



# Libraries and National Security: A Review of Evidence and a Proposed New Strategic Direction

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## Libraries and National Security: A Review of Evidence and a Proposed New Strategic Direction

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#### Abstract:

The article aims to identify and discuss the various roles that libraries hold with regard to national security and to use the findings to propose a more clearly delineated future role for the global and national communities which reconciles these diverse and sometimes conflicting roles. The review of literature revealed that the roles of libraries with regard to national security fall mainly into two categories. That which has received most attention, mainly in the U.S. context, involves co-operation with the provisions of national security legislation which relate to libraries and their users and, relatedly, advocating for limits on these policies to protect the rights of citizens. The other main category comprises ways in which libraries have been shown to actively strengthen national security, such as ensuring equality of access to information and the digital literacy education necessary to understand it, providing safe community spaces where democratic values can be developed and shared, and disseminating information about national security threats to governments and citizens alike. The article is expected to be of considerable value in demonstrating how libraries can work together internationally and with national governments to help promote national security while ensuring that the rights of library users are also protected.

Keywords: Public Libraries; National Security; Information Specialists; IFLA; Information Dissemination; Legislations; Advocacy Role.

محمد بن ناصر الصقري، سالم بن سعيد الكندي، نايفه عيد سليم، مروة بنت سليمان النبهاني، وبخيت سالم بن فاضل

#### الملخص:

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التعرف على الأدوار المختلفة التي تقوم بها المكتبات فيما يتعلق بالأمن القومي، كما تهدف إلى استخدام نتائجها لاقتراح دور مستقبلي محدد للمجتمعات العالمية والوطنية والذي يوفق بين هذه الأدوار والمتناقضة في بعض الأحيان. كشفت مراجعة الأدبيات أن دور المكتبات فيما يتعلق بالأمن القومي ينقسم بشكل رئيس إلى فئتين. تشمل الفئة الأولى التعاون مع تشريعات الأمن القومي التي تتعلق بالمكتبات ومستخدميها، والذي أدى إلى فرض قيود على السياسات من أجل حماية حقوق المواطنين. وقد حظيت هذه الفئة باهتمام كبير ولا سيما في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. أما الفئة الثانية فتضمنت الطرق التي أثبتت المكتبات من خلالها أنها تعزز بشكل فعال الأمن القومي، مثل ضمان المساواة في الوصول إلى المعلومات، ومحو الأمية الرقمية، وتوفير مساحات مجتمعية آمنة حيث يمكن تطوير القيم الديمقراطية ومشاركتها، ونشر المعلومات حول تهديدات الأمن القومي للحكومات والمواطنين على حد سواء. يؤمل أن يكون لهذه قيمة كبيرة في إظهار كيف يمكن للمكتبات العمل معًا دوليًا ومع الحكومات للمساعدة في تعزيز الأمن القومي مع ضمان حماية حقوق مستخدمي المكتبات أيضًا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المكتبات العامة، الأمن القومي، اختصاصي المعلومات، إفلا، نشر المعلومات، التشريعات، دور المناصرة.

#### Introduction

In this article, a critical review of existing literature is used to identify the range of roles that libraries hold with regard to national security and to propose a strategic direction for the global library sector which reconciles these diverse and sometimes conflicting roles. The research has been conducted by the author to help inform further stages of primary research and strategic planning for the library sector of Oman, but is published as a stand-alone article that is expected to be of relevance and interest to the global community of librarians and information specialists.

As reported by other researchers (e.g. Mansour, 2017), the authors' own literature searches confirmed that relatively few studies have been published on the subject of libraries and national security. Yet this has become a topical and controversial issue particularly within the last two decades, as threats to the national security of countries around the world have been heightened due to the terrorist activities of global or regional extremist groups. Many nations also face ongoing or emerging threats from regional or domestic terrorism or various forms of social unrest. Since the Internet has become a main method of communication and recruitment for terrorist groups, many governments have implemented national security legislation or policies which involve tighter control over the use of this channel by their citizens, or monitoring of their online activity. This has major implications for libraries, with library users increasingly using the Internet and online databases for information searching and use. In some national contexts such as the United States, legislation requires libraries to co-operate with government requests for information about the search activity of particular users, without disclosing this to the individuals concerned (Jones, 2007). However, these developments come into conflict with some of the most important values of librarians, such as privacy, confidentiality, and freedom of access to information, an issue which holds a prominent place in the available literature in this area. A small body of separate literature was also identified which highlights the ways in which libraries can actively promote or strengthen national security, especially in developing country settings. The rationale for the present article was to consider key findings from both areas of the literature in order to propose a more comprehensive strategic role for the global and national library communities with regard to national security.

