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Mapping Perversion: HQ71, etc.

A nation's greatness lies in its possibility of
achievement in the present, and nothing helps it more
than the consciousness of achievement in the past.

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, "American Ideals"

The problem with reason is that it works
in the service of passion.

—JOHN K. NOYES, *The Mastery of Submission*

Classification is often regarded as synonymous with categorization and taxonomies, but *bibliographic* classification in libraries has a distinct meaning and purpose, which concerns the physical location of library materials, that is, the placement of items on library shelves. Think of it as a geographical code. A class determines the call number—the notation stamped on the spine of the volume and in the corresponding catalog record, directing patrons to the book. A class also brings topically related materials together—a process called collocation—ideally placing similar books in the same section, according to where they fit within a given discipline. Bibliographic classification can be conceived of as a sorting mechanism—a way of drawing associations and relationships across methodologically or substantively similar things. Whereas the previous chapters focused on the terminologies used for sexual perversion and labeling, this chapter interrogates the spatial dispersal of subjects as well as the ways in which printed texts bear the classification marks on their spines. Library classifications distribute hierarchies along a linear path, arranging books in a shelflist order. A book can only ever occupy one space in a library, so definitive decisions must be made with regard to the discipline and topic of texts. Being anything but

arbitrary, classifications draw materials together and then divide them up by topic, carving out disciplinary norms and attachments.

Bibliographic classification presents particular challenges that other taxonomies don't necessarily face. While the acts of naming and cross-referencing are clearly political, the act of positioning a subject on a specific shelf in relation to other texts is decisively so. Although various classificatory processes are entirely enmeshed, at play in the hands of the same political and social mechanisms, there are particularities of shelf classifications that have their own histories and merit a distinct account and methodology.

It is this type of classification that resulted in the placement of Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet* in the section on American literature with the class designation PS374.H63, as described in the first pages of this book. Figure 10 reveals how the cataloging practices enacted on Sedgwick's entire body of work has dispersed her books across the library. The list of subject definitions for the locations at which her works are placed provides a glimpse of some of the questions at play regarding how a classification functions. First, looking only to those books for which the LoC's catalog indicates Sedgwick is an author or editor, we see that her corpus is mostly spread across the language and literature section, with books in general literature, linguistics, American literature, and English literature. A few of Sedgwick's books reside in a section for individual authors within American literature (PS3569.E316), indicating that she is considered an author of literary works and that literature written by her, as well as critical works about her, should be placed there. It is a bit curious that of the books she has written, these items and only these items—*Fat Art*, *Thin Art* (a book of poetry) and two books of essays, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* and *The Weather in Proust*—have been placed in the class created by and for her name. The secondary works *Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick* (Routledge, 2008), by Jason Edwards, and *Regarding Sedgwick: Essays on Queer Culture and Critical Theory* (Routledge, 2002), edited by Stephen M. Barber and David L. Clark, are also shelved in PS3569.E316, as they are considered literary criticism and are organized around Sedgwick's literature. Why are these and only these shelved at this location? One could certainly argue that it would make sense to shelve all of her books and many of the secondary books together under her name. Where Sedgwick's work is considered to be *about* literature rather than having the status of literature itself, we find her books distributed around the discipline, resulting in the spread of her work across the P, PN, PR, and PS sections.

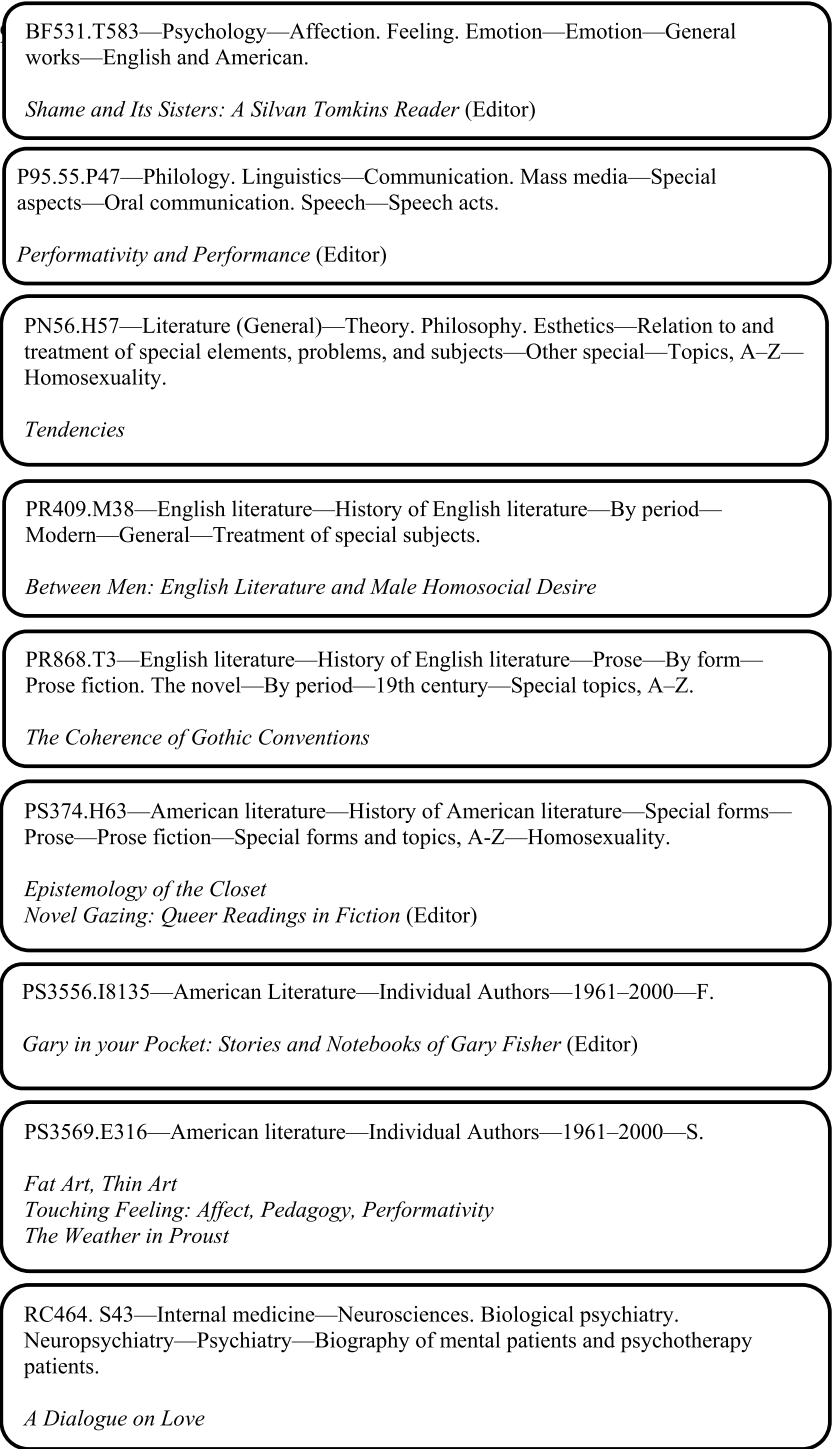


Figure 10. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s works.

