, giltiga. Samtliga planer som valdes ut inkluderar begreppen ”delaktighet” och ”tillgänglighet”, men i olika utsträckning och sammanhang. Några biblioteksplaner inkluderar planen för kommunens skolbibliotek, enstaka planer inkluderar kommunens generella kulturplan och vissa inkluderar även en handlingsplan. Dessa nämnda stycken har utelämnats för att möjliggöra en analys av texter med liknande karaktär samt med hänsyn till denna studies syfte.

Analysen har gjorts genom en läsning och omläsning av planerna, där jag blivit alltmer familjär med materialet, vilket fått mig att lägga märke till aspekter jag inte noterade vid de första läsningarna. Jag har utforskat likheter och skillnader mellan hur respektive begrepp används i de olika planerna samt undersökt vilka andra termer som används i direkt anslutning till tillgänglighet och delaktighet, samt vilka som inte förekommer i begreppens närhet. Bland annat visar analysen att delaktighet nämns i relation till läsfrämjande och digital delaktighet, medan delaktighet i kulturlivet inte diskuteras, trots bibliotekslagens skrivning. Konsekvenserna av detta vidareutvecklar jag i analysen. Jag har också strävat efter att se motsatta tendenser till de jag har identifierat, både för att undvika att omedvetet bortse från sådana och för att lyfta fram komplexiteten i materialet. Detta framträder exempelvis i Slutdiskussionen, där jag lyfter fram och diskuterar hur delaktighet i vissa planer ges en djupare och bredare betydelse. I denna analys av biblioteksplanerna gör jag aktivt bruk av det teoretiska ramverket, då det färgar min förståelse av det jag läser genom att rikta min uppmärksamhet och strukturera min analys. I min läsning var jag uppmärksam på hur användarens roll beskrev, på om användarna kategoriserades och i så fall hur, på betydelsen som ”alla” gavs i texten och på hur begreppen tillgänglighet, delaktighet och demokrati användes.

Utifrån ovan beskrivna närläsning har jag konstruerat tre teman som relaterar till tillgänglighet (”(O)tillgängliga rum”, ”Tillgänglighet som anpassning” och ”Vi och de andra”) och tre teman som relaterar till delaktighet (”Läsfrämjande som teknik för delaktighet”, ”Digital delaktighet – en förutsättning för demokrati?” och ”Delaktighet = tillgänglighet?”. Temana är formade utifrån det jag fann vara centrala områden i biblioteksplanerna där aspekter av tillgänglighet respektive delaktighet sattes i spel och där olika betydelser av respektive begrepp framträdde. Dessa sex teman strukturerar analysen genom att de utgör underrubriker till de två rubrikerna ”Tillgänglighet – ett faktum eller en process?” respektive ”Delaktighet – något utöver tillgänglighet?”.

Innan vi kommer till analysen vill jag påpeka att denna studie inte syftar inte till att undersöka hur tillgänglighet och delaktighet faktiskt görs på biblioteken. Det jag avser att undersöka är utsagor i biblioteksplanerna – de betydelser som tillgänglighet och delaktighet ges i dem. Samtidigt anser jag att dessa utsagor i sig är göranden som både återspeglar och påverkar delaktigheten och tillgängligheten som görs på biblioteken.

Analys: tillgänglighet och delaktighet i biblioteksplanerna

Under läsningen av biblioteksplanerna konstruerade jag teman som strukturerar nedanstående analys. I analysen använder jag Arnsteins och Carpentiers begreppsdefinitioner samt Frasers teori om offentligheter för att synliggöra och tydliggöra hur begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet används i texterna och vilken betydelse de ges.

Tillgänglighet – ett faktum eller en process?

I Svenska Akademiens ordbok (SAOB) definieras *tillgänglighet* som ”förhållandet att vara tillgänglig”, och *tillgänglig*, när det används om något sakligt, definieras som ett ställe som ”man utan svårighet kan nå” och har tillträde till, samt som något man kan ”komma åt” och ha ”tillgång till” (Svenska Akademiens ordbok, 2004). Värt att nämna är att just tillgången till bibliotek används för att exemplifiera betydelsen av tillgänglighet, genom ett citat från år 1801: ”Bibliothequet hålles, efter gifven föreskrift, för Allmänheten tilgängligt, då hvar och en står fritt at läsa och utdrag göra, men icke någon utlåning af böcker tillåtes” (Samling af instructioner rörande den civila förvaltningen i Sverige och Finnland, citerad i Svenska Akademiens ordbok, 2004). I detta över tvåhundra år gamla citat, liksom i SAOB:s definition i övrigt, framhålls tillgänglighet som en aspekt som berör både platsen, som beskrivs vara tillgänglig för allmänheten, och materialet, som alla fritt kan läsa. Dessa två aspekter av tillgänglighet till bibliotek lyfts även fram i de biblioteksplaner som analyseras i föreliggande artikel då samtliga, förutom Biblioteksplan för Arvidsjaurs kommun (2017) som inte behandlar den fysiska platsen, betonar vikten av att biblioteksrummet likväl som materialet är tillgängligt.

Betydelsen av att något är tillgängligt har dock ändrats under dessa tvåhundra år, då det i många sammanhang inte längre anses räcka att det exempelvis är tillåtet för alla att inträda i ett rum eller att läsa ett visst material för att det ska betraktas som tillgängligt för alla. På så vis har begreppet tillgänglighet vidgats till att i många sammanhang betyda något mer än enbart *närvaro*, då begreppet också avser den faktiska möjligheten att ta del av innehållet i rummet eller materialet (jmf. Carpentier, 2015). Med andra ord har begreppets betydelse förskjutits från att beskriva ett objektivt och statiskt faktum till att vara beroende av användarens möjlighet att göra bruk av det som tillhandahålls. Jag återkommer till detta. Jag kommer nu att analysera hur biblioteksplanerna skriver om tillgänglighet till och i rummet för att därefter analysera hur tillgänglighet till materialet omskrivs.

(O)tillgängliga rum

När jag analyserar biblioteksplanerna framträder två infallsvinklar till det tillgängliga biblioteks-rummet; dels att biblioteksrummet är för alla, dels vikten av att prioriterade grupper, särskilt personer med funktionsnedsättningar, kan tillgå biblioteksrummet. Den första infallsvinkeln kan exemplifieras med skrivningen i biblioteksplanen i Falun: ”[f]olkbiblioteken är idag det enda offentliga utrymmet som är öppet för alla” (Falu kommun, 2018, s. 4). I det här sammanhanget får ”alla” betydelsen att inkludera samtliga invånare, och utsagan appellerar därmed till en idealsituation där alla förväntas ha samma förutsättningar att ta del av bibliotekets resurser. Därmed bortser skrivningen från eventuella hinder som vissa kan ha att delta i denna offentlighet (jmf. Fraser, 2003). Detta kan också tolkas som att tillgänglighet i detta sammanhang ges betydelsen av att samtliga har formell tillgång till rummet. Även om de andra biblioteksplanerna inte använder sig av lika starka påståenden så ger även biblioteksplanerna i Forshaga, Helsingborg, Hylte, Umeå och Trollhättan bibliotekets funktion som mötesplats för alla en framträdande plats.

Trots att samtliga ovan nämnda planer framhåller biblioteket som mötesplats för alla så finns det väsentliga skillnader i *hur* detta görs. I biblioteksplanerna som är antagna i Falun, Umeå, Helsingborg och Forshaga kommun framstår bibliotekets funktion som mötesplats för alla som självklar och som ett påstående om hur biblioteket faktiskt fungerar. Detta kan tolkas som att bibliotekslagen, som utgör ett juridiskt ramverk och därmed ett imperativ, används som en beskrivning av verkliga förhållanden. På så vis sätts sociala och ekonomiska ojämlikheter inom parentes eftersom de skillnader som finns mellan användarnas livsvillkor i form av exempelvis inkomst, utbildning och identitet inte tas i beaktande, enligt den liberala modell som beskriver offentligheter som platser där sådana skillnader kan ignoreras (Fraser, 2003).

I Trollhättans och Hyltes respektive biblioteksplaner framställs istället biblioteket som mötesplats för alla som ett mål de arbetar mot. Därmed förnekas inte eventuella utestängningsmekanismer som eventuellt försvårar eller förhindrar deltagande i den offentlighet som biblioteket utgör (Fraser, 2003), utan tvärtom kan biblioteksplanen ses som ett redskap som används för att synliggöra sådana hinder och arbeta för att överbrygga dem. Biblioteksplanen i Trollhättan stadgar exempelvis att de ska ”pröva olika metoder för att skapa ökad likvärdighet för biblioteksbesökarna” (Trollhättans stad, u.å., s. 7).

När biblioteket som en inkluderande mötesplats för alla skrivs fram som en målsättning och inte som ett faktum problematiseras ofta tillgängligheten för vissa grupper, såsom personer med funktionsnedsättningar, vilket utgör den andra infallsvinkeln till det tillgängliga biblioteksrummet som jag nämner ovan. Till exempel lyfter Doroteas Kultur- och biblioteksplan behovet av att installera hörslinga (Dorotea kommun, 2020) och biblioteksplanerna i både Trollhättan och Norrköping framför en strävan att förbättra tillgängligheten (Norrköpings kommun, u.å.; Trollhättans stad, u.å.). Att detta framhålls som målsättningar implicerar att biblioteken i dagsläget inte är tillgängliga i samma utsträckning för alla invånare, vilket innebär att (åtminstone inte alla) bibliotek fungerar som offentligheter som alla kan delta i på lika villkor.

I det här sammanhanget är det inte heller enbart den fysiska tillgängligheten som lyfts. I planen för Helsingborgs bibliotek (Helsingborgs kommun, 2019, s. 14) synliggörs en tydlig intertextualitet när tillgänglighet beskrivs som: ”kognitiv, språklig, kunskapsmässig, psykosocial, administrativ och ekonomisk”, vilket är definitionen av tillgänglig läsning som den statliga Myndigheten för Tillgängliga Medier (MTM) använder. Detta bredare perspektiv på tillgänglighet framkommer också i biblioteksplanen i Trollhättan som framhåller att ”alla ska känna sig välkomna till biblioteket” (Trollhättans stad, u.å., s. 5) och flera biblioteksplaner nämner på liknande sätt vikten av personalens bemötande (se exempelvis biblioteksplanerna i Helsingborg, Trollhättan och Umeå). Dessa skrivningar påminner om att formella rättigheter och möjligheter att nyttja bibliotekets resurser kan dölja inbyggda hinder. Fraser (2003, s. 147) exemplifierar detta med att ”män avbryter oftare kvinnor än vad kvinnor avbryter män; män talar också mer än kvinnor; gör fler och längre inlägg; och kvinnor blir oftare ignorerade än män när de gör sina inlägg”. Detta visar att det finns hinder för ett lika deltagande i offentligheten som får reella konsekvenser. Detsamma gäller för bibliotek, där statistiska undersökningar visar att personer med högre utbildning både använder biblioteket i större utsträckning och har högre förtroende för biblioteket än de med lägre utbildning (Eriksson & Michnik, 2019). Detta ojämlika nyttjande av biblioteket är inte förvånande, men synen på biblioteket som *en* offentlighet är trots detta hegemonisk och problematiseras sällan.

Ytterligare en aspekt av tillgång till det fysiska biblioteksrummet rör geografiska avstånd. Biblioteksplanerna i Trollhättan, Umeå, Botkyrka och Helsingborg diskuterar hur filialernas placering, liksom förekomsten av bokbuss och hemkörning av medier, påverkar tillgängligheten. I detta sammanhang blir den fysiska tillgängligheten delvis en fråga om geografisk närhet, men också om hur bibliotekets utformning av verksamheten, exempelvis i form av bokbuss och andra uppsökande aktiviteter, skapar fysisk närhet till materialet även om biblioteksrummet är mer avlägset placerat.

Tillgänglighet som anpassning

När tillgängligheten berör fysiska aspekter, såsom utformningen av biblioteksrummet eller materialets form, beskrivs frågan om tillgänglighet ofta i termer av att biblioteket måste ”anpassas”, exempelvis genom att installera hörslingor eller tillhandahålla talböcker och lättläst material. Dessa tekniker framställs på så vis som åtgärder utöver den sedvanliga utformningen av biblioteket. Därmed konstrueras bilden av att det finns normalt fungerande bibliotek för normalt fungerande användare som behöver anpassas för att vissa utpekade grupper (såsom personer med funktionsnedsättningar) också ska kunna tillgå verksamheten. Detta kan illustreras med hur verksamhetsformen meröppet lyfts fram i biblioteksplaner. I meröppna bibliotek kan användare under delar av öppettiden tillgå bibliotekets lokaler och resurser utan att det finns personal att tillgå (Engström, 2019). Flera av de analyserade planerna framhåller meröppet som en åtgärd som ökar tillgängligheten till biblioteket (Dorotea kommun, 2020; Falu kommun, 2018; Helsingborgs kommun, 2019). Exempelvis konstaterar biblioteksplanen i Hylte (Hylte kommun, u.å, s. 2) att meröppet utökar tillgängligheten ”för användarna”. Denna utsaga osynliggör både användare som faktiskt kan dra nytta av åtgärden och de som inte har samma möjlighet att göra detta. På så vis blir personer som har förmåga att klara sig själva i biblioteket synonyma med ”användare” och anpassningar som görs för att öka deras tillgänglighet framställs som förändringar för användare i allmänhet. Detta trots att vissa användare har svårt att nyttja det obemannade biblioteket, exempelvis på grund av kognitiva nedsättningar, och en stor grupp användare – personer under en viss ålder (ofta 18 år) – utestängs helt.

Även i biblioteksplaner som uppmärksammar att inte alla användare kan nyttja meröppet så framställs användare som klarar sig själva i det obemannade biblioteket som normen, vilket följande skrivning i Forshaga Biblioteksplan exemplifierar: ”Också i biblioteket i Deje har anpassningar av lokalen gjorts i samband med meröppet-projektet. Under arbetet med dessa och andra anpassningsprojekt måste hänsyn tas till olika sorters behov” (Forshaga kommun, 2020, s. 9). I detta citat är det användare som av olika orsaker inte kan manövrera det obemannade biblioteket som framställs som orsak till att särskilda utformningar – anpassningar – har gjorts.

När tillgången till material behandlas i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna är det framförallt två aspekter som problematiseras; språk och format. Samtidigt framhålls bibliotekets roll att fritt tillgängliggöra information som central, men denna praktik problematiseras inte på motsvarande sätt – den beskrivs bara. Att språk och format problematiseras innebär att ett flertal biblioteksplaner betonar att tillgången till material på andra språk än svenska, samt till material i andra format (såsom talböcker, Daisy, lättläst och storstil), är områden de ska arbeta med framöver. Ett ökat fokus på material som kan tillgås i olika format kan leda till att tillgängligheten till biblioteket ökar för alla. Ibland tenderar dock skrivningarna att snarare framställa sådana åtgärder just som en anpassning av biblioteket. Detta kan exemplifieras med skrivningen i biblioteksplanen för Falu kommun (2018, s. 3): ”Det ökade antalet medborgare med annat modersmål än svenska kräver ytterligare anpassning av medier och service”.

Vi och de andra

I de ovan nämnda sammanhangen sker en klassificering av användare och en binär uppdelning i vad som kan förstås som ”vanliga användare” respektive ”användare med särskilda behov”. I till exempel biblioteksplanen i Forshaga kommun (2020, ss. 6–7) står det först om det som framstår som det generella läsfrämjande arbetet. Detta är beskrivet under rubrikerna ”Läsfrämjande för barn och unga” och ”Läsfrämjande för vuxna”. Därefter följer rubriken ”Läsfrämjande för alla”. Det framstår som paradoxalt att ordet ”alla” återfinns i denna rubrik, då ”alla” uppenbarligen varken är barn och unga eller vuxna. I texten tydliggörs det vilka som istället avses med ”alla” genom de inledande meningarna: ”Det finns personer som av olika anledningar har svårt att läsa en text. Det kan exempelvis bero på en läsnedsättning eller att modersmålet är ett annat än svenska” (Forshaga kommun, 2020, s. 7). Genom att dessa personer exkluderas från grupperna barn och unga samt vuxna, konstrueras gruppen barn och unga samt gruppen vuxna som endast inkluderande personer utan funktionsnedsättning och med svenska som modersmål. Samtidigt konstrueras gruppen ”alla” utifrån synen att det primära kännetecknet för denna grupp är svårigheter att tillgängliggöra sig material i textform eller material skriven på avancerad svenska. Trots att avsikten högst sannolikt är att skapa en inkluderande skrivning i biblioteksplanen riskerar formuleringen därmed att bli särskiljande.

Ett annat exempel på när skrivningar i biblioteksplanen resulterar i särskiljande klassificeringar är när Arvidsjaurs biblioteksplan beskriver biblioteket som en plats dit nyanlända kan söka sig för att ”prata svenska på *våra* språkkaféer” (Arvidsjaurs kommun, 2017, s. 6, *min kurs.*). Ordet ”våra” kan syfta på olika gemenskaper; det kan exempelvis relateras till icke-nyanlända, eller till biblioteket. Oavsett vilket tydliggörs relationen mellan å ena sidan nyanlända och å andra sidan textens ”vi” (”våra”), genom att språkkaféer framställs som något som tillgängliggörs *för* de nyanlända och inte något som de är delaktiga i att skapa. Detta trots att språkkaféer är arrangemang där personer som talar svenska och personer som vill lära sig svenska behövs i lika hög utsträckning för att verksamheten ska kunna göras.

De ovan nämnda formuleringarna kan sättas i kontrast mot skrivningar i just Arvidsjaurs biblioteksplan och Doroteas biblioteksplan och deras beskrivningar av arbetet med nationella minoriteter. I Arvidsjaur omnämns nämligen *samarbetet* med kommunens samiska koordinator (Arvidsjaurs kommun, 2017, s. 5) och i Dorotea lyfts bibliotekets *samverkan* med kommunens samiska samordnare för att utveckla verksamheten ”med och för urfolket samerna” (Dorotea kommun, 2020, s. 7). Ordet ”med” implicerar en delaktighet som sträcker sig bortom de lägsta stegen på Arnsteins delaktighets-stege, då ordet implicerar samråd och jämkning, eller kanske till och med partnerskap (Arnstein, 1969). Begreppen samarbete och samverkan pekar på motsvarande vis mot att biblioteken inte bara informerar användarna om vad biblioteket tillgängliggör, utan att de också kommunicerar och samråder om verksamheten (jmf. Arnstein, 1969). På så vis skrivs de prioriterade grupperna fram som delaktiga i verksamheten, vilket bidrar till att upplösa den binära uppdelningen i ”vi” och ”de andra”.

Jag har nu analyserat den betydelse begreppet tillgänglighet ges i biblioteksplanerna, och det är tydligt att begreppet inte ges en betydelse utan flera. I vissa planer och i vissa sammanhang ges begreppet den snäva betydelsen att det inte finns några formella hinder för en användare att tillgängliggöra sig resurser, medan begreppet i andra sammanhang ges betydelsen att alla användare, oavsett individuella förutsättningar, ska ges möjlighet att i realiteten ta del av materialet och rummet. Analysen nedan visar att betydelsen av begreppet delaktighet på liknande sätt ges olika omfattande betydelse i biblioteksplanerna.

Delaktighet – något utöver tillgänglighet?

Begreppet delaktighet är i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna betydelsebärande i två avseenden; dels i relation till de andra begrepp delaktighet associeras med, dels i relation till de begrepp delaktighet inte förbinds med. Jag kommer i analysen att beröra båda dessa delar, med början i de sammanhang där delaktighet explicit problematiseras. När begreppet delaktighets närvaro i biblioteksplaner diskuteras är det också intressant att notera att begreppet endast omnämns i en enda paragraf i bibliotekslagen, paragraf sju, där det står att folkbiblioteken ska verka för ”…delaktighet i kulturlivet” (SFS 2013:801). Det är dock inte i relation till kultur som begreppet används i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna, utan här knyts delaktighet till andra termer vilket jag återkommer till nedan.

I de analyserade biblioteksplanerna är delaktighet intimt sammanbundet med demokrati; på en kollektiv nivå skrivs delaktighet fram som en förutsättning för en väl fungerande demokrati och på en individuell nivå skrivs delaktighet fram som en förutsättning för att individen ska kunna verka i det demokratiska samhället. För att delaktighet ska realiseras är det framför allt två tekniker som biblioteksplanerna framhåller att biblioteken ska ägna sig åt; läsfrämjande och digital kompetens. I nedanstående analys diskuterar jag först hur begreppet delaktighet används i relation till läsfrämjande aktiviteter och därefter till digital kompetens. I analysen framgår det att den betydelse som ges begreppet delaktighet påverkar demokratibegreppet, vilket jag också återkommer till i slutdiskussionen.

Läsfrämjande som teknik för delaktighet

Biblioteksplanen i Dorotea (2020, s. 6) framställer vikten av läsförståelse på ett sätt som exemplifierar de grundantaganden som flera av de andra planerna också vilar på med följande formulering: ”Läsning och läsförståelse är en grundläggande förutsättning för demokratiskt deltagande, för utbildning och delaktighet i samhället”. Liknande skrivningar om språkets och läsförmågans betydelse för delaktighet i samhällslivet finns i biblioteksplanerna för Arvidsjaur (2017, s. 8), Norrköping (u.å., s. 4), Helsingborg (2019), Umeå (2020, s. 13) och Falu kommun (2018). Dessa texter har en stark intertextualitet, då formuleringar från regeringens proposition *Läsa för livet* (Prop. 2013/14:3) lyfts fram, ibland som direkta citat av de statliga målen som bland annat stadgar att ”kunskapen om läsningens betydelse för utbildning, bildning och delaktighet i samhällslivet” ska öka, andra gånger i mer omskriven form. Som exempel på det förstnämnda kan Arvidsjaurs biblioteksplan nämnas i vilken det bland annat står att lässtrategin ska ”bidra till att kunskapen ökar om läsningens betydelse för människors utveckling och delaktighet i samhällslivet” (Arvidsjaurs kommun, 2017, s. 8). Tidigare forskning har också pekat på det starka samband som propositionen knyter mellan läskunnighet och delaktighet i samhället (Lindsköld, Hedemark & Lundh, 2020).

Skrivningarna i biblioteksplanerna, som den ovan citerade, slår fast att god läsförmåga är en förutsättning för delaktighet i samhället, men de diskuterar inte vad en sådan delaktighet innebär. Samtidigt som en sådan definition saknas så knyts inte heller läsförmågan till andra samhälleliga processer. Konstaterandet att läsförmåga är en förutsättning för delaktighet i samhällslivet framstår därmed som en isolerad och abstrakt utsaga som inte relaterar till några konkreta skeenden i närområdet eller omvärlden (det finns dock enstaka biblioteksplaner som avviker från detta, vilket jag återkommer till i slutdiskussionen). Därmed framstår det som att den delaktighet som åberopas på sin höjd befinner sig på det mittersta fältet i Arnsteins delaktighetstrappa. Med andra ord kan invånare med god läsförståelse tillgodogöra sig information (steg 3) och möjligtvis också delta i offentliga diskussioner där deras åsikter tas i beaktande (steg 4 och 5) (Arnstein, 1969). Men det framgår inte om detta ska resultera i någon form av makt över de beslut som fattas. Detta trots att den delaktighet som läsförmågan sägs möjliggöra knyts till en samhällelig nivå och demokratiskt deltagande.

Digital delaktighet – en förutsättning för demokrati?

Den andra tekniken som tas upp i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna är digital delaktighet. På liknande sätt som läsförmåga så beskrivs digital delaktighet som en förutsättning för att kunna delta i det demokratiska samhällslivet. Exempelvis kan vi i Arvidsjaurs biblioteksplan läsa att den som inte har tillräcklig kunskap eller tillgång till ”dagens teknik” inte heller har ”samma möjligheter att ta del av eller vara med och påverka dagens samhälle” (Arvidsjaurs kommun, 2017, s. 9). Biblioteksplanen i Dorotea (2020, s. 6) slår på motsvarande sätt fast att ”tillgång till och kunskap om digital kommunikation är en förutsättning för att kunna delta i samhället”.

Samtliga biblioteksplaner saknar dock en tydlig definition av vad som menas med digital delaktighet, även om flera planer knyter begreppet nära digital kompetens och förmågan att kritiskt bedöma information. I Helsingborgs biblioteksplan står det exempelvis att ”[d]igital delaktighet och kompetens är en förutsättning för ett demokratiskt samhälle” (Helsingborg, 2019, s. 16) och i

Biblioteksplan Hylte kommun (u.å., s. 9) sätts målet ”att arbeta för digital kompetens för lika villkor”. Delaktigheten som åsyftas verkar därmed likställas med en förmåga att tillgå information med digitala verktyg. Detta kan exemplifieras med ytterligare ett citat, den här gången från Vaggeryds biblioteksplan (2019, s. 10): ”Att uppmuntra fler till att våga och vilja använda internet är en demokratisk angelägenhet. De som saknar digital kompetens är ofta äldre, nyanlända och låg-utbildade, men det finns också välutbildade och höginkomsttagare som inte är digitalt delaktiga.”

En kritisk läsning av ovanstående utsagor ger vid handen att digital delaktighet endast är ett sätt att utbilda invånarna för att de ska kunna ta del av den information som till exempel myndigheter numer förmedlar via digitala kanaler. Exempelvis citerar Hyltes biblioteksplan den statliga avsiktsförklaringen som säger att offentliga verksamheter främst ska kommunicera med privatpersoner digitalt och biblioteksplanen konstaterar: ”Därför är det av yttersta vikt att man på det lokala planet ger invånarna möjlighet att bli digitalt delaktiga” (Hylte, u.å., s. 9). På liknande sätt skriver Arvidsjaurs biblioteksplan att information om vissa områden framför allt är tillgänglig på internet och att det därför krävs digital delaktighet för att ta del av denna (Arvidsjaur, 2017).

Det är intressant att notera att tillgänglighet och delaktighet till synes byter plats i orsakskedjan i de ovan nämnda citaten; i andra sammanhang framställs tillgänglighet (exempelvis till en arena) som en förutsättning för delaktighet (i processerna som sker på denna arena), men i dessa citat blir digital delaktighet en förutsättning för tillgång till information. Samtidigt likställs digital delaktighet med kompetensen att tillgå myndighetsinformation, vilket enligt Arnsteins delaktighetsstege är att betrakta som icke-delaktighet (”non-participation”), då det handlar om att utbilda medborgarna istället för att möjliggöra delaktighet i planering och genomförande av viktiga samhällsprocesser (Arnstein, 1969). Det är dock möjligt att göra en mer välvillig läsning av utsagorna, där syftet med att främja ökad digital kompetens i förlängningen är att ge invånarna möjlighet att delta i olika samhälleliga arenor och gå i dialog med myndigheter och andra aktörer, och på så vis göra sina röster hörda i olika sammanhang. Detta är dock inget som nämns explicit i dessa biblioteksplaner.

Delaktighet = tillgänglighet?

Den mening som ges till begreppet delaktighet i de ovan nämnda exemplen ligger därmed nära begreppet tillgänglighet, och ibland framstår begreppen som synonyma. Carpentier (2015) framhåller att tillgänglighet i en digital kontext inkluderar fysisk tillgänglighet (som erhålls genom exempelvis datorer och internetuppkoppling), kompetens att hantera tekniken, samt kompetens att söka och hantera informationen. Därmed handlar tillgänglighet om möjligheten att närvara på den digitala arenan (Carpentier, 2015). Denna tillgänglighet som Carpentier beskriver skulle kunna ses som en förutsättning för digital delaktighet, men de ovan citerade biblioteksplanerna tillskriver istället begreppet delaktighet denna betydelse. Därmed skapas en bild av att den som har digitala verktyg och är digitalt kompetent också har reella möjligheter att delta i och påverka samhället. Denna framställning tenderar att reducera demokratisk delaktighet till digital delaktighet. Detta osynliggör både personer som har tillräckliga digitala kompetenser men ändå inte är delaktiga i samhället, och personer som är delaktiga i samhället trots bristande digitala kompetenser. Samtidigt förskjuts ansvaret för samhällelig delaktighet till den enskilda individen som *bör* vara digitalt delaktig, vilket står i motsättning till uppfattningen att samhälleliga institutioner, såsom bibliotek, ska göra digital och annan information tillgänglig och möjliggöra för alla att delta (Rose, 1999).

Ovanstående analys visar hur intimt förbundna begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet är och att de både överlappar varandra och i vissa sammanhang är utbytbara mot varandra. Samtidigt är de inte synonymer. När delaktighet ges betydelsen av tillgänglighet kan det istället förstås som en inskränkning av begreppets potential. I slutdiskussionen nedan utvecklar jag resonemanget kring relationerna mellan begreppen och hur de i syn tur påverkar förståelsen av demokrati.

Slutdiskussion: en öppning för andra möjligheter?

Vid en första anblick framstår tillgänglighet och delaktighet som ett begreppspar, där delaktighet förutsätter tillgänglighet för att kunna förverkligas. Samtidigt förekommer en kronologi där begreppet tillgänglighet förr användes i högre utsträckning, exempelvis i kulturpolitiska styrdokument och i biblioteksplaner, medan det idag är ett större fokus på delaktighet. Detta kan åskådliggöras med en kort svensk myndighetshistoria: Den svenska Myndigheten för delaktighet, MFD, bildades 2014 genom en sammanslagning av Handisam och delar av Hjälpmedelsinstitutet, där Handisam hade i uppdrag att vara ett nationellt tillgänglighetscenter (Socialdepartementet, 2013). Uppdragsbeskrivningen som Myndigheten för delaktighet (notera namnvalet) idag har pekar på begreppens relation, då den lyder: ”Att främja tillgängligheten i samhället för att (sic!) ökad delaktighet” (Myndigheten för delaktighet, u.å.). Denna beskrivning understryker att delaktighet förutsätter tillgänglighet och implicerar att det är tillgängligheten som myndigheten kan påverka direkt, medan delaktighet kan följa av detta. I förordningen för Myndigheten för delaktighet definieras tillgänglighet följaktligen som ”faktorer, förhållanden och åtgärder som möjliggör delaktighet för alla oavsett funktionsförmåga” (Socialdepartementet, 2014, §2).

