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E. Lacey. Aliens in the Library: The Classification of Migration

Aliens in the Library:
The Classification of Migration

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Abstract: This article examines the classification of migration and the political implications of its vocabulary. It begins with an analysis of the challenge that the topic of migration poses to traditional methods of classification. These challenges are evident in the case study of the 2016 petition to change the subject heading of "Illegal aliens" at the Library of Congress, the Library's proposal to replace the term with "noncitizens" and "illegal immigration," and subsequent pressure from the House of Representatives to reinstate the original phrasing in order to match the terminology of federal laws.

1.0 Introduction

This article examines the social significance of library classification, analysing the ways in which the major western schemes tackle the subject of migration and assessing what this treatment reveals about the flexibility of their structure and the extent of their hospitality. Classification can be hostile or hospitable, depending on the subject and the scheme. It is, therefore, a mechanism by which an organisation might validate certain people and penalise others. Adler (2017, 12) argues that the authority of the United States Congress is reinforced by its Library as it "normaliz[es] state discourses about citizenship and belonging" when "subject headings, classification marks, and symbols" reproduce bodies that are either rendered "intelligible, normalized, and unified" or "invisible or marginal." *Library of Congress Subject Headings* (*LSCH*) are used widely around the world, not only with Library of Congress *Classification* (LCC) but also in tandem with other schemes. They wield a significant power over the nomenclature of subjects. As Bowker and Star note of all classifications (1999, 319), library schemes are "powerful technologies" which, once they are "[e]mbedded in working infrastructures" can "become relatively invisible without losing any of that power."

I take as my starting point a case study that has disrupted invisibility on two counts: both the invisibility of migrant subjects and the invisibility of the infrastructure that marginalises them. Nowhere have these two issues been brought into focus more emphatically than in the debate over the "Illegal aliens" subject heading at the Library of Congress. In 2016, the American Library Association (ALA) petitioned the Library to change the *LCSH* heading to "Undocumented immigrants." The Library decided to replace the term with "noncitizens" and "unauthorized immigration," until the House of Representatives mounted pressure on the Library with the bill HR 4926 Stopping Partisan Policy at the Library of Congress Act.[1] Though this bill did not pass, its proposal amounted to a threat of attempted legal measures that might remind LC of its expectation to match the terminology of federal laws. The fact that Congress felt impelled to intervene is testament to the political significance of *LCSH*, but also illustrates the limitations placed on the Library's agency when it is deemed to be subverting a national political agenda. When an assumed alignment between library and state is thrown out of equilibrium, the power-play in defining subjecthood and subjectivity is revealed. The case of "Illegal aliens" let the mask of library neutrality slip.

The classification of migration must struggle with both the difficulties of a politically contentious subject, and legally fraught and ever-changing terminology. As things stand, libraries cannot move fast enough to keep up with natural language, particularly in areas such as sexuality, eth-

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nicity, and migration, in which terms are more likely to pejore, lose relevance or be reclaimed over time. In addition to these linguistic challenges, librarians working within standardised classification schemes will find that they are governed by an epistemology that Wimmer and Schiller (2002, 301) describe as "methodological nationalism," a theoretical outlook that naturalizes the nation as the primary category for sorting and collecting data.

Methodological nationalism poses a significant challenge to the study of human movement. Migration is a global issue that does not fit easily into the boundaries and biases of most established classification schemes; the language used to sort these subjects cannot be assumed to be universal, and yet must describe a worldwide phenomenon. Within libraries, methodological nationalism ensures that classificatory boundaries mimic border control. They take the nation state as the dominant or exclusive division of geographical space and, in doing so, betray a fundamental incompatibility between major schemes and the migrant subject.

The request by CoFIRED (Coalition for Immigration Reform, Equality, and DREAMers, a Dartmouth student activist group) and the ALA to replace "Illegal aliens" with "Undocumented immigrants" illustrates another dilemma: how should a library approach documenting the undocumented? There is a clear contradiction at the centre of a subject whose only recognised attribute relates to a lack of registration. This case exposes the ways in which the subject of migration troubles our notions of records. It reveals the precarious relationship between the United States' government and the Library of Congress, which falters when the Library acts as a competing, rather than subordinate, arbiter of power.

As a subject, migration exposes the limits of classificatory expression. Broughton (2015, 19) suggests that entity- or phenomenon-based classifications can usually be arranged in a hierarchy with "a single place for each item," but human movement necessarily eludes a "single place." The interdisciplinary nature of literature on migrants and migration makes the topic equally challenging to aspect classifications: within a discipline-based system governed by national boundaries, migrants are moving targets and distributed relatives.

In a world of borders and citizenship, moving targets get tracked and, in *The Invention of the Passport* (2000), Torpey notes a stark link between the Library of Congress and the US nation, in that both attempt to manage an overabundance of data. In 1996, the system designed to track the entry and exit of all non-citizens was postponed because the Immigration and Naturalization Service lacked the technology (1): "to process information estimated to be so vast that in one year it would exceed all the data in the Library of Congress." Torpey goes on to explain the

importance of the passport in the arbitrary designation of belonging: "boundaries between persons that are rooted in the legal category of nationality can only be maintained, it turns out, by documents indicating a person's nationality, for there is simply no other way to know this fact about someone."

Documentation, then, is the only formally recognised proof of nationality, and classification bolsters its legitimacy. As Torpey illustrates, our conception of nationality is just as reliant on documentation as libraries are on records: migration without documentation disturbs a classifying process that can only recognize a subject by its registration. Moreover, in adopting the nation-state's categories of organisation, libraries rely on documentation that, like the passport, is performative in its allocations and limitations. Each record risks its own self-fulfilling prophecy, and operates a system of warrant exchange and cyclic reinforcement. As such, I contend that libraries enact more than just cultural mimicry or a neutral response to literary warrant, rather that classification has the potential to engender or consolidate cultural and national boundaries, and to reinforce as well as reflect legal and political mores.

In the case of *LCSH*, the difficulties of methodological nationalism are intensified by the particular inadequacies that arise when a scheme designed to cater for the United States is applied globally. This means that libraries around the world must contend with the American exceptionalism implicit in categories that prioritize US sovereignty and state security over the identification of migrating people. It compounds the citizen bias inherent in many national schemes by casting migrants as alien bodies, and effectively comparing them to enemy combatants in legal literature (Ngai 2014, 11). It is this terminological bias that leads Ngai to describe "Illegal aliens" as impossible subjects produced by immigration restriction (5): "whose inclusion within the nation [is] simultaneously a social reality and a legal impossibility—a subject barred from citizenship and without rights." The challenge of keeping up with natural language is made more difficult when political legislation creates subjects whose names negate their existence and ushers in a group of people who are documented, paradoxically, by their lack of papers. In this political climate, classifications cannot accurately express the language of migration and so risk convicting, rather than describing, their subjects with politically inflammatory terminology.

US government legislation and discourse have further wed the notion of "illegal" to "alien" and repeatedly juxtaposed the terms to collocate migration with criminality. In March 2017, President Donald Trump published the first weekly list of crimes committed by "aliens." He has issued executive orders forbidding entry to the United States based on a person's country of origin, and increased executive powers to deport people already living in the country.[2]

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These announcements mirror statements by British Prime Minister Theresa May, whose tenure as Home Secretary was marked by the creation of a "hostile environment" to discourage migrants from entering the UK. The policy has since enabled the forced deportation of migrants and threatened the citizen status of the Windrush generation.[3] In a legislative political landscape that generates neologisms such as "destitution plus" and "crimmigration" (Wood 2016), nomenclature becomes a tool to generate a taxonomically hostile environment, which ensures that migrant subjects are named wrongly or not at all.

This article seeks to interrogate the invisibility of the work performed by library classification, and to explore the impossibility of the migrant as a subject articulated through *LCSH* expression. The case of "Illegal aliens" at the Library of Congress provides the starting point from which to observe the challenge that migrant subjects pose to major schemes. It illustrates both the extent of a library's global and political influence, and the haste with which that agency can be curtailed if its definitions do not align with government legislation.

The terminology of classification, both for subject retrieval and for bibliographic designation, is defended by a system of literary warrant, in which libraries classify in response to the evidence of published materials. The "Illegal aliens" case calls into question the idea of library neutrality, and demands more imaginative expression in the development of library languages. The topic has grown increasingly pertinent as the issue of migration continues to occupy a spotlight in media discourse and public attention. I conduct a comparative analysis of schemes to examine the peculiar ways in which the topic of migration troubles standards of knowledge organisation, moving from the language of subject retrieval (*LCSH*) to the notation of bibliographic designation and the benefits of a tailored scheme at the University of East London's Refugee Archive. I then analyse Library of Congress *Classification* (LCC), *Dewey Decimal Classification* (DDC), *Bliss Bibliographic Classification* (BC2) and Universal Decimal Classification (UDC), in order to compare their accommodation of migrant subjects.

With this comparative analysis, I hope to extend the notion of warrant from the literary to incorporate the legal, cultural, political and ethical. This reconfiguration of warrant allows me to reassess the strengths of hospitality within classification schemes from a political as well as functional perspective. Notions of authority and warrant demand rigorous examination in an age of misinformation, and as the vocabulary surrounding refugees and migrants grows ever more politically charged, libraries must reckon with their own authority and the significance of the terminology that describes human movement.

2.0 Methodology

The majority of my research focuses on published materials, ranging from articles on the specific application of classification in information science, to the wider social and cultural theory that I detail in the literature review. In addition to these sources, I have conducted a content analysis of LCC, *DDC*, UDC, and *BC2*.

The case of the "Illegal aliens" subject heading at LC is ongoing, and this creates obstacles to traditional research techniques. As it stands, the story has generated more media coverage than academic analysis. Consequently, my understanding of the case is largely informed by correspondence with information professionals working in the UK and the US. Informal interviews were crucial in establishing the background of such a recent campaign and gaining familiarity with a case that is not yet closed. I have not anonymised these conversations as they are not quoted verbatim, and we did not discuss sensitive or personal materials. Any correspondence that I do include in the article is referenced and attributed.