We begin to realize her cross-disciplinary reach when we consider her essay in a book on breast cancer, shelved in medicine in the R section, and the placement of the Silvan Tomkins reader, edited by Sedgwick and Andrew Parker, in psychology, in the B section. I wonder what Sedgwick might think about the placement of *Dialogue on Love* (a memoir based on her psychotherapy sessions) in RC464. S43, the section for internal medicine, specifically defined as “Neurosciences. Biological psychiatry. Neuropsychiatry—Psychiatry—Biography of mental patients and psychotherapy patients.” Why wouldn’t this literary memoir be placed in the section that seems to be trying to collocate her work under her name? Surely, the placement in internal medicine is unlikely to facilitate discovery through browsing for most Sedgwick readers. This is not to say that a conversation is not to be had with medicine. I mean, rather, to point out that the library’s choice is decisive and that it carries political weight and consequences and gives us important information about the disciplinary imagination. When we consider that only one choice is allowed, we necessarily have to think in terms of a “best” choice. Catalogers typically strive to anticipate the needs and information-seeking habits of readers, and potential readers of *Dialogue on Love* are likely to have varying interests or investments in the text. While some are interested in Sedgwick’s body of work and might expect it to be found with her books in the literature sections, other readers might be more inclined to consider this a psychoanalytic text, which would mean that the book would be shelved in the B section, along with other books on psychoanalysis, psychology, and philosophy. It seems that this particular cataloger viewed this to be of interest primarily to people reading about medical psychiatry.

Figure 11 illustrates my attempt to gain a physical sense of where Sedgwick’s books are located. To gather an understanding of the relations among the books in these ranges, I jotted down all the call numbers for her books and went hunting for them in the stacks. Retrieving all of Sedgwick’s books from the University of Kentucky library proved to be a strenuous exercise: It involved traversing three floors of the library and a number of wings within those floors. (In another library, this exercise may be more or less daunting, depending on the size and scope of the collection and the layout of the stacks. *Dialogue on Love*, for instance, might be in an entirely different library building for the medical sciences.) My quest also revealed that the system is so hierarchically refined that it confuses. For as much as it aims to standardize and guide a logical placement of books on shelves for retrieval, the wide array of subdivisions within disciplines results in a system that fails to collocate. For example, special topics in American literature are

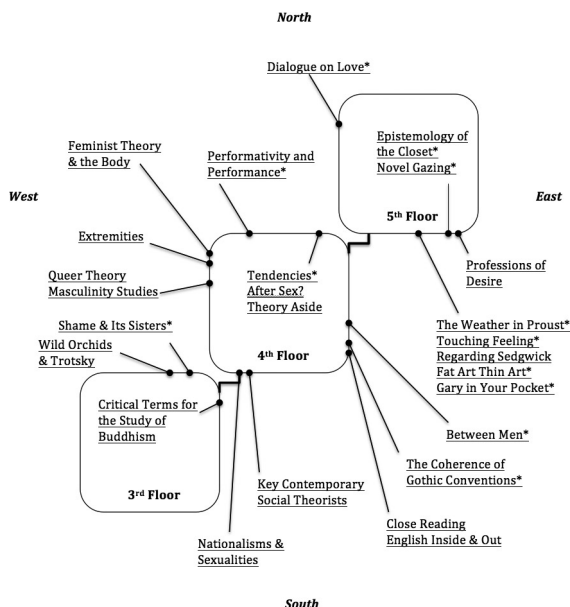


Figure 11. Map of Sedgwick's works in the University of Kentucky Library.

organized alphabetically, so books on homosexuality are housed between books on homicide and horror tales. The books in this section are quite a distance away from books on homosexuality in English literature and in general literature—at the University of Kentucky, for instance, those are on different floors of the library.

Given that Sedgwick protested the placement of *Epistemology of the Closet*, it bears asking whether it would fit better within another class. While I resist the idea that there can be one best choice, I would suggest that there were better alternatives available to catalogers at the time of the publication of *Epistemology of the Closet*. For example, PN56.H57, reserved for homosexuality within the section on theory, philosophy, and esthetics in general literature (and where *After Sex?: On Writing Since Queer Theory*, edited by Janet Halley and Andrew Parker, and *Tendencies* are located), is currently home to sixty-six works at the Library of Congress. The class was available at least as early as 1978, so a budding body of literature would have been present in that location when the book was first cataloged.¹ A class dedicated for the specific topic of homosexuality within modern English literature was not available at the time but was added five years later. This might provide a clue as to why *Epistemology of the Closet* was placed with American literature rather than English literature. While this is pure

speculation, I like to think that perhaps the cataloger privileged the concept of homosexuality over geography, and as a subdivision for the special topic of homosexuality was available in American literature but not in English literature, the book ended up there. By contrast, Sedgwick's *Between Men*, published ahead of *Epistemology* in 1985, was placed in a category of general special topics within modern English literature.

Reading the library shelves invites a particularly fruitful conversation for doing the history of the development of queer theory. The history of scholarship on sexuality is made visible through the history of cataloging with Sedgwick's and her interlocutors' works. The changes in cataloging norms and the addition of classes over time reveal the discomfort and confusion inherent in the emergence of queer studies. This not only illustrates one way to do the history of queer theory; it also tells a story about the history of homosexuality in the United States—in American literature and in terms of how the nation was writing sexuality into its history. Indeed, the LoC's insistence on placing *Epistemology of the Closet* in American literature rather than English literature is a statement that says this book *belongs* in and to American literature.

Organizing a National History

Foucault tells us that the histories of madness, psychology, and sexuality were all made possible by the division between normal and abnormal.² The epistemic cut between reason and nonreason enabled a system of limits that designated what is allowed and desirable and what is prohibited and cast out of history. These divisions also made possible the construction of the history of nation-states, by setting up a grid upon which citizenries are organized. I take the Library of Congress Classification to be a frame upon which the United States has constructed its history. The classification totalizes the library's bibliographic world, rendering the library a "space of corporal reality, and space of social order."³ It is in the bibliographic classification that organizes books on the shelves where we most acutely observe the disciplinary apparatus and its divisions at work. It serves as an architectural technique in carving out certain truths about American history and the history of sexuality.

I am drawing upon Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power, particularly as articulated in *Discipline and Punish*, the 1975/1976 lectures at the Collège de France published as *Society Must Be Defended*, and his research on governmentality to explain the place of the Library of Congress and its bibliographic classification in U.S. history and history making. While

critics have argued that Foucault underestimates the significance of the state in his account of governmentality, I find his analysis indispensable for this project because the Library of Congress plays a unique role as both a state and cultural institution.⁴ Foucault does not deny the significance of the state; rather, he insists that to privilege the state in analyses of power relations is a mistake and that “power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power.”⁵ An account of library classifications both deepens and challenges Foucault’s claims about governmentality. The Library of Congress’s role in the workings of the federal government seems to be overshadowed by the fact that it provides access to cultural objects and knowledge. Librarianship’s claims to equity of access and freedom to read in the name of democracy mask the role of libraries in reproducing the dominance of certain discourses and groups.⁶ And I imagine it is fair to say that most people who visit academic and public libraries do not give much thought to the fact that these places are state apparatuses. However, as members of the bureaucratic intelligentsia, the crafters of the classifications systems at the LoC not only propelled the high modernist ideology of scientific and technological progress, but they did so out of a sense of responsibility to the U.S. Congress and its public. Indeed, librarians of all types in the Progressive Era United States viewed their role to be vital in educating, protecting, and informing the citizenry, and libraries were sites that advanced social progress and reform.