Detta förhållande mellan begreppen, där tillgänglighet förutsätts för att delaktighet ska möjliggöras, återkommer i de analyserade biblioteksplanerna, exempelvis när tillgången till internet och datorer lyfts fram som en förutsättning för digital delaktighet. På motsvarande sätt som i förordningen för MDF framstår tillgängligheten i dessa fall som något objektivt och påverkbart, medan delaktighet snarare framstår som en relationell process. Samtidigt finns det i mitt empiriska material också exempel på det omvända, då digital delaktighet sägs utgöra en förutsättning för tillgång till information som förmedlas på internet. Denna omvända relation är ett resultat av att begreppet delaktighet här ges betydelsen av att ha tillgång till och möjlighet att nyttja något.

När begreppet delaktighet reduceras till att innebära tillgänglighet omförhandlas också betydelsen av begreppet demokrati. Med andra ord påverkas toppen av begreppstriaden när dess båda ben förändras. Att vara digitalt delaktig får då betydelsen att ha tillgång till nödvändiga verktyg och kompetens, och inte att vara med och styra – varken den digitala utvecklingen eller samhället. Ändå ses digital delaktighet som en förutsättning för demokrati. Därmed konstrueras och reproduceras ett snävt demokratibegrepp där demokrati blir möjligheten att informera sig om vad som händer, snarare än att påverka och utöva inflytande över det som sker. Detta kan också uttryckas som att demokrati blir ett begrepp som i praktiken innebär avsaknad av delaktighet, eller på sin höjd en symbolisk delaktighet som inte leder till verklig maktutövning och som därför kan ses som en form av manipulation (Arnstein, 1969).

Det finns dock också motsatta tendenser i några av biblioteksplanerna, där begreppet delaktighet – i högre eller lägre utsträckning – ges en bredare och djupare betydelse. Jag har inte haft möjlighet att fördjupa mig i dessa tendenser i denna artikel, men jag vill peka på några exempel som visar på möjligheten av andra vägar. I vissa biblioteksplaner framhålls användarnas delaktighet i samhället och i andra planer framhålls delaktighet i bibliotekets verksamhet. Biblioteksplanen i Falu kommun hör till den första kategorin: ”Genom att erbjuda ett utbud av medier, tjänster och programverksamhet som präglas av allsidighet och kvalitet, ger biblioteken faluborna förutsättningar för att kunna vara aktiva deltagare i demokratin” (Falu kommun, 2018, s. 4). I detta exempel blir tillgången till bibliotekets resurser ett medel för att främja delaktighet i samhället, och bibliotekets verksamhet pekar på mål utanför bibliotekets väggar. Andra liknande exempel är Botkyrkas biblioteksplan (Botkyrka kommun, 2017) som framhåller bibliotekets roll att utjämna skillnader och ge alla tillgång till offentliga rum, och Vaggeryds biblioteksplan (2018, s. 10) där ojämlikheten i relation till digital delaktighet tas upp, bland annat genom konstaterandet att vissa grupper ”känner sig mindre delaktiga i informationssamhället”. Utifrån ett explicit erkännande av existerande social ojämlikhet kan biblioteken formeras som platser som tillgängliggör information, verksamhet och rum där användarna kan forma egna offentligheter för påverkan och maktutövning (Fraser, 2003).

Biblioteksplanerna i Helsingborg, Umeå, Botkyrka och Trollhättan lyfter frågan om delaktighet i och inflytande över bibliotekets verksamhet, det vill säga den andra kategorin jag nämner ovan. Exempelvis framhåller *Biblioteksprogram för Botkyrka kommun 2018–2022* (2017) att de ska ta fram metoder för inflytande, biblioteksplanen i Umeå (Umeå kommun, 2020) framhåller att de prioriterade grupperna ska påverka verksamheten och Trollhättans biblioteksplan (Trollhättans stad, u.å.) skriver att de prövar nya sätt att främja medskapande. Här sker en intressant betydelseförskjutning; när delaktighet diskuteras i relation till både läsfrämjande verksamhet och digital delaktighet är utgångspunkten en användare som saknar nödvändiga verktyg eller tillräcklig förmåga eller kompetens. Med andra ord lider användaren av en brist. När delaktighet istället diskuteras i relation till bibliotekets verksamhet är det inte användaren som ska förändras, utvecklas eller förbättras, utan biblioteket. På så vis öppnar biblioteksplanerna upp för en process utan enkla svar där användarna på allvar kan bli delaktiga, i betydelsen av att vara med och påverka verksamheten vilket motsvaras av de översta stegen i Arnsteins modell.

Analysen i denna artikel visar att det inte är tillräckligt att biblioteksplaner använder begreppen tillgänglighet och delaktighet, utan *hur* begreppen används vägleder vilken betydelse de ges. Jag skriver inledningsvis att språk är görande och att texter är medskapare av verkligheten. Det innebär både att de analyserade dokumenten bidrar till att forma verkligheten och att de är en produkt av denna verklighet. Det hade därför varit intressant att i framtida forskning, på motsvarande sätt som Rivano Eckerdal och Carlsson (2018) tidigare gjort i en studie med ett annat fokus, utvidga perspektivet och undersöka hur tillgänglighet och delaktighet görs på de utvalda biblioteken och hur dessa praktiker relaterar till skrivningarna i respektive biblioteksplan.

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Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.127159

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Introducing society

A lifelong learning perspective on public libraries' contribution to integration

Abstract
Public libraries have a societal duty to promote the peaceful coexistence between population and are therefore involved in integration work. However, the question is whether the integration perspective is suitable for addressing current issues or if other perspectives are more adequate. To study this, I conducted a literature review of published articles on Scandinavian public libraries' integration work, six semi-structured interviews with male asylum seekers and an email interview with the chief operations officer at three asylum reception centres in Denmark. Using a lifelong learning perspective, I was able to consider the six asylum seekers' experiences with integration in new ways. It became evident how integration is an ambiguous concept, and how the integration process does not constitute temporary phases but rather initiates lifelong learning processes, just like the activities native Danes conducts in their efforts to handle their lives in late modernity. The lifelong learning perspective probably cannot replace the integration perspective, but it may help us understand which activities are appropriate for public libraries to engage in. The public libraries' task is not to assimilate, but to promote new citizens' opportunities for peaceful coexistence by facilitating people's participation in society.

Keywords: public libraries, asylum seeker, integration, lifelong learning, experience formation

1. Introduction

In the 1980s and 1990s, the Scandinavian countries and their public institutions experienced a change in migration patterns (Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017; Johnston, 2016). To facilitate the integration process, Danish authorities increasingly instructed their culture institutions to cooperate with non-governmental organisations and private corporations as part of the solution. In the case of public libraries, this work culminated with the report *The public libraries in the knowledge society* (2010).

The history of integration in modern Denmark begins with the immigration ban in 1973. Throughout the 1960s, Denmark enjoyed virtually full employment, and therefore the Danish authorities invited guest workers to fill the vacancies, especially in the production industry. Even though the import of labour ceased in the early 1970s when economic conditions turned, Denmark continued to honour the obligation to provide family reunification and allowed various kinds of refugees under the protection of UNCHR to apply for asylum (UNCHR 2001-2018; see also Jensen & Pedersen, 2007). Together with the economic crisis, increased unemployment as well as a dawning political recognition that guest workers, invited during the 1960s, had no intention of returning home, the Danish authorities, which, hitherto, had pursued a laissez faire integration policy, decided to intervene. The public libraries became a part of this intervention from the beginning and evolved as time passed (Refuge for integration, 2001). New refugees kept emerging during the 1980s and 1990s, which promoted the development of new integration strategies until the public libraries gained their heyday as integration institutions in the late 1990s and early 2000s. For almost two decades, the public libraries constituted a key contribution to the integration process and managed to keep the attention of both the public and the Danish authorities (Refuge for integration, 2001).

Most of these initiatives were locally or regionally anchored integration projects, expressing experimental activities or different kinds of best practices, often endeavouring to build library collections of mother-tongue literature, develop language-training programmes and to create physical environments where people, unfamiliar with the use of the public library, could feel welcome and confident. In many cases, the public library was – and still is – seen as refugees first meeting with the asylum-providing nation's institutions and representatives (Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005; Johnston, 2016). Other projects sought to educate and equip librarians with knowledge, strategies, and skills aimed at serving refugees who could express, to librarians, incomprehensible ways of using the public library's assets, for instance because of illiteracy, poor education, or cultural differences (Refuge for integration, 2001; see also Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005; Skøtt, 2019). As a part of society's adjustment to new migration movements, the Danish public libraries have used the integration concept to define their activities regarding peaceful coexistence between populations for the last 40-50 years but during the same period the social structures of society have been subjected to serious changes (Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017; see also Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005, and Savolainen, 2016), leaving the integration perspective with a need for reconsideration.

2. Research questions and objectives

The changes in society's social structures are caused by increased global migration movements, mobility, inequality, etc. challenging the nation states' self-perceptions (Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017) and cause the nation state's original idea of a common cultural unity to waver. Therefore, it is interesting for public libraries to discuss the integration concept and to reconsider the integration practices, which are taking place. I base my theoretical framework on Peter Jarvis' lifelong learning theory, which he develops in the book *Adult education and lifelong learning* (2010). I do so because I consider lifelong learning theory to represent an alternative to the integration theoretical approach. Originally, lifelong learning was regarded as a concept aimed at people's growth as human beings and was associated with the individual adult's life practice, but within recent years this understanding has been revised. Jarvis states how:

> [T]he major difference between all of these earlier orientations to lifelong education and the more current ones is that formal lifelong education is now regarded as something necessary for work rather than for the humanity of the learner. Clearly, this is not an either/or situation; it should be both/and, but the emphasis in recent years has been on work rather than the humanity of the learner. An ideal has been turned into a practical necessity with a pragmatic orientation (Jarvis, 2010, p. 45).

I aim to change perspectives to create a valuable theoretical framework for investigating the integration practices and the ways asylum seekers experience these in new ways.

Based upon the above, my research question is: *What new insights may be gained by applying a lifelong learning perspective to the public libraries' integration practices*? In the next section, I will outline the methods and my methodological considerations and choices. Then, I will present the starting point and outcome of a literature review I conducted, explain the theoretical framework and the analytical apparatus to finally carry out the analysis itself. The article ends with a discussion of my findings and a conclusion.

3. Method

The integration area in Denmark is thoroughly regulated. The minister of immigration and integration and his ministry hold the political responsibility, while different services and local private and/or public operators hold the administrative and practical responsibility. When an asylum seeker registers with the police and applies for asylum, she thus initiates a process which is divided into several phases and managed by more operators: the asylum application process constitutes a first phase, while a second phase begins when the asylum seeker receives the decision on whether she has been granted asylum or not. The answer, whether positive or negative, initiates a third phase, aiming to reintegrate the asylum seeker in society in Denmark, in another safe country – or in her country of origin. The asylum application phase, which is the starting point of my study, is managed by the Danish immigration service in cooperation with local operators and the asylum seekers and regulated via contractual agreements. Hence, the asylum seeker must enter a contract with the local operator, to be accommodated at a residential centre:

> The operator must try to reach agreement with the resident on the content of the contract. If this is not possible, the operator must determine the content of the contract in accordance with the assumed number of hours (...). The contract, which must be adapted to the case processing phase in which the resident's asylum case is located, determines the scope and content of:
>
> - Necessary tasks concerning the operation of the centre
> - Teaching (...)
> - Activation (...) (Standardkontrakt… 2018, p. 36 – my translation)

Necessary tasks include cooking, cleaning, and tidying of own housings and common areas, as well as cleaning and maintenance of outdoor areas. Education is mainly aimed at language and culture acquisition and must create the conditions for a successful integration process or facilitate a repatriation. Education must create an active and meaningful everyday life, where general and professional skills are maintained, as well as: '... contribute to increasing the individual's responsibility for their own lives and for the community existing at the place of accommodation' (Standardkontrakt… 2018, p. 36 – my translation).

To answer my research question, I have conducted semi-structured interviews with residents (see Appendix A) and a follow up email interview with the chief operating officer of the three centres. I chose to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews with asylum seekers, as my interest is focused on how individuals experience being integrated into a new society. The structured parts of the interviews enable me to ask questions about the topic I have set out to investigate, while the open parts leave space to additional information and side stories. I selected my respondents using an information-oriented approach (cf. Brinkman, 2013) and chose to interview adult males because library science studies often omit men's library activities (e.g., de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017) or include men's use of libraries in mixed population studies as representing a population group (e.g., Johnston, 2018; Savolainen, 2016; Vårheim, 2014), even though there are documented differences between children's, women's, and men's library use (Applegate, 2018). However, this study is not a gender study, and the gender perspective will not be further elaborated. I also chose my respondents because they all had some of the characteristics for which both integration and lifelong learning activities may compensate; they were all in vulnerable situations where their initial social and cultural skills no longer sufficed, and they were faced with acquiring new skills and understandings as they adapted to their new society (chief operations officer, email interview, 11 September 2018). Furthermore, I based my selection on the following criteria:

- The respondents had to be Arab or Northern African immigrants, as they represent the new groups of asylum seekers coming to Denmark,
- The respondents had to be active patrons, as the pivoting point of the study was to learn how the interaction between the asylum seekers and the public library could be analysed from a lifelong learning perspective; and
- Participation had to be voluntary, and respondents had to agree to the use of their contributions in the research process. All interviews were conducted based on an interview guide (see Appendix A), recorded, and subsequently transcribed.

I conducted interviews with asylum seekers from two of three asylum reception centres, situated in a peripheral region of Denmark, and a follow-up email interview with the chief operations officer in charge of the institutions. The two centres were placed in minor urban settlements in rural environments, hosting minor and mid-sized companies, trade businesses, tourism, etc. Together with a third centre (an asylum reception centre for unescorted children), the institutions in question had room for a total of 619 residents, but due to political restrictions, this number was decreasing. At the time of my investigation (late summer of 2018), 581 residents – children, adolescents, adults, and elderly people – were accommodated in the three locations.

The starting point for the respondents' library use was a mobile branch from the local public library, which visited the largest centre every Tuesday and the small one every Thursday. The mobile branch consisted of a van with shelves for books, games and movies on the left side, a small sofa group with a fixed table just behind the driver's seat and the entrance door, and a computer for information searching and registration on the right side. The mobile branch brought beach chairs together with a portable billboard to be placed outside when the weather permitted. The scheme was established in May 2018 and a small but firm core of patrons was established, from which the six respondents were chosen. The asylum seekers had no social security number, which is usually required to become a patron, but library staff may issue temporary loaning cards to tourists, exchange students and thus also to asylum seekers, which may be used at public libraries throughout the municipality. Despite this possibility, the mobile branch accounted for most of the respondents' library use.

I conducted six interviews between June 3 and June 5 2018 with male residents between roughly 18-70 years. My methodological approach is based on a hypothetical-deductive approach (King & Horrocks, 2012). This means that the respondents' answers are considered as subjective opinion formations based on my questions. My questions thus acted as a catalyst highlighting certain aspects of everyday life, while other aspects, with potential influence on respondents' answers, may have been ignored (Brinkman, 2013). Four interviews (with respondents A, B, D, and E) were conducted together with an interpreter, who, at the same time, was the local librarian and served as the contact person between the respondents and me. One interview (with respondent C) was conducted in English, assisted by a resident interpreter, and one interview (with respondent F) was conducted in English.

Using a translator is always difficult because translations are creative processes which must try to convey the form and content of utterances in a new linguistic context. My contact, who was an experienced translator speaking several Arabic languages, was aware of this issue. After each interview, we discussed the form in which the interview had been presented, including the very poetic rhetoric of the mature and intellectual respondents. The quotes from the interviews conducted in Arabic were first translated to Danish by the interpreter and then translated to English by me, while the quotes from the interviews conducted in English are reproduced verbatim. As neither of the respondents speak English as their mother tongue, these appear in broken English.

Another issue is whether the prior relationship between the contact person and the respondents is influencing the answers given. This can in no way be ruled out. It is a general challenge in qualitative studies where the interaction between interviewer and respondent is conditioned by a third person. It is impossible to secure the conversation from external influences. However, without this intervention, I would not have been able to complete this study, and the respondents had nothing to gain by distorting their answers. They knew full well that their answers did not affect neither their asylum application nor general living conditions.

Some of the respondents were awaiting approval of their applications for a residence permission, and some had received a rejection and contemplated further actions, while others awaited the results of appeal applications. These different stages in the asylum process gave the respondents different preconditions for engaging in activities, but their engagement did not necessarily decline with the initial rejection. This was the case for some, (e.g., Respondent A), while others engaged even more (e.g., Respondent F). I chose respondents who had been living in Denmark between six months and three years, as I wanted to talk to people in the initial phases of their integration process (cf. Berry, 1997; see also Announcement on teaching and activation, etc. of asylum seekers and others, 2010), to study how they used the library services provided and for what. The respondents were in transition phases between their previous lives, which had been lived elsewhere under other circumstances, and future lives, which seemed to be completely different – whether they were granted asylum or not. No one had the prospect of returning to their former lives, although for some this was an incarnated desire (Respondent A, 3 June 2018). Even if the respondents did not yet have a residence permission, they were still exposed to integration efforts and especially the uncertainty about their future put certain requirements on the respondent's readiness to learn. Again, I cannot be certain how the current situation affected the respondents' comments, however, when studying the answers, some of the respondents also formulate disapproving comments concerning, for instance, the long processing times and the minimal prospects for getting asylum. Thus, any influence from their current living conditions did not deter some respondents from being critical.

The follow-up interview with the chief operations officer was completed as an email correspondence, concerning the formal organisation of the institution, and aimed at clarifying various practical issues regarding the administrative structures and the asylum seekers' everyday lives. The chief operations officer divided the asylum seekers' duties into *teaching*, *necessary tasks,* and *activation*. The residents initially signed a contract with the centre, outlining the various activities they had to partake in.

4. Literature review

To outline how integration theories have shaped the perception of the public libraries' integration activities hitherto, I will present a brief review of 11 key articles. The articles were identified by applying the following search queries:

> ((“public library” OR “public libraries”) AND (integration? OR integrating?) AND (“Nordic countries” OR “Nordic country”) OR Europe)),
> ((“public libraries” OR “public library”) AND (integration? OR integrating))
> ((“public libraries” OR “public library”) AND immigrant? AND (integrating OR integration))

The searches were conducted between 7 and 8 June 2018 in the following databases: Scopus, SAGE Journal, Web of Science, Academic Search, and Eric. The databases were selected based on their subject coverage and in cooperation with a local research librarian.

The academic interest in Scandinavian public libraries' integration activities has hitherto been scarce (Aabø & Audunson, 2012; Vårheim, 2014). I present 11 of 14 retrieved peer-reviewed articles, their methods, and results, to identify what significant findings previous studies have contributed with. I chose to concentrate on studies conducted in Scandinavia (in one case in comparison with Great Britain and Canada), because these countries have deployed national integration strategies for culture, education, and business policies, contrary to for instance USA (de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017; Johnston, 2018). The absence of a national integration strategy leaves the integration initiatives to local political, social and/or cultural institutions, which for instance reduces the opportunities for equality in the asylum process, coordination of joint efforts, and rational use of scarce resources. In addition, migration movements in the United States differ from migration movements in Europe, just like challenges are handled differently (de Graauw & Bloemraad, 2017). Therefore, three articles were omitted.

In 2005, Jönsson-Lanevska reported the findings from a comparative case study of the city library, the local public library, and the adult education library of Borås in Sweden. The author interviewed three librarians and compared the findings with equivalent Finnish and Danish studies. In Jönsson-Lanevska's view (2005), assimilation can never be or become the aim of public libraries' integration activities. Instead, librarians need to continuously develop their intercultural communicative, psychological, and pedagogical competencies while keeping focused on the children's cultural and language development.

A similar conclusion was reached by Atlestam, Brunnström and Myhre (2011), who applied focus group interviews and circulation statistics in their case study. The authors concluded that immigrants made use of the public library for education, work-related tasks, and private purposes, and to preserve their native tongue. The estimated importance of native language literature differed widely between the children and their parents.

On two separate occasions, Ulvik (2009) and Audunson, Essmat and Aabø (2011) studied the integration of female refugees. Ulvik conducted a participatory, semi-structured observational study among female refugees attending reminiscences groups in Oslo, Norway. Ulvik found that common social and cultural activities such as reminiscences groups might be a steppingstone, allowing trust to develop between members of different ethnic communities and emphasised the development of: '… public libraries in multicultural local communities into areas that can function as meeting places in the community' (Ulvik, 2009, p. 155).

Audunson, Essmat and Aabø conducted nine in-depth interviews with Afghan, Iranian, and Kurdish women. These women both used the public libraries for instrumental chores, linking them to society's system worlds (e.g., to their workplaces) and for social chores, linking them to their life worlds (e.g., to their local communities) in pursuit of sociality. The first utilisation connected the women to society's public space, while the latter included the opportunity to move from passive observation to active participation across socio-cultural boundaries and to obtain comfort and consolation (Audunson et al., 2011).

One year later, Aabø and Audunson (2012) published the results of a lengthy in-depth observational study of an adult immigrant population in three different districts of Oslo. Their study built on prior surveys and was supported by a literature review and interviews. Aabø and Audunson showed how the public library as a space exposes people to each other's diversity, but also displayed how people live culturally and socially differentiated but meaningful lives. This exposure of dissimilarity provides patrons with opportunities to conduct self-reflection and thus enhance their own life choices. This conclusion subscribes to an anthropological thesis, in which individuals become aware of their arbitrary lives in their encounters with that which is different (cf. Johnston, 2018; Vårheim, 2014).

The public library as a public space was the starting point for two subsequent studies. Vårheim (2014) conducted unstructured interviews with two librarians and eight students participating in an education programme in Northern Norway to study how the public library's physical surroundings enabled face-to-face meetings between immigrants and their fellow countrymen as well as between immigrants and Norwegians. The visible presence of people expressing diverse life practices and the librarians' egalitarian approach to patrons was deemed of crucial importance and value for the development of social capital and general trust among immigrants.

In 2016, Johnston reported the findings from a case study consisting of field observations, interviews, focus group interviews and questionnaires on three public libraries in and around Malmö. The study sought answers to questions about how language cafes and conversation groups contribute to language learning and to integration in general and concluded how above-mentioned initiatives support immigrants' integration through informal exchange of information. The public library's practices '[…] have the ability to bring together, in one program, the many ways in which newcomers are already using public libraries – as meeting places, for language learning support, and for personalised information provision from library staff' (Johnston, 2016, p. 16).

Subsequently, in 2017, Delica and Elbeshausen published the results of a comparative study, utilising prior research data, secondary documentation, interviews, and observations from British, Canadian, and Danish public libraries. The public libraries in question had been exposed to extensive organisational redesigns, and despite some differences, which could be attributed to socio-political conditions, the public libraries in question had developed new and similar organisational self-understandings, denoted *the social library* by the authors. The social library referred to the public libraries '[…] as a cornerstone of a defined community' (Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017, p. 237) instead of a cornerstone in the imagined community, which formerly defined the nation state.

By using Jürgen Habermas' public sphere theory and case-based research methods, Johnston, together with Audunson (2017), examined how the public libraries in Oslo, Moss and Horten support different forms of publics and thus also various forms of integration work. The authors observed how the Norwegian public libraries manage their obligation to create '[…] independent meeting places and arenas for public discussion and debate' (Johnston & Audunson, 2017, p. 229). The study focused mainly on the political integration of immigrants and their opportunities to gain a voice in the Norwegian public. The study showed how '[c]onversation-based programming in public libraries shows great potential for supporting immigrants' political integration and bringing their voices into the public sphere' (Johnston & Audunson, 2017, p. 237).

In another article from 2017, Johnston studied how integration is promoted through friendships and acquaintances created through public libraries' integration activities. The study was based on observations of three language cafes in and around Oslo, as well as questionnaires, and used contact theory as a theoretical framework. In contact theory, the physical encounter between people is a crucial premise for creating recognition and respect for cultural differences. The study concluded that '[…] the programming [language cafes] shows great potential for facilitating the four processes undergirding Contact Theory: Learning about the out-group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, and in-group reappraisal' (Johnston, 2017, p. 12).

Finally, Johnston engaged in a third observational study in 2018 as a participant in different integration programmes in Scandinavia. Johnston's observations were supplemented with informal interviews with organisers and immigrants participating in these programmes, as well as data from prior case studies. The article showed how participation in conversation groups and the establishment of common goals contributed to integration by conveying common knowledge among the participants' dissimilarities and similarities in ways which cannot be taught. These activities were established not to assimilate immigrants but to enable demystification and decrease of prejudice due to the equal status of the attendees and mutual accommodation (Johnston, 2018).

The 11 articles show the wide range in theoretical starting points, methods, perspectives, populations, etc. although a main emphasis on sociological approaches seems to be applied in recent years. Audunson, Essmat and Aabø's (2011) emphasis on how immigrants use public libraries to handle system world and life world tasks in a Scandinavian context sums up the conclusions of the 11 articles: Integration activities in public libraries regard refugees' further education as a starting point for an introduction to the labour market, laws, and regulations, etc. (system world) and their personal development as husband, wife, parent, etc. in a new society (life world). The Scandinavian public libraries still support formal learning activities such as language training and vocational education but put special effort on informal socialisation and cultural activities as prerequisites for active participation in society's democratic processes. Hence, the physical space and interacting with people still play a central role in the public libraries' integration work.

5. Theoretical framework

Society's actions toward asylum seekers are planned from an integration perspective (e.g., Refuge for Integration, 2001). The integration perspective includes a terminology allowing authorities, the municipalities, and their institutions to plan strategic efforts and to handle different challenges – but the integration perspective may also be a starting point for analytical activities, like assessing the values of activities or the results in practice. According to John Berry, the term *integration* refers to the reciprocal acceptance and recognition of different customs and habits necessary for groups to live peacefully together (Berry 1997). One of the things however, making the concept of integration ambiguous and difficult to define is how integration may be applied both at an overarching political-strategic level and at a subordinate pragmatic level. Berry denotes the overall political-strategic process *acculturation*, but this term is never used for instance in a Danish context. Instead, politicians and opinion makers talk about integration in the term's etymological meaning as a process of successfully mixing different people in a community (e.g., Cambridge English Dictionary, s. d.). On the overarching political-strategic level, the common use of the term integration hence just refers to the introductory processes asylum seekers are exposed to, without expressing anything about the inhered aims or what activities must be carried out to reach these aims. The practical consequences may as well be assimilation or segregation, even though the activity is articulated as integration.

On a subordinate pragmatic level, integration refers to certain forms of coexistence opposed to segregation and assimilation:

> [W]hen individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *Separation* alternative is defined. When there is an interest in both maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups, *Integration* is the option (1997, p. 9).

Integration, whether used in its overarching or subordinate sense, refers to certain learning objectives: integrated is something individuals or groups are meant to become. Integration implicitly indicates a temporary process with a beginning, an interlude and an end, and the outcome of this process is the implementation of intended learning objectives (cf. Berry, 1997). Additionally, the integration indicates a gap between native and non-integrated people (see also Johnston, 2018), whereby the concept becomes exclusionary and may be used as an evaluation criterion. From an integration perspective, the native population is, by definition, integrated, while asylum seekers may be identified according to how well-integrated, they are; strategic integration activities are always aimed at the asylum seekers and never at the native population (cf. Refuge for Integration, 2001; Atlestam et al., 2011). In this sense, integration may be used as a measure of the extent to which individuals or groups have managed to adjust, but without explicit measurable objectives. This is also the case when integration efforts plead for mutual adjustment between asylum seekers and the native population. When asylum seekers are placed in a local area, the current residents are informed and may possibly meet some of the people in question. These initiatives are voluntary and in no way oblige the residents. Hence, no activities systematically prepare the native population for their obligations concerning peaceful coexistence (see also Savolainen, 2016). This is problematic as 'mutual accommodation' according to Berry (1991, p. 10) is required for integration. Only in open and inclusive societies, where the indigenous population allows cultural diversity to flourish, do non-natives have the opportunity to go through a real integration process.

This concept of integration currently defines the public library's integration activities. In this article, integration will be applied as a starting point for an analysis of the respondents' answers.

5.1 Lifelong learning

Public libraries support the formal education activities of education institutions by facilitating those continued and voluntary learning processes, which are driven by the students' or course participants' own ambitions. Education, lifelong learning and how these develop in societies has been addressed by Jarvis (2010), who initially distinguishes between *learning*, *education,* and *lifelong learning*. Learning is defined as an overarching term, denoting the formation of individuals' experiences in general, while formal education and lifelong learning constitute subordinate terms, referring to certain learning activities undertaken for specific purposes. Furthermore, lifelong learning may be subdivided into non-formal learning activities and informal experience formation. The next sections build on Jarvis' theory (2010) and constitute the second half of my theoretical framework.

Formal education denotes learning situations taking place at education institutions framed by institutional practices, such as curricula or syllabuses, and whose purpose is to impart the students with formal knowledge and competencies in intentional learning processes. The student's degree of mastery is tested by professionals and evaluated according to formal and professional standards (learning objectives).