I gathered primary research material through correspondence with Jill E. Baron (librarian at Dartmouth and one of the instigators of the original campaign) and Sanford Berman (retired librarian at Hennepin County Library and campaigner for the reform of *LCSH*). A meeting with Philip Young at the Warburg Library and visits to both the Marx Memorial Library (MML) and the Refugee Archive at the University of East London allowed me to establish background knowledge of local classification schemes. While the Warburg and the MML did not feature material directly relevant to this article, the Refugee Archive became my primary example of a tailored scheme to compare with more established systems of classification.

My research seeks to analyse the creation and development of the vocabulary of classification, and I use the hierarchy diagrams presented in the comparative study to navigate the significance of lexical entries and their position. I was assisted in locating the examples and specifics of these ontogenies via Twitter by librarians based in the US, including Netanel Ganin (2017), Violet Fox (2011), and Heather Pitts (@HLPitts). A visit to the African Studies Library in Cambridge, and conversations with its librarian Jenni Skinner, allowed me to analyse UDC in greater detail.

The "Illegal aliens" case study is based in the United States, where the language and application of classification schemes differ slightly from UK practice. However, LCC, *DDC*, *BC2*, and UDC are applied to library collections around the world, and *LCSH* in particular is widely used in the UK, in combination with all of the above schemes.

In addition to the comparative content analysis, I also consider the potential of folksonomic schemes, which derive their cultural warrant from a system of user-generated

tags. This is a speculative rather than technical analysis. A thorough investigation of the possibilities that linked data and the semantic web might offer to the project of social classification is beyond the scope of this article, though it would be a fruitful area for future research. Further enquiries into this area could also extend the investigation to address the challenge that multilingualism poses to classification schemes.

3.0 Literature review

The topic of migration in classification has rarely been addressed directly within library scholarship. However, this article builds on a history of campaigns for progressive adjustments to traditional classifications, particularly *LCSH*, ranging from Berman's call to address racism within IFLA (1988, 75), to Marshall and Olson's analysis of the terminology relating to women's studies (Marshall 1977; Olson 2000; 2001). More broadly, Lakoff and Johnson address the cultural specificity of metaphor and the myth of objectivity in the way we sort things out (2003), and Bowker and Star stretch this analysis to an ethical enquiry into the methods and motives of classification (1999). Most recently, Adler's *Cruising the Library* (2017) has contributed an in-depth analysis of the classification of sexuality at the Library of Congress. These studies have established the political importance of *LCSH* and the significance of person-related vocabulary in particular.

Within the field of information studies, there is more general literature on the ethics of classification. Broughton introduces the topic in *Essential Classification* (2015) and has also written (2010) more specifically on folksonomies and emergent vocabularies. Beghtol argued (2002; 2005) for ethical decision-making and a warrant that allows for cultural hospitality. Smiraglia critiqued cultural warrant from the perspective of bibliocentrism (2009), and Cann Casciato analysed (2011) the ALA code of ethics and the potential for censorship within directional aids such as labelling. Several essays in *Radical Cataloguing* (2008) discussed the political consequences of offensive terminology, from the underrepresentation of indigenous peoples to the disparaging nomenclature on new religious movements. Anthologies such as *Revolting Librarians* (2003) collected essays that continue to interrogate the legitimacy of person-related subject headings. Frické, Mathiesen, and Fallis introduced the notion of fallibilism into library ethics and the ALA Bill of Rights (2000), and Mai expanded (2013) this to the application of classification. Discussions of tagging and online folksonomies as alternatives to traditional classification schemes have grown in recent years; Guy and Tonkin discussed (2006) methods of tidying flawed tags, and Chan recorded (1987) strategies for applying traditional schemes to retrieve networked resources.

Within social sciences more generally, there have been studies of the category of immigrant, though not directly linked to the vocabulary of libraries. Ackerman traced (2013; 2014a; 2014b) the rise of the notion of illegality in conjunction with debates surrounding migration in the media, while Diedrich and Styre recorded (2008) the multiple categories that refugees are expected to fulfil upon entry to Sweden. Addressing the methodological biases of category-formation, Wimmer and Schiller launched (2002) a rigorous critique of nationalism within the pedagogy, funding and data-collecting of academic research. Ngai's historical study (2014, 11) of American immigration policy between 1924 and 1965 traced the invention of "illegal aliens" and the legal position of "impossible subjects." Gómez's *Manifest Destinies* (2018) situates the current application of border control with the history of the US settler colonialism and the legacy of the first Mexican-Americans.

My research has also been informed by cultural theory: Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* (2008), a critical work interrogating the systems that govern knowledge-formation; Halberstam's *Female Masculinity* (1998), which employs the fallible epistemological strategy of "perverse presentism"; and Butler's *Undoing Gender* (2004), with its insightful discussion of performative language and the power of imagination.

Peet gave an account of the Dartmouth "Illegal aliens" case in *Library Journal* (2016). The story was also covered in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and various other national and international news outlets. Elsewhere, Baron provided a timeline of the campaign (2016), and Berman recorded his involvement in *The Unabashed Librarian* (2017). In 2016, an American Library Association Subject Analysis Committee (SAC) working group recommended that "Illegal aliens be replaced with Undocumented immigrants where appropriate. In cases where the subject heading Illegal aliens has been assigned to works about nonimmigrants, more specific terms should be assigned" (http://connect.ala.org/node/255185). There is a forthcoming documentary from Dartmouth Library. Within library and information science, coverage of this case has either been directly engaged with the campaign, or limited to descriptive accounts of the process. As yet, there is little analytic commentary on the case and its consequences, and contributions to the Dartmouth campaign from the academic field of library and information studies has been scarce. This article seeks to address that critical lack.

4.0 Illegal aliens at the Library of Congress

While systems of classification for bibliographic designation are various and frequently adapted to fit a library's own collection, the majority of catalogue records will combine these with headings from *LCSH*, which are less likely

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to be adapted or localised. Subject headings from the Library of Congress migrate where the classification scheme itself does not, in fact they are applied so widely that *LCSH* arguably carries the greatest lexical influence on cataloguing in the English-speaking world. The debate over the "Illegal aliens" subject heading will have far-reaching consequences if the Library of Congress continues to hold sway over the terminology of subject retrieval in the US and beyond.

In February 2014, Dartmouth College student Melissa Padilla discovered the subject heading "Illegal aliens" while searching online for a campaign to "Drop the I-Word" with the librarian (Baron et al. 2016). Her outrage led to a meeting between members of the student organisation CoFIRED and the library administration. They then worked together to make a formal proposal to the Library of Congress as part of the college's membership of the Subject Authority Cooperative program (SACO).

They made five proposals for existing terms to be replaced, in each case a derivative of "Illegal aliens" to be substituted with "Undocumented immigrants" (e.g, "Children of illegal aliens" to become "Children of undocumented immigrants") (Baron et al. 2016). Their proposals were initially rejected by the Library of Congress, on the grounds that "Illegal aliens is an inherently legal heading, and, as such, the preference is to use the legal terminology" (Baron et al. 2016). The case went forward to the ALA in the summer of 2015, whose Subject Analysis Committee, Social Responsibilities Round Table and Council passed a resolution to support the recommendation that the Library of Congress should revise the subject heading "Illegal aliens" and replace it with "Undocumented immigrants" (Peet 2016).

This second appeal was more successful, and in March 2016, the Library of Congress expressed its intention to discontinue "Illegal aliens" and replace it with "Noncitizens" and "Unauthorized immigration." The Policy and Standards Division of the Library of Congress also "explored the possibility of revising the broader term Aliens. It concluded that the meaning of Aliens is often misunderstood and should be revised to Noncitizens, and that the phrase illegal aliens has become pejorative. The heading Illegal aliens will therefore be cancelled and replaced by two headings, Noncitizens and Unauthorized immigration, which may be assigned together to describe resources about people who illegally reside in a country," and the ALA working group applauded the perceived agreement on the pejoration of the term (http://connect.ala.org/node/255185). The following month, this decision met with hostility in the legislative chambers of the US government. Republican Congresswoman Diane Black introduced the Stopping Partisan Policy at the Library of Congress Act 2016, which called for the Library to maintain the headings "Aliens" and "Illegal aliens."

In addition, Republicans added a provision to the legislative appropriations bill insisting that "to the extent practical, the committee instructs the library to maintain certain subject headings that reflect terminology used in Title 8 of the United States code."[4] While they denied that this was a political gesture in relation to the case of "Illegal aliens," Title 8 specifically refers to immigration control, and so its citation was an explicit allusion to an area in which the representatives perceived the Library to require instruction and curtailment. The language relating to subject headings was not included in the omnibus appropriations bill that passed through the House and Senate in 2017, but the 115th Congress articulated more clearly the processes and warrants assumed by the Library of Congress:[5]

> It is expected that the Library use a process to change or add subject headings that is clearly defined, transparent, and allows input from stakeholders including those in the congressional community. The process should consider appropriate sources of common terminology used to refer to a concept, including current statutory language and other legal reference sources; and other sources, such as reference materials; websites; and, titles in the Library of Congress' collection.

Meanwhile, the Library of Congress released Tentative List 06a and requested public feedback on the proposed changes to subject headings (replacing "Illegal aliens" with "Noncitizens" and "Unauthorised immigration"). A month later, the ALA passed a resolution "supporting Library of Congress against interference from Congress" (Baron et al. 2016). As of May 2018, this tentative list is no longer accessible online, and the Library of Congress has yet to declare a ruling on the *LCSH* heading "Illegal aliens." The current stalemate between the ALA's recommendations and congressional demands suggests that the process at the Library of Congress has been stalled by what Ngai describes (2014, 5) as "impossible subjects:" people whose description becomes "a problem that cannot be solved."

This case exposes a conflict of interests between the Library's duty to Congress as its primary stakeholder and the hegemonic responsibility it has acquired as a leading information management system, whose subject headings are exported around the world. It reveals the subjectivity of warrant and the volatility of authority, as well as calling into question the epistemologies of the library: their formation, influence and endurance.

5.0 Refugee archive: a local alternative

One alternative to nationally bound or structurally rigid schemes is to adopt a local form of classification. This prac-

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tice is fairly common for bibliographic designation, but (outside of medical records) *LCSH* remains dominant in the field of subject retrieval. Berman bemoans this "numbing deference" (Berman and Gross 2017, 352), and notes that the "Illegal aliens" episode "starkly illustrates a sickening abandonment of professional judgment and independence, a refusal to exert (or reassert) control over local authority files and bibliographic databases, [and] a staggering lack of social responsibility toward catalog users."