I am not the first to note the library’s resemblance to the model described by Jeremy Bentham as the Panopticon, a schema for obtaining the “power of mind over mind,” but here I want to extend this model to convey the way in which institutions acquire and wear this mask of good will.⁷ Panopticism extends far beyond prison walls to schools, factories, hospitals, and, of course, libraries. Foucault construes it as a model or “a diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form.”⁸ Key to the functioning of the economy of a panoptic institution is a structure that places the eye of power and authority in the center, with a view of all of its subjects—keeping order and ensuring maximum efficiency of operations. Figure 12 reveals an uncanny resemblance between the prison and the Library of Congress, recalling images that appear in *Discipline and Punish*. Librarians are seated at the circulation desk in the center, with a view of all the readers as well as the books shelved in alcoves (cells). Bentham believed there was no risk that the power of the machine might become tyrannical because the prison was a public institution to which visitors were invited. The

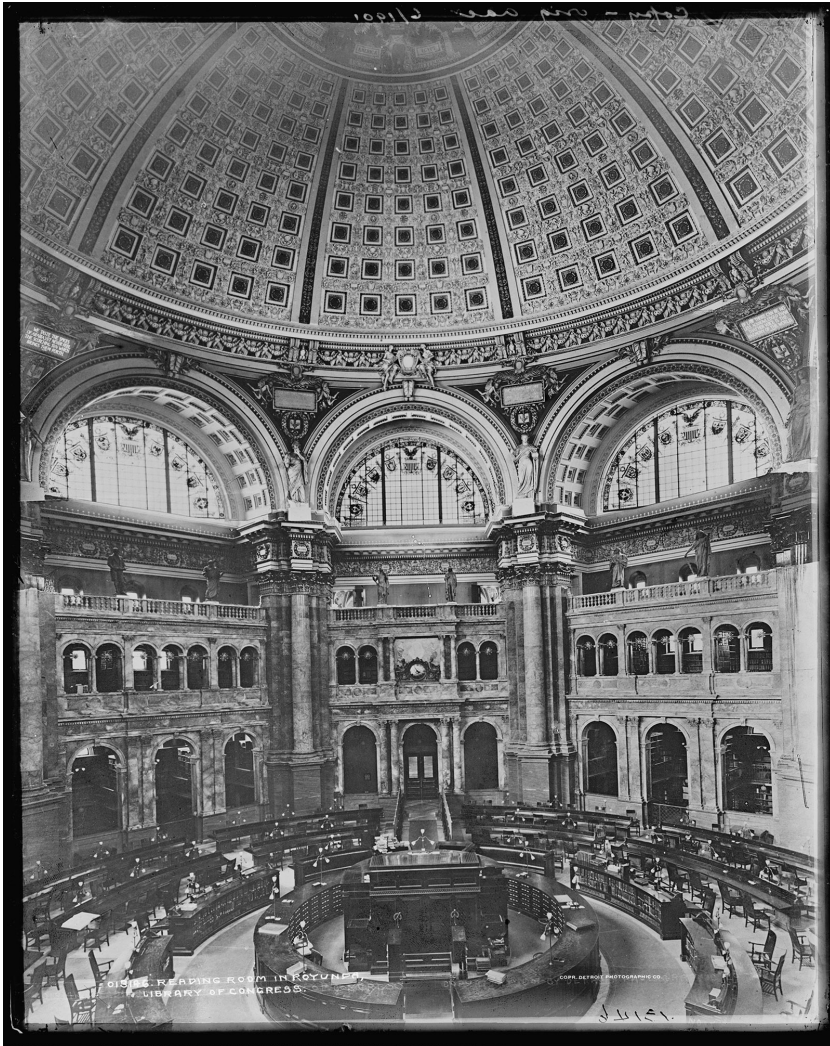


Figure 12. Reading Room in rotunda, Library of Congress, 1901. *Source:* Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress). Reproduction number: LC-DIG-det-4a08613. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/det1994005030/PP/>.

public would essentially keep things in check, assuring democratic rule. This illusion of democracy sustains the power relation, further circulating sanctioned notions of disciplining, so that visitors will then carry such ideas out into the world, repeat them, and reinforce and extend the reach of the disciplinary apparatus. According to Foucault, Bentham envisioned

a way to “unlock” the disciplines so they would function throughout the entire social body, allowing the whole society to be “penetrated through and through with disciplinary mechanisms.”⁹ It is the articulation and distribution of the various dispositions and linkages of power in all the arms of government, populations, and political economy that gives it force.

Similarly, the Library of Congress views its mission as supporting democracy through the provision of information, and it promotes itself as a public cultural institution that works in the interest of the U.S. citizenry.¹⁰ Libraries are held in the minds of the public to be a benefit to society, particularly because they promote egalitarian ideals with regard to access. And as they are open to the public there is a mostly unchallenged perception that they not only promote democracy but also operate democratically and justly. Studying the classification problematizes such a position: It reveals the various ways in which access is granted by systems that produce and sustain norms, margins, and exclusions. It ultimately reveals this institution to be circulating disciplinary discourses in ways that Foucault has identified in and outside of Bentham’s panoptic prison.

The Library of Congress embodies, in a very real sense, the ensemble of discourses that contribute to modern governmentality, as it contains knowledge from all the disciplines and many parts of the world in one institution. Legal, political, literary, medical, technical, scientific, religious, and historical texts, as well as photographs and maps and art and sound recordings, are all centralized in this space. The extent to which its classificatory standards are repeated in libraries around the globe, numbering in the thousands of locations, means that a vast and powerful network of cultural and intellectual institutions reproduces these norms. Enacted in rulebooks and applied in the catalog, the terms for norms and their binary oppositions are reiterated over and over, naturalizing and normalizing discourses, creating a cycle of prohibition that authorizes certain ways of speaking and disallowing unacceptable speech and subjects. Seemingly nonpolitical institutions like our academic and public libraries provide access to information via these systems. At the same time, the Library of Congress is directly tied to the state, as the literatures it houses have been selected and organized so as to serve the U.S. Congress and the nation’s interests. According to the website for the United States House of Representatives: “The Library’s stated mission is to support the Congress in fulfilling its constitutional duties and to further the progress of knowledge and creativity for the benefit of the American people.”¹¹ It must be understood as a state institution, and its classifications as state apparatuses. The Library of Congress is quite literally attached to the U.S. Capitol by an underground

tunnel for efficient delivery of documents to members of Congress. Wendy Brown explains: "While governmentality in general includes the organization and deployment of space, time, intelligibility, thought, bodies, and technologies to produce governable subjects, the governmentalization of the state both incorporates these tactical concerns into state operations and articulates with them in other, nonstate domains."¹² Indeed, according to James C. Scott, one of the ways that the state made its categories stick was by embedding them in institutions that structure experience and daily life.¹³ Brown argues that what is lacking in Foucault's analysis is the recognition that the state gives a certain legitimizing weight to the organization of subjects.¹⁴ Such is the case in libraries, as the state has not only funded and supported the LoC, but the library serves the mission of the state, and arguably, it is the state that gives the Library of Congress and its standards the legitimacy and authority by which it has extended itself to this vast network of libraries and other information agencies around the world.

Foucault suggests that the selection, organization, and centralization of knowledge—as well as its division—brought about the possibility of the modern state. He locates the emergence of French universities at around the same time as the formation of the disciplines, in the early nineteenth century, and describes the processes by which the disciplines were used to construct a particular kind of historical discourse that fortified the state. In other words, the state acquired knowledge and used it in such a way that allowed "the State to talk about itself."¹⁵ Foucault cites postrevolutionary France, a nation that had recently been unified, to illustrate the use of history to secure the universality of the state. In his analysis, this transition took form not in war but in civilian discourse and institutions. No longer was the state primarily driven by a will toward domination, but instead its primary struggle was precisely this "striving toward the universality of the State," and that struggle would take place in the economy, governance, and public institutions.¹⁶ The parallels between Foucault's account of French history and that of the United States are too striking to overlook. Foucault's reliance on Augustin Thierry in his interpretation of postrevolutionary political conditions surely resonates with American Civil War historians: "We believe ourselves to be a nation, but we are two nations within one land, two nations which are enemies because of what they remember and because their projects are irreconcilable: one once conquered the other."¹⁷ In the American context, one can look to Theodore Roosevelt's writings about American patriotism to find just how urgently felt was the need for a unified nation composed of an upright citizenry during the Progressive Era. One gathers the sense that the United States was on the

brink of collapse in 1894 when Roosevelt proclaimed that the citizenry must be broadly American and national rather than local or parochial. He wrote in his essay "True Americanism" that "we must soberly set to work to find out all we can about the existence and extent of every evil, must acknowledge it to be such, and must then attack it with unyielding resolution. There are many such evils, and they each must be fought after a separate fashion; yet there is one quality which we must bring to the solution of every problem—that is, an intense and fervid Americanism."¹⁸ Foucault marks the French postwar condition as bearing a grid of intelligibility upon which the construction of the national state relied. Similarly, in the years after the U.S. Civil War and Reconstruction and during the construction of the library's Jefferson building and creation of the Library of Congress Classification, unification under the banner of Americanism was the highest ideal.