Only a minor part of the individual's learning endeavours takes place through formal education (Jarvis, 2010). *Non-formal learning activities* refers to the extra-curricular learning outcomes, individuals achieve from interacting with people in professional, vocational and/or social situations. Educators often try to promote and support such non-formal learning activities to create empowerment or equipping learners with professional, cultural, and/or social life skills, but in less compelling ways and without testing the learning outcome. Therefore, non-formal learning activities have a less rigid framework according to their intentional content and a greater tolerance toward incidental experiences. Professionals will often have obtained knowledge of and experiences with their subject areas through incidental learning processes, while being socialised into a community of practice as students or via internship but non-formal learning activities are not limited to organisational contexts. They also take place as voluntary activities aimed at personal development, like when the individual attends courses, events, and activities in their spare time. The need to formalise non-formal learning activities arises as a reaction to the nation state's challenges and dynamics necessitating an individual orientation towards personal growth as both employee and human being (see also Johnston, 2018; Ulvik 2010).

Informal experience formation denotes semi-conscious learning situations in the individual's everyday life, like when interacting with other people. Most of what people learn, they learn at random in everyday life situations where certain occurrences require people to adjust their hitherto actions (Jarvis, 2010). Many situations are handled based on unreflective customs by means of experiential knowledge of how identical or similar situations have been handled previously. Certain events, however, require conscious reconsiderations and alterations to exert adequate conduct (see also Audunson, Essmat & Aabø, 2011; Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005). Everyday life experiences thus become part of the informal experience formation people utilise to handle new life events.

Formal education does not occur in Danish public libraries, but public libraries frequently provide the framework for both non-formal learning activities and informal experience formation. I choose to interpret Jarvis' exploration of the learning concept as associated to self-formation and the individual's attempt to handle society's changeability. The integration concept is widely recognised and utilised by public libraries in their planning of how to serve asylum seekers but in this study, I shall tentatively replace the integration concept with Jarvis' concept of lifelong learning to see what new insights such a shift in perspective may bring. Different kinds of self-formation activities are interesting in an integration context because these activities concern people who are in transitional phases of their lives and thus forced to consciously reconsider past life practices to develop new ones.

6. Analytical apparatus

The analysis strategy expresses a hypothetical-deductive approach (cf. King & Horrocks, 2012), as I build my analyses on the learning concepts identified by Jarvis (2010). In the first iteration, I break down the respondents' statements into sentences or coherent statements and distribute these passages according to their subject content into three categories: formal education, non-formal learning activities, or informal experience formation – no matter whether these statements refer to past experiences, current activities, or future desires. Teaching activities such as mandatory Danish lessons are identified as formal education, while instructions regarding cleaning and maintenance are identified as non-formal learning activities. Socialisation and interaction with other residents, volunteers and staff members during leisure time activities, sports, etc. are identified as informal experience formation. These three concepts will structure the next section.

In the second iteration, I regard the various statements according to their intentionality and incidentality, respectively (Jarvis, 2010). The intentional learning objectives of Danish lessons is to learn the attendees to speak Danish, while the intentional learning objectives of instructions regarding cleaning and maintenance is to keep the centre tidy and to repair buildings, installations, etc. In the first case, the fulfilment of objectives is verified via documentation and tests, while, in the latter case, the fulfilment of objectives (the tidiness and conditions of the centres) is evaluated according to normative standards. In both cases, incidental learning activities take place, for instance as socialisation when people learn together or must solve practical tasks together. Statements regarding leisure time activities are identified as situations with a high degree of informal experience formation and are not subdivided because it does not make sense to try to determine the intentional fulfilment of objectives in such situations.

In the third iteration, statements considered relevant to answering my research questions are selected and related to the integration and lifelong learning concept, respectively.

7. Findings

Being residents at asylum reception centres, the respondents were all posed in structurally comparable situations, which they handled widely differently, due to their respective backgrounds, life approaches, prior experiences, etc. Some of the respondents stated how they felt safe in Denmark, but also extremely exposed due to long waiting times, the uncertainty about the outcome of their asylum application process and the consequent anxiety about the future – experiences which had to be addressed in one way or another. Consequently, the stay at the centres was considered a limited period without much relation to what came before or afterwards:

> Basically, [I] find it difficult to comment on how life in Denmark is because [I] still live in a refugee camp or an asylum reception centre. Therefore, [I] have not really been able to integrate into society. But [I] have the feeling that it is a fine community where [I'll] have a good time (Respondent E, 5 June 2018).

The respondents did not perceive the different tasks and chores they were obliged to participate in as elements detached from their everyday conditions. Nor did they refer to them as integration activities; rather, they considered them to be part of a totality and a part of the lives they currently lived.

Categories such as mandatory tasks or volunteering first appeared when I took the chief operations officer's considerations into account. The contractual agreement with the Ministry of Integration required the centres to impose asylum seekers with *mandatory tasks*, to encourage people to get involved in *volunteering*, and to provide opportunities to engage in *leisure time activities*. Subsequently, an agreement on teaching and activation was enshrined in a contract signed by the asylum seeker and by a representative of the centres (Standardkontrakt…, 2018; see also Announcement on teaching and activation, etc. of asylum seekers and other, 2010).

7.1 Formal education

Apparently, mandatory tasks and practical chores were of great importance for the Danish authorities and the centres as integration activities. The tasks constituted a cornerstone in the asylum seekers' development of personal autonomy while living at the centres and even before receiving a residence permission. The obligation to become financially self-reliant as quickly as possible seemed to be another key issue, why practical chores, such as autonomy for one's own economy and household, should be incorporated into their personal autonomy – regardless if these activities could be regarded as assimilative in practice (see also Audunson et al., 2011; Johnston & Audunson, 2017; Vårheim, 2014).

Mandatory tasks included Danish language training and participation in the 'Asylum-Seeking Course', module 3-8, concerning cultural understanding, the writing of a Curriculum Vitae, the writing of an individual employment or career plan, as well as clarifying any competence profiles and education needs. English language training was offered to a lesser extent, together with mother-tongue training, which was offered to the extent possible. Specific rules applied for the children.

The most prominent obligations mentioned by respondents was undoubtedly the Danish language training, but the respondents referred to language training in slightly different ways. One of the dedicated learners, respondent F, noted how:

> I would like to show the people who I am […]. I came from another […] country with other traditions and everything is different, but I will show […] who I am – not by words but by action. […]. How can I live in Denmark if I cannot speak Danish? (Respondent F, 5 June 2018).

Despite his idealistic attitude and even though respondent F was a skilled and eager student, he acknowledged the difficulties in acquiring Danish '… I can write something with you [but] I cannot pronounce it […]. [Danish] is so difficult.' (Respondent F, 5 June 2018). Respondent F's statement pointed to an awareness of how his socialisation into the Danish society was going to be a continuous learning process which would last for years to come.

Another mandatory task was practical chores consisting of tidying up and cleaning of your own accommodations and common areas, minor repair work and maintenance of buildings and surrounding areas:

> All activities aim to strengthen the residents' competencies, contribute to the operation of the centres, and provide a meaningful everyday life. Necessary tasks are cleaning and maintenance of homes and associated areas. The apartments are regularly checked for whether they are kept in a safe condition and [staff] may instruct on cleaning, etc. (chief operations officer, email interview, 11 September 2018 – my translation).

The asylum seekers were adults and they had already developed certain standards and routines. Nevertheless, staff members supervised and could intervene by instructing the residents how to clean and maintain their accommodations. This might be appropriate regarding garbage sorting or the use of different, and to the residents new, cleaning agents or tools – but to instruct adults in how to clean or tidying up as a part of a formal learning process indicates the presence of an integration concept containing assimilative measures. According to the chief operations officer, chores had a practical purpose but were also aimed at providing asylum seekers with the skills to master their own households, as well as personal autonomy. Only respondent E mentioned practical chores and only in a side note '... and then [we] have practical [work] here at the centre where [we] clean…' (Respondent E, 5 June 2018).

Teaching activities may be considered as formal education due to the presence of learning objective and because the teaching ends with a formal evaluation. The residents' engagement in cleaning and maintenance had clear learning objectives, such as mastery of their own households, and may therefore be regarded as formal education. Due to the lack of formal evaluation criteria, however, mandatory tasks may also be regarded as non-formal learning activities. Hence, I regard above-mentioned practical chores as situated between formal education and non-formal learning activities.

None of the respondents mentioned the public library, neither in regard to language training nor the performance of their practical chores. It is understandable that the respondents did not use the library in the performance of their practical chore. Here, the staff members' general knowledge and experience formed the knowledge base which the residents drew on. It is more surprising, however, that none of the respondents associated their formal education with the library. In the answers, a clear separation regarding their use of the library appeared between the intellectual work carried out in connection with the formal teaching activities and the pleasurable reading that the respondents indulged in.

7.2 Non-formal learning activities

Volunteering had a similar nature and was perceived compulsory quite the same way as mandatory tasks, yet without the same status. In my study, volunteering did not mean engagement in political or societal matters as it usually does (see also Johnston & Audunson, 2017) but referred to the use of asylum seekers' inhered skills to assist staff members in their everyday task-solving, such as interpreters or as teachers in mother-tongue tuition (Respondent F, 5 June 2018). Volunteering included clerical work or involvement in different types of production activities, such as working at the carpentry workshop, production kitchen, recycling shop, as hairdressers, etc. The ambition was to create a meaningful everyday life, while reinforcing the asylum seekers' professional skills.

Several respondents referred to volunteering though few as enthusiastically as respondent F. Respondent F had a Master of science degree in tourism, spoke several languages and felt obligated to aid his fellow residents the best he could:

> I am working here, or I am a volunteer here as a translator […] just helping the people […] who is speaking Arabic […] who is speaking Russian […] and [who] can't speak English or Danish. They cannot speak [with the staff] so naturally, I must help them (Respondent F, 5 June 2018).

Only respondent F indicated, how he used the public library's facilities systematically in his volunteering. He used handbooks, textbooks, and dictionaries, and searched the Internet for information as compensation for lost ways to obtain everyday knowledge (cf. Atlestam et al., 2011; Johnston, 2018), often with the librarians to assist with his information needs related to language (Respondent F, 5 June 2018).

Mandatory tasks and volunteering included all residents, even those whose applications had been rejected. However, it was the *Danish immigration service* who oversaw the asylum procedure. The centres thus had nothing to do with the processing or procedures. Although great emphasis was placed on the asylum seekers' participation in such activities, their engagement had no bearing on their chances to obtain asylum (chief operations officer, email interview, 11 September 2018), and thus respondent F's chances of being granted a residence permission were not any better than those of respondent C, who was a laid-back teenager.

7.3 Informal experience formation

Finally, the centres made leisure time activities available, such as gyms and sports facilities, and they arranged sports games, excursions, and other types of outings (chief operations officer, email interview, 11 September 2018). Staff members arranged sewing and knitting cafés – and had recently allowed the public library from the adjacent town to provide their services to the residents. The leisure activities were the least compelling offer for the asylum seekers and were aimed at conveying meaningful intellectual activities. The leisure activities naturally reflected the asylum seekers' interests but were in fact written into the contractual agreement between the Danish authorities and the centres (Announcement on teaching and activation, etc. of asylum seekers and others, 2010; New to Denmark, 2018; Standardkontrakt…, 2018). However, the contract said nothing about the nature of these offers, and the centres were not obliged to offer e.g., library service.

Most respondents used the library service this way. Despite being desperate about his current situation, respondent A used the mobile branch to pursue a newfound passion for Arabic history:

> [I] like to know the history because if you do not know the history, you do not know what is going on around [you]. Reading history means that you are a more educated person and have more insight into how other people live and how their lives have been [...]. When you [...] share your knowledge, you have something to contribute and it would be great if [I] could be allowed to work with it in the future (respondent A, 3 June 2018 – my translation).

Respondent A used the literature to fill some of his spare time but also recognised how reading provided him with new knowledge as part of a self-educational ambition. Respondent A recounted how his interest in history had been ignited by his exile and how this interest had given him new insights into the political and cultural situation in his home country. Respondent A's interest in Arab history may be seen as an expression of mutual integration. Literary self-study may be regarded as a legitimate and worthwhile leisure activity in a Danish context, while the subject of self-study - the history of the Arab world - may be regarded as respondent A's voluntary but legitimate attempt to preserve a kind of connection to his homeland and his former way of life - because it was important and valuable to him.

Respondent B made a similar use of the library. He focused on self-development activities:

> When you have a conversation with a human being, you talk with confidence because what you say comes from both the heart, the brain or from the mind [...]. It is something that exists in human nature, but it is something that is enhanced by using the library (Respondent B, 3 June 2018).

By referring to both heart and mind, respondent B indirectly emphasised how both non-formal learning processes and informal experience formation could be nurtured by using the library. Respondent B perceived the encounter with literature as a way of developing tendencies which are naturally embedded in people yet need cultivation. Respondent B's answers were shaped by the fact that he was an educated, mature, and knowledgeable man, who stressed the use of fictional literature as a source to expand his vocabulary. Respondent B's interest was, like Respondent A, legitimate but limited by his language skills, which the librarians in their mutual integration endeavours sought to compensate by providing literature in Persian.

However rudimentary, the library service provided in the surveyed region was applied as a leisure activity and occasionally played a role in the respondents' volunteering and their endeavours to fulfil their different chores. Although no one knew the public library in advance, and the mobile library service was only a few months old, the respondents mainly linked the library's services to the positive experiences of being in Denmark. Respondent E expressed an immediate joy at being seen, heard, and perhaps even appreciated by the librarians, who tried to increase the well-being of people in his position: '[j]ust to have someone come here to our centre and be here, that is huge in itself... '. (Respondent E, 5 June 2018 – my translation; see also Ulvik, 2009).

The same applied to respondent D, however, formulated somewhat less enthusiastically:

> [I] would like to continue to use it [the library], but [I] imagine [life] becoming busier when [I get resident permission] (...). Then [I] must work and in internship and then [I] may not have the same time (...) to use the library (Respondent D, 5 June 2018).

As such, the mobile public library branch served a larger purpose explicitly targeted at non-formal learning activities and informal experience formation like furthering the residents' vocational training or literary interests (see also Aabø & Audunson, 2012; Johnston & Audunson, 2017; Vårheim, 2014). This observation was supported by respondent F's emphasis on the importance of the librarians having the proper linguistic and cultural profile, and by respondent C's description of the librarians as: '…kind and helpful' (Respondent C, 3 June 2018). Both statements referred to the role librarians could play in the residents' informal experience formation (cf. Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017; Refuge for integration, 2001).

Contrary to previous studies (Audunson et al., 2011; Johnston, 2016; Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005), I was unable to find any evidence of librarians being among the first native residents asylum seekers got in touch with. Both employees at the centres and associated volunteers were of Danish origin, while the librarians were of other origins than Danish. Thus, one of the librarians working at the mobile branch had an Arab background, spoke several Arab languages, and could easily communicate with a significant part of the asylum seekers, even those who did not master Danish or English.

8. Discussion

The respondents' observations may now be discussed through an *integration perspective* as well as through a *lifelong learning perspective*. From an integration perspective, mandatory tasks, volunteering, and the possibilities for leisure activities may be considered as different integration activities. The purposes of these practices were to create sound routines and provide the asylum seekers with knowledge about the privileges and obligations held by the individual as potential participants in Danish society (cf. Delica & Elbeshausen, 2017). The integration concept contains several tacit assumptions, on an overarching political-strategic level and on a subordinate pragmatic level of what proper integration is, which are invisible to immediate consideration and which, at the same time, may appear paradoxical to an outside observer (Standardkontrakt…, 2018; Announcement on teaching and activation, etc. of asylum seekers and others, 2010). Before the integration concept can be applied, the Danish authorities and their local stakeholders need to regard asylum seekers as being in some kind of a deficit (cf. Ulvik, 2009; Vårheim, 2014; see also Atlestam et al., 2011). The residents were regarded as a more or less uniform group of people lacking language skills, cultural and social qualifications as well as vocational skills and who had a more insecure affiliation to the Danish labour market. The Danish authorities occupy this stance, why they oblige their asylum centre managements to create lessons in Danish and the 'Asylum-Seeking Course', module 3-8 (Standardkontrakt… 2018, pp. 33-37). The only individual considerations to be taken into account, seemed to be in the preparation of education and career plans. The respondents, on their side, knew how difficult it is to act in local communities without knowing the language, norms, and tacit conventions, why they engaged in these tasks and partook in voluntary activities even though none of them had yet been granted asylum and despite the opportunities for success were minimal.

Another necessary assumption is, how integration activities make sense as temporary, result-oriented activities. In the theoretical definition of integration (Berry, 1997) and in the practical activities initiated by the asylum reception centres (chief operations officer, email interview, 11 September 2018), it is implied how integration activities are not destined to continue indefinitely. Instead, integration activities should be a time-limited phenomenon, during which the immigrants increasingly become able to independently pursue their own wishes and needs, while honouring society's current privileges and obligations. The mere fact that the asylum seekers only stayed at the asylum reception centres until their application had been processed, upon which they were transferred to other programmes (education, employment, or deportation) indicated temporariness. The temporal issue was marked by slow application procedures, meaning the stay at the asylum reception centres seemed to become drawn out indefinitely. In the meantime, the respondents were delimited from the Danish society and limited in the social contact with native Danes, which is a prerequisite for fast and mutual integration (Johnston, 2017). The informal experience formation is established in an interaction between peoples' inherent customs, their articulation of their current situations, and everyday lives, as mentioned by Jarvis (2010), why the uncertainty of their current situation increasingly became a normative background to the respondents' informal experience formation (cf. Audunson et al., 2011; Vårheim, 2014).

My findings show how it becomes possible for Danish authorities, politicians, and opinion makers to extend the expectation of the individual asylum seeker's willingness to socio-cultural adaptation far beyond what the theories on integration issues consider legitimate and unheard of in a society otherwise attaching great importance to the individual's self-determination and freedom to choose. These expectations are possibly due to the use of the term integration as an overarching conceptualisation of activities aimed at non-native people and due to the temporary result-orientation inherited in the integration work (Berry, 1997). This happens, for instance, when politicians refer to second and third-generation integration issues. Hence, and despite all good intentions, activities directed at asylum seekers ultimately tend to become assimilative, because no one distinguishes between assimilation and integration in practice – not in this study in any case.

From a *lifelong learning perspective*, the mandatory tasks, volunteering, and opportunities for leisure activities may as well be considered as formal education, non-formal learning, and informal experience formation, whose purpose is to motivate asylum seekers to educate, and to assume privileges and obligations as private persons, family members, or participants in civil society. Jarvis' interpretation of a modern lifelong learning concept as emphasising '[...] work rather than the humanity of the learner' (Jarvis, 2010, p. 45) in fact makes the concept even more relevant and appliable. In an integration context, lifelong learning thus cannot just refer to the humanity of the learner anymore. Language must be learned, the practical chores must be solved to the best abilities of the asylum seekers and the asylum reception centres, while volunteering and leisure activities each fulfil different functions in the asylum seekers' daily routines – also for the benefit of society. Additionally, Jarvis' lifelong learning concept makes it possible, both on a theoretical and on a practical level, to consider the individual's self-formation as a continuous and unfinished process, comparable to similar processes of native Danes. In a lifelong learning perspective, no one has deficits, even though different people may have different preconditions for participating in society. Lifelong learning activities aim to mitigate these different preconditions and enable the individual to use them as assets in her committed participation in professional, vocational, and private situations (see also Audunson et al., 2011; Johnston, 2017, 2018).

In a lifelong learning perspective, mandatory tasks, volunteering, and leisure time activities become temporary activities which may be extended or exchanged with other relevant activities and at the asylum seeker's individual will as soon as the residence permission is obtained or rejected. The respondents knew, full well, that even though their stay at the asylum reception centres was temporary their socialisation, education, and self-learning processes would proceed in years and decades to come. Mandatory tasks, volunteering, and leisure time activities contributed to develop the respondents' cultural skills in many ways, such as rehearsing their literacies or social skills, enabling a more appropriate management of the challenges, and opportunities of the future in a new social and cultural reality - whether in Denmark, in another country or in the home country. In a lifelong learning perspective, these activities help to prepare the individual respondent's near-democratic participation in society and enable a continued insistence on choosing his way of life.

The replacement of the concept of integration with the concept of lifelong learning is interesting to the Danish public libraries because their purpose and strength lie in their ability to support formal education and specially to facilitate the tacit non-formal learning activities and informal experience formation, while the promotion of a specific and fixed set of customs falls outside of the public library's responsibility. For the public library, the ambition is to create a space where the outcome of formal education may be rehearsed and further developed and to secure a framework in which non-formal learning and informal experience formation may take place as reflective and/or self-reflective processes (see also Ulvik, 2009). The Danish *Act regarding library service* mentions education, but as a self-formation task when stating how:

> The objective of the public libraries is to promote information, education, and cultural activity by making available books, periodicals, talking books [audio books] and other suitable material, such as recorded music and electronic information resources, including Internet and multimedia (2000, p. 7).

Especially the latter part of the paragraph is directly aimed at dissemination, which, at least in a Scandinavian context, is perceived as denoting the special communicative relationship between librarians and citizens (Jönsson-Lanevska, 2005; Skøtt, 2018). The public libraries cannot become educational institutions carrying out formal education but must insist on being knowledge and cultural dissemination institutions which citizens may consult to fulfil their individual needs for intellectual or artistic stimuli, knowledge, cultural experiences etc. in their efforts to become or remain active members of civil society (Audunson et al., 2011; Savolainen, 2016). Thus, the process and not the learning objectives, is essential for public libraries as a point of departure for man's self-formation. Thus, the term *lifelong learning* is more in accordance with the public library's practices than the term *integration*. When applied at an organisational level, the lifelong learning concept has the potential to transform the public libraries integration activities into a core task for all employees – not just a task for the integration librarians – because the concrete activities correspond to similar activities undertaken for different groups of native citizens. Applied in the dissemination work, the lifelong learning concept balances the differences between 'them and us', eradicates the temporality of the integration work, and alters the attention from those deficits of, for instance, skills, knowledge, or different forms of capital, which is implicitly implied in the notion *integration*, to focus on the individual's needs and wants. Hence, I will go as far as to claim that integration first becomes reciprocal, that is becomes a mutual acceptance and recognition of people and their differences as defined by Berry (1997) or Johnston (2017) when interpreted from a lifelong learning perspective.

As mentioned above, Jarvis (2010) refers to informal experience formation to denote the learning outcome of recurrent handling of challenges in everyday life. Because informal experience formation is culturally and socially determined, asylum seekers are in a situation where they are continually challenged and must change, adjust, and adapt to a modern, dynamic, and highly changeable society. Decisive for whether the respondents choose to segregate, assimilate, or integrate are the requirements set by the Danish authorities and how the respondents manage to handle these. The respondents' handling is to a large extent (cf. Berry, 1997) based on their former experiences and skills and has influence on how coexistence will be exercised. Furthermore, considerations concerning current situations and past experiences influence on how asylum seekers handle their different conditions (cf. Ulvik, 2009).

9. Conclusion

In this article, I set out to study what new knowledge about public libraries' integration activities are possible to gain when applying a lifelong learning perspective and what such a perspective means for our understanding of the integration process as a theoretical and practical phenomenon. The study showed how integration is an established and well-known approach, which has been and remains used in library practice, and in library and information science, to organise, observe, and define the public libraries' integration activities. The study also showed how several challenges may be associated with the integration perspective.

By conducting a series of interviews and analysing respondents' statements from a lifelong learning perspective, it became evident how integration takes place in practice where the respondents' customs and articulation of their situations, together with the structural conditions found within the asylum reception centres, played a significant role in how they approached different integration activities. Most respondents had come to terms with their temporary situation on the brink of society but simultaneously expressed difficulties in handling the long waiting times. Additionally, most respondents had acknowledged and accepted that they had entered learning processes, which probably would last a major part of the rest of their lives, though they had drawn various conclusions. These individual experiences and attitudes cannot be captured by either political or theoretical generalisations.

By viewing integration from a lifelong learning perspective, it becomes possible to avoid both the misunderstood reference to integration as a time-limited period and to integration as activities solely related to immigrants' learning objectives. The concept of integration focuses on what is different between people and how these differences may be managed. Different strategies, like segregation, assimilation, or integration all prescribe different means and actions but often primarily for the benefit of the majority population. In contrast, lifelong learning focuses on what is similar, namely, that all people must continually learn and develop, to be able to adjust to a modern, dynamic, and highly changeable world. Hence, everybody must adapt their hitherto cultural, social, informational, educational, etc. experiences to these ever-changing societal structures. This is necessary, both to be able to fulfil people's own desires and needs, and to be able to exert democratic influence on society's development and hereby secure peaceful coexistence. This applies, whether you are native or non-native to the society, you are a citizen in. Several respondents reflected on the theme 'What I am going to do when I leave the asylum reception centre' and showed their acknowledgement of how their reintegration to (another) society had just begun. People may have different starting points, strategies, and abilities to do so, but having to adapt to changing life-conditions has become a common everyday life experience. These realisations are especially interesting for the public library, whose obligation it is to support such processes.

Finally, it becomes possible to redefine the evaluation options. What can be evaluated is the results of formal education obligations and actions, while the results of non-formal learning activities and informal experience formation are and must be individual, volatile, and constantly changing.

Acknowledgements
The author wishes to thank all residents as well as employees at and surrounding the three reception centres in Southern Denmark, who participated in this study. Without their benevolent collaboration, I would have been unable to conduct this investigation.

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Appendix A: Interview guide

Introduction - about the respondents
- Who are you?
- Where are you from?
- How do you experience being in Denmark?

Everyday life
- What did an ordinary everyday life look like for you before you came to Denmark?
- What is your education?
- Can you describe what you did during a normal day?
- What was your employment?
- Can you describe what you did on the weekends?
- Can you describe what an ordinary everyday life looks like for you?
- Are you doing something else now, how, and why?
- What is your employment now?
- Can you describe what you do on a regular weekend?
- Can you describe what it means that you do something different now than before?
- Is it easy or is it difficult - why?

The library
- Can you describe what you use the library for?
- Can you describe a situation where you use the library for leisure?
- How do you feel that the library is important for your leisure time activities?
- Can you describe a situation where you use the library for education?
- How do you feel that the library is important for learning activities?
- Can you describe a situation where you use the library in your employment?
- How do you feel that the library is important for your work tasks?
- Are there other things you use the library for?
- Do you use other services concerning education/work/leisure - which ones?

Relationships with the librarians
- Can you describe how you experience the librarians?
- Do you find the librarians helpful?
- Do they sometimes teach you?
- Is there anything you need to do yourself/What do librarians require you to do yourself?
- Can you describe if there is something they do not help with?

Unattended opening hours
- Can you describe what you use the library for when there are no librarians?
- How do you experience using the library alone? (nice, quiet, uncomfortable, lonely)
- Can you manage on your own, without the help of librarians?
- What do you do when you experience problems?

The digital library
- Can you describe how you use the library from home/via the Internet?
- Can you describe what you use the library's websites for?
- Is there anything that is perceived as easier to do from home at the library - what?
- Is there anything that is perceived as more difficult to do from home - what?

Future
- What now? What's next for you to do?
- What would you like to do - in 1 year - in 5 years - and in 10 years?

- Do you think you will continue to use the library?
- Is there anything you would like to see changed?

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.125238

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Publication practices in the Humanities

An in-depth case study of a Swedish Arts and Humanities Faculty 2010-2018

Abstract
This paper is a case study of research publication practices at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Linnaeus University, a young, mid-sized university in the south-east of Sweden. Research output was measured from publications in the local institutional repository following the guidelines of local research policy as defined in university documentation. The data collection comprised 3,316 metadata records of publications self-registered by authors affiliated with the faculty during the period of 2010–2018. A statistical analysis of research output was conducted, focusing on preferred publication types, disciplinary specificity, level of co-authorship, and the language of the publication as registered in the local repository. The analysis focused on two main research questions: 1) how do the local research practices stand in relation to traditional publication patterns in the humanities? 2) how do the observed publication patterns relate to local university policy on publication and research evaluation? The empirical results suggest a limited correlation between publication practices and research incentives from university management, a finding that is corroborated by previous research on the scholarly character of the humanities and university policies. Overall, traditional humanities publication patterns were largely maintained throughout the period under investigation.

Keywords: humanities, research evaluation, publication practices, scientific communication, bibliometrics, research policy

1. Introduction and purpose

The recent developments of the humanities in the contemporary environment of digital scholarship in higher educational institutions should perhaps not be seen so much as a paradigmatic shift, but rather as a process of gradual transformation and adaptation to ever-evolving new methodological options, which may increase opportunities to ask new questions, answer existing ones more rapidly, and gain access to new and more extensive source materials. While these developments are taking place, the well-established characteristics of research practices and publication patterns continue to hold their ground in many disciplines, as seen, for example, in the relative ambiguity between information, data and documents, and in the multitude of different audiences for research output, mirrored in a variety of publication forms, both physical and digital (Borgman, 2007; Kennerly et al., 2021). In parallel to the research practices of individual disciplines, universities have developed performance-based funding systems that in many cases appear to encourage uniformity in their criteria for output measurement and quality assessment. This uniformity is especially salient in the way these criteria, in one way or another, relate to and draw from combinations of bibliometric data. The ways in which such performance-based systems are used for management and funding are complex, as are the relations between policymaking and research quality (Aagaard, 2015; Carlsson et al., 2014).