#### **National Security Threets**

Although there is no single established definition of the term "national security", the literature indicates that this is generally used to refer to the protection of a country and its citizens against internal or external threats, which in present times are often related to various forms of terrorism but may also include other types of internal social unrest or external threats. The specific ways in which national security is defined and discussed in the literature often reflects the particular contexts in which research has been carried out. For example, reporting on a study conducted in Nigeria where the main current threats are internal terrorist movements, Ugulu and Oghuvwu (2015) write, "National security can be defined as the actions and policies taken by a nation against all internal and external threats to its borders, economy, and stability. It doesn't have to be terrorism or an enemy nation, though it often is." (p.64). Other writers, in contrast, have defined national security more narrowly in terms of threats from external aggressors. For example, "At the most basic level, the term refers to safety from a perceived danger that has an external, or foreign, component" (Starr, 2004).

To a large extent, the distinction between external and internal threats has in any case become blurred as the Internet and social media now enable extremist or terrorist groups to easily disseminate information electronically across national boundaries in order to undermine security by recruiting individuals to their cause (Ugulu & Oghuvwu, 2015). Such movements have become the main threat to national security in the world today, with both domestic and international extremist organizations operating global websites for the purposes of disseminating propaganda, communications, fundraising and recruitment. For example, Qin, Zhou and Chen (2010) found that all large extremist organizations such as Al Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah had a strong internet presence at the time of their study, and that Islamic militant organizations such as Al Qaeda were among the most active and sophisticated users of the Internet for such purposes. Morgans (2017) reported evidence that ISIS recruited more than 6000 new members via the Internet within a single month in 2014.

At the same time, the Internet and online resources play a central role in the new information environment, and are widely provided in libraries around the world for use by their patrons. Indeed, the availability of computers and Internet access in libraries is playing a major part in helping to overcome the digital divide,

especially in countries or regions where domestic Internet provision is limited. The widespread and growing use of the Internet in libraries has resulted in libraries becoming a main focus for national security legislation intended to protect countries against terrorism or other national security threats, as discussed in the following section.

### National Security Legislation and the Impacts on Libraries

With the increase in use of the Internet and the growth in threats from terrorism and other sources, many governments around the world now undertake at least some level of surveillance or censorship of online activity, often in the absence of any transparency about such activities (Fortier & Burkell 2015).

A widely cited example of national security legislation with components that specifically target libraries and information services is the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001 (USA PATRIOT Act), implemented in the wake of the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. This legislation allows FBI agents to monitor the Internet use or reading behaviors of library users, examine library computers, and issue subpoenas on library records or other documents. Under the Act, libraries are not allowed to disclose to any patrons that they are under suspicion or being monitored (Kim, 2016; Kravitz, 2003; Starr, 2004; Zimerman, 2010). This is not the first time that the USA has implemented national security legislation relating to censorship of the media; this has happened in other times of heightened national security threats, such as the two World Wars and the Cold War. During these times, librarians and libraries were often directly involved in the implementation of national security strategies, for example being directly recruited as government informants, or being the venue for tracing mechanisms or wiretaps. As a precursor to the US PATRIOT Act, the "FBI Asks Libraries" (1987) strategy required libraries to submit book circulation records and other information to the government on request (Starr, 2004).

With the growing dominance of computers and the Internet for information search purposes, it has become even easier to control or monitor the behaviors of library users than in the past (Pautz, 2013). Governments throughout the world are now controlling or monitoring Internet use, with many using filtering software to block public access to undesirable

or illegal websites under national security policies. In the UK, for example, the Counter Terrorism Internet Referral Unit blocks online content that is deemed to promote or encourage terrorist acts, as well as the websites or other online content of terrorist groups (Morgans, 2017). Although such activities are often rationalized in terms of anti-terrorism measures, in some countries Internet censorship or filtering is also used as a means of protecting national values and morality based on religion or culture (Warf, 2011). This is particularly the case in Arab and Islamic countries and those with non-democratic forms of government such as China (Warf, 2011). The IFLA World Report 2010 reported a significant increase in reporting countries who were using filtering software, from 50 in 2007 to 62 in 2010. Although 47 indicated they do not use such software, the report notes that this figure includes many countries in which there is limited or no Internet access in libraries (IFLA, 2010). As well as Internet censorship and monitoring, many countries worldwide have introduced data retention policies requiring Internet Service Providers to keep records of their users' browsing activities for defined periods of time, as well as more targeted activities such as the online surveillance of specific individuals deemed to be suspicious, as in the case of the USA PATRIOT Act (Hamilton & Pors, 2003).

The underlying rationale for such measures is that the rights of individuals must at times be curtailed for the sake of the overall welfare and safety of the whole society (Posner, 2012), and the courts have generally upheld this approach in times of increased concerns about national security (Kravitz, 2003). In some national or regional contexts, however, national security concerns are sometimes used loosely to justify laws or policies which may contravene the rights of individuals. For example, in examining the implementation of information access laws in Latin American countries, Perlingeiro (2016) observes that although the Inter-American Court specifies that any exceptions to information access rights should be established in advance by statutory laws, this is often circumvented by the use of vague references to national security or public interest.