The LoC moved into its new building, established collection development priorities, and created the scaffold upon which those collections would be organized not long after the American Civil War and precisely during the Spanish–American War. The country was undergoing its own transition in becoming a universalized state and expanding its empire, and the Library of Congress took on a new role in figuring the nation by organizing a national history. Foucault explains that in this kind of moment, the present becomes "the moment of the greatest intensity, the solemn moment when the universal makes its entry into the real."¹⁹

In the United States, the Library of Congress became the site where knowledge was disciplined and divided so that it could facilitate and secure the foundation upon which the nation was built, and the organization of knowledge into this universal system must be read as part of this process of constructing a history of the present in a particular moment. The library collected the world's knowledge in order to inform domestic and diplomatic relations, and its formulation of categories and standardized practice to get "a handle on its subjects" mirrors and records the state's broader project of regulating its citizenry and conducting foreign relations.²⁰ Foucault notes that the version of history created at the moment of the consolidation of the nation-state assembled a past that privileged the present, and I would argue that perhaps even more interesting is the way in which the classification froze that present and organized the future. We continue to build upon and expand that structure that reinforces and further embeds the divisions set forth 115 years ago. Imagined as exemplary of the Enlightenment ideal of a rational classification, the system confirms the universality of the state, unifying divisions of knowledge within this

massive cultural institution. As this system was designed at the dawn of the twentieth century, it reflected not only the literature of the time but also the librarians' interpretations of that literature and the strivings of officers of the state. While it is important to situate the formation of the classification in the Progressive Era in the United States, it is equally important to consider the ways in which this point of view is reproduced over space and time and how this system figures into knowledge organization in the twenty-first century. It is necessary to consider how aspirations to uniformity have been part of a larger project intended to shape and monitor a citizenry, as well as how they have been an instrument of imperialism and domination, within and outside of the United States.

Diagramming the Library—"A Map of Destiny"

Discipline, according to Foucault, begins with the deployment of technologies to distribute individuals in space, or, in Jean-Luc Nancy's terms, a "*techne* of the creation of bodies."²¹ The purposes of such mechanisms are to control and identify individuals most efficiently by transforming "the confused, useless or dangerous multitudes into ordered multiplicities."²² First among these techniques is enclosure, "the protected place of disciplinary monotony."²³ Libraries, whether enclosed by walls or other restrictive measures, function to close off a protected space for the books.²⁴ But for discipline to operate, enclosure is not a constant or indispensable requirement. Rather, the cornerstone for disciplinary control is the act of partitioning: "Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual."²⁵ The purposes of partitioning a disciplinary space are many, including the provision of assessing, locating, knowing, and mastering individuals, and preventing their "diffuse circulation."²⁶ Partitioning also ensures that bodies are brought together in the most useful ways and prevents a dangerous mixing of types or ideas. What matters most for disciplinary power to work, though, is that each body is defined by its rank—"the place one occupies in a classification, the point at which a line and a column intersect."²⁷ Disciplinary classifications, in Foucault's view, distribute and derive as many uses as possible from the multiplicity of bodies by describing and analyzing individuals but also by ordering them within a collective body politic.

The operations involved in classifying perversion in the library are so layered and complex that it becomes next to impossible to comprehend the mechanisms and their effects without sitting down with maps and building designs and diagrams of bookshelves and networks, all with an eye toward

the relations of power through which they are constructed and function and the configurations and conversations they make possible. Foucault admitted (after some resistance to his geographer interviewer) that geography is at the heart of his questions—he said that it acts as “the condition of possibility for the passage between a series of factors I tried to relate.”²⁸ Not only are metaphors of territory and domains critical to Foucault’s and my questions, but our analyses absolutely rely upon the conceptualization of power relations as the dispersal of knowledge and subjects over space.

To understand the mechanisms and reach of the classification, I rely on images in the forms of maps, diagrams, photographs, and drawings to illustrate the ways in which the Library of Congress, by constructing an assemblage of statements about sexual perversion, has produced peculiar bodies of literature. I lean on Foucault and Deleuze for guidance in displaying the social fields as drawn out by the classification by conceptualizing it as a diagram. For both Foucault and Deleuze, the diagram illustrates how lines cross through time and space and institutions and categories, all composing and providing the scaffolding that constitute and sustain power relations. The diagram is never complete and is always unstable and evolving, producing a model of truth. It is “a map of destiny” laying out the relations of forces and the possibilities for becoming.²⁹ Understanding a classification as a diagram that maps out possibilities for what bodies of literature can become helps us dismantle the illusions of disciplinarity.

Deleuze locates a critical distinction between discursive and nondiscursive formations in Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish*, where the discursive elements involve statements and the nondiscursive has to do with environment. The environment and the statements speak back to one another, making the other possible. Or as Michel de Certeau might put it, the classificatory apparatus is needed to write the law onto bodies, to make those bodies “demonstrate the rule,” transforming individual bodies into a body politic. A series of apparatuses works in concert to organize a social space by both separating and linking bodies and texts. By following the rule of law, bodies then demonstrate and reproduce the rule in an “epistemologico-juridical formation.”³⁰ In the case of the library, we would speak of the books, the statements about the books, and the library architecture and space. The books on the shelves, arranged according to the classification system, demonstrate the rule, supplying the proof that it applies. The law is set by the disciplinary norms; the apparatus is the classification; the body is the corpus of books. The library environment provides the very public reproductive space for norms and deviations. The classification serves as

a rulebook for librarians to follow, designating how a knowledge can be organized: "To tell the truth, they become bodies only by conforming to these codes."³¹

To classify is to make a statement. A library arranged according to a classification system is a series of statements: "___ book is about ___," and "___ belongs to ___ discipline," *ad infinitum*. The space, or environment, is defined by architectures, of which there are many in the library. Understood as an "ensemble of frames, vectors, and abstract lines," the function of architecture is connection.³² The organization of the library building, the lines of library shelves, the information architecture that enables findability in the catalog and on the web, and the networks that connect libraries to one another and the public are each diagrammable. The map allows us to see "how we spatially organize our surrounding space and, by extension, how we organize our thoughts. . . . The map should be perceived as lines and traits that connect the mental landscape to the outside world in an interweaving network."³³ It also reveals the possibilities for encounters between books and their readers through the articulation and distribution of the various dispositions and linkages of power in the economy that gives it its force.³⁴

One can diagram the Library of Congress Classification in a variety of ways, as there are seemingly endless angles from which to analyze it: its architecture—the hierarchies and lines; the collections it organizes; the time period during which it was created; its purpose; its uses—past, present and future; its technologies; the laws, codes, and notations through which the classification is comprised and articulated. To apprehend the extent and implications of the intermingling of forces and functions, one has to account for both the space and the statements. We might begin at the center of the Library of Congress Main Reading Room—the circulation desk, occupied by the librarian, who keeps watch over the reading room, where patrons place requests, ask questions, and put the machine into action. LoC patrons have always requested books at the reference or circulation desk, or "issuing desk," as it was called in 1900 (today requests can also be made online). A request sends a series of library workers on a quest to locate the desired book and present it to the reader. Behind the scenes are an astonishing 838 miles of bookshelves, holding a total of 36 million books and print materials of various forms.³⁵ The newer buildings—the Madison and Adams buildings—are connected to the Jefferson Building through underground tunnels, as is the nation's Capitol, and a number of facilities house materials offsite.