Among UK libraries, it is commonplace for local adaptations to deviate from LC standards and perform a kind of "guerrilla reclassification" (Lee 2012, 10). Rather than aspire to a universality that can only ever fail, local schemes make their specialist knowledge clear and their editorial influence explicit. Many specialist libraries adapt their scheme to their collection, and one response to LC's "glacier-slow recognition of verbal obsolescence" is to challenge their authority control and create local subject headings (Roberto 2008, 133). Berman put this into practice at Hennepin County Library, which established the subject authority "Undocumented Workers" in 1981, citing the *Chicano Thesaurus for Indexing Chicano Materials* as authority (1979). He points out that individual libraries might implement the ALA SAC Working Group's proposed revisions to *LCSH* without waiting for instruction by the Library of Congress to do so (Berman and Gross 2017, 351):

> Congress has no direct control or dominion over non-federal public, school, and academic libraries. And most of those entities already have automated authority control, making it relatively easy, for instance, to flip 'Illegal aliens' to 'undocumented immigrants,' thus both scrapping an anachronistic, pejorative heading and improving topical access by employing widely familiar terminology.

The classification scheme of the Refugee Archives at the University of East London Library offers an example of the clarity gained from specialist and localised forms of knowledge organisation. Books and documents are classified according to the British Refugee Council scheme, with modifications made by the Refugee Studies Centre Library in 2002 and by Refugee Council Archive in 2007. In this scheme, a subject's country of origin is one factor in its classification, along with cause of flight, type of flight, asylum, assistance, adaptation, arts, special groups, and organisations. This citation order vaguely follows the teleology of a journey and, from this point of view, the scheme prioritises the refugee experience of migration, rather than that of the state.

While this system respects the notion that person-based terminology should derive from the subjects' own vocabulary of identification, it continues to prioritise the linear journey with a beginning, middle and end, and so fails to adequately represent the multiple movements, back and forths and intermediary stages that a refugee must occupy as Diedrich and Styre (2008, 331) describe "an administrative object circulated between organizations and translated, transformed, and inscribed differently in different settings […] the refugee [...] is reshaped and retranslated along the route of circulation."

There is an essential ambiguity of terminology in the field of migration classification: the subject is inherently international and is, therefore, by definition multiplied across several cultural and governing bodies. In this context, it is significant that, within the Refugee Archives scheme, libraries are listed under cultural representation, positioned at the end of a refugee's journey, and recognised as a body with which they must interact in order to be identified or assisted. This scheme recognises the role of libraries in assimilation, both practically and in terms of definition, as institutions that consolidate the warrant of citizenship.

The additions made to this scheme by the Refugee Archive are italicised, and each is highly indicative of developments in the political treatment of migration nationally. Three additions of criminality have been added at a later date (31.31. Illegal Immigration; 43.2 Detention of Asylum seekers; 44.9 Imprisonment for a crime), correlating with Ackerman's observation (2014b) of the hypostatisation of the criminality of migration. Several entries in the scheme have been clarified with italicised parentheses:

– 31.5 RETURN MIGRATION *(Spontaneous, cf 46 Repatriation)*;
– 35 MIGRATION POLICY *(Migration Regulation, Restriction)*; and,
– 46 REPATRIATION *(FORCED)*.

These annotations are all indicative of increasingly punitive measures taken by the state, and the changes brought about by a hostile environment. Despite the legal grounding of the subject matter, there is no mention of the word "alien." Ackerman (2014b) suggests that "words can be taken as a proxy for given ways of thinking and that charting their use can provide us with insights into the history of a particular discursive formation." The absence of "aliens" in this localised scheme confirms that the library seeks to observe cultural changes in the treatment of migrants without mimicking oppressive vocabulary. While increased state regulation features prominently in an updated scheme, the classification does not submit to the use of biased and dehumanising language, which allows the Refugee Archive to pose a political challenge to the prevailing escalation of anti-migrant hostility.

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A very similar scheme of subject codes, also derived from the British Refugee Council, is used at Oxford University to classify grey literature on refugee and forced migration studies. In addition to these subject codes, the Bodleian Libguides (n.d.; 2002) lists a set of region and country codes with which to classify resources, preceding the subject code in citation order. While this priority within citation order might suggest a renewed emphasis on methodological nationalism, this scheme exhibits a more sophisticated understanding of place. A tell-tale sign of the global outlook of the course is the first place to which a subject must belong: "A—WORLD/UNIVERSAL". The expression of the entire world in its own geographical category comprehensively articulates the topic of migration and movement. Following alphabetical order, the world is then divided into regions and then nations. Many of the regions or nations contain subordinate categories for the representation of national or ethnic minorities, e.g., BKU—Kazakhs / Ukrainian Minorities or GAB—Middle East / Bedouins. In this sense, nations are included as a significant determinant of place, but they are not the only or exclusive facet of geographic belonging.

6.0 Neutrality and the imagination

Classification schemes that attempt to be universal rest on the assumption of nations as a natural category. Critics such as Olson (2011) and Berman (1988) have noted that the inherently white, Christian, male bias of LCC, DDC, BC2 and UDC inscribe institutional racism into libraries. In addition, migrants have to contend with the citizen bias of all major schemes, which are warranted by data that are collected nationally, research that is funded and published nationally, and a geography defined by national borders. The dominance of this methodological nationalism makes it increasingly difficult to mark out a space in which a subject might move and still be adequately described. In contemporary US discourse, the figure of the "illegal alien" is most often depicted as a Mexican national. In this context, LCSH works to reinforce the US-Mexico border and its authority to manipulate identities and agencies, and to buttress the changes to that border imposed by the US as an imperial power. As Gómez (2018, 2) demonstrates, the prescription of illegality or aliens is particularly inappropriate given the historical context and the experience of:

> The *first* Mexican Americans, those who joined American society involuntarily, not as immigrants, but as a people conquered in war. As Mexican Americans sometimes say, 'We didn't cross the border, the border crossed us.' Moreover, Mexicans joined American society at that time as citizens, albeit, as second-class citizens in many respects.

In twinning "illegal" with "alien," the methodological nationalism of major classification schemes follows the logic of settler colonialism, justifying and naturalising US control of a border whose legitimacy is otherwise called into question, and criminalising the inhabitants who live around, between and across its limits.

The case of "Illegal aliens" at the Library of Congress illustrates the way in which a conservative bias might masquerade as impartiality. In the face of public campaigns to the contrary, pejorative vocabulary was justified by its alignment with legal terminology, in laws which are explicitly punitive to the subjects in question. The "illegal" reifies the "alien" and vice versa, until the juxtaposition of the two terms becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy that carries legal clout, and undocumented migrants are criminalised in their very naming.

In response to the "Drop the I word" campaign, Ackerman noted (2013) that "the Times' public editor recommended the continued use of the term [Illegal], citing its practical qualities (being 'brief and descriptive') and agreeing with the newspaper's immigration reporter Julia Preston that the term was essentially 'neutral.'" In this context, the pretence of neutrality is just as harmful as the bias itself: it is the claim to universality that skews the balance of definition in favour of those already in power. Structured in this way, authority is self-sustaining and shored up with each new use. Lakoff and Johnson highlight the ways in which objectivism is always compromised by cultural contingency, and pinpoint the double-bind of such a fallacy (2003, 186 emphasis original):

> Just as we often take the *metaphors* of our own cultures as truths, so we often take the *myths* of our own cultures as truths. The myth of objectivism is particularly insidious in this way. Not only does it purport not to be a myth, but it makes both myths and metaphors objects of belittlement and scorn .... As we will see, the myth of objectivism is itself not objectively true.

If this is the case, then neutrality might be rightly abandoned as an aim, and bias made explicit in the interest of information literacy. Mai (2013) discussed an alternative principle by which to operate: fallibilism, which recognises that a belief may still be justified even though it can never be proven absolutely. A strategic deployment of fallibilism could not only render institutional bias visible, it might also distribute the notion of authority wide enough to enable readers to contribute or disagree. As a strategy, it might overcome the ways in which claims to objectivity hinder the classification principles of both hospitality and flexibility, if the first step towards hospitality is an admission of the host's own subjectivity. Any scheme that announces

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its local specialism renounces universality, and this articulation of fallibilism has the potential to create a system that is polyphonic in its inception, even if standardised in its application.

One of the most persistent arguments against the Library of Congress having to accept reclassification proposals is that language is too volatile: they resist incorporating new vocabulary until they know that it is likely to last. This practice abides by the philosophy that, for classification to fulfil its function, it must travel slower than natural language development and that the benefits of a controlled vocabulary rely on a conservative accumulation of terms. UDC's "ten-year-rule" enshrines this cautious approach as a policy to support stability: when a classification is retired, its notation cannot be reassigned for ten years, though this rule is no longer applied rigorously (http://www.udcc.org/index).

The language with which we choose to describe phenomena is always culturally and historically marked, and so, at the broadest level, we cannot ever fully speak out of time. A local or tailored scheme acknowledges a bias and accommodates its blind spots; it amounts to a confession of subjectivity, which in turn invites future contributions and proposals. Fallibilism allows us to question the assumption that what is standard must be fixed, that wide use must be implemented from the top down, or that vocabulary must be controlled at an individual institutional level, rather than being outsourced.

There are arguments, then, for libraries and classifiers to acknowledge their generative as well as reactive role in language development and its social consequences. The case of "Illegal aliens" in America represents an acute example of the potential for library terminology to be interpreted as politically partisan. The 115th Congress featured multiple proposals for and against modifications to "alien" terminology: this period was marked by a hyper-alertness to the political effects of pejorative nomenclature and its use in law, libraries, rhetoric and media.

Both sides of the chamber recognized the political importance of the language used to describe migration, and yet both felt the other side was compromising the Library's neutrality. In requesting that the Library "maintain certain subject headings that reflect terminology used in Title 8 of the United States code,"[6] Republican politicians saw that warrant works in both directions and that the actions of the library were far from neutral. They feared that a change in the terminology of library classification would undermine the language of their "Aliens and Nationality" laws, and thus acknowledged the ability of libraries to wield their own linguistic authority. While they might not have understood the influence, or even functionality, of subject headings, House members attempted to harness LC terminology as a tool to foment a broader anti-immigrant agenda. Their in-

tervention illustrates the extent of LC's influence during a period of heightened sensitivity to the nuances of person-related terminology. This influence might be exercised without limit if it can be used to reinforce government policy, but could be curtailed almost immediately if it deviates from that politically-enforced warrant.