Bibliometric measurements traditionally reflect the publication practices of the natural sciences, prioritizing international peer-reviewed journals and conference proceedings in English, indexed through bibliographic services such as Web of Science (WoS) and Scopus. By contrast, less emphasis is given to alternative publication forms such as monographs, edited volumes, and essays, all of which are more prevalent in the humanities. Likewise, the practice of publishing in languages other than English, which is also significantly more widespread in the humanities, is discouraged by bibliometric measurements. Consequently, in order to make bibliometric assessment tools take the publication practices of the humanities into account, some adjustments and compensations would be necessary. Although the complex relation between bibliometrics and university research assessment are well known, there are few studies on how this takes shape at the local level; more commonly, studies focus on the use of institutional repositories that often serve as the basis for research assessment (for examples of the latter, please see Narayan et al. (2018), Guns et al. (2019), and Sīle and Vanderstraeten (2019)).

The purpose of this study is to contribute to this research through a case study of the research practices in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Linnaeus University, a young, regional Swedish university. By analysing the complete scholarly output of its humanities researchers during the period 2010–2018, conclusions will be drawn about 1) research practices in relation to traditional publication patterns in, and assumptions of, the humanities, and 2) how these practices relate to local university policy on publication and research evaluation. The main research question concerns the relation between policy initiatives and publication practices, based on the analysis of the local publication pattern as to:

- Preferred publication types
- Disciplinary specificity
- Level of co-authorship
- Preferred publication language

These four aspects were chosen based on prior research, which has shown them to be distinguishing characteristics of humanities research, both in comparison to other branches of the sciences, and in relation to general criteria of evaluation. Relating the results of the data analysis to the overall objectives and policy formulations of the Faculty and the University, conclusions will be drawn on whether a positive correlation can be observed between university policy and publication practices, or whether publication practices are more reflective of disciplinary traditions and the preferences of individual researchers.

Concentrating the discussion to one local environment helps bring the generally well-known structures of publishing into a context where traditional practices are challenged not only by technological and methodological developments, but also by the concrete goals of governance and university management. Additionally, and importantly, this focus provides insights into the actual working conditions of humanities scholars. It should be noted that this study does not have an evaluative perspective. It is basically exploratory, and the references to bibliometric and research evaluation perspectives are used as a tool for interpreting the data in an institutional context, which also makes it possible to discuss observations made at the local level in relation to issues at a more general level.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 (Background) gives an overview of previous research on the differences between the sciences and humanities both historically and today, particularly in light of the development of bibliometrics as a tool for research evaluation. This section also introduces Linnaeus University as the site of the case study. Section 3 (Data collection and method of analysis) provides a brief overview of the methodology and research design. The results of the empirical part of the study using extracted bibliographical data are presented in section 4 (Results). Section 5 (Concluding remarks) relates the findings to the more relevant practices discussed in section 2 and raises questions about the impact of local managerial practices and incentives on publication practices.

2. Background

This section begins with a contextual overview of the humanities in relation to the natural sciences as seen through discussions of publication practices and bibliometrics. This is followed by a brief description of Linnaeus university and its research policy, including policies on publication practices in force during the studied period. The section concludes with a description of the bibliometric model used at the university.

2.1. The humanities from 1960s to today's age of digital scholarship

There has been a distinct division between the sciences and the humanities since a more technology-driven understanding of scientific progress took hold in the aftermath of World War II, perhaps most famously formulated by C. P. Snow in his contentious Rede lecture *The Two Cultures* (Snow 1959). In the lecture, Snow draws a picture of the humanities as a broad and diverse field based on interpretative ideals of knowledge and a propinquity to artistic expressions that are hard to define by scientific measures or established quality assessment criteria, on which the natural sciences thrive. This picture was later embodied by Derek de Solla Price in his early bibliometric efforts — at the time the field was still called analytical bibliography — through several publications that distinguish the 'hard' sciences from the 'soft' based on their citation practices (de Solla Price 1963 and 1965). The hard vs. soft distinction reflects Snow's two cultures, ensuing from the premise that it is possible to quantify both research results and bibliographic output in individual disciplines, with the humanities firmly situated on the soft, less quantifiable side of the spectrum.

There are of course good reasons to question such simplistic divisions, not least as the past fifty years have witnessed a significant change in the dynamics between academic disciplines and scholarly traditions both through technology and ideals promoting cross-disciplinary research endeavours that transgress the traditional borderlines drawn up by both Snow and de Solla Price. In particular, the current developments in digital scholarship challenge the assumed division into two cultures. However, despite numerous efforts to influence and counteract these divisions, disciplinary traditions of established publication practices run deep. The breakdown of publication types (articles, books etc.) in the humanities does not seem to have changed significantly, while more substantial changes can be seen in the choice of publication languages as well as the scientific level (peer review, other) of publications. Recent studies show that humanities publications written in national languages are decreasing in favour of the English language, while publishing in peer reviewed publications is on the rise. At one Swedish university the general breakdown of publication types in the humanities did not change during the period 2006–2013, while in Flemish universities the amount of humanities journal articles was declining slightly in favour of book publications during the period 2000–2014 (Hammarfelt & de Rijcke, 2015; Guns et al., 2019). At another Swedish university, in a study of educational sciences publications, a shift towards a higher share of journal articles could be seen during the period 2005–2014, while the share of reports had decreased (Sīle & Vanderstraeten, 2019). The authors of the latter three studies note that these changes are in line with the national and local allocation models emphasising the importance of international and peer reviewed journal articles. They also conclude that the introduction of such models cannot be considered as a singular cause of the changes, and that the influence of, for example, open access, competition in academia, and academic age of authors are hard to separate from each other. Sīle and Vanderstraeten (2019) note that the changes were present before the introduction of the models. In addition, Hammarfelt and de Rijcke (2015) identify a discrepancy between what publication types the humanities researchers consider the most important and what publication types they actually favour. Book chapters are not considered by researchers to be as important as journal articles, but they are still the most frequent type of publication in the repository, alongside journal articles. Furthermore, the study concludes that even though the humanities researchers are aware of the external pressure from bibliometric evaluations, this pressure has had little effect on preferred types of publication.

Although the present study will not focus on the development of digital humanities as such, we consider this particular area worth a special mention as it permeates several strains of international scholarly discourse relevant to the dataset. Digital humanities challenge the traditional divide between the humanities and the sciences in several areas such as language use and publication choices. Tang et al. (2017) analyse the intellectual cohesion in digital humanities during the period 1989–2014, using bibliographic coupling, co-author analysis, and co-citation analysis of 2,115 articles in six peer-reviewed digital humanities journals; only one of the journals, *Literary and Linguistic Computing,* was indexed by Scopus at the time of data collection. The results showed that, even though an emerging common-knowledge base can be identified over time, digital humanities research maintains several traditional characteristics of the humanities, such as low degrees of co-authorship often realised in the form of bibliometric “small world” clusters, a tendency in favour of localised geographical settings, and the use of national languages. It is worth keeping such results and discussions in mind as they mirror well-known problems of contemporary university and research funding development, not least those that create incentives for team research and cross-disciplinary research environments in the humanities in general (Siemens, 2009; Siemens et al., 2011; Burroughs, 2017) as well in interdisciplinary fields such as library and information science (Budd & Dumas, 2014).

2.2. Humanities and bibliometric research evaluation

In an analysis of how social structures and publication practices in the humanities have been studied in bibliometric studies since the early 1960’s, Franssen and Wouters (2019) distinguish two periods. The first extends to the mid 1980’s and uses bibliometric tools to analyse the social structures of disciplines, thus relating to a paradigm within the subfield of sociology of science, while the second, from the mid 1980’s onward, places bibliometric research in relation to science policy and research evaluation. This second phase, in part, explains the emergence and use of institutional repositories of research assessment at the local level.

According to Hammarfelt (2016), this development can be seen as a sign of a growing maturity in the use of bibliometric tools. However, in a call for more humanities-friendly assessment practices in WoS and Scopus, Hammarfelt has shown alarming insufficiency in subject indexing of humanities publications which these services ought to provide both for evaluation as well as for searching (2016). As evaluation systems take into consideration broader metadata than just bibliographic records, the relation between indexing and bibliographic evaluation becomes more complex. Several initiatives have been launched, and new methods developed, in order to overcome the problem concerning bibliometrics and subject indexing of humanities research, not least as demands on publication-based assessment for research funding and ranking have increased. Such initiatives include the *European Reference Index of the Humanities* (Bunia, 2016), developed within the framework of the European Science Foundation, which works to “enhance the global visibility of high-quality research in the humanities and social sciences across Europe, and to facilitate access to research journals published in all European languages” (European Science Foundation, 2014). Another initiative is the Norwegian model for weighing publications based on the production of research output at Norwegian universities (Ahlgren et al., 2012; Schneider, 2009).

Assessment-related issues are getting increasingly complex due to a growing number of stakeholders interested in, and depending on, evaluation criteria and quality assessment: the scholars, educators, funding bodies, university administrators, and political entities. This requires not only adaptation from the scholars, but also the development of refined tools throughout the system of scholarly communication. This has proven difficult to achieve, not least in relation to the humanities which, in a broad overview of recent developments in the field by De Silva and Vance (2017), are not even mentioned. Instead, they are submerged in the sciences, thus ignoring apparent differences across the spectrum of disciplines, whether within the humanities or the social sciences.

With all these results and discussions in mind, it is both legitimate and important to study publication practices in local academic environments. Complex processes run in parallel; traditional patterns and new demands, and they all converge locally. This is what we now will turn our attention to.

2.3. Linnaeus University as case

Linnaeus University is a regional two-campus university in the south-east of Sweden, founded in 2010 through a merger of University College of Kalmar and Växjö University. As of February 2020, the university has about 33,000 students and 817 researchers in various faculty positions. It is structured into five faculties, of which the Faculty of Arts and Humanities is one. The University has a strong focus on collaboration with the surrounding society and an explicit aim to provide knowledge production in relation to local and regional economic development. In line with national research policy objectives, cross-disciplinary research is strongly encouraged through organizational and economic incentives, and such initiatives were increasingly visible during the studied period in a growing number of centres that cross faculty lines. The years covered in this study are thus signified by change and development, both in terms of new managerial ideals and in the development of new policies including those concerned with publishing. Throughout this period, the University has maintained a certain traditional focus on social sciences and the humanities, inherited from the priorities of, primarily, Växjö University.

During the time period in question, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities had 207 active researchers in various faculty positions, and consisted of seven departments (with the number of researchers in parentheses):

- Department of Cultural Sciences (50),
- Department of Design (27),
- Department of Film and Literature (33),
- Department of Languages (31),
- Department of Media and Journalism (13),
- Department of Music and Art (28),
- Department of Swedish (25).

Between these departments, 31 fields of study are represented in educational programs and research initiatives: archaeology; art science; comparative literature education; comparative literature; creative writing; cultural sociology; digital humanities (introduced in 2019); English education; English literature; English; film studies; French linguistics; French literature; German education; German literature; German history education; history; human geography; library and information science; linguistics; music education; music; musicology; Spanish literature; Spanish; study of religions; Swedish as a second language; Swedish didactics; Swedish; teaching and learning in French as a second language; visual culture.

Several cross-disciplinary initiatives were hosted by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities during the period, such as Linnaeus University Centre for Concurrences in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies, Linnaeus University Centre for Intermedial and Multimodal Studies, and Linnaeus University iInstitute. These centres assemble scholars not just from within the faculty, but from a broad spectrum of academia, industry, and the cultural heritage sector.

In order to fully understand the empirical data, it is necessary to mention existing local policies at the University, regarding 1) research strategy, and 2) publication policy. Even though this study does not concern research evaluation as such, it is useful to have an understanding of the value and actual impact of policy initiatives and guidelines on actual publication output, not least as we are dealing here with a very young university that during the period of study formulated new policies to fit its current requirements in terms of new divisions of labour and constructing faculty and departmental structures that were not there before 2010. The subsequent policy review is based on internal white papers and published guidelines, see Appendix 1.

2.3.1. Research policy at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities

During the years 2010-2018, the Faculty of Arts and Humanities had no explicit research policy. Instead, a number of internal documents were produced in support of a) a general research strategy of the University, and b) a general strategy for all activities of the faculty, thus including for instance issues concerning research education.

The contribution of the faculty to the development of a general research strategy for the University consisted of a number of aspects, such as promotion of individual scholarly excellence, significance of cross-disciplinary research environments, maintaining international networks, and societal relevance. Of these, the development of cross-disciplinary research environments and the emphasis on societal relevance, defined by the University as “meeting societal challenges”, are particularly challenging to many humanities scholars. A summary report of a survey-based self-evaluation of scholarly activity at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities was produced in 2016 (LNU/FKH1), explaining how the faculty meets the requirements and demand of the overall University strategy, *A Journey into the Future: Vision and Strategy 2015–2020* (translated title LNU2). In the report, three examples are highlighted to prove that challenging areas are actively met: Anthropocene: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Sustainable Development; Language Skills for Export Businesses; and Digital Humanities (LNU/FKH1).

During the years in focus here, developing an overall strategy for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities was an ongoing and partly autonomous process. It consisted of an attempt to formulate a strong and sustainable response to the process of development of a general university strategy. A "strategic plan" was established by the Faculty Board in 2014, placing research in the wider frame of all activities at the faculty, emphasising several components, one of which was "promoting highly valued publication in both scientific and artistic research" (LNU/FKH6, 3). In 2017, the faculty formulated three goals for research that are the result of a process spanning several years and relating to the university strategy:

1. research should be a main objective for all departments, relating to strong educational programs,
2. based on their own prerequisites each department or subject area should build national, leading research environments, and
3. research should be a force in external collaboration and critical analysis of the surrounding society, "from the universe to the county, from the beginning of time till now" (LNU/FKH4, 1).

Even if there is an emphasis on high impact publication output, the main focus is on building research environments, characterised by cross-disciplinarity and external collaboration. Issues focusing on publishing are primarily founded on formal decisions taken by the university Vice-Chancellor and subsequently implemented by the university library (LNU1, LNU3, LNU4). These decisions concern avenues of making research publicly available in a general sense. The model used for bibliometric evaluation has been formulated primarily in a series of guidelines on publication policy. However, the consequent actions to be taken are very much left to the individual researcher or research group to consider.

2.3.2. University publication policy

Linnaeus University has produced several policy documents on research publication practice, registration of published research, and the use of bibliometrics for internal distribution of university's research funding. Every year since 2013 a formal decision has been taken by the vice chancellor at the university on how the distribution of research funding should be implemented. Since 2013, 2.5% of the research funding has been distributed based on a bibliometric model. Until the vice chancellor's decision in 2018 the calculations and the distribution of research funding were made per individual researcher. The overall purpose of the local bibliometric evaluation is to stimulate increased publishing in channels with high scholarly/scientific prestige and good international dissemination (LNU4). Of the university's allocated state research funding, 5.1% is set aside for strategic purposes. The remaining funds are distributed to the faculties based on the distribution of the last fiscal year; 2.5% are reallocated based on bibliometrics and 2.5% on the amount of attracted external funding (LNU5).

Researchers active at the university are obliged to self-register their published scholarly material in the university's institutional repository DiVA (LNU1). Data extracted from DiVA are submitted to bibliometric evaluation according to locally decided criteria (LNU4). The value of this extraction thus depends on engagement by the individual researchers at the university. Evaluation is based on publications over a five-year period; thus, for the fiscal year of 2020, the evaluation is carried out in 2019 and is based on registered publications in DiVA with the publishing years 2014–2018. The evaluation is carried out based on a modified version of the Norwegian national bibliometric model described below (LNU4). According to Hammarfelt et al. (2016), several Swedish universities use the Norwegian model in different ways for distributing research funding. At Linnaeus University, this is done partly as a way to meet criticism from the humanities and social sciences disciplines that bibliometric evaluation generally has too narrow a focus on ranked, peer reviewed publications (LNU/FKH2). This focus is in line with the Swedish national model for research allocation introduced in 2010, which favours peer reviewed publications and is based on the amount of publications and citations in WoS as well as the amount of external funding; as proposed by the Swedish government in 2008 (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2008).

In the Norwegian model, publications score points based on publication type and the ascribed level (0-2) of the publication channel in the Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals, Series and Publishers (https://dbh.nsd.uib.no/publiseringskanaler), managed by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD). The three levels are as follows (Universitets- og høgskolerådet, 2004):

Level 0: The lowest rating. The publication channel has been assessed by NSD and is considered non-academic. Scores no points in the model.
Level 1: The publication channel has procedures for external peer review, an academic editorial board and an international or national authorship.
Level 2: In addition to the criteria for level 1, publication channels at level 2 are considered the most leading, publishing the most significant publications by researchers from different countries. The publication channels at level 2 are the top 20 % of the channels within an academic field. They are chosen based on a ranking made in accordance with Journal Impact Factor (JIF), where the citation frequencies in the different academic fields are considered. At Linnaeus University, the scores are calculated as seen in Table 1.

Publication type	Level 1 score	Level 2 score
Article	1	3
Monograph	5	8
Chapter in edited volume	0.7	1
Conference paper	0.7	1

Table 1. Scores calculated at Linnaeus University

The Norwegian registry of publication channels has been locally extended also to include publication channels that are in WoS but left out of the Norwegian registry. Publication channels only in WoS are calculated as Norwegian level 1. Records with the DiVA content types “Refereed” or “Other academic” are included in the evaluation and compared against the extended registry, while records with the content type “Other (popular science, discussion, etc.)” are excluded.

The basis for the distribution of local research funds is made up by scores for the respective faculties within the last five-year period, where the score of one publication is fractionated by its number of authors (more than ten authors still count as ten) (LNU4) and is then normalized according to benchmark values to adjust the scores between the faculties (LNU3). The following benchmark values are used:

Benchmark value: 0.93
Department of Health and Caring Sciences (FHL)
Department of Medicine and Optometry (FHL)

Benchmark value: 1
Faculty of Technology (FTK)
Department of Biology and Environmental Science (FHL)
Department of Chemistry and Biomedical Sciences (FHL)

Benchmark value: 1.38
Faculty of Arts and Humanities (FKH)
Faculty of Social Sciences (FSV)
School of Business and Economics (FEH)
Department of Psychology (FHL)
Section for Higher Education Development (UB)

These values, current since 2016, are the medians of the publication score for researchers at the following Swedish universities: Karlstad University, Linköping University, Linnaeus University, Mid Sweden University, Stockholm University, Umeå University, Uppsala University, and Örebro University. The above-mentioned faculties and departments have been assigned one of the benchmark values based on the National Subject Category (Statistics Sweden, 2016) of the majority of its publications in the institutional repository (LNU4). The Faculty of Health and Life Sciences has been divided into its departments to be assigned separate values.

In the remainder of the text the term "Norwegian model" is used to refer to Linnaeus University's local application of the model, unless stated otherwise.

3. Data collection and method of analysis
The data collected for the present study consist of 3,316 metadata records of publications by authors affiliated with the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, self-registered by these authors during the period of 2010–2018. These were downloaded from the institutional repository DiVA (lnu.diva-portal.org) on the 10th of December 2019 upon retrieval using a set of search strings (see Appendix 2).

Individual records in the repository are registered by the researcher(s) and double-checked by an assigned librarian at the university library before being marked as approved in the repository. Upon approval, the records become part of the Swedish National Repository (SwePub) which is administered by the National Library of Sweden.

For each metadata record the following fields were extracted from the 15 categories native to DiVA describing publication type: (a) journal article, (b) article, research review, (c) article, book review, (d) monograph, (e) doctoral dissertation, monograph, (f) doctoral dissertation, compilation, (g) chapter in edited volume, (h) conference contribution, (i) licentiate thesis, monograph, (j) licentiate thesis, compilation, (k) editorial, proceedings, (l) artistic output, (m) report, (n) editorial, book, (o) miscellaneous. The miscellaneous category consists of entries that do not apply to any of the other publication categories in DiVA, such as research blog entries or project websites.

In order to highlight the relation to institutional requirements in evaluation practice, the analysis emphasised peer-reviewed publications, that is, records from publication types (a), (d), (g), (h). The dataset was imported into the statistical tool JMP, and the network visualisations were created using the tool Cytoscape.

4. Results

Table 2 below shows the distribution of the number of publications per year. Comparing 2010 and 2018, there is a 96.67% difference, with a continuous growth each of the included years. This is mainly due to increased research activity, as the total number of scholars producing research has been essentially stable during the entire period studied. One factor that might influence the level of registered records is the nature of the registration procedure as such. Two separate developments external to the library's routines must be considered. The university library aligns its repository services to (1) development of SwePub by the National Library of Sweden, for example by revising the deposit guidelines, and (2) the implementation of economic incentives based on bibliometric analysis, as formulated by the university management (LNU3 and LNU4). None of these factors should, however, be overestimated as researchers themselves are responsible for registration of their research output in the repository.

Publication year	Number of records	Percent
2010	240	7.24
2011	249	7.51
2012	284	8.56
2013	370	11.16
2014	351	10.59
2015	481	14.51
2016	411	12.39
2017	458	13.18
2018	472	14.23
Total	**3316**	**100**

Table 2. Total records per year (n=3316)

4.1. Preferred publication types

The 15 publication types defined by DiVA consist of a large variety of different types of output, ranging from high-impact scholarly journals to popular science books and artistic works. The output grading made by the university prioritises and encourages peer-reviewed scholarly publications over the whole university without fully considering conditions or traditional publication practices within specific disciplines. Scholarly publications are awarded a score based on the modified Norwegian model (see above, 2.3.2.), while popular science and miscellaneous materials such as, for instance, research blogs are automatically awarded the score of zero.

Figure 1 demonstrates the distribution of publication types in the dataset. It is worth noting that there is a strong concentration of Level 0 DiVA records across the various types of publications. One distinguished feature is the almost complete absence of level 1 and 2 conference publications, with as many as 97.32% of conference publications being unaccounted for in the university's quality assessment process. Records related to conference publications count for 19.15 % of the total sample. Even if the distribution between conference publications is clear enough, the figure must be put in relation to the character of the conference publication category as such, housing full paper contributions along with PowerPoint presentations, short or extended abstracts of presentations as well as a broad definition of what a "conference" is. In the material, no further distinction is made between for instance professional conferences, public fairs (such as book fairs), or full-scale scholarly conferences, other than that which is done by the individual scholar during the registration process.

Included in the evaluation is only the DiVA publication type "Conference contribution" with the subcategory "Published paper". The papers score points if they are of DiVA content type "Refereed" or "Other academic" and have been published in a channel with level 1 or 2 in the Norwegian model. There is a risk of arbitrariness here to be accounted for. While in many fields of research, such as computer sciences and mathematics, scientific conference publications are traditionally considered important, it is clear that humanist scholars do not see this form of knowledge sharing as a very significant outlet for research publication. The relatively high occurrence of conferences in the total sample does, however, indicate that conferences are used as a means to reach beyond the academic sphere. We interpret this as conferences being a major science communication arena, used to reach popular audiences. Therefore, this could be indicated as a major outlet, meeting managerial demands of societal outreach and public knowledge sharing.

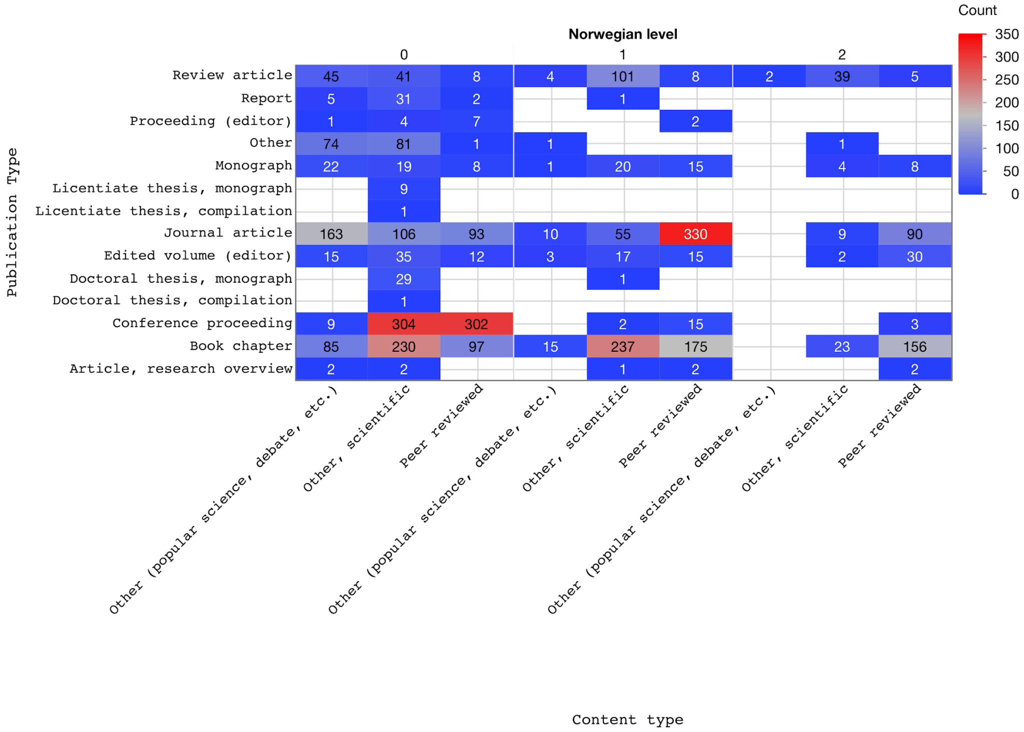

Figure 1: Distribution of DiVA records by publication type (n=3,316)

4.1.1. Peer-reviewed publications

As the bibliometric model implemented at Linnaeus University prioritizes publishing in peer-reviewed, WoS-indexed materials, it is of value to analyse how the placement of such publication rates change over time, not least because of the significant increase in the total number of publications during the studied period. As seen in Figure 1 above, the relative occurrence of peer-reviewed materials at levels 1 and 2 is concentrated in three publication categories: journal articles, monographs, and book chapters.

Figure 2 below shows the development of the relation between the total sample and these three categories over the investigated period. The totality of retrieved DiVA records reveals significant stability in the relation between peer-reviewed materials ranked by the Norwegian model and other, non-ranked materials. The total number of peer reviewed articles, monographs, chapters reach 29.31% over all nine years. Within the peer-reviewed material in Figure 2, the three main categories distribute as follows (n=972):

Journal articles: 52.78% (n=513)
Book chapters: 44.03% (n=428)
Monographs: 3.19% (n=31)

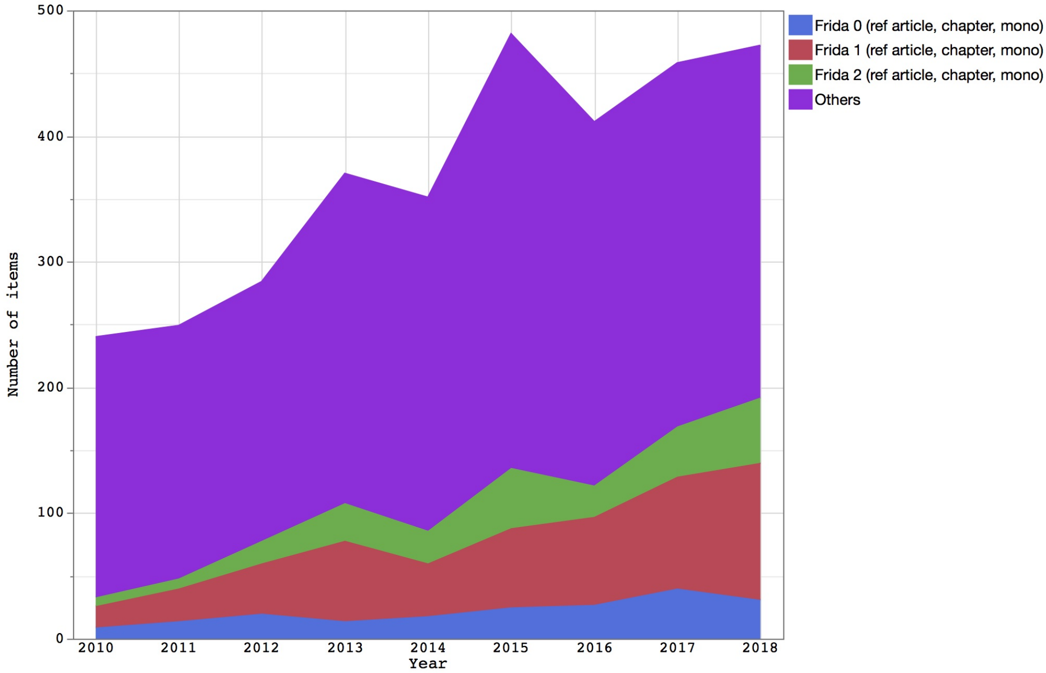

Figure 2: Journal articles, monographs and book chapters ranked in the Norwegian model in relation to total publication output over time (n=3316).

Given that university management has over the studied period ascribed increased significance to bibliometric measures by connecting publication performance to individual benefits, such as increased internal research funding, it would make sense to observe a steady increase in peer-reviewed publications by the scholars. However, although the data do indeed indicate a slight increase, it is of such limited magnitude that it is difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the success of managerial incentives and policies on practical research.

Comparing ranked publications in 2010 with those of 2018, there is a slight development, with the main increase to be found at level 1 publications within the Norwegian model. Level 1 journal articles, monographs and book chapters increased from 51.52% in 2010 to 56.77% in 2018. The figures for top tier, level 2 publications in 2010 were 21.21%, compared to 27.08% in 2018. At the same time, the peer-reviewed journals, monographs, and book chapters at level 0 have decreased. This small but discernible movement may be caused by several reasons, such as increased scholars' awareness of the significance of publication choices, or the increased number of journals and book publishers within the humanities that during the studied years have been ranked within the Norwegian model.