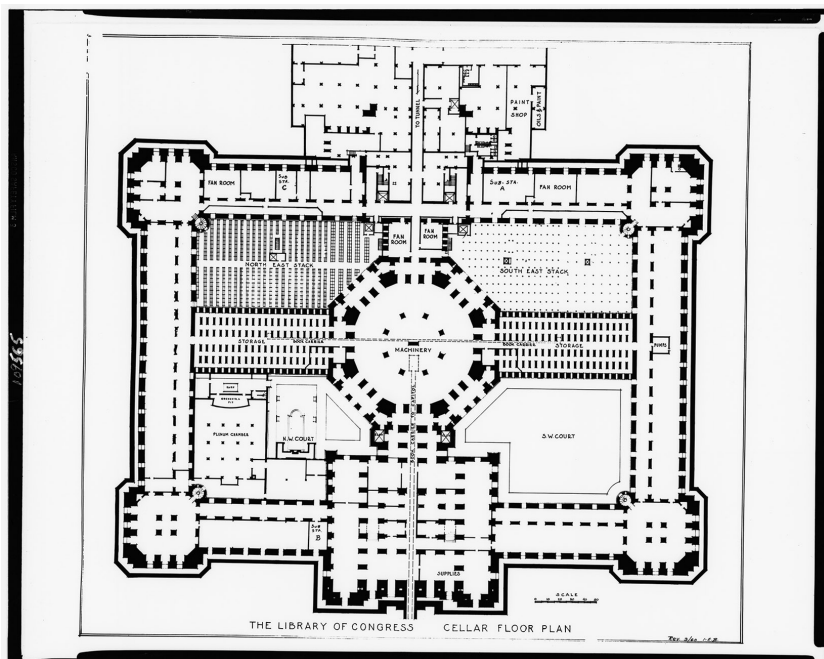


Figure 13. Library of Congress. Alterations to the Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Building, Washington, D.C. Cellar floor plan. *Source:* Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress). Reproduction number: LC-USZ62-109565. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002719566/>.

Figure 13 is a representation of the Library of Congress's cellar floor as drafted in an architectural plan. The reading room floor above this shares the same basic outlines, with the seat of authority at the center, surrounded by the books and patrons. Libraries of virtually all sizes and shapes imitate the panoptic design of the Library of Congress, as they map knowledge in nearly identical sequences along their shelves. Large universities will have multiple library buildings specializing in particular disciplines spread across campuses, and variations on floor plans abound. Still, the critical disciplinary mechanism at work is the Library of Congress Classification, which structures the possibilities for assigning works to a location. More important, though, is how these architectures delimit and support the relationships among cataloged works. The diagram is repeated across localities, with some variation in form and content. In function, however, these replications of the abstract machine organize and discipline knowledge, operating as sites in the network where normative sexualities are distrib-

uted to the public. They are in every sense local extensions of the state and cultural apparatus.

Bibliographic classifications, subject headings, other classificatory techniques, and their attendant/enabling technologies operate in concert, by way of particularly insidious architectures that reside beneath the hood of the library catalog at the level of the database, and these techniques also govern how the books are displayed to the eye. The panoptic eye is simultaneously inside the system, disciplining and correcting subjects and seeing to it that authority headings and classes are in control, and outside looking in. Although the authority records do not perform the surveillance function in the way that algorithms and big data on the web do, authority control is happening at a series of levels, from inside the catalog, in the cataloging department, and at the Library of Congress, where the classifications and terms are designed and decided upon by the Policy and Standards Office. And though the control happens at every local point, the overarching control mechanism is far from localized: This function is repeated worldwide, and every instance is connected to the other through library networks. Standards ensure continuity across every system, but their deployment may vary from library to library, as each has its own multiplicity—its own collection, its own lines of shelves, its own purposes for which decisions about where to place materials may happen on a book-by-book basis. In other words, “among the discursive elements there are also whole families or formations of statements, whose catalogue is open-ended and subject to constant change.”³⁶ The overall effect is to enforce equivalent statements about social norms through a vast network of knowledge organization systems.

A single catalog record is distributed and copied across a gigantic library network called WorldCat. The 72,000 member libraries can download to local systems complete catalog records produced by other member libraries. As of January 2016, WorldCat contained over 360 million records in 485 different languages.³⁷ In 2012, the number of LoC-produced records in the WorldCat database was over 11 million, and although the number of libraries using LCSH or LC Classification is impossible to know, we do know that they (along with the Dewey Decimal System) are the most widespread subject standards in libraries across the globe. The Library of Congress’s Linked Data service is expanding the possibilities for adopting LCSH, LCC, and other standards. It is by way of this vastly powerful machine that the possibilities drawn by the Library of Congress are replicated across U.S. libraries and beyond.³⁸

Diagramming Perversion

Gayle Rubin vividly diagrammed a “sex hierarchy” in her 1984 essay “Thinking Sex,” drawing for her readers the lines and degrees between normal/natural/good sex and abnormal/unnatural/bad sex.³⁹ Inspired by her technique, this section will illustrate how libraries draw similar lines. To show how language maps onto the geography of the library, I have graphed the locations of books with the heading “Paraphilias,” according to when they were published (Figure 14). The HQs are well represented, with most books in the HQ71s but books also distributed across the library—in BF (Psychology), HV (Social pathology), K (Law), P (Language and literature), and R (Medicine). I also draw attention to the temporal aspects of this graph. Some classes are only assigned to works on this subject during specific decades, some are fairly consistently assigned through the decades, and others come and go. For the rest of the chapter, I will focus on HQ71 as this is, in fact, the class designated for paraphilias, but it is important to note that perversion is distributed across various sections of the library.

The photograph in Figure 15 shows a line of books in the HQ71 section of the William T. Young Library at the University of Kentucky, but it could easily be a photograph of the HQ71 section of any research library in the United States. This single photo displays a small segment of a shelf arrangement, but it provides a wealth of information about the regulation of sexual deviance in libraries.

The first thing one probably notices is the titles stamped on the spines, with those in the sharpest contrast standing out among the rest: Roudinesco’s *Our Dark Side* certainly catches the eye, as does Rosewarne’s *Part-Time Perverts* (two of the books described in Chapter 1 as being ones that actively resist medical language). Upon closer examination, you will notice that *Our Dark Side* and *Part-Time Perverts* are nestled between books on child sexual abuse and incest, which sit between two copies of *Problems of Sex Behavior*.⁴⁰ A bit farther down is a book that actually includes the term “paraphilias” in the title—with wavy script, perhaps to signify disorientation or deviance—conjoined with sex crimes. Even from the titles we glean a variety of perspectives on sexual “deviance,” including Rosewarne’s reclaiming of “perverts,” the associations across problems and crime and child molesters, the use of the terms “deviance” and “paraphilias,” and the elusive “dark side.”

What may be less obvious from this view of the static positioning of books is the intermingling of temporalities. *Problems of Sex Behavior* was