If, on the side of libraries themselves, the illusion of neutrality was replaced by the recognition of their participation in the authority and evolution of language, classifiers would be in a better position to wield their warrant more effectively. Butler wrote (2004, 28-29) of the power of fantasy that "allows us to imagine ourselves and others otherwise; it establishes the possible in excess of the real; it points elsewhere, and when it is embodied, it brings the elsewhere home." An approach based on such a fantastical mode of fallibilism would reverse the current trajectory of literary warrant and empower classifiers to employ terminology that is more hospitable. Lakoff and Johnson dub this methodology "imaginative rationality" (2003, 193):

> Reason, at the very least, involves categorization, entailment, and inference …. Since the categories of our everyday thought are largely metaphorical and our everyday reasoning involves metaphorical entailments and inferences, ordinary rationality is therefore imaginative by its very nature.

Rather than seeking sanctions from literature or law, Olson (2000, 68) argued in favour of the pedagogic possibilities of introducing new terms to classification: "by placing them in useful syndetic contexts, providing scope notes and actively and appropriately applying them, the public will come to recognize their meanings." Adler (2016, 631) extended this line of thought to propose reparative taxonomies, in which "'repair' does not refer to a correction of legacies of wrong-doings, but rather, it is a matter of truth-telling, accountability, negotiation, redistribution, and redress." In this sense, an acknowledgement of the classifier's subjectivity and fallibility could enable librarians to imagine a scheme in which migrant subjects are not an impossibility after all, and where the facets of movement, rather than boundaries, might be the measure of a scheme's longevity and success.

The pretence of neutrality renders the political work that classification performs invisible and therefore beyond criticism. However, migrant subjects only seem "impossible" to classify when a scheme is inadequately structured to account for them. In the case of "Illegal aliens," the Library of Congress was punished when its lexical choice deviated from the language of federal law. Politicians from the House of Representatives were keen to restore LC's terminology to match their status quo, and their swift intervention demonstrates the fact that LC's work was never

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really objective in the first place. The case created a rift between Congress and its library, which gave away the political extent of institutional bias in cataloguing work. It was migration that caused this rupture, because these subjects could not remain invisible or impossible at a time when human movement has become a major global phenomenon, and its documentation the focus of widespread political debate.

7.0 Whose warrant?

Claims to neutrality require an external rationale, and literary warrant is usually cited as the primary justification of classification. The Library of Congress holds that this is the governing principal of their scheme, claiming that "*LCSH* is not built on a philosophical model, and ... headings only come into being on the basis of need"; the need in question being derived from the published materials in their collection (Broughton 2015, 115). The justification for using "Illegal aliens" stems from the term's presence in the legal collections that the library holds for Congress. This function arguably appoints the library a subsidiary of the legislative wing of the US government and conflicts with their duty to readers. Their website makes the following claim, which could be read as contradictory (www.loc.gov/legal): "The Library of Congress's mission is to support Congress in fulfilling its constitutional duties, and to further the progress of knowledge and creativity for the benefit of the American people."

Netanel Ganin (2016) pointed out that "literary warrant as a principle systematizes the biases inherent in our society as a whole." In this case, it only serves to illustrate the fact that LC is ill-qualified to act as a global authority. Their literary warrant is limited to their collections, which are biased towards North American materials (sometimes specifically US government policy documents) and are not exhaustive or representative even within those national (or political) boundaries.

In fact, the selection of published literature provides a bias of its own and, as a profession librarianship remains overwhelmingly white (Bourg 2014), the biases that it shares with the publishing industry are "codified into the resources they produce, which influences the collection development which affects what resources are being catalogued and in turn what terms can and will be created as new headings in *LCSH*" (Ganin 2016). Literature by and about undocumented migrants is less likely to be widely distributed or recognised, and a system of legal deposit is unlikely to incorporate the ephemera of marginal groups. In this way, each stage of a collection's development is skewed away from the experience of undocumented migrants. The bias of nationally divided and adjudicated schemes is bolstered by government support, and in turn

reinforces US legal sovereignty, until Congress can create what even the Supreme Court has described as "rules that would be unacceptable if applied to citizens" (Ngai 2014, 12).

If a classification scheme remains determinedly reactive, it can only ever reflect the prejudices that exist in the literature from which it seeks warrant. When it comes to people-related categories, this might mean that an insistence on literary warrant will cause libraries to neglect their responsibility to diverse and democratic access. The *LCSH* heading "Illegal aliens" was created in 1985, and the authority record was last updated in 2013 (@OpOnions 2017). This chronology correlates neatly with Ackerman's (2013) analysis of US media use of the term, which charts a rise in the use of the terms "illegal alien" and "illegal immigrant" from 1975 to 2011.

The introduction of the term "Illegal aliens" coinciding with increased use of the phrase in written media illustrates a form of literary warrant, not from published books or academic works, but from literature that often carries explicit political motives or prejudices. It is influenced by sources that are at best partial and at worst amount to hate speech. If this pattern were representative of other issues, the Library of Congress would be putting itself in a position of soliciting authority from pejorative popular media, whilst remaining inhospitable to the popular language of the demographic in question.

Media terms and derogatory language can also have reason to be represented in library catalogues, but there are mechanisms in place to clarify the partial or pejorative nature of the language in question, rather than effectively endorsing it as authoritative vocabulary. Reid (2008, 111) notes a parallel situation in "The English Word that dare not seek its name:" "Library of Congress should do its part to discriminate between the word itself and the racism associated with it by promptly establishing a heading for 'Nigger (The English Word).'"

LCSH does this for "Gook (The English Word)," so the system does have recourse to modifiers that can list a term to represent its use without endorsing its authority. According to Charles Cutter's *Rules* (1876), colloquial vocabulary is preferable as long as the library judges their readers to be the general public. The choice of "Illegal aliens," terminology that is primarily legal in use, then suggests that LC deems it "most familiar to the class of people who consult the library" (Cutter 1876), and so reveals that the Library's primary duty is to the national legislature. In this case, the most suitable response may be to instate "Illegal aliens (Law)," as LC has done with "Insanity (Law)."

Moreover, in their initial response to the Dartmouth campaign's proposal, it was not literature but the law that informed LC's decision: "Illegal aliens is an inherently legal heading, and, as such, the preference is to use the legal ter-

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minology" (Baron et al. 2016). But as the ALA SAC working group noted (http://connect.ala.org/node/255185): "The [LC] proposal to replace Aliens with Noncitizens indicates that there is no absolute requirement to use legal terms, and that this preference can be outweighed by other considerations." The Library's subsequent retraction, following Congressional intervention, suggested that there may be an "absolute requirement" to their warranty after all. If LC were to implement a move away from the terminology of "Illegal aliens," the institution would be, in effect, directly contradicting the recent actions of Congress, where H.R. 3785: Correcting Hurtful and Alienating Names in Government Expression (CHANGE) Act[1] had failed to pass through the 114th Congress in 2015.[7]

The law is a much more restrictive warrant than literature and throws the Library of Congress into a stark political quandary. The case of "illegal aliens" betrays the ways in which LC upholds the warrant from which it derives, and that authority breeds authority. Representative Black's interpretation of the proposed reclassification not only valued the subject heading as warranted by the law but also effectively equated the two. Describing the proposal as a "needless policy change" was tantamount, in Adler's observation (2017, 11), to suggesting that "the authorization of taxonomic terminology for access to information should be regarded as federal policy making."

Once it becomes apparent that LC is implicated in, and not only accountable to, Congress, there grows an argument for the Library to have a more active engagement in the political and ethical ramifications of the warrant that it seeks to acquire and maintain. In response to the shortcomings of literary warrant, Beghtol (2005, 904) proposed an alternative mandate: "cultural warrant means that the personal and professional cultures of information seekers and information workers warrant the establishment of appropriate fields, terms, categories, or classes in a knowledge representation and organization system."

Cultural warrant best exhibits a library's service to its readers. It allows the cataloguer to demonstrate their political responsibility and acknowledge the ways in which library terminology is itself taken as warrant in other areas of society. Beghtol (2002, 526) also suggested that, if implemented effectively, cultural warrant might go some way towards reconciling the global–local paradox of accommodating diversity within a system whose functionality and precision is measured by its uniformity: "the concept of cultural hospitality with user choice options appears to make it theoretically possible for people to think globally, to act globally, and, at the same time, to think and act locally and individually."

This reorientation of warrant towards the needs of the reader and away from the authority of published works makes way for a more human, or social, understanding of

hospitality. I advocate a conception of hospitality within classification that is inspired by a philosophy of welcome, a *xenia* that might accommodate in taxonomy the subjects to whom the state should offer shelter and sanctuary in person.

8.0 *DDC*, LC*C*, *BC2*, UDC: a comparative study

The "Illegal aliens" case study concentrates on *LCSH*, whose headings exemplify controlled vocabulary and are imported in library records globally. As a method of subject retrieval, person-related headings have a greater potential to offend users, because they are visible in natural language in the catalogue browser. By contrast, the encoding of bibliographic designation disguises offensive terminology behind numerical notation, and so has fewer explicit damaging consequences. While *LCSH* has near-monopoly status on English language subject retrieval, classification for bibliographic designation is a more diverse field. In order to better understand the ways in which the topic of migration travels through the hierarchy of subjects, I have conducted a comparative analysis of the four schemes that dominate the classification of books in British and American public and academic libraries: *DDC*, LC*C*, *BC2* and UDC. Figures 1-7 correspond to my analyses and illustrate the pathways to the topic of migration in each of these major schemes. These diagrams are an attempt to draw out the hierarchy and expose the semantic power of position, which can cultivate a hostile or hospitable environment.

8.1 *Dewey Decimal Classification*

Unlike Library of Congress, the *Dewey Decimal Classification* scheme does not have the conflict of interest of operating under the purview of a government body. Of all the major schemes, it is also the most likely to have the resources and agenda to update regularly.