4.2. Disciplinary specificity

Considering the incentives on developing cross-disciplinary centres and initiatives such as Anthropocene: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Sustainable Development, one could expect an increased disciplinary overlap in publications. The results show that this was not the case. When clustering publication practices by any of the 31 individual subject areas at the faculty, national subject categories and the locally defined subject categories are mostly overlapping, creating a picture of the faculty division well within the realm of traditional disciplinary boundaries (Golub et al., 2020). In the somewhat larger dataset for this current study, this comes through clearly as well. Figure 3 below shows the distribution of peer-reviewed journal articles, monographs, and book chapters between the 31 disciplines of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Linnaeus University, with the 6 largest disciplines highlighted:

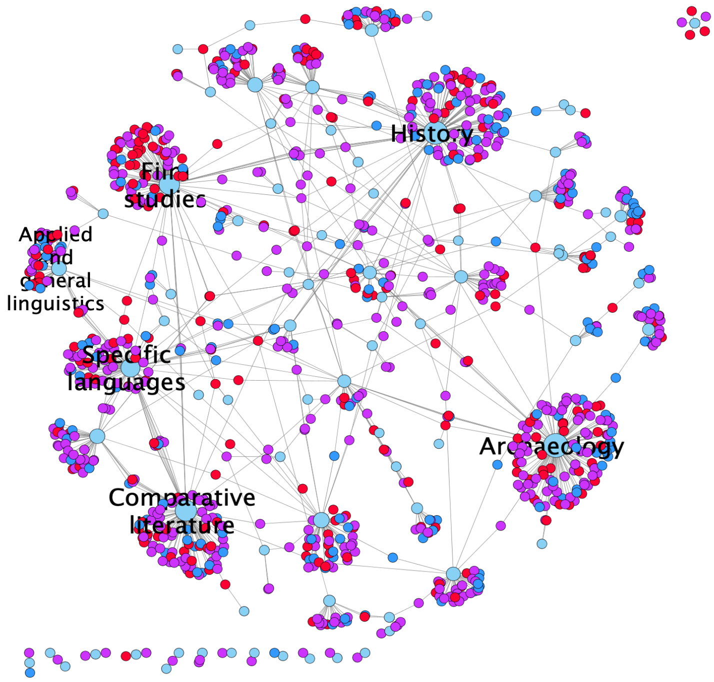

Figure 3: Distribution of peer-reviewed publications (journal articles, monographs, book chapters) ranked by the Norwegian model (n=972). Blue: level 0, Purple: level 1, Red: level 2.

In terms of general publication rates, the six largest are nationally well-established disciplines (Comparative Literature, Specific Languages, Applied and General Linguistics, Film Studies, History and Archaeology); at the same time, they are the most coherent ones in terms of level 2 concentration. The general distribution of ranked publications at all three levels is shown in the relative dominance of level 2 publications in all major disciplines of the faculty. The highlighted disciplines either have a strong international publication structure, such as Archaeology, History, and Applied and General Linguistics, or a strong cross-disciplinary reach through, for instance, established interdisciplinary centres like Linnaeus University Centre for Intermedial and Multimodal Studies, where fields like Comparative Literature and Film Studies are prominent. Perhaps the most surprising finding here is the concentration of level 2 publications in Film Studies, a discipline with only a few active scholars at the University. This may be down to several factors such as highly productive, internationally recognised individuals, frequent publication in a limited number of established scholarly journals within the field, or publications in cross-disciplinary journals and anthologies with individual contributions indexed as Film Studies. However, in order to establish these factors for certain, and the relation between them, a more qualitative approach would need to be applied.

Beside the "Big Six" at the faculty, in terms of publications, the remaining 26 disciplines display a majority of level 1 publications and numerous connections into various parts of the main research areas. This picture corresponds well with established knowledge on the vagueness of many disciplines within the humanities, and several nodes in the graph most likely reflect the output of individual scholars whose publications fall in-between established subject categories. The network character of cross-disciplinary publications could be attributed to the oft-claimed vagueness of humanities disciplines, but the pattern displayed may also indicate a high degree of co-operation and cross-disciplinary collaboration. In all, these results are indicative of the complex relation between bibliographic systems and scholarly practice, and they call for further qualitative in-depth research.

4.3. Level of co-authorship

One of the most common assertions about humanities scholars is their affinity for solitary work. In recent literature on the transformation of traditional humanities practices into digital humanities, the image of the lone scholar in their ivory tower is often portrayed as antiquated, particularly in relation to the more collaborative character promoted as an ideal in digital humanities settings (Siemens, 2009). However, cliché-based assertions such as these are rarely useful for enhancing our understanding of the value of humanities research, neither in the historical nor the contemporary perspective; indeed, as pointed out by Burroughs, there are significant differences between departments including many that contest a "monolithic view" of the humanities (2017, p. 516). Still, practices can change over time, and collaborative efforts are hailed from managerial perspectives as a means to address 'societal challenges', which, not least in Sweden, have come to assume a position of particular importance when it comes to setting objectives for scholarly inquiry. Given that Linnaeus University has, during the period in focus here, promoted such collaborative ideals by providing economic incentives, it is reasonable to expect that future research output will show an increase in collaborative research. The dataset used, however, shows a stable structure over the whole period with only minimal differences for each year and traces of both incentives and scholarly discourse are mostly absent, instead supporting the image of the lone scholar as a still dominant figure in humanities research. Figure 4 shows the collected number of authors in the total number of records:

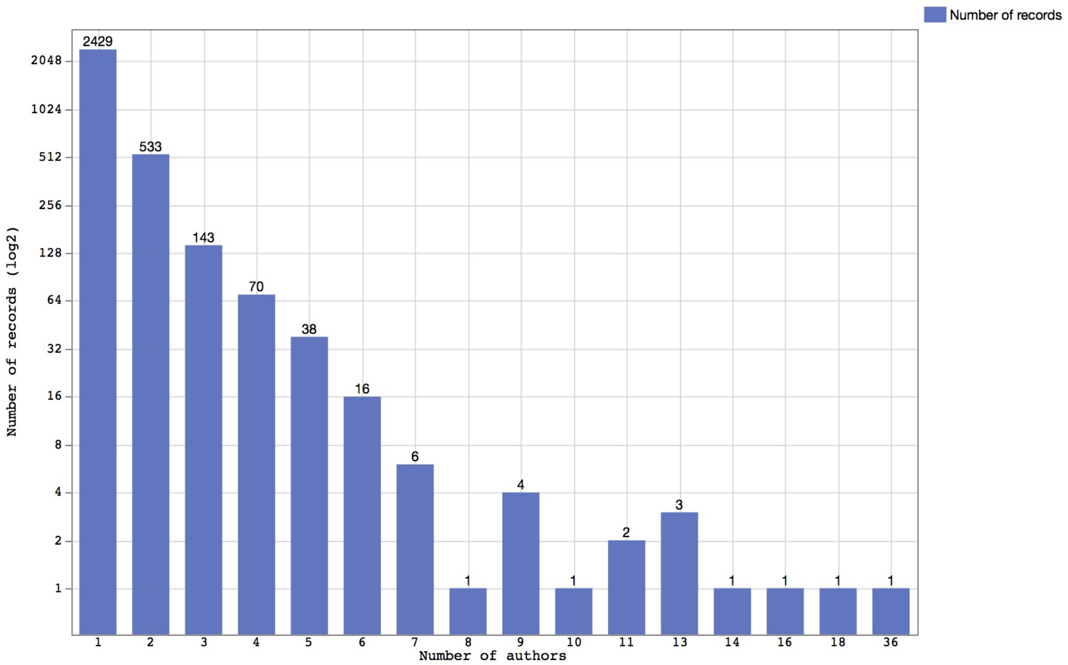

Figure 4: Number of authors in total number of records (n=3316); vertical axis expressed on a logarithmic scale

The data set reveals a strong emphasis on single-authored publication. In all, 73.25% of the total number of records are attributed to only one author; 26.07% have two authors, and a mere 8.69%

have three or more authors attributed. This is consistent with other studies such as Tang et al. (2017), indicating that the established practices of co-authorship in the humanities govern working practices in disciplines across the dataset. This suggests that managerial incentives may not have succeeded in emphasizing the value of collaboration and co-authorship *as such*, and a reason for this could be that the Norwegian model allocates less points for publications with multiple authors due to author fractionation. This result indicates that policy promoting collaboration and cross-disciplinary initiatives comes in direct conflict with research practice.

4.3. Preferred publication language

As the bibliometric model used by the University during the studied period follows not only the Norwegian list of indexed journals and publishers, but also complements the list with additional journals indexed in WoS, the incentive to publish internationally in English is further emphasised through university policy (LNU4). It is therefore interesting to look at the choice of publication language, particularly in light of the long tradition in the humanities of publishing in national languages. Given the adherence to traditional humanistic practices we have been able to show so far, it would be reasonable to expect that the analysis of the language of publication would reveal a substantial number of registered publications in Swedish, and other non-English languages. However, the results meet such expectations only to a certain degree. A language break-down of the complete set (n=3316) proves the following presence of languages:

English: 53.05% (n=1759)
Swedish: 39.51% (n=1310)
Others: 7.45% (n=247)

Breaking out ranked peer-reviewed publications only, the picture develops even further (n=1386):

English: 80.16% (n=1111)
Swedish: 13.06% (n=181)
Others: 6.78% (n=94)

When distinguishing the three main categories within the peer-reviewed category – journal articles, monographs, and book chapters – the distribution of languages holds for all three, although with slight relative differences; monographs and book chapters show in the total set a higher representation of publications in Swedish with 53.61% and 47.54% respectively. Although within the peer-review category, both show a strong dominance of publications written in English, with 61.29% for monographs, and 73.83% for book chapters. For journal articles, the dominance of English is strong, with most published items regardless of peer-review or ranking published in English. When we consider the total amount of journal articles, 59.98% were written in English, while in the ranked, peer-reviewed category, 82.65% of the registered articles were written in English.

5. Concluding remarks

Breaking traditional practices of scholarly disciplines is notoriously difficult. Traditional preferences run deep, and of course one may argue that there is a reason for this. The expected deliverables of research in disciplines within the broad framework of the humanities differ from that of the sciences. Technological, managerial, economic, and societal challenges demand new approaches from disciplines across the line, and with the emergence of new methodological tools and routes for knowledge dissemination, old traditions need to be analysed, and practices of publication and knowledge dissemination discussed. This study contributes to such discussion by displaying publication practices at a young, regional university in a country known for its high standards of learning and industrious innovation.

The picture that emerges in this study confirms the power of tradition in humanities publication practices. Despite continuous performance-based funding incentives that direct research output to international peer-reviewed, top-tier channels, the use and variety of other kinds of publication types remains substantial. However, as Sīle and Vanderstraeten point out in their study of educational research, results are bound to be inconclusive concerning influencing factors due to the difficulties of isolating certain incentives as more influential on practice than others (2019). This is particularly valid when studying the humanities (Hammarfelt, 2016; Narayan et al., 2018). Also, in line with traditional apprehensions of the humanities is the limited amount of co-authorship in the registered publications. The development towards a higher degree of co-authorship, often regarded as a characteristic feature of digital humanities research (Siemens, 2009; Siemens et al., 2011), has yet to take root in research practice.

Only in terms of language choice, which as noted varies between disciplines, does the data indicate a shift from what is generally assumed to be a native language tradition in the humanities. English comes forth as the overall most used language, both in the total sample, and most particularly in the peer-reviewed publications accounted for in the Norwegian model. The dominant role of English as the prime language of publications registered in the local repository is noteworthy. It seems reasonable to attribute this to the increasingly international research environment established during the studied timeframe in cross-disciplinary research centres of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, which are predominantly made up of the "big six" disciplines as seen in Figure 3.

Overall, the results are well in line with the findings of Guns et al. (2019) on social science and humanities research practices. Perhaps the most important difference is that while Guns et al. noticed a decline in non-peer-reviewed publications over time, no such trend is seen in the dataset of this study. Part of the explanation may lie in the inclusion of social science in their study, whilst in this study, we define the humanities in a more exclusive manner.

The results of this case study raise questions about the effectiveness of managerial incentives to direct publication patterns into a form that is not discipline specific, even if it is combined with a vectored bibliometric practice that is seen here in the form of the Norwegian model, which is used at Linnaeus University as well as at several other Swedish universities. Although vague, the indication is that changing impetus within actual research practice influences developments in a more significant way as follows. Although it is difficult to substantiate with certainty, the development of cross-disciplinary centres of research has likely impacted preferred languages in all major disciplines in the dataset, as they tend to be oriented towards international research environments. From this perspective, the present study suggests that if management incentives are to influence research practice, they ought to focus on the development of self-organizing research communities based on reformulation of both research missions and actual problem statements, relating to current societal challenges. In that way, the specific ways of relating to the world that have for long been the hallmark of the humanities can be taken advantage of, in the quest to keep universities continuously relevant in present and future societal developments.

Furthermore, the findings raise new questions and motivate follow-up studies in at least two areas: 1) in depth studies of publication patterns inside strategic cross-disciplinary research centres and initiatives to see if they differ from the more established patterns of participating disciplines; and, 2) the influence of digital humanities discourse and practice on humanities publication patterns in local university environments. An examination of the results of the present study in light of in-depth follow-ups studies within these two areas would benefit not only local strategic thinking in universities promoting humanities research, but the international discussion on the social value of the humanities at large.

Acknowledgements
The authors would like to thank Dr. Fredrik Åström at Lund University for his helpful reading of an early version of this article. They would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers assigned by NJLIS for their constructive comments.

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Appendix 1: White Papers and Guidelines, Linnaeus University

LNU1. *Riktlinjer för elektronisk publicering vid Linnéuniversitetet*. [*Guidelines for Electronic Publishing at Linnaeus University.*] Decided on 2011-10-24. Kalmar/Växjö: Linnaeus Univ. https://lnu.se/globalassets/dokument---gemensamma/bibliotek/publicera-i-diva/riktlinjer_epublicering.pdf

LNU2. *En resa in i framtiden: Vision och strategi 2015–2020*. [*A Journey into the Future: Vision and Strategy 2015–2020.*] https://lnu.se/globalassets/dokument---gemensamma/universitetsledningens-kansli/en_resa_in_i_framtiden_2015-2020.pdf

LNU3. *Beslut om intern fördelning av forskningsanslag 2020.* [*Decision on Internal Distribution of Research Allocation 2020.*] Dnr: 2019/2478-1.1.3. Kalmar/Växjö: Linnaeus Univ.

LNU4. *Bibliometrisk modell för vetenskapliga publikationer vid Linnéuniversitetet*. Bilaga till beslut om fastställande av Linnéuniversitetets bibliometriska modell för vetenskapliga publikationer. [*Bibliometric Model for Scholarly Publications at Linnaeus University.* Appendix to Decision on Approval of Linnaeus University's Bibliometric Model for Scholarly Publications.] Dnr: 2019/1081-1.1.1. Kalmar/Växjö: Linnaeus Univ.

LNU5. *Verksamhetsplan och budget 2020-2022*. [*Operational Plan and Budget 2020-2022.*] Dnr: 2019/3656-1.1.1. Kalmar/Växjö: Linnaeus Univ. https://lnu.se/globalassets/dokument---gemensamma/universitetsledningens-kansli/verksamhetsplanering/galler-vp-och-budget-2020-2022_w.pdf

LNU/FKH1. *En utvecklande forskningsstrategi: Självvärdering för Fakulteten för konst och humaniora*. [*A Developing Research Strategy: Self Evaluation for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.*]

LNU/FKH2. *Kvalitetsarbete forskning vid fakulteten för konst och humaniora.* [*Quality Management, Research at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.*] (2019-10-02)

LNU/FKH3. *Arbetet med* En utvecklande forskningsstrategi *inom Fakulteten för konst och humaniora vid Linnéuniversitetet.* [*Working with* A Developing Research Strategy *within the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Linnaeus University.*] (2017-03-01)

LNU/FKH4 (2017) *Inspel till forskningsstrategi vid fakulteten för konst och humaniora.* [*Input to Research Strategy at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities*.] (2017-03-01)

LNU/FKH5. *Slutrapport från utredningen av forskarutbildningen vid fakulteten för konst och humaniora (FKH).* [*Final Report from the Inquiry of the Postgraduate Education at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.*] (2014-09-05)

LNU/FKH6. *Strategisk plan för fakulteten för konst och humaniora 2015–2020.* [*Strategic Plan for the Faculty of Arts and Humanities 2015–2020.*] (2014-12-15)

LNU/FKH7. *Strategi för digital humaniora 2019-2021*. [*Strategy for Digital Humanities 2019-2021.*] Fakulteten för konst och humaniora, Missiv 2019-06-10. Dnr: 2018/1074-1.5. Kalmar/Växjö: Linnaeus Univ.

Appendix 2: Search strings in data collection

Publishing year: 2010-2018
AND
Organisation(id): Faculty of Arts and Humanities
  Include former name in search
OR
Organisation(id): School of Cultural Sciences (2012-12-31)
  Include former name in search
OR
Organisation(id): School of Language and Literature (2012-12-31)
  Include former name in search

NOT
Publication type:
  Data set
  Patent
  Student thesis

Appendix 3: Distribution of publication types in the complete data set (n=3316)

Publication type	Number of records	Percent
A. Article in journal	856	25.81
B. Article, review/survey	9	0,27
C. Article, book review	253	7,63
D. Book	97	2,93
E. Doctoral thesis, monograph	31	0,93
F. Doctoral thesis, comprehensive summary	1	0,03
G. Chapter in book	1018	30,70
H. Conference paper	635	19,15
I. Licentiate thesis, monograph	9	0,27
J. Licentiate thesis, comprehensive summary	1	0,03
K. Conference proceedings (editor)	14	0,42
L. Artistic output	66	1,99
M. Report	39	1,18
N. Collection (editor)	129	3,89
O. Other	158	4,76

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.127124

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Publishing patterns in Pharmacy

A bibliometric analysis of publications from six Nordic universities

Abstract
Pharmacy is a multidisciplinary research field that combines natural sciences, health sciences and social sciences to study drugs and pharmaceutical preparations from multiple perspectives. The study explores publishing patterns in pharmacy via bibliometric methods, that is statistical methods applied to study scientific literature. Earlier bibliometric studies focusing on pharmacy have used data from the international citation databases Web of Science and Scopus. In most of these studies, pharmacy has been operationalized by focusing on journals categorized as pharmacy journals. This study provides a new approach to the study of publishing patterns, by using data from institutional Current Research Information Systems (CRIS), and by using pharmacy organizations as the basis of operationalization of pharmacy. It seeks to provide a more comprehensive picture of publishing patterns, since the data covers all publication types used in pharmacy and is not limited to pharmacy journals. The objective of this study is thus to explore whether the selection of databases and operationalization of the discipline affects the results concerning publishing patterns in pharmacy. The results obtained in this study are very similar to earlier studies utilizing international databases. However, the results show that pharmacy researchers also publish in national languages, and that there are several national journals amongst the core journals that are not covered by the international databases. The multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy can be seen in the wide range of journals in which pharmacy researchers publish their articles.

Keywords: pharmacy, publishing patterns, bibliometrics, current research information systems, journals, multidisciplinarity

Introduction

Pharmacy is a multidisciplinary research field that combines natural sciences, health sciences and social sciences to study drugs and pharmaceutical preparations from multiple perspectives. There are several subdisciplines in pharmacy, including biopharmaceutics, pharmacology, pharmaceutical biology, pharmaceutical chemistry, pharmaceutical technology, industrial pharmacy, and social pharmacy.

This study explores publishing patterns in pharmacy via bibliometric methods, that is statistical methods applied to study scientific literature. In bibliometric research, publishing patterns of a discipline are typically studied via analysing the typicality of publication types, the language of publications, the number of authors, the number of references and citations, the selection of publication channels as well as the number of publications by authors in a given time period.

There are several reasons why studying disciplinary publishing patterns is important. Publications are the major outputs of scientific work, and can reveal disciplinary structures, working practices within disciplines and audiences of the research (Kyvik, 1991; Whitley, 2000). The number of authors indicates whether the work is done in groups or alone. The language of publications and typical publication channels tell us about the degree to which the research is internationally or nationally oriented. The selection of journals and the subject field of journals conveys what other disciplines are close to the discipline, and the degree to which the discipline is multidisciplinary. The distribution of research articles into journals from different fields reveals internal structures of the discipline.

Studying publishing patterns is important also because in research evaluations the number of publications and citations are typically used as a means to evaluate scientific impact. It is widely recognized that differences between disciplines should be taken into consideration when using bibliometric indicators as evaluation tools. For example, in natural and medical sciences, publishing concentrates heavily on international scientific journals, whereas in social sciences and humanities, publishing monographs and using national publication channels has been more typical (Kyvik, 1991; Piro, 2013; Puuska, 2014). The better we recognize the differences in publication patterns, the more valid are the evaluations.

The first step in bibliometric studies is the extraction of the relevant literature to form a corpus of data, to answer the research questions (Zitt el al., 2019). The databases used, and how the discipline is operationalized, are central issues in the compilation of the relevant data.

The most frequently used databases in bibliometric studies are the international citation databases Web of Science and Scopus. These databases concentrate on international scientific publications, and thus, other publication types, like articles in national scientific journals or book chapters, may not be included in the dataset due to the selection criteria of the international databases. Current Research Information Systems (CRIS) have a better coverage of these publication types (Sivertsen, 2019). CRIS are databases to which an organization (or organizations) collects information about research activities, particularly publications, of the researchers affiliated with the organization.

Another central choice in bibliometric studies is how the discipline is operationalized. A discipline can be defined from different starting points, for example, with the help of general science classification schemes or from an organizational point of view (Hammarfelt, 2018; Zitt et al., 2019). A well-known science classification scheme is OECD's Field of Science and Technology Classification (OECD, 2015). The international citation databases Web of Science and Scopus have their own subject classifications. The Web of Science Subject classification has 254 different subject categories, for example, "Pharmacology & Pharmacy" (Web of Science, 2021). All journals covered in Web of Science are categorized into one or more subject categories. These different operationalization methods have their own advantages and limitations (Zitt et al., 2019). When a discipline is delineated using journal sets compiled using predefined subject categories, for example Web of Science "Pharmacy and Pharmacology", publications that pharmacy researchers have published in journals belonging to other categories are left out. On the other hand, if organizational structures such as faculties or departments are the basis of the selection of data, the pharmacy publications by researchers from other organizations are left out of the data.

Earlier bibliometric studies on pharmacy have used data from Web of Science and Scopus (AL-Ageel et al., 2020; Barrett et al., 2016; Dotson et al., 2011; Mendes et al., 2019; Minguet et al., 2017; Nasir et al., 2015; Sweileh et al., 2014; Thompson, 2018, Weathers & Unni, 2018). In most of these studies, pharmacy has been delineated by focusing on journals categorized as pharmacy journals. This study applies a novel approach by compiling data from institutional CRIS and by operationalizing pharmacy by using pharmacy organizations as the starting point.

The first objective of this study is to explore whether and how the selection of databases and operationalization of the discipline affect the results concerning publishing patterns in pharmacy. The second objective is to explore whether and how the multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy research manifests itself in publishing patterns.

The objectives are approached by studying the qualities of publications and journals. The questions concerning the qualities of the publications are the following:

1) What is the distribution of different publication types?
2) In what languages are the publications written?
3) What is the number of co-authors of the publications?

The questions concerning journals are the following:

4) Which subject categories do the journals belong to?
5) What is the number of journals in which pharmacy researchers publish?
6) How are the articles distributed between different journals?
7) What are the key journals?

Literature review

Earlier bibliometric studies of publishing patterns in pharmacy have been conducted mainly from two different starting points: the first group of studies has explored publication patterns at the level of disciplinary groups, and the second group of studies has focused solely on pharmacy.

In the first group of studies, pharmacy has been included in the medicine and health sciences disciplinary group (Piro, 2013; Puuska, 2014). Disciplinary groupings typically used in these studies are humanities, social sciences, medicine and health sciences, natural sciences, engineering and technology, and agricultural sciences. This delineation of disciplines is based on OECD's Field of Science and Technology Classification (OECD, 2015). The strength of this approach is that it gives us a broad view of publication patterns across different disciplinary groups. Piro (2013) and Puuska (2014) used national CRIS-databases as the source of data in their studies and found major differences in the publishing patterns of different disciplinary groups. Journal articles were the most common publication type in medicine and health sciences and natural sciences, while the proportion of other publication types was marginal. In humanities and social sciences, the shares of journal articles, book articles and monographs were more evenly distributed. The number of co-authors was considerably bigger in medicine and health sciences and natural sciences compared to social sciences and humanities.

Both Piro's (2013) and Puuska's (2014) studies included data from only one country. Data covering only one country can give nationally focused results due to national research emphasis. In addition, using large disciplinary groups can be a problem because there can be differences in the publishing patterns between individual disciplines that are included in the larger disciplinary group. There can also be differences in publishing patterns between the subdisciplines of a specific discipline (Fry & Talja, 2004). These differences cannot be taken into account in the disciplinary group level analyses.

The second group of studies focuses solely on pharmacy and typically uses data from Web of Science and Scopus. These studies have explored different aspects of publishing patterns in pharmacy or its subdisciplines, for example: publishing productivity (Thompson, 2019; Weathers & Unni, 2018), degrees of international collaboration (AL-Ageel et al., 2020), changes in number of authors per article in pharmacy journals over time (Dotson et al., 2011), publishing patterns in pharmacy subdisciplines or subject areas (Sweileh et al., 2014; Sweileh et al., 2018), and research carried out by researchers from a specific geographic area (Nasir et al., 2015; Sweileh et al., 2014; Thompson, 2018). The Web of Science classification of pharmacy journals has been studied (Minguet et al., 2017) as well as other methods for mapping pharmacy journals (Barrett et al., 2016; Mendes et al., 2019).

In most of these studies, the starting point of data collection and delineating the discipline has been journal sets. Studied pharmacy journal sets have mainly been identified by using journal classifications of databases and by selecting articles published in journals classified to the Web of Science subject category "Pharmacology & Pharmacy" (Minguet et al., 2017; Nasir et al., 2015; Thompson, 2018). Other selection methods include using a lexical analysis of articles published in journals which have pharmacy related words in journal titles (AL-Ageel et al., 2020; Mendes et al., 2019), using keyword searches to identify pharmacy publications (Sweileh et al., 2014), combining the journal set based approach to the keyword search based approach (Sweileh et al., 2018), selecting a small number of journals based on the specific criteria such as journal impact and clinical orientation (Dotson et al., 2011) or selecting journals included in pharmacy core journal lists (Barrett et al., 2016). Data have also been extracted by using organizations, for example pharmacy departments and schools as a starting point (Thompson, 2019; Weathers & Unni, 2018).

These earlier studies have shown that peer-reviewed academic journal articles are the main publication type within pharmacy (Weathers & Unni, 2018), as well as the most cited publication type (Barrett et al., 2016), and that articles are usually co-authored (Dotson et al., 2011; Sweileh et al., 2018). Like many bibliometric studies (van Raan, 2019) these studies have found that distributions related to publishing patterns are skewed. A small number of researchers or institutions publish most of the articles (Thompson, 2019; Thompson, 2018; Weathers & Unni, 2018), a small number of core journals receive most of the citations (Barrett et al., 2016), and the majority of articles are published in a small number of journals (Sweileh et al., 2018). These studies have also shown that publishing patterns are not stable but change over time. The number of publications published by pharmacy researchers (Weathers & Unni, 2018) or within specific pharmacy subject areas (Nasir et al., 2015; Sweileh et al., 2018) have increased over the years, as well as the number of authors per article (Dotson et al., 2011; Sweileh et al., 2018). Pharmacy researchers cite literature from many disciplines outside pharmacy, especially medicine and natural sciences (Barrett et al., 2016). Pharmacy journals are considered a heterogeneous group of journals (Mendes et al., 2019; Minguet et al., 2017).

International pharmacy journals are the most important publication channels, but national journals are also used (Nasir et al., 2015; Sweileh et al., 2014) and considered important (Barrett et al., 2016).

In the aforementioned studies, the research data consist mainly of international scientific articles. Thus, other publication types, like articles in national scientific journals or book chapters, are usually not included in the datasets due to the publication selection criteria of the international databases. This study contributes to this gap in knowledge.

Next, research methods and data used in this study are presented, followed by research results, discussion, and conclusions.

Methods

To answer the research questions, publication data from years 2011-2016 of six Nordic universities' pharmacy units were collected from the national CRIS (Norway and Finland) and from the universities' own CRIS (Sweden and Denmark).

CRIS are databases to which an organization or organizations collect information about research activities, particularly publications, of the researchers affiliated with the organization (Sivertsen, 2019). Information about research activities and background information about researchers, such as institutional affiliations, can be manually added to the system or imported from other administrative systems of the organization. The collected information can be used for example in research evaluation, funding decisions or for management purposes. CRIS databases can operate on a national or institutional level. There are also solutions where these two approaches are combined; data are collected to the organizational CRIS databases first and then imported to the national CRIS.

CRIS databases typically focus on scientific publications of a single organization (Sivertsen, 2019). International scientific articles, articles in national scientific journals, conference articles, book chapters and books are covered by these databases. In addition to scientific publications, CRIS databases may contain information about other publication types, including publications aimed for professional and lay audiences (such as newspaper articles) and publications in different languages. A more comprehensive picture of publishing patterns may be gained by collecting data from CRIS databases compared with Web of Science and Scopus, because CRIS databases include a larger range of publication types.

Publication metadata is either manually added to the CRIS databases by individual researchers or imported from international databases (Sivertsen, 2019). An important step in data registration is the verification of publications. This is usually done by libraries or administrative personnel.