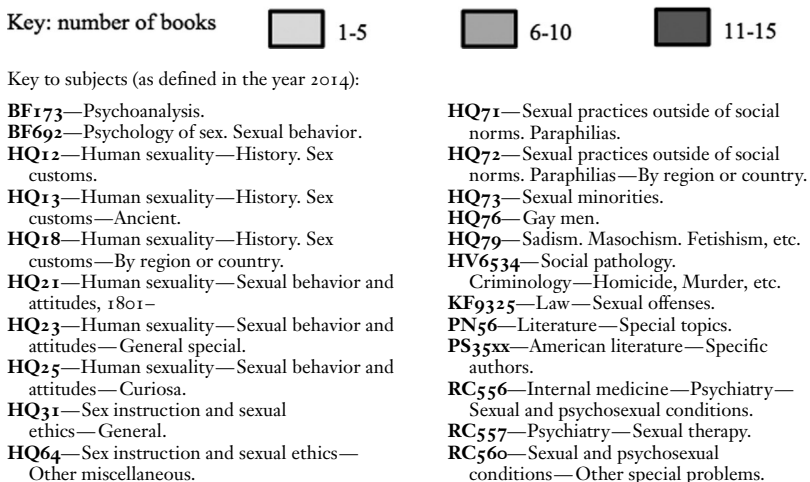
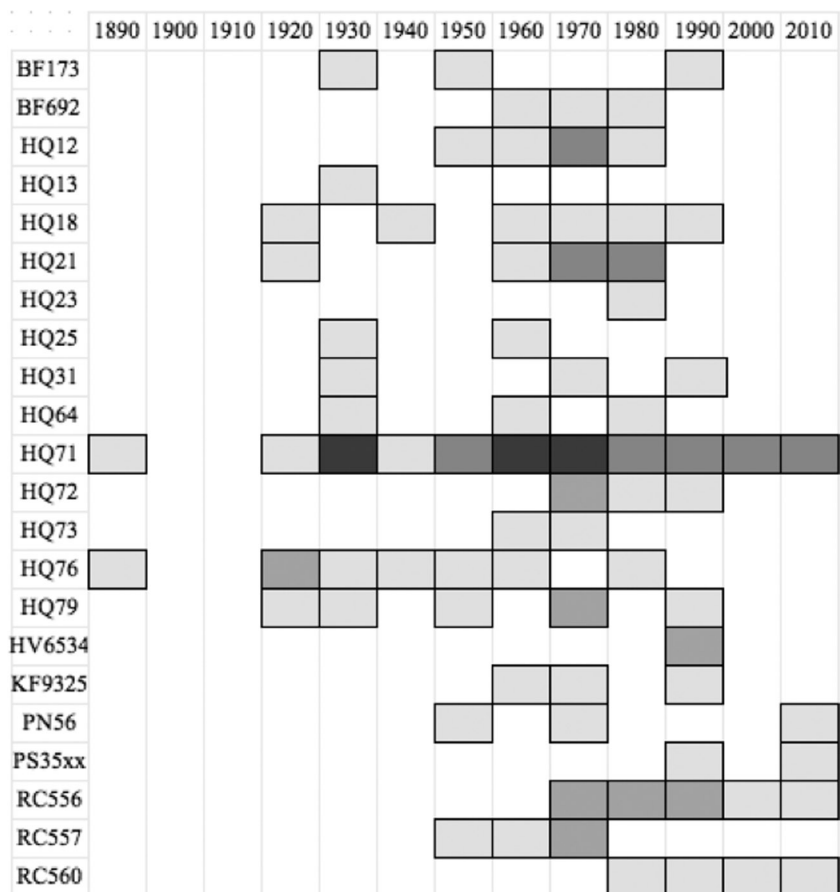


Figure 14. Books with “Paraphilias” as a subject heading, according to class and decade.

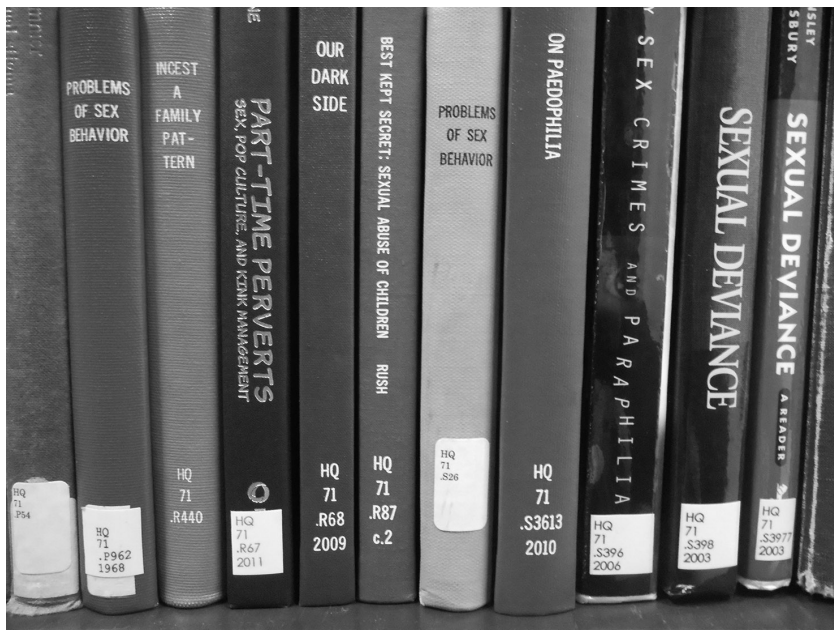


Figure 15. Section of shelving in the HQ71 section at the University of Kentucky.

published in 1968, two of the books were published in the 1980s, and the rest were issued more recently, in the twenty-first century. Other areas of the HQ71s include titles that date back to the nineteenth century, among which are texts that deal with inversion and homosexuality, and Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Attitudes from different eras are mixed with varying attitudes of the present, and all are lumped together in this section of the social sciences that was once called “Abnormal sex relations” and is currently defined as “Sexual practices outside of social norms. Paraphilias.” The caption reflects the change in phrasing corresponding to the LC subject heading. The inclusion of the medical term “Paraphilias” to define a social science classification is problematic for a number of reasons, including those described in the previous chapters. The attitudes presented on the shelves derive not only from different temporal periods but from various disciplinary conventions. The classification reveals how the structure produces and controls certain subjectivities by attributing books to this singular category, reducing them to one particular vector of perversion.

One begins to understand this phenomenon through one of the foundational problems with the Library of Congress Classification: It relies on

the myth of the possibility of a universal classification capable of organizing all bibliographic knowledge.⁴¹ To be sure, at the Library of Congress, classifications were designed not for the entire bibliographic universe but for the knowledge held within the LoC's collection. But the language used by librarians indicates that they viewed it to be universal in scope and design, and the classification reflects this belief. Upon moving into the new building, deliberations began in 1897 to decide on the proper scheme for the LoC, and in 1901 Librarian of Congress Herbert Putnam gave the order to proceed with the Library of Congress Classification system, which remains the predominant classification among academic libraries.⁴² J. C. M. Hanson was responsible for overseeing the creation of the Library of Congress Classification system, and his key contribution to the classification stemmed from his perception of the universe of subjects as a collection of specialized fields.⁴³ No overall logical principle of subject order was adopted, making it appear to be a conglomerate of smaller, more specialized classifications, with variations in logics and patterns. This broke with library tradition, as previous classifiers had tried to find a logical order inherent in the entire universe of subjects. Charles Cutter, for instance, had spoken of arranging subjects according to their "scientific relations."⁴⁴ Presently the Library of Congress system arranges all knowledge into twenty-one classes, each identified by a letter of the alphabet and subdivided by notations made of combinations of numbers and letters.

Hanson appointed subject specialists to create these discipline-specific systems, and he selected Roland P. Falkner, a statistician, to devise an early version of the H classification for the social sciences.⁴⁵ Prior to and after his appointment at the Library of Congress as director of the Division of Documents from 1900 to 1904, Falkner was a professor of statistics, statesman, and census taker. He was also editor of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Sociology*. While professor at the University of Pennsylvania he contributed to U.S. census sections on criminals and prisoners and compiled an 1890 *Statistics of Prisoners* from surveys he designed on the basis of categories he developed. He was also commissioner of education in Puerto Rico (1904–1907), chairman of the Commission of the United States to Liberia (1909), and a member of the Joint Land Commission of the United States and Panama (1913). In 1911 and 1912 he was assistant director of the Census Bureau.⁴⁶

That the present H section of the LC Classification begins with Statistics (HA) and Economics (HB) is hardly a coincidence. Nor is the organization of subjects toward the end of the classification (HV), where we find criminals, people with disabilities, social welfare, and addiction. In

Falkner's original sketch there is no reference to sexuality at all, either in general specialties of Sociology or in "Classes of Persons," which is limited to "Blind and Deaf and Dumb"; "Feeble-minded"; "Indians"; "Criminals"; "Negroes, Freedmen"; and "Poor, The." Such categories resemble those in the census. In describing his method for devising a system for Economics, Falkner stated that the scheme should harmonize as much as possible "with the methods of presenting the subject which are familiar in academic work and which are followed somewhat by writers in general."⁴⁷ The classification does reflect much of the academic literature and how social scientists organized and understood its subjects, but more importantly, it reflects a nation as imagined by a census taker and agent of the state. The version printed in 1910 was worked over and expanded from Falkner's original draft by a number of Library of Congress catalog staff members.