In *DDC*, the words "migration," "immigration" or "immigrants" occur four times within the social sciences and once in Table 1—Standard subdivisions. Via the Economic avenue, they can be grouped as "Immigrants and aliens by place of origin." Under Table 1 and within Social problems, they are classified below "People with status defined by changes in residence." By making the place of origin a determining factor, the Economic category resists the malleability of migration (and therefore the confusion it poses to nationalism), whereas the Social avenue prioritises the movement itself.

"Illegal immigration" is subordinate to 364 Criminology—364.1 Criminal offenses—364.1/3 Political and related offenses (Figure 1). The term arrived in 2008 (@violetbfox June 7 2017), and this ontogeny follows a trajectory that Ackerman identifies as the recent and increasing crim-

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inalisation of migration. The marrying of the two words into a compound phrase prompts "in the public's mind an association with crime-proclivity, and with a threat to sovereignty and to the American social and economic fabric" (Ackerman 2014a). The two words are combined so frequently that each half reifies the other until there is little room left for the cultural acceptance of legal migration.

The word "aliens" appears in the *DDC* scheme under 330 Economics—331 Labour economics—331.6 Workers by ethnic and national origin (Figure 2). The position and etymology of this classification suggests a significant consequence of the dehumanising term; it creates a space for the devaluing of migrant labour and the delegitimisation of its practice, which implies that the "aliens" in question are not entitled to the working rights of legal citizens.
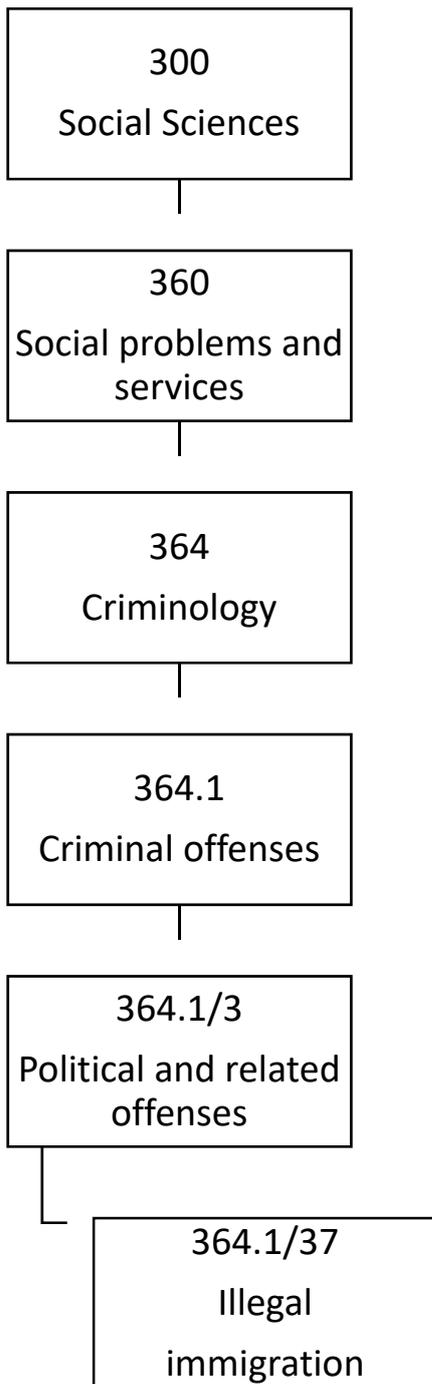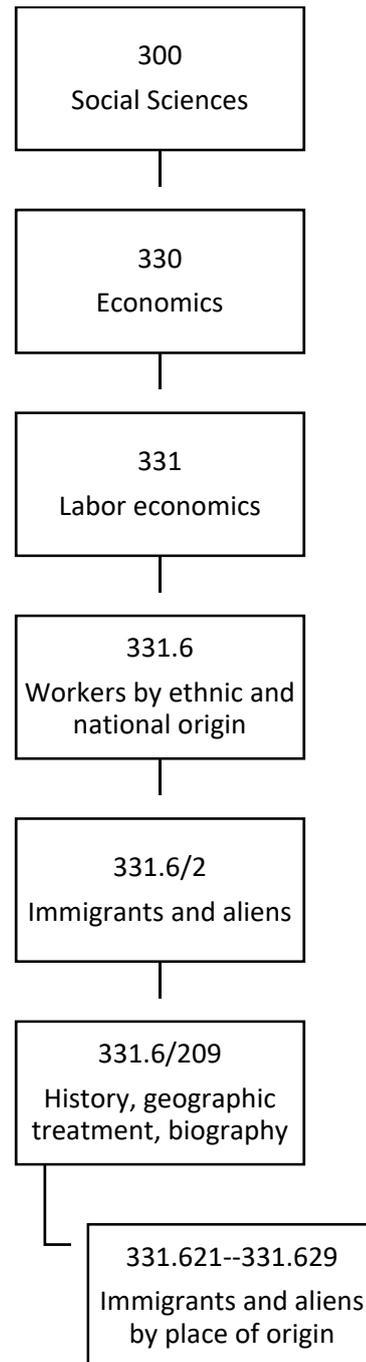

Figure 1. DDC, Social problems and services.

Figure 2. DDC, Economics.

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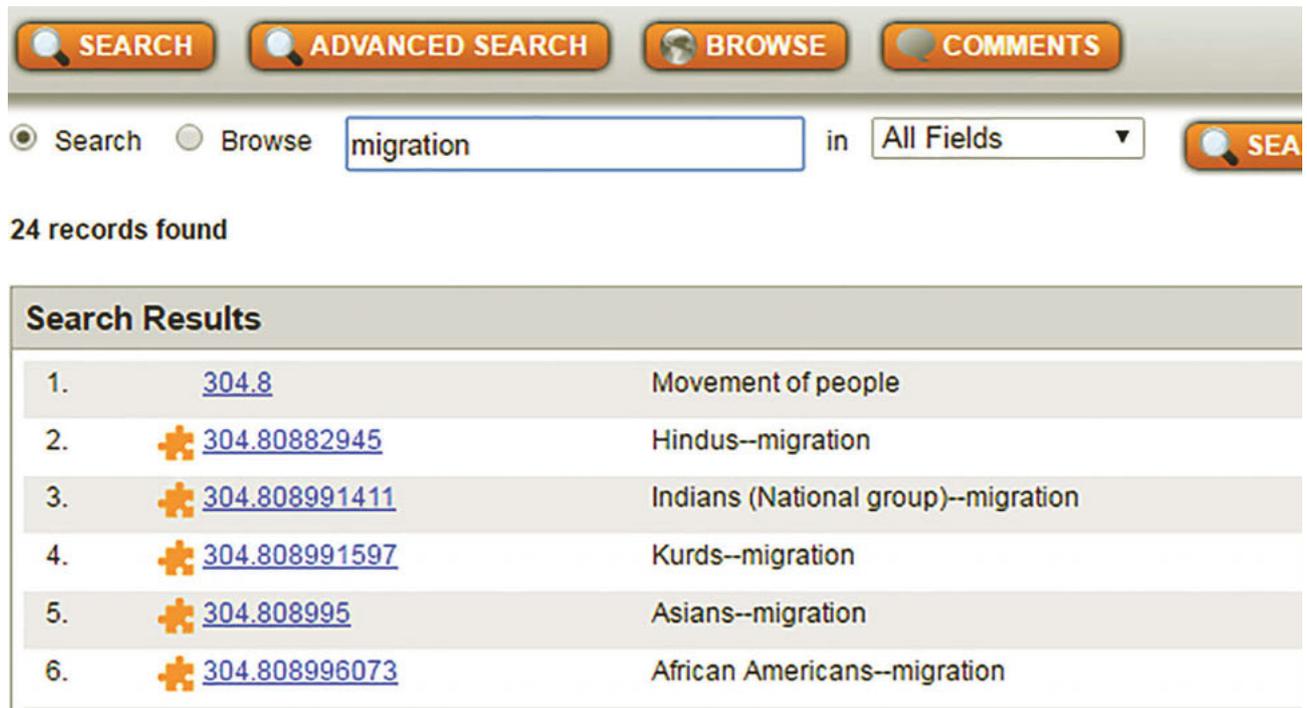E. Lacey. Aliens in the Library: The Classification of Migration

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Figure 3. Screenshot from WebDewey.

DDC is structurally limited by its decimal format; all knowledge is divisible by only ten (where an alphabetical system such as *LCC* has 26 primary subsections to work with, and the more analytico-synthetic UDC has near-infinite possibilities of combination). In this sense, the decimal structure is the least hospitable, and requires more frequent subordination to classify specificities, resulting in very long classmarks. The *Dewey* system also restricts the use of tables that denote personal characteristics, which limits the number of deviations from the norm that can be represented in notation. These strict instructions demonstrate the "impossibility" of the marginal subject. As a result of *Dewey*'s rigid hierarchy of priority, these tables privilege some facets of identity over others. As Olson observed, age takes precedence over race to the extent that "material focusing on black youth cannot, according to *DDC*, be classified with material on black people in general" and as such (2001, 655) "people of African descent are disaporized throughout *DDC*." A similar hostility to hybrid identity categories with regards to ethnicity can be seen in the twelve-digit classmarks for Kurds—migration in Figure 3.

The limited analytico-synthetic structure of *DDC* means that people-related precision requires varying lengths of notation: Blacks (African origin) can be expressed as the six digits 305.896, whereas Chinese Muslims require twice the number of characters: 305.8951/0088297. A classmark can be so long that it hinders access and retrieval, as well as giv-

ing the visual impression of an incalculable hybridity or an impossibly laborious deviation from the norm. More often than not, native or citizen groups can be expressed more succinctly than migrants, and classmarks elongated beyond easy legibility are evidence of methodological nationalism in action. They demonstrate a scheme that naturalises the nation and is hostile to human movement, so that migrant groups are forced into the subordinate position of distributed relatives and denied a primary category of their own in a system that prefers to sort subjects by nation-state.

8.2 Library of Congress *Classification*

In the Library of Congress *Classification* scheme (LCC), the terminology of migration appears under H—Social Science, J—Political Science and L—Education. The terminology of "aliens" appears on several occasions (such as JK723.A4 Political institutions and public administration (United States)—United States—Government. Public administration—Executive branch—Civil service—Special classes of employees—Other special, A-Z—Aliens; LC5155 Special aspects of education—Education of special classes of persons—Other special classes—Children of illegal aliens—General works; HJ4653.A83 Public finance—Revenue. Taxation. Internal revenue—Income tax—By region or country—United States—Special, A-Z—Aliens).