One important component of CRIS databases is that they contain information about organizational structures of universities and institutions. Publications are linked to researcher profiles which include information about organizational affiliations. The organizational information makes it possible to create datasets that are based on affiliations such as faculty, department, or research group. Department- or faculty-based datasets are more difficult to create in international databases. In international databases, publications of a specific department or faculty can be retrieved by using keyword searches, but due to variations in the affiliation notations, such as missing information about the department, some of the relevant publications are not found. The search results may also contain other organizations' publications because the address notations include the words used in the search.

The multiorganizational approach in this study was selected in order to build a large enough dataset, so that valid conclusions could be made. Using publication data from six universities gives a broader view of pharmacy publishing patterns and reduces the potential effects of the special characteristics of individual institutions on the results.

The studied pharmacy faculties and departments, the names of the CRIS databases and the number of publications in the data are presented in Table 1.

Pharmacy organization	**Country**	**CRIS**	**Number of publications**
Department of Pharmacy, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, University of Oslo	Norway	Cristin	768
Department of Pharmacy, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Tromso	Norway	Cristin	280
Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Helsinki	Finland	Virta	1155
School of Pharmacy, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Eastern Finland	Finland	Virta	1264
Faculty of Pharmacy (2011), Department of Pharmacy and Department of Drug Design and Pharmacology (2012-2016), Faculty of Health and Medical Sciences, University of Copenhagen	Denmark	CRIS-database of University of Copenhagen	3011
Faculty of Pharmacy, University of Uppsala	Sweden	Diva	1749
Total			Total number of publications 8227

Table 1. The organizations selected to the study, the CRIS databases used and the number of publications 2011-2016.

The criteria for selecting the university units for the study were the following: 1) the unit is a pharmacy department or faculty, that 2) functions within a university setting, and 3) the publication data are available. The original mapping of suitable units was done by going through the Nordic universities' webpages. The Nordic countries were selected as a starting point, as university systems in Nordic countries have many common features. Six units were selected (see Table 1). The largest pharmacy departments and faculties from Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden are included in the study.[1] The availability of publication data from the selected units was confirmed. The data about the publications of pharmacy faculties and departments were available in all the CRIS databases from year 2011, therefore this year was selected as the starting point. Consent to using the data for research purposes was received from the organizations responsible for the gathering of publication data.

Most of the departments and faculties selected for this study describe their research as interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary (UiT The Arctic university of Norway, 2021; University of Copenhagen, 2021a; University of Copenhagen, 2021b; University of Eastern Finland, 2021; University of Helsinki, 2021; University of Oslo, 2021; Uppsala University, 2021). All the departments and faculties under analysis are research oriented. Research in these departments and faculties is done in research groups, which are organized either around departments, by the subdisciplines of pharmacy, or by research subject. Internationality is mentioned in many descriptions of the units as well as the importance of a national perspective. Industry and society are named as important stakeholders and collaborators. All the studied departments offer bachelors', masters', and doctoral degrees.

The research data consist of bibliographic information of 8227 publications. The data extracted from the CRIS databases had to be unified before the analysis. The unification of research data was the most time-consuming phase of this research. All data preparation - and analysis - was made with Excel and SPSS.

CRIS databases have variation in their classification of publication types. A new classification was therefore created, and different systems' publication classifications were mapped to this new classification in order to have comparable data from different databases. The new classification included the following publication types: "Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal", "Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal", "Academic book"," Academic book chapter", "Conference article or abstract", "Doctoral dissertation", "Report", "Popular scientific article, Newspaper article" and "Article in trade journal or book".

The names of the journals were disambiguated. Different name variants were used in different datasets for some journals, for example for "The Journal of the American Medical Association" also variants "Jama" and "J A M A" were used. One of the name variants was selected as primary and the other name variants were unified to that. Notations of publication languages were also harmonized. The Web of Science journal classification was added to those publications for which it was available. The Web of Science classification was selected because it is also used in the Journal Citation Reports, which is the source of impact factors, used widely in the evaluation of scientific journals.

1 There are other pharmacy units in the Nordic countries but these were not included in this study for the following reasons: the unit was small in terms of the number of publications, the publications of the unit were difficult to extract because pharmacy was only one of the disciplines within the unit (for example "Department of Physics, Chemistry and Pharmacy"), the unit focused solely on pharmacy teaching or represented only one specific specialty within pharmacy.

Results

Distribution of publication types

The most typical (80.9%) publication type aimed for an academic audience was "Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal". "Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal" was the next most common publication type, with a 4.9% share.

Other publication types aimed for an academic audience – "Conference articles or abstracts", "Academic books", "Academic book chapters", and "Doctoral dissertations" comprised 10.4% of all publications. Of these, shorter publications: "Conference articles or abstracts" (4.3%) and "Academic book chapters" (3.0%) were more common. The share of the "Academic books" was only 0.4% of all publications. "Doctoral dissertations" formed 2.7% of the publications. "Doctoral dissertations" are special kinds of publications because of their once-only nature.

Publications aimed for other audiences, such as practical professionals, decision makers and the general public formed 3.8% of the publications: 2.3 % of the publications were "Articles in trade journals or books", 0.5% were "Reports" and 1.0 % "Popular scientific articles and newspaper articles".

Most of the publications, 92.4%, were written in English and 7.4% in national languages. Typically, publications aimed for an academic audience were written in English, while publications aimed for other audiences were more often written using national languages. Distribution of publication types and languages is presented in the Table 2.

Publication type	English	National	Other	All languages
Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal	6430	216	9	6655
	78,2%	2,6%	0,1%	80,9%
Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal	353	47	2	402
	4,3%	0,6%	0,0%	4,9%
Conference article or abstract	341	16	0	357
	4,1%	0,2%	0,0%	4,3%
Academic book	24	11	0	35
	0,3%	0,1%	0,0%	0,4%
Academic Book Chapter	203	42	0	245
	2,5%	0,5%	0,0%	3,0%
Doctoral dissertation	215	4	0	219
	2,6%	0,0%	0,0%	2,7%
Report	9	31	0	40
	0,1%	0,4%	0,0%	0,5%
Article in trade journal or book	23	164	3	190
	0,3%	2,0%	0,0%	2,3%
Popular scientific article, newspaper article	6	76	2	84
	0,1%	0,9%	0,0%	1,0%
All publication types	7604	607	16	8227
	92,4%	7,4%	0,2%	100,0%

Table 2. Publications of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: frequency of publication types and publication languages. Percentages are counted from the total number of publications (n=8227).

These results are in line with Piro's (2013) and Puuska's (2014) result: in the medical and health sciences disciplinary group, the most common publication type is article in a peer-reviewed international journal. Other similarities in these studies and the present study are that book chapters/articles were also published, but much less than articles in journals, and that monographs were the least typical publication type.

Number of authors

Publications aimed for an academic audience were mainly co-authored (Table 3). In the publication type "Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal" the mean number of authors was 7 per article. Fifty percent of articles were published by groups of 4-8 researchers. The publication types "Academic literary reviews in peer-reviewed journals" and "Conference articles or abstracts" were published in somewhat smaller groups, as the mean number of authors was 5. Fifty percent of the "Academic literary reviews in peer-reviewed journals" were published in groups of 2-6 researchers. "Academic books" and "Academic book chapters" were written by smaller groups than academic articles. The mean number of authors in both categories was 3. Fifty percent of the "Academic books" and "Academic book chapters" were written by groups of 2-4 researchers.

Publications aimed for other audiences were written by smaller groups or by one researcher. The mean number of authors in "Reports" was 5. Fifty percent of the "Reports" were published by 2-7 researchers. "Articles in trade journals" and "Popular articles and newspaper articles" were typically written by 1-2 authors. The mean number of authors in "Articles in trade journal or a book" and "Popular scientific article, newspaper article" was 2. Fifty percent of aforementioned articles were published by 1-3 and 1-2 authors respectively.

Publication type	Mean	Median	Mode	Minimum	Maximum	Percentile 25	Percentile 75	Number of publications
Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal	7	6	5	1	127	4	8	6655
Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal	5	4	3	1	65	2	6	402
Conference article or abstract	5	4	4	1	22	3	6	357
Academic book	3	2	2	1	9	2	4	35
Chapter in academic book	3	3	2	1	14	2	4	245
Doctoral dissertation	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	219
Report	5	4	2	1	22	2	7	40
Article in trade journal or book	2	2	1	1	12	1	3	190
Popular scientific article, newspaper article	2	1	1	1	13	1	2	84

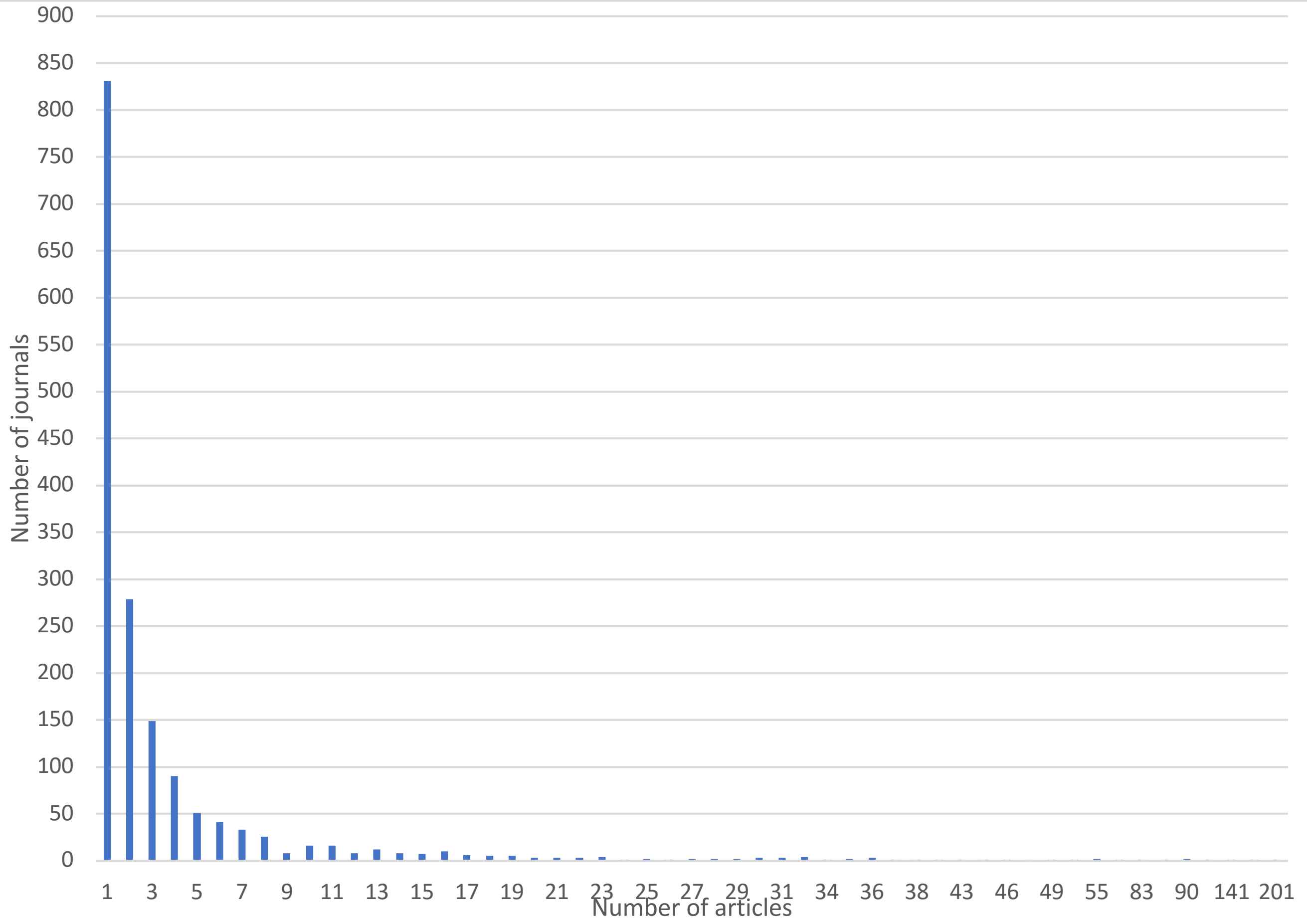
Table 3. Publications of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: number of authors per publication type.

The share of co-authored publications was high: 92.7% of all publications were co-authored. Among academic articles (publication types “Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal” or “Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal”) the percentage was even higher, 97.4% of these articles were co-authored.

Similar shares of co-authored publications were found in Puuska’s (2014) study. The mean number of authors in articles in peer-reviewed journals in the present study is quite similar to Piro’s (2013) and Puuska’s (2014) studies. The share of co-authored publications, and the mean number of authors is slightly higher in this study than in Dotson’s (2011) study, focusing on authorship and characteristics of articles in pharmacy journals. The difference can be due to the fact that the present study focuses on a different timeframe, and the difference may reflect the general increase of the number of authors.

Distribution of articles to journals

Academic articles and literary reviews in peer-reviewed journals (n=7057) were published in 1660 journals. The distribution of articles to journals was skewed, only a few journals published many articles and a great number of journals published only a few articles. The distribution of publications to different journals is presented in Graph 1 and in Appendix Table 1.



Graph 1. Academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: distribution to journals. Number of articles n=7057, number of journals n=1660.

When journals were ordered in descending order by the number of published articles, the Pareto principle, also known as the 80/20- rule, was supported by this dataset, since 80% of the articles were published by 33% of the journals. The negative binomial distribution of this kind is a typical bibliometric result (Bensman, 2000). Bradford's Law of Scattering (Bradford, 1971) and Garfield's Law of Concentration (Garfield, 1972) follow this distribution. These bibliometric laws describe the distribution of academic articles to journals. Similar highly skewed distributions were found in a study about the productivity of pharmacy deans (Thompson, 2019) and in a study mapping core hospital pharmacy journals (Barrett et al., 2016).

Journals and the Web of Science classifications

The majority of the journals, 88% (1470) were indexed in the Web of Science-database. These journals published altogether 80.1% (6592) of the publications in this dataset.

In Web of Science, journals are classified by their subject into different subject categories. A journal can belong to one or more categories. In this dataset, half of the journals belonged to only one category, and half belonged to two or more categories. For more detailed data about the number of subject categories of articles and journals, see Appendix (Table 2).

The journals were classified into 164 different subject categories. Categories with more than 100 articles are presented in Table 4. The largest category was "Pharmacology & Pharmacy" with 186 journals and 2080 articles. "Biochemistry & Molecular biology" was the next largest category with 156 journals and 763 articles. The third category was "Chemistry, Medicinal" with 47 journals and 708 articles. Most of the categories can be associated to more general categories of biosciences, chemistry, and medicine. These results emphasize the multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy.

Web of Science subject category	Number of articles	Percentage of articles	Number of journals	Percentage of journals
Pharmacology & Pharmacy	2080	18,7	186	7,4
Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	763	6,9	156	6,2
Chemistry, Medicinal	708	6,4	46	1,8
Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	570	5,1	57	2,3
Chemistry, Analytical	401	3,6	46	1,8
Neurosciences	388	3,5	99	3,9
Biochemical Research Methods	351	3,2	51	2,0
Multidisciplinary Sciences	308	2,8	16	0,6
Chemistry, Organic	290	2,6	30	1,2
Toxicology	248	2,2	53	2,1
Oncology	236	2,1	74	2,9
Medicine, Research & Experimental	193	1,7	50	2,0
Chemistry, Physical	171	1,5	37	1,5
Endocrinology & Metabolism	170	1,5	54	2,1
Cell Biology	160	1,4	66	2,6
Biophysics	159	1,4	37	1,5

Plant Sciences	155	1,4	28	1,1
Public, Environmental & Occupational Health	152	1,4	42	1,7
Radiology, Nuclear Medicine & Medical Imaging	133	1,2	18	0,7
Materials Science, Multidisciplinary	122	1,1	31	1,2
Biotechnology & Applied Microbiology	121	1,1	58	2,3
Psychiatry	121	1,1	55	2,2
Microbiology	120	1,1	37	1,5
Clinical Neurology	112	1,0	48	1,9
Medicine, General & Internal	107	1,0	34	1,4
Nanoscience & Nanotechnology	102	0,9	33	1,3

Table 4. Academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: Web of Science categories with more than 100 articles. The table shows the number and percentage of articles and journals by the Web of Science journal categories. A journal, and therefore an article, can belong to more than one category. Thus, percentages have been counted using number of journals (n=2523), number of articles (n=11106).

In addition to previously mentioned categories, articles were published to a smaller extent in journals categorized to technology and engineering oriented categories such as "Materials Science, Multidisciplinary" and "Computer Science, Interdisciplinary Applications" as well as behavioural sciences and social sciences oriented categories such as "Behavioral Sciences", "Psychology, Clinical" and "Education, Scientific Disciplines".

What are the core journals in pharmacy?

Half of the articles (49.5%) were published by 7% of the journals (see Appendix Table 1). These 120 journals published 12-201 articles. Of these 120 journals, 114 were found in Web of Science, and thus the Web of Science classification was available for those journals. Journals belonged to 42 different Web of Science-categories. Almost half of the journals (46) were classified into the "Pharmacology & Pharmacy"-category. Among the 120 journals were also six national pharmaceutical and medical journals. Only one of the national journals was indexed in Web of Science, namely "Tidsskrift for Den norske legeforening". For more detailed data about the 120 core journals, see Appendix Table 3.

Table 5 presents the 25 journals that published the largest number of the articles in descending order. The most used journal was "PLoS One," a multidisciplinary open access journal. Another multidisciplinary open access journal, "Scientific Reports," was also among these journals. "PLoS One" is followed by journals that publish articles about a wide variety of subjects within pharmaceutical sciences: "International Journal of Pharmaceutics," "European Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences" and "Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences".

Journal	**Number of articles**	**Web of Science categories**		
PloS one	201	Multidisciplinary Sciences		
International Journal of Pharmaceutics	153	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		

European Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences	141	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences	106	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy
European Journal of Pharmaceutics and Biopharmaceutics	90	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of Medicinal Chemistry	90	Chemistry, Medicinal		
Molecular Pharmaceutics	88	Medicine, Research & experimental	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Dosis	83			
Pharmaceutical Research	65	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
European Journal of Nuclear Medicine and Molecular Imaging	55	Radiology, Nuclear Medicine & Medical Imaging		
Journal of Pharmacokinetics and Pharmacodynamics	55	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
European Journal of Clinical Pharmacology	51	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of Controlled Release	49	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Journal of Biological Chemistry	48	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology		
Analytical Chemistry	46	Chemistry, Analytical		
Bioorganic and Medicinal Chemistry	45	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Organic
Scientific Reports	43	Multidisciplinary Sciences		
Basic & Clinical Pharmacology & Toxicology	41	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	Toxicology	
Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry	38	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical	
Lægemiddelforskning	37			
European Journal of Medicinal Chemistry	36	Chemistry, Medicinal		
Journal of Ethnopharmacology	36	Plant Sciences	Chemistry, Medicinal	Integrative & Complementary Medicine

Journal of Pharmaceutical and Biomedical Analysis	36	Chemistry, Analytical	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Drug Metabolism and Disposition	35	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of labelled compounds & radiopharmaceuticals	35	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Analytical

Table 5. Academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: the journals which published the largest number of articles, number of articles and their Web of Science categories. Number of articles n=7057, number of journals n=1660.

Discussion

The first objective of this study was to explore whether the selection of database and operationalization of the discipline affects the results of the bibliometric study of publishing patterns in pharmacy.

Using CRIS-databases as the source of data did not change the general picture of pharmacy publishing patterns. The study confirmed that publishing is focused on international scientific articles: academic articles and academic literary reviews in peer-reviewed journals written in English comprised 82,5% of the publications in this dataset. The academic articles in this dataset were published in scientific journals, of which a significant share was indexed in the Web of Science-database. This means that journal publishing in pharmacy can be studied reliably using international reference databases, as they include the majority of the most typical publication types used by pharmacy researchers.

Using data collected from CRIS-databases also provided new information. Even though there is a strong tendency towards international publishing in pharmacy, the results show that pharmacy researchers do also publish in national languages. In addition, there are several national journals amongst the core pharmacy journals. These results suggest that national publications have their own role in pharmacy publishing, even though the number of national journals and articles is small.

The second objective was to explore whether and how the multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy research manifests itself in publishing patterns. In earlier bibliometric studies of publishing patterns in pharmacy, the discipline has been operationalized using pharmacy journal sets. When a discipline is delineated using journal sets, the publications that pharmacy researchers have published in journals which are in other categories, are not included. Operationalizing pharmacy using pharmacy organizations provided new information, especially about the multidisciplinarity in pharmacy. Multidisciplinarity in pharmacy can be seen in pharmacy researchers' selection of journals as publishing outlets. Pharmacy researchers published their articles in journals representing a wide variety of Web of Science subject categories. Less than half of the core journals was categorized into the "Pharmacology & Pharmacy" category of Web of Science. These results show that journals representing different disciplines are important in pharmacy publishing. These results also show that studying only journals categorized as pharmacy journals does not give a full picture of pharmacy publishing patterns (AL-Ageel et al., 2020).

The result naturally also shows that subject categorizations are negotiable. In OECD's Field of Science and Technology-classification (OECD, 2015), pharmacy is classified under medicine and health sciences, which is of course a well-grounded decision. However, on the basis of the journals in which pharmacy researcher publish, there would also be good grounds to classify pharmacy into natural sciences.

When it comes to research evaluations, results that stress the multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy implicate the importance of using normalized citation indicators in research evaluation. There are differences in citation rates between disciplines, for example biochemistry and molecular biology publications receive on average 3 times more citations than analytical chemistry publications (Waltman et al., 2011). The results show that pharmacy scientists publish in journals from different subject fields. Normalized citation indicators take into account the publication type, publishing year and the subject category (Waltman et al., 2011) which makes it possible to compare publications from different subject categories with each other.

The limitations of this study are related to the known problems in combining data from different CRIS databases (Siversen, 2019). First, data collection principles may differ from one database to another, and they may change over time. Secondly, publication types aimed at other audiences than an academic audience are typically underreported (Puuska, 2014; Sīle, 2019). Comparing publication type frequencies between the universities gives an indication that this may be the case in the present data too. Publication type frequencies were consistent between universities in publications aimed for academic audiences, but the variation between the universities was greater in publication types aimed for other audiences. The combination of publication categories from different databases may also distort the distributions, as categories named similarly in different databases may actually contain publications of a different kind (Sīle, 2019). Creating a new categorization may have the same effect. Some simplifications of original categories were done in order to combine different categorizations. However, it is reasonable to assume that in the categories “Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal” and “Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal” the publications are quite similar because scientific articles and reviews are established publication types within medical and natural sciences. The other categories may have more variety because, for example reports, may take many forms. More detailed data about publication type frequencies across the six universities are provided in the Appendix Table 4. In addition, the data collected for the purposes of this study included publications from years 2011-2016. It is possible that there have been some changes in the publishing landscape (e.g., new journals have emerged) or in publishing patterns (e.g., in the number of authors) since 2016.

Recommendations for future research

There are interesting themes arising from the results for further studies. An important research question is the role of national publication channels in pharmacy. What is their role and what type of results are published in these journals? Another interesting aspect is the readership of national journals. Recent study of the readers of Finnish national journals showed that students are among the most active readers of these journals (Pölönen et al., 2021).

The study of multidisciplinarity in pharmacy could be deepened. In this study, the multidisciplinarity of pharmacy was explored though looking at the variations of journal subject categories. It would be important to study multidisciplinarity based on the individual articles’ subjects or by using other bibliometric methods, such as citation analysis. Another interesting theme regarding multidisciplinarity concerns pharmacy subdisciplines. What kind of connections do various pharmacy subdisciplines have with other disciplines, for example, how do researchers from different pharmacy subdisciplines use or cite publications from other disciplines? What kinds of connections do subdisciplines have with each other?

Qualitative interviews with researchers could be used in addition to bibliometric methods (Hammarfelt, 2012). This would make it possible to study publishing practices from researchers' viewpoints and help in the interpretation of the results from bibliometric studies.

Conclusions

This study contributed to studies of publishing patterns in pharmacy by using data from institutional CRIS-databases and by using pharmacy organizations as the basis of operationalization of pharmacy.

Using CRIS-databases did not change the overall picture of pharmacy publishing patterns. In general, results are in line with earlier studies utilizing international databases. However, CRIS-databases do provide a more comprehensive picture of publishing patterns since they cover all publication types. Results showed that pharmacy researchers also publish in national languages and there were several national journals amongst the core journals. The multidisciplinary nature of pharmacy can be seen in the journal selection of pharmacy researchers. Pharmacy researchers published their articles in journals from a wide variety of Web of Science subject categories.

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Appendix

Number of academic articles or academic literary reviews in a peer-reviewed journal	Number of Journals	Total number of articles (A*B)	% of articles (n=7057)	% of journals (n=1660)	Cumulative number of articles	Cumulative number of journals	Cumulative % of articles	Cumulative percentage of journals
201	1	201	2,8	0,06	201	1	2,8	0,06
153	1	153	2,2	0,06	354	2	5,0	0,12
141	1	141	2,0	0,06	495	3	7,0	0,18
106	1	106	1,5	0,06	601	4	8,5	0,24
90	2	180	2,6	0,12	781	6	11,0	0,36
88	1	88	1,2	0,06	869	7	12,3	0,42
83	1	83	1,2	0,06	952	8	13,4	0,48
65	1	65	0,9	0,06	1017	9	14,4	0,54
55	2	110	1,6	0,12	1127	11	15,9	0,66
51	1	51	0,7	0,06	1178	12	16,6	0,72
49	1	49	0,7	0,06	1227	13	17,3	0,78
48	1	48	0,7	0,06	1275	14	18,0	0,84
46	1	46	0,7	0,06	1321	15	18,7	0,90
45	1	45	0,6	0,06	1366	16	19,3	0,96
43	1	43	0,6	0,06	1409	17	19,9	1,02
41	1	41	0,6	0,06	1450	18	20,5	1,08
38	1	38	0,5	0,06	1488	19	21,0	1,14
37	1	37	0,5	0,06	1525	20	21,6	1,20
36	3	108	1,5	0,18	1633	23	23,1	1,39
35	2	70	1,0	0,12	1703	25	24,1	1,51
34	1	34	0,5	0,06	1737	26	24,6	1,57
32	4	128	1,8	0,24	1865	30	26,4	1,81
31	3	93	1,3	0,18	1958	33	27,7	1,99
30	3	90	1,3	0,18	2048	36	29,0	2,17
29	2	58	0,8	0,12	2106	38	29,8	2,29
28	2	56	0,8	0,12	2162	40	30,6	2,41
27	2	54	0,8	0,12	2216	42	31,4	2,53
26	1	26	0,4	0,06	2242	43	31,7	2,59
25	2	50	0,7	0,12	2292	45	32,4	2,71
24	1	24	0,3	0,06	2316	46	32,8	2,77

23	4	92	1,3	0,24	2408	50	34,1	3,01
22	3	66	0,9	0,18	2474	53	35,0	3,19
21	3	63	0,9	0,18	2537	56	35,9	3,37
20	3	60	0,9	0,18	2597	59	36,8	3,55
19	5	95	1,3	0,30	2692	64	38,1	3,86
18	5	90	1,3	0,30	2782	69	39,4	4,16
17	6	102	1,4	0,36	2884	75	40,8	4,52
16	10	160	2,3	0,60	3044	85	43,1	5,12
15	7	105	1,5	0,42	3149	92	44,6	5,54
14	8	112	1,6	0,48	3261	100	46,2	6,02
13	12	156	2,2	0,72	3417	112	48,4	6,75
12	8	96	1,4	0,48	3513	120	49,7	7,23
11	16	176	2,5	0,96	3689	136	52,2	8,19
10	16	160	2,3	0,96	3849	152	54,5	9,16
9	8	72	1,0	0,48	3921	160	55,5	9,64
8	26	208	2,9	1,57	4129	186	58,5	11,20
7	33	231	3,3	1,99	4360	219	61,7	13,19
6	41	246	3,5	2,47	4606	260	65,2	15,66
5	51	255	3,6	3,07	4861	311	68,8	18,73
4	90	360	5,1	5,42	5221	401	73,9	24,16
3	149	447	6,3	8,98	5668	550	80,3	33,13
2	279	558	7,9	16,81	6226	829	88,2	49,94
1	831	831	11,8	50,06	7057	1660	100,0	100,00

Appendix Table 1. The academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: distribution of articles to journals. Number of articles n=7057, number of journals n=1660.

Number of Web of Science Categories	**Number of individual articles**	**Number of journals**
1	3638	751
2	1747	464
3	912	192
4	251	51
5	30	8
6	14	4
Total	6592	1470

Appendix Table 2. The academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: number of Web of Science categories.