The continued reduction of the human sciences to mathematics over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to a particular form of population assessment and management—the statistical census, organized around various demographic categories, including race. Ian Hacking suggests that, although statistics itself is not a human science, its influence in determining norms within the social sciences has been "immense," as has its role as a "technology of power in a modern state."⁴⁸ Charging Falkner, a statistician, with the task of developing this classification supports Hacking's claim, and the placement of statistics in HA, at the front of the classification, signifies the primacy of statistics in social science research. As Benedict Anderson writes of the significance of census instruments of the late nineteenth century, it "was not in the *construction* of ethnic-racial classifications, but rather in their systematic *quantification*."⁴⁹ In fact, these observations speak directly to Anderson's thesis regarding the ways that the census, map, and museum "shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion."⁵⁰ We might substitute Anderson's museum with the broader concept of memory institution, a category to which libraries surely belong, and we can conclude that the ranking, ordering, and quantification of subjects across categories and mapped onto territories reflect and legitimate an imagined nation. The "fiction of the census"—that each individual can occupy one category—is certainly a problem of the bibliographic classification as well, and each illuminates the ways that the nation conceives of its domain.⁵¹

Initially, the printed version of the classification for the HQ section was quite simple, with rather broad categories (Figure 16). It is worth noting the insistence of the classification for "homosexuality" on the shelves and the concomitant absence of "homosexuality" as a subject heading in the

HQ SOCIAL GROUPS: THE FAMILY. MARRIAGE HQ**Abnormal sex relations.**

- | | |
|----|--|
| 71 | General. Psychopathia sexualis, etc.
Cf. RC 620. |
| 73 | Special. Woman. |
| 76 | Homosexuality. |
| 79 | Sadism, Masochism, Fetishism, etc. |
| | Prostitution. |

Figure 16. LCC, 2nd ed., 1920. Source: Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920). <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001163425>.

catalog for the first half of the century. It is in this difference that we can begin to see the varying purposes of classifications and headings. Whereas headings are intended to foster accessibility by way of searching the catalog, the classification divides, sorts, and disciplines on the shelves. An absence of “homosexuality” in the catalog results in rendering the subject invisible, whereas the division on the shelves clearly delineates normal from abnormal and cuts the latter category further by specifying particular abnormalities. It marks a spatial difference, as well, as the abnormal is linearly subsequent to the normal, most likely on another shelf. Although classes have been added, the classification has changed little since its earliest inception. In fact the placement, notation, and wording used to define the class “Sadism. Masochism. Fetishism, etc.” has remained unchanged since 1910. The text of the classification indicates Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia Sexualis* as exemplary of the types of materials that would be placed here. It seems reasonable to speculate that the Library of Congress would have drawn literary warrant for this structure from that and related works.

HQ73 was designated for the vaguely described class “Special. Woman” under the broader “Abnormal sex relations.” One might surmise that inversion in women was shelved there, as well as other topics about perversion in women. Indeed, a variety of titles on women as sex criminals, perverts, and lesbians are housed in this section, even today. For example, the lesbian magazine *The Ladder*, first published in 1956, is there. The class was completely unused between the years 1974 and 2001, however, as the topic Lesbians was moved to HQ75 in the early 1970s, leaving the class intellectually empty for decades. HQ73 was renamed much later and is now home to works on “sexual minorities.” The older works on “Special. Woman” assigned to HQ73 have not been shifted, so now the class is a mix of very outdated ideas about sexual perversion in women and much more

recent works on sexual minorities, or what are commonly referred to as LGBTQ subjects. A perplexing mix of literature has accumulated in this section, with such titles as *Female Sex Perversion* (1935) and *Woman as a Sexual Criminal* (1934) sitting alongside *Positive View of LGBTQ: Embracing Identity and Cultivating Well-Being* (2012) and *That's So Gay: Microaggressions and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community* (2013). To add more confusion, some early works on sexual relations between women were shelved with the broader HQ71 or HQ76, and there they remain. One work on lesbians is still classed as HQ76, the former class for homosexuality and current class for gay men. And referring back to the graph in Figure 14 we see that a small number of texts assigned the heading "Paraphilias" were classed in HQ73 in the 1960s and 1970s, indicating that as late as the 1970s these classes were associated with sexual deviation and perversion.

In 1972, at the same time that the subject heading "Homosexuality" was removed from "Sexual deviation" (as shown in Chapter 1), librarians were also calling for a removal of "Homosexuality" as a hierarchically related term in the Library of Congress Classification system. The caption for the LC class HQ71 had been changed from "Abnormal sex relations" to "Sexual deviation" in 1966, and the indentation of the printed classification was changed in 1972 so that homosexuality aligned with but was not hierarchically under "Sexual deviation." This speaks directly to Mary K. D. Pietris's correspondence in the Introduction, in which she claims that the current placement of items on the shelves is simply an accident of classification. Homosexuality was classed under abnormal sex relations, right along with sex crimes. Removing the hierarchical relationship from the classification system did not change the arrangement of books on the shelves, and the legacy of the previous arrangement is not wiped away by changing the indentation in the printed classification. It is no accident that books on lesbians and gays are classed adjacent to HQ71. In fact, especially before 1946 but even into the 1980s, some materials about gays and lesbians were classed in the HQ71s and neighboring classes. Again, this pattern is repeated throughout libraries. A case in point is the placement of *Gayspeak* (Pilgrim Press, 1981), a book about communication styles of gays and lesbians, shelved between books on child molestation and sex abuse in HQ72, which is essentially an expansion of the HQ71 section.

When you peruse the HQ71 and HQ72 sections of a research library, you are likely to find shelves lined mostly with texts on child molestation, incest, and sex crimes; historical volumes on sexual perversion and inversion; and a few more recent titles on what some might consider perversions

today—sadism, masochism, fetishism, and so. In the adjoining HQ73, HQ74, HQ75, and HQ76 sections, we find books on bisexuality, lesbians, homosexuality, and gay men. How did things come to be arranged the way they are? Some of this is a matter of history playing out on the shelves, and some of it is simply bad cataloging (as in the placement of biblical teachings about the sin of premarital sex in this category), but all of it is an illustration of inconsistently shifting American attitudes toward sexual perversion over the past 115 years. While it may be alarming and troubling to some patrons, it is no mistake that consensual practices like sadism, masochism, and kink sit beside criminal offenses, including the sexual abuse of children and rape. Nor is it an accident that homosexuality is a neighboring class residing just down the shelf.

The fundamental structure of the classification remains the same as the original, with new classes added and some removed. The content of the statements change over time, as do the terms used to define the classes. It has not always been the case that materials on sex crimes were placed within the category “Abnormal sex relations.” This has something to do with the literature published on sexual perversion and sex crimes. When the classification was initially printed in 1910, there was no accounting for sex crimes within the classification.⁵² There was, however, a cross-reference from HQ71 to RC620, enacting a relationship with medicine. RC620 was designated as “Moral insanity,” citing *Psychopathia Sexualis* again as an example. Today that class is reserved for materials on nutritional diseases, but a smattering of titles on sexuality remain there, out of place and time.