The more possible avenues there are to reach the topic of migration, the more nuanced a scheme's expression of
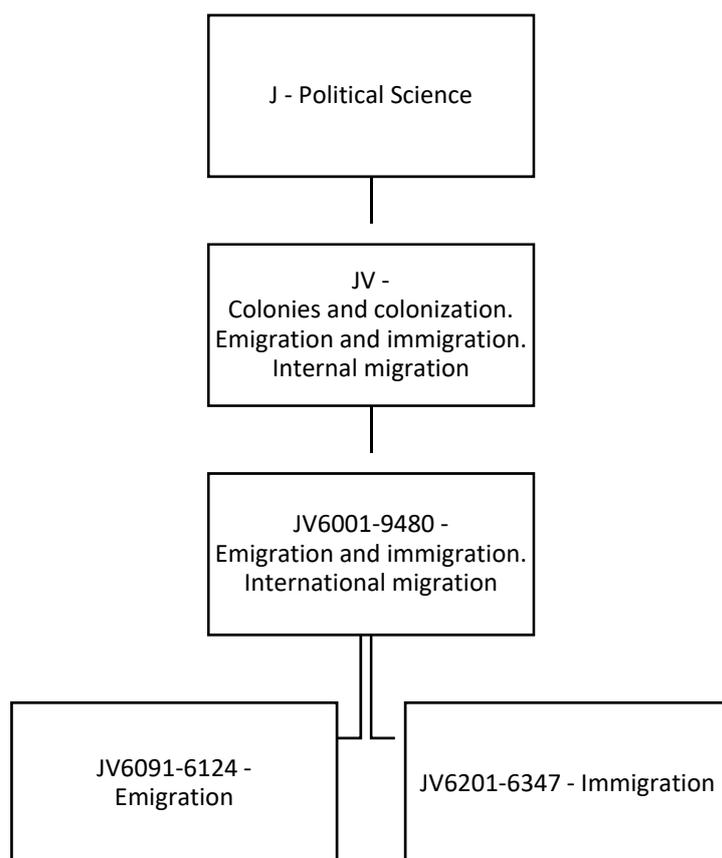
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Figure 4. Library of Congress *Classification* Class J.

the migrant subject will be. While *DDC* positions migration as primarily a criminal issue or social problem, LC*C* offers more avenues to the topic. In LC*C*, immigrants are accounted for as a source of migrant labour, but also in terms of their community status (under H—Social Science), and the state is perceived to have a responsibility towards their education and the education of their children (under L—Education). The simple increase in categories afforded by an alphabetical rather than decimal system allows the scheme to show greater hospitality and offer more avenues to express the position of migrant subjects.

Before narrowing down to JV6201-6347, immigration is first mentioned under JV Political Science, where emigration, immigration and internal migration are all listed alongside "colonies and colonization" (Figure 4). This grouping might be read as an insightful mix that incorporates a fuller history of human movement, suggesting that contemporary migration has links to a colonial past, rather than isolating it as a modern criminal offence. Notably, this category also combines emigration with immigration, once more emphasising the fact of movement rather than its political reception, and therefore undermining the importance of either destination or origin. Categorisation that includes travel in multiple directions refutes the "conventional thinking" that migration is "a unidirectional phe-

nomenon, in which the hapless poor of the world clamour at the gates of putatively disinterested wealthier nations" (Ngai 2014, 11). Wimmer and Schiller note that "immigrants destroy the isomorphism between people and nation" and that "every move across national frontiers becomes an exception to the rule of sedentariness within the boundaries of the nation-state" (2002, 309). The inclusion of internal migration under JV here marks a gesture away from that methodological nationalism, which can only perceive movement as a severed link that renders a subject impossible to classify.

8.3 *Bliss Classification 2*

Unlike *LCSH*'s US-centric vocabulary, *BC2* leans towards the linguistic conventions of the UK, and sources subject definitions from authoritative reference publications. *BC2* references "Migration as a process" under classmark KAK. When human movement is acknowledged as an active phenomenon in this way, its subjects are not forced into the impossible position of alignment within national categories that cannot account for their undocumented status. The scheme also includes an interesting annotated instruction that exposes the failure of the term "migrants." Under "persons staying in a country" (Bliss 1984), it reads:

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B              .  Police community relations, police and public
BE             . .  Police iniatives
BF             . . .  Community policing, neighbourhood
                         policing, sector policing, zone
                         policing
BG             . . . .  Community consultation, community
                         liaison
BGB            . . . . .  Police community liaison officers
BH             . . .  Citizen involvement
BJ             . . . .  Citizen supervision, civilian oversight
BJC            . . . . .  Civilian review boards
BK             . . .  Community education
BKC            . . . .  Citizen police academies
BN             . .  Community initiatives
BP             . . .  Crime reporting, incident reporting
BQ             . . . .  Telephone reporting
BR             . . .  Help seeking, service requests
BS             . . . .  Telephone requests
BV             . . .  Police responses
BW             . . . .  Response strategies
C              . .  Particular community groups
                   *   Add to QPD C letters G/N following Q,
                       then letters A/D following QP above. Some
                       examples follow.
CGJ LIP LT     . . .  Skinheads
CJL V          . . .  Political groups
CJL WAQ V      . . . .  Neofascists, neonazis
CJP            . . .  Ethnic groups
CJP BL         . . . .  Black people
CJP CC         . . . .  Ethnic minorities
CJS            . . .  Immigrants
CL             . . .  Children and young people
CLQ            . . . .  Schoolchildren
CLQ DBG        . . . . .  Educational liaison work
CLR            . . . .  Young people
CZ             .  Police relations and police work with
                      individual service users and suspects
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Figure 5. Screenshot from *BC2* schedule, Class Q.

"There is no term conveying this concept exactly. 'Migrants' is used at KOR B to convey the concept of leaving a society, although it has other connotations."

Clearly the word is insufficiently defined here: when migrants are primarily associated with departure, and not arrival or settling, no space is afforded to the subject's capacity to assimilate or remain indefinitely. In 1985, this note was updated in *The Bliss Classification Bulletin* and replaced with: "This takes literature on persons who for any reason move from one place to another and especially those who leave a country, temporarily or permanently."

The need for clarification is in itself illustration of the term's mutability and its difficulty to define. The Bliss interpretation of migration also incorporates flexible subordination and oscillating citation order between origin and host countries. The *Bulletin* revision allows the refugee to exist more multiply than in other schemes: "In all cases where a class of persons moves from one place to another

they are subordinated to the host society (the place receiving them) …. But a general work on such a class, defined only by the society they leave, goes under the latter."

Despite this option, place of origin is a consistently applied facet in this subject area, contributing to the impossibility of subjects identified by Ngai to be perceived as "unassimilable foreigners [and] 'alien citizens': persons who are American citizens by virtue of their birth in the United States but who are presumed to be foreign by the mainstream of American culture and, at times, by the state" (2014, 2). Figure 5 demonstrates the significance of positionality: "Immigrants" follow "Black people," "Neofascists, neonazis" and "Schoolchildren" beneath particular community groups rather than the preceding category of community initiatives. The grouping and its proximity to the latter might imply that these demographics are the inevitable target of law and order initiatives (whose organisers might be assumed, by omission, to be white adult citizens).

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In Class K—Society, Bliss instructs that a particular section is for use on material "from host society's viewpoint," thereby making its hermeneutic perspective explicit. The position of Class Q—Social welfare and criminality is also state-centric but not defined as such, which implicitly suggests neutrality and naturalizes its use of the term "Aliens" under QJR and QPWP (Figure 6). In addition, the appearance of "Aliens" under a category of (QPWP) civil defence evokes Ngai's question of whether "migrants [are] proxies for foreign troops" and has the disquieting effect of employing the vocabulary of war in the context of social welfare (11). Despite this terminology, Class Q adopts an attitude of care (QFB EF, under social security; QJS and QJR, under people in need and causes of need) as often as it references crime and national security (QPDCJS community groups—police work; QPWP).

Overall, Bliss presents a more magnanimous state perspective than the schemes that concentrate on the illegality of migrants without also faceting or factoring in their need for state assistance. However, the hospitality shown in its acknowledgment of people in need does not extend to creating facets that might provide access to complete semantic assimilation, away from "aliens" and towards the benefits of citizenship.

8.4 UDC

Universal Decimal Classification covers the topic of migration from a greater number of angles than *LCC*, *BC2* or *DDC*. It has been criticized for the politics of its vocabulary and is held back in part by its lack of capacity to update as seamlessly or frequently as *LCSH*. Editor-in-chief Aida Slavic noted that obsolete terms in UDC are still used twenty to fifty years after they have been replaced and reclassified (2017). However, its founding principles of internationalism, honed by Paul Otlet and Henri La Fontaine's ambitions to universal bibliography, allow for a more nuanced interpretation of the subject of migration. Where *LCC* and *DDC* were created as national schemes, UDC defers to UN terminology for geographic descriptors. It was simultaneously developed in four languages and makes 3,000 classes in fifty-seven languages available as linked data under a Creative Commons license (Slavic 2017). Figure 7 gives an illustration of the coverage extended to the topic of migration in this scheme.

Where *LCC*, *BC2* and *DDC* classify geography almost exclusively by naturalizing national boundaries, the topography of UDC suggests that this is just one of several ways to delineate space. Table 1e, containing common auxiliaries of place, includes: (1=...) place with reference to race. Ethnic zones; (1-021) biological zones; and geographical specificities from (1-051) Elongated areas. Strips to (1-052) Areas with straight or slightly curved boundaries (except strips). Space can be defined by an absence, such as (1.077.2) Zones free of particular weapons and (1-624) Noncommitted countries. Nonaligned countries, or relationally: (1-192) Position in relation to a border or frontier, (1-192.6) On this side. Cis-..., (1-192.7) On the other side. Trans-.... Both these methods, of negative or relational space, call into question the nature and neutrality of national borders and their power to enclose or define subjects. They are reframed as precarious or incidental, a description no more or less significant than (188) Relative size of places, areas, spaces: (188.2) Very small. Part of a small area or (23) Above sea level. Surface relief. Above ground generally. Mountains: (23:181m4500) Mountains with height of 4500 metres above sea level (British Standards Institution 2005, 26). In this sense, UDC provides an alternative to the methodological nationalism that Wimmer and Schiller identify as a bias and "systematic blindness" of academic practice. Table 1e allows greater room for a subject to move between what we think of as nations without being purely defined by their actions or identity, and so offers many more ways to orient a subject than simply by nation-state.