Journal	Number of articles	Web of Science categories			
PloS one	201	Multidisciplinary Sciences			
International Journal of Pharmaceutics	153	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
European Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences	141	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences	106	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
European Journal of Pharmaceutics and Biopharmaceutics	90	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Medicinal Chemistry	90	Chemistry, Medicinal			
Molecular Pharmaceutics	88	Medicine, Research & experimental	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Dosis	83				
Pharmaceutical Research	65	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
European Journal of Nuclear Medicine and Molecular Imaging	55	Radiology, Nuclear Medicine & Medical Imaging			
Journal of Pharmacokinetics and Pharmacodynamics	55	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
European Journal of Clinical Pharmacology	51	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Controlled Release	49	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of Biological Chemistry	48	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology			
Analytical Chemistry	46	Chemistry, Analytical			
Bioorganic and Medicinal Chemistry	45	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Organic	
Scientific Reports	43	Multidisciplinary Sciences			
Basic & Clinical Pharmacology & Toxicology	41	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	Toxicology		
Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry	38	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical		
Lægemiddelforskning	37				
European Journal of Medicinal Chemistry	36	Chemistry, Medicinal			
Journal of Ethnopharmacology	36	Plant Sciences	Chemistry, Medicinal	Integrative & Complementary Medicine	Pharmacology & Pharmacy
Journal of Pharmaceutical and Biomedical Analysis	36	Chemistry, Analytical	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		

Drug Metabolism and Disposition	35	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of labelled compounds & radiopharmaceuticals	35	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Analytical	
Langmuir	34	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Chemistry, Physical	Materials Science, Multidisciplinary	
Bioorganic & Medicinal Chemistry Letters	32	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Organic		
Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling	32	Chemistry, Medicinal	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Computer Science, Information Systems	Computer Science, Interdisciplinary Applications
Neurochemical Research	32	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Neurosciences		
Planta Medica	32	Plant Sciences	Chemistry, Medicinal	Integrative & Complementary Medicine	Pharmacology & Pharmacy
AAPS Journal	31	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Antimicrobial Agents and Chemotherapy	31	Microbiology	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Journal of Chromatography A	31	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical		
British Journal of Clinical Pharmacology	30	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
ChemMedChem	30	Chemistry, Medicinal	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Research in Social and Administrative Pharmacy	30	Public, Environmental & Occupational Health	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
International Journal of Clinical Pharmacy	29	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Natural Products	29	Plant Sciences	Chemistry, Medicinal	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Biomaterials	28	Engineering, Biomedical	Materials Science, Biomaterials		
CPT: pharmacometrics and systems pharmacology	28	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Drug Delivery Science and Technology	27	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Molecules	27	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary		
RSC Advances	26	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary			
Journal of Organic Chemistry	25	Chemistry, Organic			
Pharmacoepidemiology and Drug Safety	25	Public, Environmental & Occupational Health	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Biomacromolecules	24	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Organic	Polymer Science	

Journal of Nuclear Medicine	23	Radiology, Nuclear Medicine & Medical Imaging			
MedChemComm	23	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Medicinal		
Therapeutic Drug Monitoring	23	Medical Laboratory Technology	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	Toxicology	
Toxicology letters	23	Toxicology			
Analytica Chimica Acta	22	Chemistry, Analytical			
Current Pharmaceutical Design	22	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
European Journal of Hospital Pharmacy	22	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Biochemical Pharmacology	21	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
British Journal of Pharmacology	21	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Pharmacy and Pharmacology	21	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Drug Development and Industrial Pharmacy	20	Chemistry, Medicinal	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Neuropharmacology	20	Neurosciences	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America	20	Multidisciplinary Sciences			
Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics	19	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Norsk Farmaceutisk Tidsskrift	19				
Nuclear Medicine and Biology	19	Radiology, Nuclear Medicine & Medical Imaging			
Tetrahedron Letters	19	Chemistry, Organic			
Xenobiotica	19	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	Toxicology		
ACS Medicinal Chemistry Letters	18	Chemistry, Medicinal			
European Journal of Organic Chemistry	18	Chemistry, Organic			
Journal of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics	18	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Molecular Pharmacology	18	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Toxicology in Vitro	18	Toxicology			
ACS Chemical Neuroscience	17	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Medicinal	Neurosciences	
Alcoholism: Clinical and Experimental Research	17	Substance Abuse			

Angewandte Chemie International Edition	17	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary			
Bioanalysis	17	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical		
Nature Communications	17	Multidisciplinary Sciences			
Organic and biomolecular chemistry	17	Chemistry, Organic			
Amino Acids	16	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology			
BMC Cancer	16	Oncology			
Chemistry: A European Journal	16	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary			
Colloids and Surfaces B: Biointerfaces	16	Biophysics	Chemistry, Physical	Materials Science, Biomaterials	
Electrophoresis	16	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical		
Journal of Alzheimer's Disease	16	Neurosciences			
Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy	16	Infectious Diseases	Microbiology	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Neurochemistry International	16	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Neurosciences		
Rapid Communications in Mass Spectrometry	16	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical	Spectroscopy	
Suomen lääkärilehti	16				
Biochimica et Biophysica Acta - Biomembranes	15	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Biophysics		
International Journal of Cancer	15	Oncology			
Journal of Neurochemistry	15	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Neurosciences		
Organic Letters	15	Chemistry, Organic			
Scandinavian Journal of Gastroenterology	15	Gastroenterology & Hepatology			
Transplantation	15	Immunology	Surgery	Transplantation	
Ugeskrift for Laeger	15				
Advanced Drug Delivery Reviews	14	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Carbohydrate Polymers	14	Chemistry, Applied	Chemistry, Organic	Polymer Science	
Duodecim	14				
European Journal of Pharmacology	14	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Clinical Endocrinology and Metabolism	14	Endocrinology & Metabolism			
Pharmaceutics	14	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			

Tetrahedron	14	Chemistry, Organic			
Tidsskrift for Den norske legeforening	14	Medicine, General & Internal			
AAPS PharmSciTech	13	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Biochemical and Biophysical Research Communications - BBRC	13	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Biophysics		
Bioconjugate Chemistry	13	Biochemical Research Methods	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Multidisciplinary	Chemistry, Organic
BMJ Open	13	Medicine, General & Internal			
Current Topics in Medicinal Chemistry	13	Chemistry, Medicinal			
Drug Testing and Analysis	13	Biochemical Research Methods	Chemistry, Analytical	Pharmacology & Pharmacy	
Journal of Cerebral Blood Flow and Metabolism	13	Endocrinology & Metabolism	Hematology	Neurosciences	
Journal of clinical pharmacology	13	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Journal of Peptide Science	13	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Analytical		
Journal of Proteome Research	13	Biochemical Research Methods			
Neuroscience Letters	13	Neurosciences			
Pharmaceutical Development and Technology	13	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Cancer Chemotherapy and Pharmacology	12	Oncology	Pharmacology & Pharmacy		
ChemBioChem	12	Biochemistry & Molecular Biology	Chemistry, Medicinal		
Clinical Cancer Research	12	Oncology			
Ecological Modelling	12	Ecology			
Expert Opinion on Drug Delivery	12	Pharmacology & Pharmacy			
Health Policy	12	Health Care Sciences & Services	Health Policy & Services		
Journal of Agricultural and Food Chemistry	12	Agriculture, Multidisciplinary	Chemistry, Applied	Food Science & Technology	
Journal of Physical Chemistry B	12	Chemistry, Physical			
Number of articles	3513				

Appendix Table 3. The academic articles and literary reviews of the pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016: the journals which published altogether 49,7% of the articles and reviews, number of articles and their Web of Science categories.

Publication type	University of Eastern Finland	University of Helsinki	University of Oslo	University of Tromsø	Uppsala University	University of Copenhagen	All Universities
Academic article in a peer-reviewed journal	76,60%	75,20%	75,50%	76,10%	84,00%	84,90%	80,90%
Academic literary review in a peer-reviewed journal	7,40%	6,70%	5,90%	7,90%	5,20%	2,50%	4,90%
Conference article or abstract	0,40%	4,10%	6,10%	5,40%	3,10%	6,20%	4,30%
Academic book	0,30%	0,30%	1,00%	0,70%	0,20%	0,50%	0,40%
Academic book chapter	2,10%	4,60%	2,60%	2,90%	2,30%	3,20%	3,00%
Doctoral dissertation	2,80%	2,40%	1,00%	2,10%	5,10%	1,70%	2,70%
Report	0,20%	0,30%	1,00%	1,10%	0,00%	0,80%	0,50%
Article in trade journal or book	8,40%	5,50%	2,20%	1,10%	0,00%	0,00%	2,30%
Popular scientific article, newspaper article	1,90%	1,00%	4,60%	2,90%	0,00%	0,20%	1,00%

Appendix Table 4. Publication types frequencies of pharmacy faculties and departments 2011-2016 by universities

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129675

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Book review:

Open access in theory and practice

The theory-practice relationship and openness

Stephen Pinfield, Simon Wakeling, David Bawden, and Lyn Robinson (2020). Open access in theory and practice. The theory-practice relationship and openness. Oxon, UK: Taylor & Francis. ISBN: 978-0-367-22785-2

The coming years will be interesting from the viewpoint of the open access movement. The year 2021 marks the implementation of the Plan S principles endorsed by national and supranational research funders. Concomitantly, publishers are increasingly adopting new agreement models including open access article processing charges. New tools of scientometrics, such as Unpaywall, have emerged that allow novel analyses of the publishing landscape. Given the recent advances, it seems certain that open access publishing will continue to spark the interest of both Library and Information Science (LIS) scholars and research-oriented professionals.

Amidst these rapid advances, Pinfield, Wakeling, Bawden and Robinson have published a book titled *Open access in theory and practice. The theory-practice relationship and openness*. The book examines how scientific theories have been used to understand various aspects of the open access movement. This is a timely topic that I believe is very relevant for both LIS scholars and professionals. The book draws from the following main research tasks. First, the authors review how the current research literature uses scientific theories to understand open access. Second, they investigate how researchers and professionals see the relationship of theory and practice when working with open access. Structure-wise, the book is organized into five main parts and a concluding section. The first part provides an introduction and defines the open access environment. The second part discusses what constitutes scientific theory, the role of theory in LIS, and the relationship between theory and practice as seen in the prior literature. The third part provides a valuable literature review of the scientific theories currently used to understand the various aspects related to the open access movement. The fourth part presents the findings of an interview study of LIS researchers and professionals. The interview study examines how the participants see the relationship of theory and practice when working with open access. The fifth part summarizes the findings and presents a model of the theory-practice relationship in open access. The last section presents the conclusions and discusses the findings.

The first part provides an excellent introduction to open access. Here, the readers get to enjoy the fact that the authors are not only distinguished scholars, but also have a profound knowledge of the current commercial and research policies and technological aspects that shape the open access publishing landscape. The introduction chapter provides many conceptualizations that I believe will prove to be helpful in increasing the understanding of the open access movement. These include the concepts of knowledge commons and knowledge market, for example. I also appreciate that the authors highlight that researchers operate within a market of reputation economy as I believe this is often at the very core of researchers' alignment with the open access movement. I am curious why the authors did not discuss the issue of citation advantage associated to open access in more detail. The authors reference the SPARC (2016) study stating that "Most studies show that open research is used and cited more than non-OA research." The citation advantage of open access seems to be a more nuanced phenomenon and could have been further elaborated. Torres-Salinas et al. (2019) observed that Web of Science indexed gold open access journals receive on average slightly less citations than subscription ones. Furthermore, they caution against generalizing about the citation advantage (or disadvantage) of open access (Ibid., p. 141). I think that the danger here is that the generalizations affirming the open access citation advantage may play to the benefit of so-called predatory open access journals, whereas more cautionary approaches could guide researchers to select their journals more carefully. My intention is not to criticize as this is really a question of emphasis and choice. Moreover, as the first part of the book is both interesting and critical, I would have been interested in reading a more detailed analysis of this topic crafted by the authors.

The second part of the book summarizes what constitutes scientific theory, theory in LIS, and the perceived gap existing between scientific theory and professional practice. The authors display immense scholarship as they guide the reader through the different scopes in which scientific theory underlines research using examples from different fields of science. In my view, the use of Reynold's (1977) and Greger's (2006) typologies of scientific theories to examine the theory base of the LIS field is a great choice and produces interesting insights. If one approaches the text rather narrowly, one could note that the reader group of open access practitioners may come from diverse backgrounds also outside of the LIS field (the authors also point this out on p. 186). Therefore, the aims of LIS subfields such as information retrieval, information seeking and scientometrics could have been introduced with some examples. It is possible that exemplifying how theory is used in these subfields would have strengthened the authors' argument about the lack of grand theories in LIS and aided the understanding of non-LIS readers.

The third part of the book presents a literature review focusing on the scientific theories currently used to understand the various elements of the open access movement. This section is a very timely and valuable contribution – a must read for anyone working with open access. We learn that the Innovation Diffusion Theory (Rogers, 2003), the Solow-Swan model (Solow, 1956 & 1957; Swan, 1956) and the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology (Venkatesh et al., 2003) are among the most prevalent theories currently used to understand the open access movement. This part is full of interesting insights into the theories underlying the current open access research. I wonder why the data point of 'OA sub field' (e.g. journals, research and researchers, repositories, etc.) (p. 87) was not included in Table 6.1 presenting the most commonly identified theories. We do learn that, for example, Innovation Diffusion Theory is used to develop interview questions and that the few quantitative theories including mathematical formulations are used in essence to study the behavior of different actors. However, with the exceptions of the studies made by Xia (2012) and Graziotin et al. (2014), the theories that could be used in research examining how Plan S changes the landscape of scientific journals remained a bit unclear to me. However, this is again a narrow read and I believe this part provides a very useful summary of how scientific theories are currently used to understand open access that should interest both scholars and open access professionals.

From the literature review, the authors move to the fourth part where findings of the interview study are presented. As mentioned previously, the interview study investigated how researchers and professionals view the relationship of theory and practice when working with open access. I appreciate the diverse and multinational sample of interview participants (n=36), although the number of participants per continent is often limited. In my view, the most interesting contributions of this part are the findings that the process of selecting scientific theories may be in essence intuitive (the theory just "fits") or pragmatic (the use of a certain theory may help an academic get published), and that uncertainty is a part of this selection process. I also appreciate the finding that professionals may see scientific theory and professional practice as competing approaches to the point where some professionals feel aversion towards scientific theory. The findings from the interviews are thought-provoking and I fully agree with the authors that these issues warrant further studies.

The book culminates with the fifth part where the literature review and the interview findings are summarized into a model of the theory-practice relationship in open access. This model highlights the pressure points, that is, the "key locations within it where the relationship between theory and practice is challenged" (p. 184), which I believe are some of the key contributions of this work. Again, I appreciate that the authors bring forth that theory selection may have inherent elements of uncertainty and pragmatism, which may in turn contribute to "widening" of the theory-practice gap. Respectively, the authors point out that while many different theories have already been used to examine different elements of the open access movement, research-oriented professionals relatively infrequently use theory in their research. The authors propose solutions to this perceived theory-practice gap (p. 194) and I hope these will receive due attention from different stakeholders. I also appreciate that the authors highlight the importance of boundary spanners (i.e. open access professionals that also engage in research) in bridging the theory-practice gap. I agree with the authors that there is a market for research conducted by open access professionals. While scholars – with the help of theory – naturally occupy the space in leading journals, there are many national questions what would remain unanswered without work of boundary spanners. This may be particularly true in non English-speaking countries, where works written in local languages may not be visible in, for example, the common reference databases. Thus, boundary spanners may have an important role in providing data and insight to facilitate the development of national policies and publishing infrastructures, for example.

The book also provides interesting insights outside of its immediate research aims. The systematic literature review reported in the third part of the book revealed that there were a total of 963 literature instances found from Scopus that were of topical relevance (i.e., the metadata included terms such as "open access", "institutional repositories" or "article processing charges" in titles or keywords). From these 963 topically relevant documents, 105 were selected for detailed analysis as they either used or generated theory (pp. 81-82). This suggests a ratio of circa 1 in 10 for research using theory to all topically relevant research addressing open access. While this unquestionably strengthens the authors' argument for more theory-based research, it also raises interesting questions. As the authors state, some fields of science may value theory more than others. Given that LIS is a multidisciplinary field, one may ask what the influence of fields of science is where theory plays a lesser role. To my knowledge, information retrieval draws from computer sciences, and some of its subfields focus on creating of new technical solutions (i.e., the focus is in demonstrating that something works). It could be that research focusing on technical solutions is less malleable to accommodate for theory than interview and questionnaire-based studies of behavior, for example. Thus, it would be interesting to investigate why theory is not important in most of the research examining open access. Furthermore, I wonder about the proportion of research authored by research-oriented professionals within these works that focus on open access but do not use theory. As mentioned by the authors, researchers often opt for the theory that they are familiar with. Respectively, it seems likely that research-oriented professionals use scientometric tools familiar to them in their research, which as a starting point might not be that malleable to accommodate for theory. The above is speculation and is not meant as criticism as these questions were not part of the research aims of the authors. Moreover, the above should be viewed as a note on just how interesting the authors' research is.

I believe this book will be successful on many levels. First, it provides a timely and highly valuable review of the scientific theories currently used to understand the open access movement. Drawing from the previous, the book challenges researchers and research-oriented professionals to reflect how they use scientific theory in their research. The book also gives an opportunity for professionals to contemplate their relationship with the theories or grand ideas underlying the open access movement (e.g. while advocating for open access, are my ideas based mainly on the moral approach and do I give due attention the reputation economy aspect?). To conclude, I think *Open access in theory and practice: the theory-practice relationship and openness* is a must read for anyone working with open access. It certainly made me rethink how I use theory both in my research and my profession.

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Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129676

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Book review:

Corporate capitalism's use of openness

Profit for free?

Arwid Lund and Mariano Zukerfeld (2020). Corporate capitalism's use of openness: Profit for free? Cham: Springer Nature. ISBN: 9783030282189

Openness is a slippery concept. It connotes freedom, structurelessness and experimentation, alongside ambiguity or receptiveness to the new. Its indefinability means that openness is used by a range of actors spanning the political landscape and for very different ends. In a technological sense, openness is mainly used to refer to freedom both to access and use a certain digital resource, while its positive connotation means that it has been successfully exploited by activists, organisations, and companies for a range of purposes. In *Corporate capitalism's use of openness*, Arwid Lund and Mariano Zukerfeld focus on the latter of these through a critical exploration of how for-profit companies have adopted the language of openness to promote their products and services.

The 'openness ideology' is identified early in the book as having resonance with the California Ideology of Silicon Valley that espoused faith in the emancipatory powers of digital technologies. The openness ideology, the authors write, has its roots in movements for open-source software and open access research that argued for the freedom to use and reuse software, publications, and other digital materials. The capitalist approach to openness combines free digital materials with a recognition of the limitations of the pre-existing 'enclosures model' whereby companies sold products to users (p. 7). The enclosures model is less equipped to deal with a digital world in which products can be copied and disseminated at next to no cost, and so companies have sought business models based on giving their products away. This, the authors explore, has profound implications for the ways in which digital materials are created and distributed, usually requiring cheaper forms of labour often conducted in users' leisure time.

The book takes great care to explore the political economy of digital technologies in some detail. Chapter 2 outlines contemporary debates on issues associated with ideology, labour and platformisation, all of which will be of great benefit to students of digital media. We learn that open cultures evolved from a struggle between an explicitly political understanding of Free Software that was antagonistic to commercial concerns, versus a more business-friendly approach that was ‘open to subsequent commercial enclosures’ (p. 46). Ultimately, the more business-friendly approach of the Open Source Initiative was to prevail, allowing companies to exploit open-source software to their own ends. This commercial exploitation was to extend to all areas of open cultures, which the book covers through four case studies of open-source software, open access publishing, open education, and free multimedia content.

Chapter 3 explores the rise of for-profit open-source software provider Red Hat and its successful repackaging and enclosure of openly licensed software that the company licenses out to other businesses. The authors conclude that ‘the company’s appropriation of the copyright to the collective work of the Linux distribution from the community is not carried out in the interests of the community, but in the interest of its shareholders and to facilitate the use of trademark law to partially enclose its products’ (p. 139). Openness, they argue, is only important to Red Hat inasmuch as it offers the company unremunerated labour and the ability to combine and repackage open and enclosed software through a series of exceptions embedded in open-source licences. For this reason, Red Hat seeks to ‘depoliticise’ the openness of Free Software in order to promote a ‘capitalist business-logic’ they can monetise as efficiently as possible (p. 140).

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6 we see examples of a similar kind of ideological capture in the name of openness by the publisher Elsevier, the video platform YouTube, and the free courseware provider Coursera. In each case, the labour and content for these businesses are provided for free by someone else (users, academics, educators, etc.), while the profits are kept within the companies themselves. The language of openness and freedom is, in varying ways, vital for sustaining these business models. For example, the authors argue, Elsevier uses its open access content to ‘open wash’ the rest of its subscription offerings and the company more broadly. Elsevier gets to portray itself as an ‘open’ company while continuing to monetise its subscription model of enclosed products in hybrid and subscription journals. This is the ideological trick at play: businesses deploy the language of openness while enclosing the profits.

In response to the case studies in the book, all of which highlight a negative usage of openness in the service of profit, the authors make a series of policy recommendations for nurturing a more positive ‘commons’ approach to openness. Through an illustration of a broad range of legal and economic structures, the authors propose a series of alternative ways of creating open resources more equitably – from Universal Basic Income to workers cooperatives. Throughout the book, this theme of the commons emerges in a variety of interesting ways as a counterpoint to the extraction of corporations in the name of openness. The reader is shown that there is a relationship between openness and the commons, but one that is frequently exploited by companies rather than explored as a mode of production in itself. The goal, then, is to build new structures for common ownership of production, not just relying on corporations to give their resources away based on free labour.

The book is strongest as a text that introduces students to a variety of themes relating to digital work, capitalism, and debates around openness. The concepts are explored thoroughly, and the case studies presented with meticulous detail, showing a high level of research and knowledge. Yet the detail included also distracts from the book as a scholarly monograph aimed at experts in the field. The book sits somewhere between a monograph and a textbook, with very long explanations of concepts that would be better summarised more succinctly if at all. It is not, therefore, clear to whom this book is pitched, meaning that it reads unevenly and awkwardly at times. This does not take away from the research itself – nor the expertise on display – but it is likely that students will benefit more from *Corporate capitalism's use of openness* because of its pedagogical breadth.

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129677

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Book review:

Atmospheres of surveillance

Karen Grova Søilen (2021). Atmospheres of surveillance. Københavns Universitet, Det Humanistiske Fakultet.

Atmospheres of surveillance by Karen Grova Søilen is a PhD thesis in information studies. The motivation for the thesis is a need to understand and describe the experience of surveillance in a contemporary setting and with a renewed focus on the body. As such, Søilen situates the thesis within the field of surveillance studies. The overarching research question for the thesis is "in what ways may the concept 'atmospheres of surveillance' contribute to our understanding of the embodied, multisensory experience of contemporary surveillance culture" (p. 18). The thesis answers this question in three stages: a) a theoretical development of the concept "atmospheres of surveillance", b) an empirical reading of three different artworks (all video installation artworks) centered on the theme surveillance and c) a methodological exploration of "atmospheric writing" as a novel way to engage with the theme of the thesis, Atmospheres of Surveillance (henceforth AoS).

The first chapter sets out to build a comprehensive theoretical foundation for developing a vocabulary for AoS and further refine the argument that surveillance contains and co-produces atmospheres. This is done through discussions of the concept of surveillance, which builds up to Søilen's own understanding of the concept as primarily a mode of directing, as a means to influence behavior and produce a repertoire. After this, the chapter goes on to discuss the concept of atmosphere through independent and critical readings of the works of Hermann Schmitz and Gernot Böhme, which Søilen uses to emphasize that atmospheres can be deliberately produced (similar to stage setting), and that production and perception of atmospheres are two equally important aspects in the concept. Through readings primarily of Sara Ahmed, she concludes that atmospheres can be experienced differently depending on the perceiving living body. The chapter closes with an emphasis on the critical potential of the concept AoS.

The second chapter has a two-fold objective. The first is to deal with the methodological problems that arise when describing atmospheres of surveillance in artworks. The second is to analyze the artwork *Safe Conduct* by Ed Atkins (2016). The chapter addresses the sub-question: What bodily, emotional, and sensory experiences of surveillance surface through the prism of contemporary art, and how can 'atmospheres of surveillance' be explored methodologically? Søilen discusses the specific challenges related to the concept of atmospheres with concepts from ethnography, phenomenology, and literary scholarship. She introduces the concept of atmospheric writing as a method that can make an embodied experience of atmospheres of surveillance available to others (p. 80). Atmospheric writing is thus the proposed answer to the methodological problems that Søilen describes. The method is inspired by feminist scholarship, and even answers to the challenge of how to research something that is dependent on lived bodily experience. The last part of the chapter relates to the artwork *Safe Conduct*. Traditional analysis and atmospheric writing are interweaved throughout the last half of the chapter. Søilen concludes that art opens up new perspectives on how AoS subtly and suggestively penetrate everyday life and that a sensitivity towards AoS can provide a critical space for reflection.

The objective of the third chapter of the thesis is to address the sub-question: How can the notion of 'atmospheres of surveillance' illuminate traces of the violence and power relations of surveillance? Søilen introduces the concept of haunting as a dimension of AoS, which can emphasize the critical potential of her concept because it "may add an additional layer of receptivity to the violence, politics, and power dimensions of surveillance and its historical continuities" (p. 106). Søilen describes the home security/surveillance system "Lighthouse" and connects home surveillance systems to military affordances of domination, and violence. The middle part of the chapter is an analysis of the artwork *Modern Escape* by the artist duo Hanne Nielsen and Birgit Johnsen (2018). As in chapter two, a traditional analysis of the artwork is interweaved with the personal experience using atmospheric writing. The chapter then discusses the entanglement of (post 9/11) warfare, security, and the private home. This discussion is primarily (though not entirely) informed by theories of aesthetics. Through a discussion of the uncanny, and the dissolving borders of the modern home as well as the etymological connection between "home" and "haunted", Søilen concludes that the modern home becomes "the haunted house" through the introduction of the military-industrial complex in modern surveillance technologies of everyday life.

In addition to the ongoing investigation of how contemporary artworks reflect how surveillance felt, the fourth chapter aims to close a theoretical gap between "the digital" and the concept of atmospheres. Thus, Chapter 4 answers the sub-question: How can 'atmospheres of surveillance' articulate affective and social experiences distinct to the present cultural and historical moment of the early decades of the twenty-first century? Søilen focuses on Raymond Williams' concept "structures of feelings" to capture atmospheres with longer durations of time and more collective feelings. She concludes that theorizing AoS requires attention to the digital because they exist in hybrid spaces, where the physical and the digital is intertwined. The last part of the chapter is an analysis of the artwork *Factory of the Sun* by German artist Hito Steyerl (2015). The work is analyzed with focus on the feeling of ambient entrapment, which she characterizes as a feeling born out of particularly present-day digital surveillance, algorithmic predictions, and the digital data economy. Another distinct result of the analysis pertains to gamification and the blurred borders between work and play as well as between free and paid for. The chapter ends by demonstrating how the atmospheric writing vignettes have allowed Søilen to communicate a certain feeling of numbness and apathy that is related to the artwork and the AoS it conveys.

The conclusion of the thesis revisits the chapters, the research questions and the sub-questions and clarifies the contribution of the thesis. Søilen thus 1) offers a conceptualization of atmospheres of surveillance by developing a theoretical vocabulary 2) develops a methodology of written vignettes of atmospheric writing and 3) describes how atmospheres of surveillance are articulated in a selection of contemporary artworks.

The dissertation makes a very strong case for analyzing what surveillance is and what it does from an artistic standpoint, and not from the classic sociological points of view, which have arguably prevailed in surveillance studies until just a few years ago. One of the dissertation's main contributions is to deliver an extremely distinct and original approach to the question: how does contemporary surveillance influence emotions and shape behavior? The artworks are analyzed in the light of appropriate theories of atmosphere drawn from phenomenology and other cultural theories. Furthermore, the analysis is enriched by experimental methodology (the written vignettes from the author's creative writing). In this way, the dissertation makes a very persuasive case for how 'atmospheres of surveillance' can be explored, namely through multiple methodological and experiential viewpoints. The methodological contribution will represent an inspiring example for other scholars working in this field.

Another of the project's key contributions is to show how encountering artworks changes thinking and even changes the way in which atmospheres can be felt. Especially helpful to this, is the way in which the dissertation argues for a need to move beyond the predominance of visual metaphors in surveillance studies in order to encompass multisensory experience. This focus is especially important and makes for an urgently needed contribution to multi-disciplinary surveillance studies. To move away from an optically centered understanding of surveillance is extremely important from feminist and decolonial points of view. Surveillance does no longer only take place through these. It therefore makes very good sense that the dissertation focuses on corporeal experiences of contemporary surveillance culture.

The strong points in the thesis easily overshadow the weaknesses. However, there are a few points that could have been improved.

The dissertation relates to a discussion between David Lyon and James Harding about how to define surveillance (chapter 1). Søilen acknowledges Lyon's general point about surveillance being "Janus-faced", that is ambivalent in the sense that it is both about control and care, and she maintains that surveillance in general is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. However, Søilen seems to follow Harding's critique of the very idea of positive or good aspects of surveillance, and that such a perspective will somehow diminish proper critical thinking about the dangers of surveillance, especially in the age of digital technologies. This is obviously a legitimate concern, but at the same time Søilen appears to overlook the inherent problem in disregarding scholarship that does not subscribe to this particular "critical" approach to surveillance studies. It could have been fruitful and would have strengthened the concept of "atmospheres of surveillance" to have engaged constructively with a broader body of literature and thus have situated the thesis more thoroughly in surveillance studies.

Methodologically it would have been good to see some more reflections on the author herself in relation to the vignettes of atmospheric writing. Søilen makes a strong argument in chapter 2 for the viewpoint that atmospheres can be experienced differently depending on the perceiving living body and reflects upon this in a hypothetical way regarding surveillance in airports. However, there are no reflections of possible consequences of Søilen's particular perceptions of the artworks, as a critical researcher analyzing critical artworks on the same topic as her research.