It was not until the third edition of the H Classification, printed in 1950, that sex crimes entered the classification, under HQ71 and HQ72. Thirty years had passed between the publication of the second and third editions of the H Classification, so changes in nomenclature and class assignments are to be expected. But the marked indication that “Sex crimes” are to be classed with HQ71 and HQ72 beginning in 1950 is a clear reflection of the societal association between sexual perversion and criminal acts, reflecting the moral panic surrounding perversion stirred by J. Edgar Hoover in the mid-1930s and continued by Joseph McCarthy in the post-war era. The association between sex crimes and perversion was ostensibly removed again in 2007 when the “See also” reference from the Social pathology/Criminology section was removed. Nevertheless, as the photograph in Figure 3.6 so clearly shows, a majority of books in the HQ71 section are about incest, child abuse, and other sex crimes, and despite the removal of sex crimes from the actual hierarchy, catalogers have continued to place works on child abuse and incest here. A more appropriate fit for

works on victims of incest might be R560.I53, designated for psychosexual conditions of incest victims. For criminal aspects of the topic, books would go into HV6570.6, specifically intended to hold books on "Incest. Sexual abuse of children" within the broader class of sex crimes. What we read in the HQ71 section is a series of statements regarding the relationships and equivalencies among perverse subjects.

This association between crime and perversion gained attention around 1937 when J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, declared a "War on the Sex Criminal." In fact, the *New York Times* created the index category "Sex Crimes" to describe the 143 articles it published on the subject that year.⁵³ The growing climate of postwar homophobia, the fear of conspiracies and infiltration of uncontrolled sex perversion, led to the passage of laws to police perverted acts, and in 1947 Hoover stated that the most rapidly increasing type of criminals were degenerate sex offenders.⁵⁴ Estelle Freedman writes: "Each of the two major sex crime panics—roughly from 1937 to 1940 and from 1949 to 1955—originated when, after a series of brutal and apparently sexually motivated child murders major urban newspapers expanded and, in some cases, sensationalized their coverage of child molestation and rape."⁵⁵ She also notes that the literature published in and between these periods mapped out two new forbidden boundaries for men: sex with children or with other men. And she speculates that the increased attention to child molestation and homosexuality, along with the overlapping use of the terms like sex criminal, pervert, and psychopath, served as a sort of code for homosexuality.⁵⁶ According to Freedman, sexual psychopath laws did not "differentiate between violent and nonviolent or consensual and nonconsensual behaviors. Rather, they targeted a kind of personality, or an identity, that could be discovered only by trained psychiatrists. . . . The laws rested on the premise that even minor offenders (such as exhibitionists), if psychopaths, posed the threat of potential sexual violence."⁵⁷ From the 1930s through the 1950s, the sexual psychopath provided the focus for public discussions of sexual normality and abnormality, and the state played an increasingly important role in defining sexual deviance and in prescribing psychiatric treatment. The debates on the psychopath statutes did more than expand the legal authority of psychiatry; they also expanded the conversation and fears about sexual deviance to a wider public. The creation of the term "Homosexuality" in the subject headings just after World War II also coincides with the homosexual panic and the changes in the bibliographic classification.

Indeed, perversion lurks across the library in far more areas than one might expect, with a spread from the confines of the HQs into other disci-

plines beginning in the second half of the twentieth century. Postwar-era books mirrored the panic surrounding the preoccupation with subversive sexual behavior, and as homosexuality was considered among the most dangerous of the perversions, most of the literature from this time focuses on identifying and treating homosexuals.⁵⁸ For example, Paul De River's 1950 *Sexual Criminal* is a graphic account of sex crimes in the United States, complete with shocking photographs of murder and rape victims, including children. Aimed at criminal justice professionals, the book provides a telling glimpse of the perceptions and aims of law enforcement by placing homosexuals in the same category as murderers and rapists. In his introduction to the text, attorney Eugene D. Williams calls readers to take precautions against "sex perverts":

Sex perversion, of course, includes many types which manifest themselves in the form of homosexuality, exhibitionism, and so on down the categories, until we reach the dangerous sadomasochist whose frequent terminal outbursts direct the attention of the world to the fact that sex perverts do exist.⁵⁹

Williams cautions readers against thinking that perverts, including homosexuals, are harmless and argues that they pose a particular danger to young people. The introduction seems to imply that every homosexual should be considered dangerous and likely to commit violent crimes. This attitude was common, and it circulated widely in printed books and other media, supporting J. Edgar Hoover's fear-mongering and war against sexual perverts.

The Library of Congress Classification reproduced those fears by drawing lines between normal and perverse and directly associating the perverse with crime, and as the shelves were never reordered, these time-sensitive norms remain on display. Today, however, in addition to these texts are more recent ones that challenge normative notions of sexual perversion, and just by reading the spines and the catalog, we witness the changing debate surrounding definitions and attitudes about deviance, with overlapping and fuzzy lines of temporalities and boundaries between consent, violence, crime, perversion, pleasure, and freedom.

Strangely enough, investigating the development of the classification of abnormal sexual relations in the years 2013–2016 turned out to be a genealogy of blurred lines and shades of gray.⁶⁰ I am referring specifically to the ways in which two exceedingly popular cultural texts mirror the discursive statements on library shelves, as the Library of Congress Classification, which is ostensibly meant to erase such gray areas, enacts

a similar tension on the shelves. Its disciplinary cuts place multiple forms and expressions of sexual variance—criminal and noncriminal—into one category. In HQ71 there is no difference between incest, pedophilia, rape, and kink. Being largely invisible to the general public in their effects, classification systems reproduce particular ways of knowing. Such systems are embedded not only in our libraries but also in our technologies for finding information on the Internet, websites, and databases of all kinds. Notions of normal and abnormal are circulated and repeated across various sites of popular culture, the academy, and institutions, reinforcing dominant attitudes and ideas.

Libraries are part of the entire network of discourses that Foucault talks about, which collectively repeat and reproduce dominant norms. Variations of these types of associations that I have identified persist in online technologies, with some still carrying messages that gay is dangerous. In 2009 Amazon.com infuriated LGBTQ people when they discovered that Amazon was categorizing books on LGBTQ subjects as “Adult,” thereby rendering them invisible from sales ranks. On the list of “adult” books were titles such as Ellen DeGeneres’s and Melissa Etheridge’s biographies, Lesléa Newman’s *Heather Has Two Mommies* (Alyson Wonderland, 1989), and Linas Alsenas’s *Gay America: Struggle for Equality* (Amulet, 2008).⁶¹ Even more troubling was the recommendation of sex offender apps for those who use and purchase Grindr, a mobile social application for gay men—implying that, if you like sex with gay men you might also be interested in sex offenders.⁶² Google has also been exposed for censoring terms, as it blocks certain words from its autocomplete and Instant Search features so users cannot automatically see suggestions for resources or search terms on the topic. It’s not that one can’t retrieve resources, but they don’t make it as easy as searching for other topics. “BDSM” is blocked, and even “bisexual” has been blocked to a certain extent. The *Huffington Post* reported in 2013 that, after a series of inquiries, Google unblocked the term, but for a number of months after that a search revealed that when you begin to type in “bisexual,” no suggestions were offered. When I searched in January 2016, “Bisexual women,” “Bisexual flag,” “Bisexual definition,” and “Bisexual quiz” were suggested. “Bisexuality” triggered the same suggestions. How decisions to block and control terms are made is unknown to the general public, as are the search engines’ proprietary algorithms that generate the associations between search terms, but the question of who and why is less relevant to this discussion than the questions related to how all of these technologies and techniques coordinate to produce normative sexualities through categories and spatial sorting mechanisms.

Library classifications, globally distributed to a huge array of publics, are integral to this vast network of state and nonstate, public and private actors and institutions. Indeed, Ann Laura Stoler finds one of the most significant themes of Foucault's *Society Must Be Defended* lectures to be that it offers "an appreciation of historiography as a political force, of history writing as a political act, of historical narrative as a tool of the state and as a subversive weapon against it."⁶³ The Library of Congress played a key role in organizing and producing certain truths about sexuality and perversion. The hope is that unmasking the political agendas underlying the organization of subjects will open up possibilities for understanding how the LC Classification shapes the ways that we do history and acquire and create knowledge as well as ways that we can reconfigure library, history, and archival practices.