Ackerman suggested (2013, 72) that the "language of illegality has permeated the conversation about immigration in the past decades to the extent that arguments have become tautological: illegal aliens should not be legalized because they are illegal." Across the scheme of law and order, the language of human movement is disproportionately prefixed by criminality: in the UDC alphabetical index, one sixth of topics beginning with "illegal" refer to migration. This can be observed as a common trait across *LCC*, *DDC*, *BC2* and UDC. UDC also uses the terminology of "alien" with reference to migration. However, under -054 Persons according to ethnic characteristics, nationality, citizenship etc., UDC offers more avenues to migration than crime and legality, such as -054.52-058.833 Naturalized by marriage and -054.78 Stateless persons. Apatriates (151-152). Within this section, people are more likely to be grouped by movement than legal status. The inclusion of Immigrants and Emigrants under the same heading is unusual, as is equating tourists with non-residents and expatriates with migrants or stateless persons (though the juxtaposition of opposites is standard practice within UDC). For example, UDC is alone in listing the term "re-emigration," suggesting an understanding of the subject beyond a single and one-directional journey. It makes motion the defining trait, rather than its motive or legitimacy. UDC also allows the classifier to articulate the auxiliary of "home country" or "abroad." However, this expression is limited to physical place, which implies neutrality, unlike the *BC2* explicit emphasis on definitions derived from the perspective of the host society.
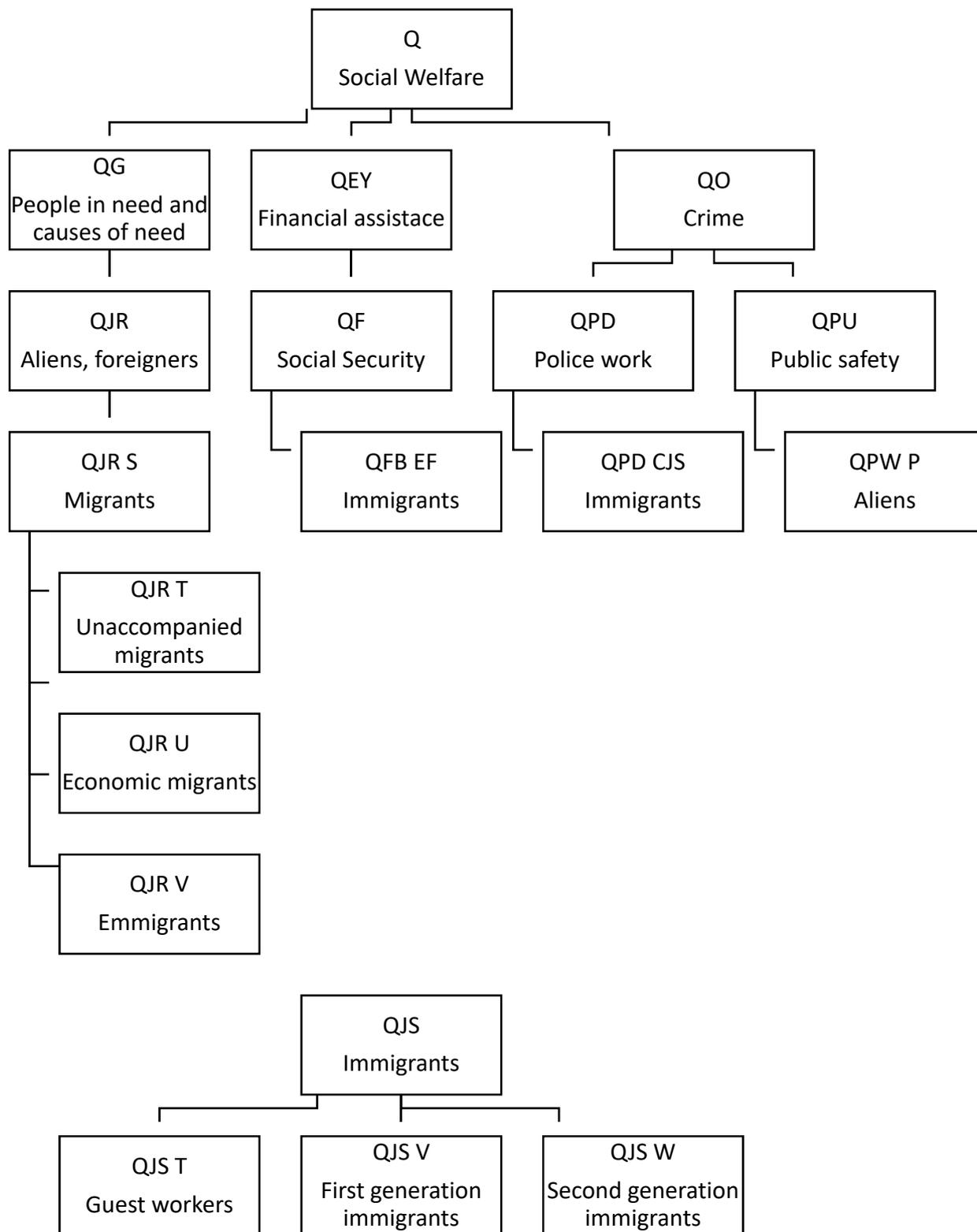
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Figure 6. Bliss Class Q.

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Figure 7. UDC.

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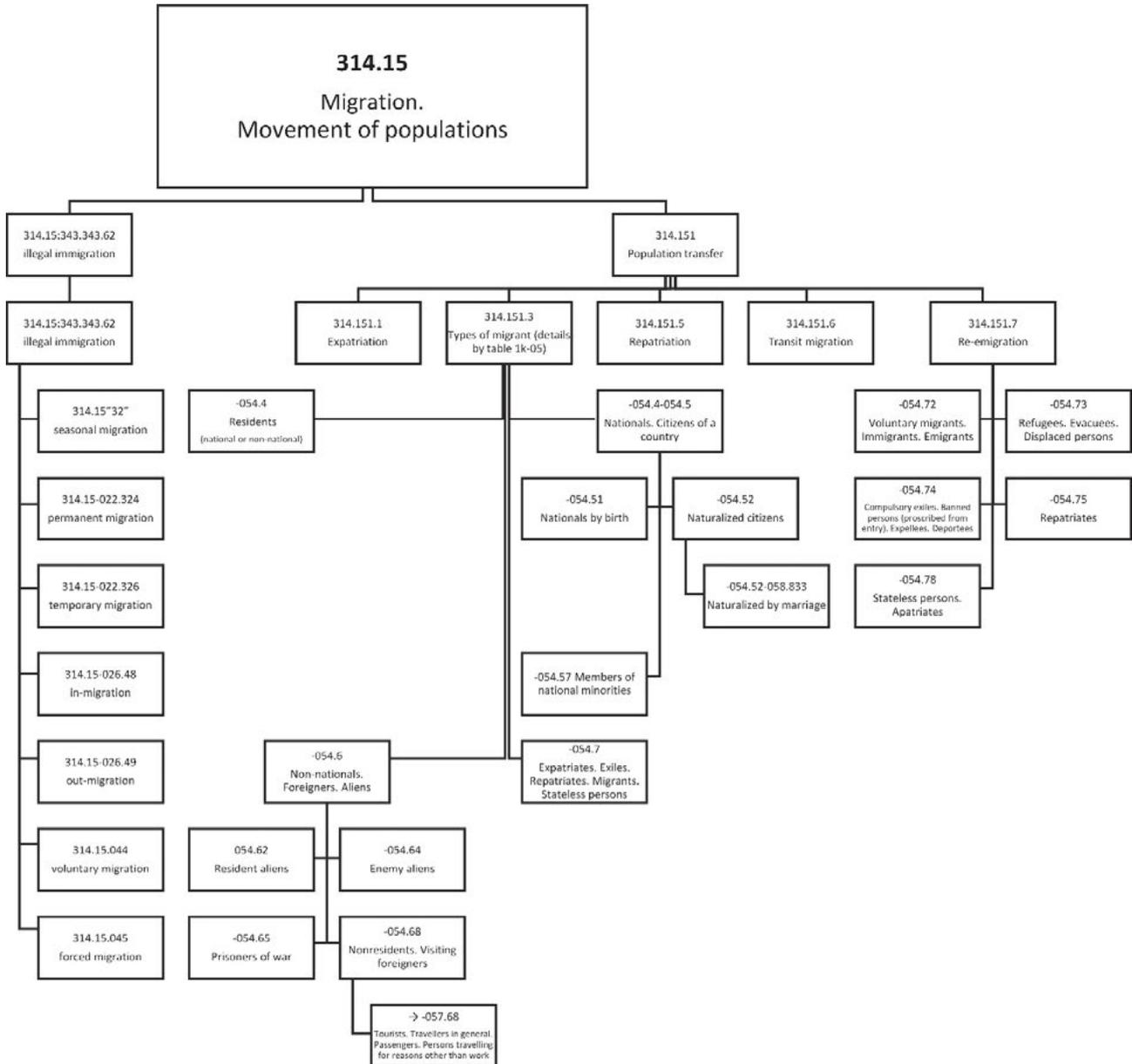
UDC fails to avoid pejorative language, but its analytico-synthetic structure allows maximum expression of content and facilitates travel within the classification; it covers the subject of migration from multiple directions. It has the capacity to articulate intersectionality or complications of place, which makes it far more hospitable to migration. In addition to these diverse geographies, it also includes plenty of country- and state-based classifications and, unlike other established schemes, these are not offered as the exclusive facet of spatial enquiry. However, Table 1f—common auxiliaries of human ancestry, ethnic grouping and nationality slips back into a form of methodological nationalism in its opening note (130):

> Political nationality (citizenship of nation-states) may also be denoted, mainly by (=1:4/9) which derive from the common auxiliaries of place (4/9) (Table 1e), but it may be found that for some subjects the place auxiliaries themselves will often serve as well.