Overall, Karen Grova Søilen's PhD dissertation represents an excellent contribution to the so-called 'cultural turn' in the multidisciplinary field of surveillance studies. The dissertation's focus on experiences of surveillance and the emphasis on a non-visual, embodied approach fills a gap in the scholarship and brings valuable insights to the field of surveillance studies. Also, the concept of AoS, is an original contribution which is shown in the dissertation to be useful by highlighting modes of surveillance which are rarely studied. The method of “atmospheric writing” is an innovative contribution, which adds to the qualitative methods of the field of surveillance studies.

Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129678

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Book review:

Performing interdisciplinary knowledge

Information work in emerging interdisciplinary research

Eystein Gullbekk (2021). Performing interdisciplinary knowledge: Information work in emerging interdisciplinary research. OsloMet Avhandling 2021 nr 9. Oslo Metropolitan University

Interdisciplinary research work is often encouraged by policymakers and research funders since it can offer possible solutions to an increasingly complex world facing more and more complicated problems that need to be addressed from a range of different perspectives. However, to do interdisciplinary research involves a number of challenges concerning, for example, working together with people who do not necessarily share ones theoretical and methodological assumptions. In contrast to research conducted within established and relatively unified disciplines, interdisciplinary researchers thus face a variety of conceptual repertoires and need to span, and make themselves acquainted with, more than one area of literature. This can be described in terms of their literature being scattered over a large area of different topics rather than being concentrated to a core of journals. In other words, the information work required by interdisciplinary researchers is likely to be more complex and heterogeneous than that which takes place within the single disciplines. The notion of information work is central to Eystein Gullbekk's doctoral dissertation. With reference to Palmer and Cragin (2008) it is explained as "the labor of locating, gathering, sorting, interpreting, assimilating, and producing information" (p. 13).

The empirical setting of this thesis is a Norwegian university department where interdisciplinary research is conducted. As the title of the thesis indicates, interdisciplinary research can be more or less interdisciplinary in character. In this study, the research conducted by the participants is described as *emerging* interdisciplinary research, which means that the people involved clearly lack a fixed common disciplinary abode.

The study is driven by two overall aims, which are operationalised through two different but interconnected examinations. The first of these aims is empirical in character and concerns “the researchers’ efforts of making their unique interdisciplinary work recognisable to various audiences” (p. 17). The second aim, as I read the thesis, is mainly theoretical (but also methodological) in character. With a clear grounding in practice theoretical reasoning, where for this thesis the notion of performativity is in focus, Gullbekk addresses the question how a focus on performativity in research practices can enrich our understanding of information work in emerging interdisciplinary research.

The thesis is article based and consists of three previously published papers, which are unified and discussed in an introduction that presents in detail key concepts, previous literature, theoretical framework, and methods. The introduction ends by a discussion of the results from the three papers and by a set of conclusions.

Not least from the literature review, it stands clear that the study is a contribution to the area of library and information science (LIS) commonly termed information behaviour research. However, Gullbekk is clearly connecting his work to a specific strand of this area, which he terms the programme of information practice research. In a careful manner, he describes the outline of this programme including a development from information practices being conceptualized as collective accomplishments to an understanding grounded in post-humanism. The post-humanistic stance means that we also need to take into consideration the notion of agency being dispersed over both human and non-human actors when investigating information work. This observation, concerning distributed agency, is of great importance for the analyses presented in the thesis and leads us into what I consider being one of the particular strengths of this work, namely the sophistically elaborated theoretical framework and how this is connected to the reasoning around the methods employed.

For the production of empirical data, the study gathered altogether 14 participants: nine PhD students and five senior researchers. These took part in what Gullbekk refers to as a series of hybrid interviews. He met his participants 2-3 times and mixed semi-structured, interview-guide based conversations with talk-aloud search sessions and walk-throughs of the references in the participants’ drafted or published articles. The data thus produced were then analysed through a frame of practice theory including a combination of two different practice theoretical lenses, which are referred to as *practice-as-enacted* and *practice-as-performed*.

According to the practice-as-enacted perspective, a practice is conceptualised as a generally recognised enduring entity, which in the words of Andreas Reckwitz can be described as “a pattern that can be filled out” (2002, p. 250). Gullbekk posits that practices conceptualised in this way “operate as templates for the carrying out of everyday tasks and projects” (p. 33). However, practices viewed this way are also subject to changes since these templates for action can be enacted in different ways over time. By drawing on Elizabeth Shove and colleagues (2012) who describe practices as constituted of constellations of elements – that is material, competencies, and meaning – Gullbekk exemplifies how, for example, the practice of systematic reviewing, which is well-established within the health sciences, can change over time. The meaning-element in this practice is the shared idea that it generates valid and reliable knowledge. The material-element consists of, for example, the reviewed journals and the bibliographic databases used for finding the reviewed articles, whereas the competence-element comprises the knowledge and skills required for conducting the review. The point is, though, that in other scholarly fields, and indeed, within emerging interdisciplinary research, these practice elements may, as Gullbekk emphasises, “look different, or stem from practices that infuse elements with other meanings; literature may not be organized through databases having the same functionality as they have in the health sciences, and notions of validity in research output may be different" (p. 34). In addition to this notion of change in practices, Gullbekk points out that according to the practice-as-enacted perspective, practitioners are conceived as capable human agents that are assumed to demonstrate knowledgeability and certain competencies, which in extension also implies that there is a normative dimension to practices – that is practices are collectively expected to be carried out in a more or less specific way.

The other theoretical lens, the practice-as-performed perspective, is grounded in a different ontology compared to the lens described above and stems from previous work by authors that I would locate to the area of science and technology studies (e.g. Latour, Callon, Mol and Barad). For this lens, the notion of *event* is central. People engaging in practices come together in events, which are unpredictable since they are comprised of both human and non-human actors over which agency is distributed. This is a perspective that highlights the contingency of practice or, as Gullbekk puts it, the "unique moments of practicing" (p. 39), which we never fully can foresee in detail. This is where we get close to what is actually going on in practice. I particularly like how Gullbekk employs this lens, for example, when he is accounting for his observations during the talk-aloud search sessions. In the subsequent quotation, the reader is presented with a vivid account of how not only the searcher, the computer screen and the search interface are part of the practice of searching but also a range of other actors (e.g. notebooks, rediscovered folders, friends and a bag):

> For instance, the interest in the use of a particular concept across various disciplines could lead to discovery of familiar names, perhaps a colleague across the hall, resulting in readdressed searches. Rediscovered clues in personal folders become reminders of past engagements with field-specific conferences, or prompt the recovering of notebooks from these conferences from the bottom shelves of bookcases. Finds in the bookshelves may remind the researcher of friends or relatives who are trained in a particular discipline within which the researcher himself/herself may lack the profound insight that is desirable. A bag hanging by the door may contain a dissertation discovered while visiting a colleague or while attending a meeting at another university (p. 69).

The theoretical framing together with close-ups such as the one above offers a thick description of the information work that the study participants engage in.

The practice-as-enacted perspective can be recognised from quite a number of previous practice theoretical contributions whereas the practice-as-performed perspective is less common, at least in LIS. It is even more unusual to combine the two. Gullbekk refers to his combination of these two theoretical perspectives as "*mixed* theory". I think the two components work really well together and it is clearly visible to me how this mix serves the purpose of bringing forth "tensions and inconsistencies in the practices of emerging interdisciplinary research" (p. 41). The main function of the practice-as-enacted perspective is to elucidate "a conflicting dynamic between the participants' information work as part of actualizing their particular research as recognizable" (p. 41) whereas the practice-as-performed perspective serves as a way to highlight "the chaotic and unexpected effects that [the participants'] information work forms part of through unique events" (p. 41). This kind of theorising is in itself an important contribution to the area of information practices research. (As a side note, I must mention that this is probably the first time I come across within LIS a study that seems to make full sense of and make good use of the sophisticated but complex conceptual apparatus of Karen Barad).

At the beginning of this review, I pointed out that interdisciplinary researchers generally encounter challenges in connection to the wide variety of theories, methodologies, and discourses that interdisciplinary research can comprise. This is also the case for the participants in Gullbekk's study. He ends his thesis with a set of recommendations. Interdisciplinary researchers need, he suggests, "venues where [they] can openly discuss and prepare for disciplinary differences in concepts, methods, procedures and theories" (p. 80). The study also shows that the participants have to deal with conflicting accountabilities and competing regimes of competence, which can be stressful, not least for early career researchers. He therefore puts forth that there should be forums where experiences of insufficiency and insecurity can be discussed openly, for example in doctoral training and research project meetings. Libraries catering for researchers and research students should also consider these findings. One potential step would be to reconsider their organisation, which is often structured in accordance with the single disciplines, and instead aim for the kind of support services that Gullbekk terms "laboratories for interdisciplinary research" (p. 81).

As can be gathered from the conclusions, this thesis contains several concrete suggestions for how to improve the sometimes-difficult situation that interdisciplinary researchers find themselves in, not least regarding navigating a number of different literatures. However, the thesis is also a welcome and inspiring contribution to the LIS research field, especially to the area of information practices studies. In particular, the sophisticated theoretical framework ought to be picked up by other researchers who strive for accomplishing a nuanced description and analysis of information practices.

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Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129679

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Book review:

Performing search

Search engines and mobile devices in the everyday life of young people

Cecilia Andersson (2021). Performing search. Search engines and mobile devices in the everyday life of young people. Lund Studies in Arts and Cultural Sciences 27, Lund university.

In the PhD thesis *Performing search. Search engines and mobile devices in the everyday life of young people* Cecilia Andersson examines the relation between search engines and mobile devices, how these are used and negotiated by 13-16-year-olds in a school and home setting. *Performing search* is a well-written thesis with a clear aim and addresses the following research questions (p. 25):

1. How is online search done in school, and how is the activity legitimised in a school setting?
2. What framings can be identified when teenagers describe their use of Google Search?
3. How do young people become aware of their online search traces, and what strategies do they have for managing them, if any?
4. What framings of the smartphone can be identified in the way that young people use and describe smartphones, and how do the framings relate to online search?

The thesis is written as a compilation, consisting of four articles and an introductory summary chapter (kappa). To achieve the aim of the thesis, each article addresses a different aspect of online search. Drawing mainly on Erving Goffman's work the research questions are approached from a dramaturgical perspective; focussing on the way search engines are used, and how participating young people manoeuvre in a complex web of expectations and rules that surrounds the use of search engines and mobile devices in various contexts.

Young people's online search is placed in a wider societal context in the thesis that is the central role of search engines and mobile devices in today's society. Searching is made possible almost anywhere, anytime and about any topic. Searching online has become a practice that we hardly think of.

Andersson describes contemporary society as a culture of search, featured by an increased search-ification of everyday life. This becomes even more evident for young people, who have never known a world without search engines. While not being the main focus of the thesis, Andersson also discusses how search engines are never neutral as strong commercial interests shape information and data flows online.

The thesis *Performing search* relates and draws upon research from several disciplines: information studies (research on information practices, information literacy), media and communication studies (information seeking online among young people, digital media use in everyday life) and educational science (the role of devices in school, young people and digital literacy). In the mapping of previous research Andersson identifies several knowledge gaps that her research wants to address such as how young people search information in everyday life, what meanings they assign to search engines and the various devices used for searching. As for information studies, much focus has been on cognitive processes and scholars have paid less attention to issues concerning materiality and the role of physical devices. Furthermore, Andersson calls for more research in information studies, media and communication studies and education science that examines the interplay between school and other everyday life contexts in the attempt to develop young people's literacies.

With the emphasis on setting, situation, and context the thesis applies a sociocultural perspective in understanding young people's online search. Sociologist Erving Goffman's dramaturgical theory (1959) is a central component of the theoretical framework. Here, routines and taken-for-granted ways of performing activities are put to the fore, how these are shaped by norms and social situations in interaction with others. Central concepts of Goffman's work are applied in the thesis – frontstage, backstage, audience, roles, and impression management. Andersson talks about an implicit power perspective in Goffman's work, where people attempt to influence how others perceive them by controlling information given in a certain situation. Furthermore, Andersson draws upon Goffman's frame analysis (1974) to understand how people make sense of what is going on in a specific situation. According to Goffman, people make use of different so-called frames, where various cues in a situation are interpreted. A certain frame will lead to a specific interpretation but also specific actions. Finally, Andersson adds a sociomaterial reading of Goffman from the work of Cress (2015) and Hafermalz, Riemer and Boell (2016), making us attentive to the role of materiality in young people's online search and applied framings. Digital devices like laptops and smartphones are understood and framed also by their physical properties.

With the aim of examining online search and mobile devices in young people's everyday life, uncovering the taken-for-grantedness of mobile devices and online search, data has been produced through an ethnographic approach. Young people from grade 7-9 at three schools in Sweden have participated. Andersson has chosen the school as the study's field site with the argument that "[…] I view attending school as a part of the rhythm of everyday life for my participants" (p. 67). Fieldwork was conducted 2014-2016 and in total 43 participants took part in the project. As the analytical focus is both on the sayings and doings in relation to young people's online search several methods have been applied. Andersson conducted 6 focus group interviews with 4-10 pupils per group, 17 individual interviews, one group interview (4 participants) and one interview in pair, 15 classroom observations, and 15 days of walk-alongs in school. As for the latter Andersson followed the participants throughout a day in school, in classrooms, breaks and during lunchtime.

The thesis is written as a compilation, consisting of four articles and an introductory summary chapter. In the first article (*The front and backstage: pupils' information activities in secondary school*) attention is drawn to information activities in school and how various ways to accomplish a task take place and become legitimised. Legitimate ways of doing information search activities are the ones emerging in front of the audience, here the teachers and other classmates, while non-legitimate activities are left backstage. Andersson identifies how new backstage activities emerge in the classroom as it becomes rather difficult for teachers and pupils to see what actually happens behind a laptop or smartphone. In the second article (*'Google is not fun': an investigation of how Swedish teenagers frame online searching*), Andersson looks at how Google Search is used and framed by the young participants. Three framings are identified in the analysis (Google and fact-finding, Google as a neutral infrastructure, Google as an authority), which in turn have implications on how young people use and understand Google Search. As for the third article (*Searching and deleting: youth, impression management and online traces of search*) an analysis is made on how young teenagers become aware of their online search traces and the strategies they employ to manage and limit these. Removing a trace can, for instance, be the result of an imagined audience, who one thinks will actually have access to the search history. Finally, the fourth article (*Between enabling and disturbing: smartphones and shifting frames in the everyday life of young people*) identifies three framings of young people's smartphone use: the entertainment framing, the easy access framing, and the challenging co-presence framing.

With her research Andersson turns our attention to how young people's online search on various devices are done, as well as placing this in the wider context of everyday life and the contemporary culture of search. With the aim of examining young people's meaning-making processes in relation to online search and search engines the thesis highlights the need of moving beyond the search task at hand. A search task is not an isolated event, it takes place in a specific situation or context with an audience (physically present or imagined) but also on a certain device. To grasp this complexity of online search in today's media society, the thesis stresses the need of interdisciplinary approaches. With Andersson's work, the necessity to apply an everyday life perspective (here through the theoretical lens of Goffman and taking an ethnographic stance) in information studies and information literacy research is highlighted. The thesis contributes to information studies empirically, methodologically, and theoretically. However, the issue of context is left unproblematized. Context is a rather vague and contested term, where clarification usually is missing in research. Thus, we usually run into the problem of boundary specification, which in turn influences the unit of analysis. When applying a dramaturgical (symbolic interactionism) perspective on online search in a school context, a more critical discussion is needed on what can actually be examined and concluded from one context to another (from a school setting to a home setting). On page 49 it is stated "People learn how to interact in relation to different settings and situations, as the social expectations are not uniform across contexts. For instance, in school, where I have done fieldwork there are certain norms surrounding how to behave". That social expectations are not uniform across contexts collides with the main argument of the thesis, that the school as a field site offers a window into young people's everyday lives (p. 48). The thesis would therefore have benefited from a critical discussion on the gap between relevant research and researchable context and its implication on the study's findings. In relation to the discussion on and importance of context, the thesis brings in a sociocultural perspective as an additional contextual layer. "The study takes off from a sociocultural approach, which means that the role of Google is understood as socially and culturally shaped and negotiated. […] Frame analysis fits well with the sociocultural theory as it rests on the same traditions in terms of knowledge being viewed as something that is evolved through communication, in practices as well as through interaction" (p. 179). However, the sociocultural perspective/theory is not specified in the thesis nor how it may be distinguishable and understandable by empirical observation.

The thesis' theoretical framework is based on Erving Goffman's work, which is well described and motivated but could have been strengthened further by a more critical discussion on its pitfalls and the chosen theoretical framework's implications on findings and future research. A more critical stand is also lacking when discussing conducted fieldwork. Andersson is, however, making important methodological reflections from a dramaturgical perspective on her various roles during fieldwork and brings to the fore several important formal and informal ethical considerations when conducting research with children. Furthermore, the chosen methods are valuable and well-motivated, but a better description of the sampling process and participating pupils would have strengthened the thesis.

In contemporary culture of search, it goes without saying that the thesis addresses a highly relevant and important research area for several disciplines like information studies, media and communication studies and educational science. The thesis reveals a tension between agency and structure: young people might be aware of online search strategies in relation to various devices and social contexts (family and school), but at the same time leave the workings of search engines and algorithms unproblematised. With its descriptive analysis, mapping various online search strategies/framings among young people, Andersson's research sets an important ground for further studies, highlighting that we have only started to understand young people's online search and the need to examine in more detail how identified framings/strategies in a specific situation are formed by various micro, meso and macro processes, by whom and why. And perhaps more importantly, the societal implications of these strategies/framings for children's rights in a culture of search.

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Nordic Journal of Library and Information Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, 2021
ISSN (ONLINE) 2597-0593
DOI 10.7146/njlis.v2i2.129680

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Book review:

Participatory research with/and social media

Amira Sofie Sandin (2021). Var(a) snäll och gilla: medforskning med unga om identitet och sociala medier. Borås: Högskolan i Borås.

English Title: (I) Kindly like: Participatory research with young people about identity and social media.

(I) kindly like is a doctoral thesis by Amira Sofie Sandin in library and information science. It is an ambitious and comprehensive thesis, written in Swedish and focusing on how four groups of 16-year-olds use social media in their identity work. It is a wide-ranging study divided into eight chapters and covering nearly 300 pages. The empirical material for the thesis was collected between 2015 and 2017. The aim of the thesis is twofold. The first aim focuses on participatory research and the idea that, through their participation in this research project, young people are co-constructors of the research knowledge. The second aim concentrates on young people's identity work through their use of social media. The second aim emphasises more specifically how young people do identity work by posting and liking photographs on social media.

I would like to describe the twofold aim as having sprung out of the empirical work. I imagine there was not initially meant to be such a twofold aim, but that it is rather an outcome of how the empirical work developed. This is not unusual in qualitative research projects. A consequence of the twofold aim is an imbalance between the two aims, whereby the main contribution of the thesis leans towards and then settles down into the very interesting and reflexive participatory methodology. This is a methodological approach that in this case extends far beyond much of the participatory research conducted, for example, in child and youth studies, where participatory research has increased over the last 30 years and has been given special attention. Since Sandin's focus is on young people, this thesis touches on child and youth studies, as does some of her referencing. Sandin's special contribution to participatory research is her transparent struggle with the limitations and possibilities of the method.

Sandin is inspired by Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire's (1970/2012) social theory of 'the pedagogy of the oppressed'. This is a theory that provides tools and language to be able to reflect upon and understand processes of oppression, emancipation, and empowerment. These keywords are central to Sandin's reflexive stance. She investigates how her own circumstances as a white academic woman differ from those of the engaged young people with immigrant backgrounds who are taking part in the study. The fundamental idea of the pedagogy developed by Freire, according to Sandin, is that all human beings, no matter who you are or what you carry with you in life, can develop critical thinking through expanding your own knowledge, your reflective stance, and your actions. This builds on the idea that everyone has the capacity to change the world by naming and/or labelling it. Knowledge, according to Freire and Sandin, is always intertwined with power; thus, knowledge is never neutral. That knowledge is never neutral is a widely accepted ontological stance in today's human and social sciences. The idea that power is what makes it unbiased cannot be described as *the* general way to understand knowledge as unbiased. Rather, it is one way among many others that it can be biased. Drawing on Freire, however, power is *the* central idea, along with the idea of empowerment, for acknowledging knowledge as unbiased in the thesis.

Altogether 13 young people, five young men and eight young women, divided into three groups *Pašteta* (five young men), *Byyns forskare* (four young women) and *Disney Princesses* (four young women) signed up to participate in the study in their spare time. They all decided upon their group names and their pseudonyms during the research process. For example, the girls in the Disney Princess group called themselves Mulán, Pocahontas, Rapunzel and Snow White. Each group conducted five research meetings together with Sandin, and all the groups participated in social activities including bowling, paintball, laserdome and restaurant visits together with Sandin. Eleven of the co-researchers participated in a final follow-up interview 18 months or two years after the research meetings had finished.

The research meetings are described both as group discussions and workshop meetings. The young people talked about their own and others' social media posts and their liking strategies on Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchat. Sandin brought back analyses from the groups, of which she made theoretical re-analyses, only to bring her analyses back to the groups for reworking them together. The content of the analyses shows that these young people use the three media platforms in three different ways in their identity work.

To discuss identity, Sandin draws on Erwin Goffman's (1990) theory of the dramaturgical perspective using the concepts 'impression management', 'face' ('I'), and 'role' to study identity work through social interaction. Using this approach, identity is understood as being made in and through social relations. Goffman's identity theory is widely used in social media research, even though it was created before the era of social media. To compensate for this, Sandin combines Goffman's ideas about identity with those of more contemporary media researchers who work on identity and young people, like David Buckingham (2008, 2013) and Dylan E. Wittkower (2014). It is, however, unclear exactly how or if they contribute to developing Goffman's thinking around identity. The thesis does not have a theory chapter, instead theories appear and are discussed throughout the book.

The analyses of the content show that the young people conduct different identity work on different social media platforms. The three identity 'I's or selves are named: 1) *the ideal self,* 2) *the downplayed self,* and 3) the *unpolished or authentic self*. The difference between them can be described through a tension between a well-prepared self where the 'I' wants to appear and perform under the spotlight to win appreciation and attention through likes. To achieve this, a lot of work has been done backstage to create a good photograph of the 'I', and the 'I' also has to be generous and like other social media users in return. This creates a tapestry of give and take. In the downplayed version of the self, different tactics are used to avoid discomfort and unpleasantness. Effort is then invested in face-saving activities. This self does not share as many pictures online and finds ways to express and take a stance on political issues without expressing any personal opinions. The degree of publicity declines for the downplayed self. This trend is taken even further with the unpolished self, where photographs are shared only with one's closest friends and depict unpolished pictures from the breakfast table and the like. These pictures can be described as more naked, without make-up, crazy, and authentic. The pictures should *appear* as though they are genuine, true, and authentic.

The question is: to what extent does this thesis contribute to social media research or present strong new theoretical arguments around online identity and identity work? This is not the strongest part of the study. The largest contribution of the thesis, as already mentioned, is the participatory co-research method. Even though the content of the social media posts is deeply entangled with the method, as this is what the knowledge collaboration is about, they can be seen as two quite different issues. The content of the thesis could, to express the point somewhat provocatively, be interchanged for a different topic. Still, it would have to be a topic that concerns and engages young people. This said, identity work on social media is still methodologically interesting for the participatory part of the thesis.

All the groups participating in the research study are groups of friends. They have chosen to participate as groups. This is a strength because it means that dialogues between the young people are fluent and easy-going. All research meetings took place at the university where Sandin worked. This gave access to kitchen facilities to offer coffee (in Swedish *fika*), technological equipment to look at photos together and access to tools like scissors, paper, and glue to make collages in the workshops. The idea to have the meetings at the university was also to show the young people that the project they were participating in was important. It meant moving away from their own institutions, such as school with its set power relations between teacher and student. Also, universities are places for knowledge production.

It turns out, however, that it is not so easy to break down power dynamics just because new places are entered. Universities also have a lot in common with schools. When Sandin meets with the Pašteta group for the first time, she has placed coffee cups and plates around a table in a seminar room. On entering the room, all the young men choose to sit on the same side of the table, facing towards Sandin, expecting her as the researcher to talk to them. Sandin is taken aback by this but chooses herself to take a seat at the side of the table instead of in front of them as a way of trying to break away from the position she has been assigned. Sandin returns to Freire (1970/2012) to discuss and analyse this event and example. She argues that the way in which the boys seat themselves is an expression of how they have internalised the superior oppressor's position (Sandin) and aligned with what they think is expected of them by subordinating themselves. This is the kind of oppression that Freire in his theory wants to abolish. This analysis makes me slightly uncomfortable.

I agree with Sandin that power dynamics can be expressed in the smallest detail of everyday life. My discomfort springs out of the use of the word oppressed. Are you by definition oppressed because, in an unknown setting (the University) you choose a strategy that is familiar to you on the first occasion when you meet the researcher leading the project you have decided to participate in? Could the young men's behaviour also have been expressed as showing respect to Sandin? They also turned off their mobile phones and put them away in order to be able to listen. Sandin uses this example to explain how difficult it can be, even with the best of intentions, to break away from well-established patterns. She argues that both the adult/youth dichotomy, as well as researcher/non-researchers (knowledge), and probably ethnicity and gender, affect the situation. I appreciate this reflection even though I think Sandin is expecting a bit too much of her co-researchers in the way the situation is set up and given that she has not yet initiated the project. This example captures what I would define as a slight drawback that permeates the participatory method when pushed to its limits as Sandin does.

At this point, I want to remind the reader that I am really impressed with Sandin's reflexive stance in relation to the activities in the research groups as well as to the balanced and careful way in which she approaches her co-researchers. Sandin sets off from the idea that knowledge is always biased. Still, the reader can see that a truth criterion is intertwined with the methodological approach. This might be the result of pushing the participant method as far as Sandin does, and not a limitation specific to Sandin's study. It might be an outcome of how research methods in general, or a single method, are always limited in their capacity to capture the entire world. What seeps into the method is the idea that there exists a single perfect way of organising and participating in a research project that will lead us to more correct and truer answers in our research.

This can be explained in yet another way in relation to this thesis. The Swedish title of the thesis then becomes particularly interesting. The subtitle's direct translation is "Co-researching with young people about identity and social media". The even more direct translation of co-researching is *with*-researching, which then becomes "*With*-researching *with* young people about identity and social media" (**Med**forskning **med**…). Sandin states that she is conducting research *with* young people and not *about* them (but about social media). My reflection here is whether *all* other research that invites people to participate in research projects is conducting research *about* people rather than with them, and whether the participant method is the only method that co-constructs knowledge with participants? I find this hierarchisation between methods unfortunate because it suggests that some methods are truer than others. It also raises the question of what the 'with' means.

The *with*, or the co-, is followed by the idea that everyone in the research project, the researcher, and in this case the young people, are expected to feel and take equal responsibility for the research project; hence, yet another unattainable ideal is constructed. How, I wonder, can it ever be equal? Sandin sets off from an idea and a desire that she and her co-researchers should feel equally engaged and responsible for the research project. Initially, her idea was that, if the *with* was not strong enough, there was no 'real' co-participation, which would mean that the method failed, or she failed. This is one such example where, in a brilliant way through reflexive work, Sandin overcomes her own ideas about how knowledge is constructed. Still, her standard for the *with* never fully coalesces. My question is: when does someone become a co-researcher? As a researcher and a PhD student, you train and are trained for years. How rapidly can someone become a co-researcher and what expectations can we reasonably have of people we invite to join research projects? Sandin does a fantastic job of pushing back questions and ideas to her collaborators and compensating them in every way possible when working within the realm of a governmental institution like the university. She is loyal and faithful to her method. It is, however, precisely this faithfulness that causes the method to crack slightly when Sandin does not want to give advice to her collaborators, and when she suggests that co-writing with them would have been the ultimate collaboration. These postures suggest that knowledge can be objective and that there is a best and perhaps truer way of conducting participatory research that contributes truer knowledge, and that this approach is not to intervene with the knowledge one has as a researcher.

Sandin goes further than many others to make the relationship between herself and her co-researchers as equal as possible. There is, however, no explanation of when, where and why this equality is important to the research project. After reading the thesis, due to the excellent reflexive work Sandin has done, I have gained good insight into the position of the researcher. My knowledge about the empowerment of the co-researchers is, unfortunately, less complete.

What is important about the methodological approach is that, after signing up, all the co-researchers chose to stay with the project. They turn up for the research meetings, they share and contribute their insights on social media, and they respond to Sandin's approach to a non-hierarchical way of organising their shared interactions. They do not always react in the ways that Sandin has planned, which pushes Sandin in her reflexive work. This process is the most important contribution of the thesis because it gives very good insights into what co-research can look like in practice. When Sandin reflects upon her own shortcomings and insecurities, the method is at its best. Her reflections become a way of also analysing the method itself as they expose the limits of what can and cannot be negotiated in participatory research (or co-research as I want to call it in English after having read the thesis), and how far equality can be pushed. The purist truth claim is as a matter of fact a great finding of the thesis because it shows that the method produces biased knowledge.

It is, without doubt, an ambitious and complex thesis and I am aware that I have not been able to cover the entirety of the writing. I could have discussed gender, the ethics of allowing friends to research together, the lack of a theory chapter, the application of theoretical concepts rather than using them to think with or to challenge the empirical findings, and how academic collaboration contributes to our own individual writings. The most important insight I carry away with me from this study arises from the methodological approach. Amira Sofie Sandin shows us in a brilliant way, but perhaps without being fully aware of it, that the research methods we use always also produce the data and knowledge that we research (cf. Law 2004; Sparrman 2014). To be a human being is complicated. To take this into consideration means that different research methods need to be combined, twisted around, and turned inside-out to capture this human complexity. Reflexivity is fundamental to this process.

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