It is the easy alignment of place and personhood that is troubled by migration, when movement dislocates a subject from their prior nation. UDC does accommodate some hybridity in this area, in the form of minority ethnic or linguistic nationalism, such as a classification for Italian Switzerland. In this sense, the facets of the scheme have a scope that is broader than the above instruction. This structural superiority is the mark of an effective scheme: it has the analytico-synthetic flexibility to offer enduring hospitality.

There are numerous instances of "alien" terminology in these schematic hierarchies, but none has caused the same controversy as the LC subject heading: the language of subject retrieval is more provocative than that of bibliographic designation, where it is largely substituted (at the user end) by classmark notation. Subject headings may also become more incendiary, because their "tagging" form of cataloguing grows more recognisable to non-librarians in the internet age. More broadly, this comparative analysis shows that the schemes with greater analytico-synthetic structural hospitality are able to accommodate more expressions of migration. A rigid and inflexible structure is hostile to a nuanced portrayal of any subject. It is more likely to relegate those that have complicated facets, such as movement and a lack of documentation, to a confined syntax, which renders their deviation or hybridity impossible to express and engenders an invisibility that risks making them impossible to retrieve.

9.0 Folksonomies and the dream of a common language

Cultural warrant could be understood as the application of hospitality to the methodology, as well as structure, of classification. Whether in terms of subject description or bibliographic designation, this practice demands the extra effort of engaging with readers beyond the traditional bounds of published literature. A folksonomy classifies through user-generated tags, rather than institutionally-defined terms. Gossip is not a field that is often attributed authority, but it is this discourse that Sedgwick suggests most appropriate to warrant a folksonomy that she dubs *nonce* taxonomy. Listening closely to casual conversation, Sedgwick imbues ordinary language with the authority to define people and subjects. Following on from her axiom "people are different from each other" (2008, 22 emphasis original), Sedgwick notes that everybody "has reasonably rich, unsystematic resources of nonce taxonomy for mapping out the possibilities, dangers, and stimulations of their human social landscape. It is probably people with the experience of oppression or subordination who have most *need* to know it." She defines *nonce* taxonomy as "the making and unmaking and *re*making and redissolution of hundreds of old and new categorical imaginings concerning all the kinds it may take to make up a world" (23). This taxonomy follows the assumption that person-related subject headings should defer to the subjects in question, and that authority is best derived from the expertise of personal experience.

The campaign to change the "Illegal aliens" subject heading is run by the DREAMers at Dartmouth University and so voices the expertise of people who experience subordination. It amounts to a clear cultural and ethical warrant, and therefore provides sufficient authority to inform the Library of Congress' organisation of knowledge. If acted upon, it would make manifest a system of classification that informs consistency on an international scale whilst incorporating culturally specific contributions. It would constitute a landmark decision prioritising readers over legislators in the articulation of subject access, and establish a precedent for the Library to solicit suggestions informed by the public, rather than abiding by the vocabulary of punitive legislation and employing language that is at best unfamiliar to readers and at worst degrading to the subjects it seeks to describe. The Library of Congress' Tentative list 06a called for public feedback on the proposed changes to subject headings and marked a gesture towards the cultivation of a cultural warrant, but this effort has been subsequently annulled by their failure to implement the suggestions of the subjects in question and their resistance to folksonomic contributions.

To take suggestion is to embrace fallibility. Soliciting cultural warrant represents an effort to make one's methodology transparent and explicit. Internet discovery methods have compromised the terms of the precision-recall ratio (Foskett 1996, 18-19), with users tending towards an increasing reliance on natural language and keyword

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searching over faceted library catalogue modes of retrieval. While linked data and open access software are beyond the bounds of this article, their philosophy of sharing and connectivity might work in tandem with an acknowledgement of individual or institutional fallibility. Adler suggested (2017, 160) that the "aim is not to fix existing systems but rather to reconfigure relations according to local and personal vantage points." If the argument in favour of controlled vocabulary is to enhance retrieval by grouping together linguistically similar themes, crowd-sourcing is arguably the most effective method of correlating the terms of classification with the language of user enquiry. In this scenario, novelty need not represent a threat to retrieval or discovery. Tina Gross noted (2017) that the "Illegal aliens" "case is a good illustration that there is often no 'right' choice of terminology, just the least problematic for now." Readers have proved themselves capable of navigating language as a moving target, and might expect their finding aids to keep up.

Folksonomies can be broad or narrow, depending on how many users are permitted to contribute. Broughton (2010, 57) noted that there is "a political dimension to tagging, based on a robust open source culture, where tagging was perceived as democratic and under the control of the users, as opposed to controlled vocabularies and other standards which are representative of authority and institutional power."

But there is no guarantee that an uncontrolled vocabulary will naturally arrive at a common language hospitable to all subjects in equal measure. The question then arises of how to reconcile "nonce" which, etymologically speaking, refers to a one-off, with the useful uniformity of standardised library classification. The system of subject headings lends itself well to a "tagging" philosophy, because "*LCSH*, like love, is not rationed" (Broughton 2015, 114). Hospitality in this medium relies on supervision and broad participation to distribute the influence of what Peters and Stock identify as "power tags," elsewhere described as "heavily used tags that have broad consensus," as well as ""tail tags," which reveal minority views but are nevertheless useful for those minorities" (Broughton 2010, 61). Their research suggests that popular terms act as prompts, and that popularity has a tendency towards uniformity and therefore might act as a self-imposed form of vocabulary control.

Guy and Tonkin (2006, 12:1) listed the "folksonomic flaw[s]" of this kind of tagging: "tags are often ambiguous, overly personalized and inexact … The majority of tags are generally believed to be "single-use"; that is, to appear only once in the database of tags ... There is little or no synonym ... or homonym ... control." It is clear that classification requires intervention when the authority to suggest terminology is distributed more democratically, and

part of the responsibility of libraries is to intervene and create a common language.

The solution, perhaps, is a hybrid between a folksonomy and its curation; a balance that might be called an "emergent thesaurus" (Broughton 2015, 358-59). Broughton recorded the effect of an emergent thesaurus, when "tagging activity tend[s] to converge towards a standard that develops over a period of time." Chan (2017) argued that *LCSH* might serve as a "basis or core" of a "metathesaurus" that could be "used to supplement and complement keyword searching to enhance retrieval results." This form of "tacit agreement" could provide the necessary flexibility to help each reader find their book and each book its reader (Broughton 2015, 359).

In this sense, introducing the semantic to the social might improve the political function of the folksonomic system. There are aspects of institutional control that remain useful for extending the bounds of hospitality; these are structural aspects, such as faceting, which allow for plurality in the form of combination. Pattern and predictability allow a user to infer unknown information, which creates the kind of flexibility that might enable a scheme to accommodate future linguistic developments. Institutional authority might privilege those in power, but an analytico-synthetic system of faceting provides structural hospitality that can broaden exponentially. If constructed to allow multiple combinations, a faceted classification scheme can afford more possibilities than the one-dimensional accumulation of crowd-sourced suggestions or tags. In this sense, a scheme which successfully garners cultural warrant from folk terminology and organises that vocabulary into a faceted structure might create a hospitable environment for a troubling subject, governed by what Adrienne Rich named (1993, 7) "The drive / to connect. The dream of a common language."

10.0 Conclusion

This article questions how far classification might travel and what it can let in. In relation to "Illegal aliens" at the Library of Congress, my analysis suggests that *LCSH* is not suitable for automatic global application, and that the Library's conflicted loyalties, bearing obligations to both the American people and the American legislature, compromise its ability to classify. It is a scheme devised within national boundaries and applied internationally, and these conflicts of loyalty (to readers or lawyers, to the US or the world) reveal borders that are enforced but unstable. The taxonomy of "Illegal aliens" is hostile to the extent that the subjects the term refers to have so far proved impossible to classify, and the resulting campaign to remedy this problem provoked an amendment process that has now ground to a silent and unsatisfactory halt. The lack of res-

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olution is telling; it exposes the political work that library classifications perform, and the institutional response they can inspire when their message contradicts that of government legislation. My reading of this case study seeks to exploit this revelation of subjectivity within library terminology, and to imagine ways in which this political faculty might be harnessed to better articulate the subjects that the current system declares impossible, illegal and alien.

The major schemes used in libraries around the western world are hindered when their hierarchies view migration as subordinate to criminality, and when their claims to universal neutrality naturalise the category of the nation-state. My work is limited to classification schemes used in English-speaking countries; this topic should be extended further, to assess the challenges that migration might pose to multilingual schemes and the translation of moving subjects. A local scheme that can take the fallible stance of adopting its subjects' perspectives will better serve its readers' information needs. What classification schemes lack in contemporary natural language accumulation, they make up for in their use of faceted structures and the power of pattern to accommodate the as-yet unknown.

The vocabulary of classification employs metaphors of human movement (locality) and welcome (hospitality), which suggests that the quality of a scheme might lie in the terms that it does not yet contain and the generosity with which it is willing to accommodate new subjects. In this respect, migration might be the perfect subject with which to assess whether a scheme has the structural stamina to remould itself for posterity, in a gesture of ethical and ontological *xenia*, or whether a rigid lack of foresight will render its bibliographic descriptions a hostile environment long-term. Rather than implicitly declaring some subjects impossible, libraries might make these concerns central to the structure of classification; a scheme that is hospitable enough to fully accommodate the migrant subject will be in the strongest position to anticipate future innovation, change and movement.

One response to a difficult subject is a scheme that is open to adaptation, which has a warrant that is derived from a folksonomic call for contributions; a vernacular learned at the subject's source. Such a commitment to cultural and ethical warrant acknowledges the power of libraries to initiate and educate. This strategy represents a linguistic methodology of hope, in which the ideas of today might be the classification of tomorrow, and our current authorities are borne from imaginative expressions of the past. It acknowledges that warrant works in both directions, and that library classifications have the cultural sway to legitimise policy and naturalise judgement. A classification scheme's authority does not prevent its fallibility and a system's fallibility does not preclude its use; so whatever the politics behind the taxonomy, a baseless term

could come to pass, eventually, as fact. A folksonomic understanding of warrant recognises the potential for classification to reinforce a hostile environment or dismantle it, because language is performative and, if it has enough authority, might function as a spell.

Notes

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5. 115th Con. Rec, 1st Session, no. 76. (2017).
6. See note 4 above.
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