#### A Role Conflict for Libraries

The developments discussed above have resulted in libraries facing what Starr (2004) refers to as "an evolving tension between their roles as guardians of public well-being and as protectors of intellectual freedom" (para. 2). On the one hand, libraries are

being increasingly called upon to play a role in implementing national security legislation through the use of filtering or surveillance tools, or by responding to governmental requests for information or user records. On the other hand, libraries have traditionally played a key role in protecting the rights of citizens to privacy, confidentiality and freedom of access to information, with the latter in particular seen as crucial in contributing to global information flows (Jones, 2007). This role is enshrined in the core values of libraries, set out in international and national library associations' codes of practice.

For example, the American Library Association's (ALA) Code of Ethics states "We protect each library user's right to privacy and confidentiality with respect to information sought or received and resources consulted, borrowed, acquired or transmitted" (2008, para. 2). The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions' (IFLA) Code of Ethics also highlights the importance of personal privacy, protection of personal data, and confidentiality as basic principles underpinning the relationship between libraries and their patrons which have historically allowed users to browse collections and use resources with assurances of anonymity or at least confidentiality (IFLA 2015). With regard to freedom of information, IFLA's Global Vision Report Summary (2018) stresses that "no value was more highly rated than a commitment to equal and free access to information and knowledge" and called for library and information specialists to be "champions of intellectual freedom" (IFLA, 2018).

As the IFLA World Report 2010 noted, these conflicting roles place librarians in a difficult position when asked to divulge information about users search activities, implement filtering or monitoring software, or respond to a subpoena by removing material from physical or online collections. Further, they also mean that libraries can no longer offer assurances of anonymity or confidentiality to their users (Pekala, 2017).

Internet filtering tools are of course in widespread use by libraries themselves, in the interests of ensuring a safe and secure library environment for all users. They may be used to block access to pornography sites, for example, as well as the websites of extremist groups. There are two main problems with the use of Internet filtering software from the perspective of libraries, however: one technical and the other ethical. First, this software often blocks legitimate sites, preventing access to important information on health, religion or

politics which could be used for educational purposes, or alternatively failing to block access to undesirable sites (Muir et al., 2016; Pautz, 2013; Scholz, 2010). Second, there are ethical issues involved in decisions about whether or not restrict access to certain websites or information, who should make these decision and which sites or information should be blocked. Muir et al. (2016) stress that if used, it is important to ensure that filters do not disadvantage certain groups rather than others for example since this in itself might threaten national security by creating or exacerbating social divisions and inequality.

#### The Advocacy Role of Libraries

Libraries and library associations have traditionally been advocates of both privacy and intellectual freedom rights; for example, the ALA's advocacy role began in the early twentieth century (Witt, 2017) and was formalized during the Cold War with the adoption of a new Library Bill of Rights (ALA, 1948) which stressed the importance of challenging the practice of censoring books. This was followed by the 1953 Freedom to Read statement (1953), in which a coalition of librarians, educators and publishers stressed the importance of access to a "diversity of views and expressions" and argued that books should not be selected based on the background or political affiliation of the author. The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions' (IFLA) Committee on Free Access to Information and Freedom of Expression (FAIFE) is also intended to help defend libraries worldwide against government demands for censorship of library materials.

This advocacy role has become increasingly important in the current information and legislative environments. In it's Resolution on the USA Patriot Act and Related Measures That Infringe on the Rights of Library Users, the ALA argued for education on how to comply with the Act and on risks to intellectual freedom, urged libraries to adopt privacy policies and records retention policies and to work with other stakeholders to protect user rights, and made a commitment that the ALA would obtain and make public information about the surveillance of libraries and their users (Starr, 2004). Its opposition to some of the provisions of the US PATRIOT Act were successful in bringing about limited changes to the reauthorized 2006 version of the Act, such as those requiring demonstration of "reasonable grounds" that library records are relevant to the federal agents' investigation (Jones, 2007). In another U.S. Example,

the Library Freedom project successfully opposed the Federal Government's attempt to limit the adoption of encryption technologies by libraries in the U.S. (Clark 2016). However, LIS professionals in the U.S. generally concur that the balance between national security and civil liberties remains unbalanced and are continuing efforts to reform this legislation (Jones, 2007).

## The Role of Libraries in Actively Promoting National Security

The review of literature revealed that libraries potentially play a broad and proactive role in promoting national security in a wide range of ways, which are not generally addressed within the body of literature which addresses the response of libraries to national security policies such as the US PATRIOT Act. In particular, these active roles include helping to ensure that all citizens have access to information and can participate effectively in democratic processes; promoting digital and information literacy to enable library users to critically evaluate and understand information; providing safe spaces for social interaction and the development of positive social attitudes and values, and playing an active role in disseminating information about specific threats to a country's citizens. In general, the small body of literature covering these roles has been produced in the context of developing country environments, which also helps provide insights into the broader global role of the library sector and counterbalances the emphasis on U.S. national security legislation in the literature discussed earlier. The following subsections discuss these roles, with examples from a range of country settings.

#### **Ensuring Equal Access to Information**

Now that a high proportion of information is disseminated electronically via the Internet, ensuring equal access to information is a role of libraries that has become especially important. This is particularly the case in countries where there is a digital divide and where many individuals do not have access to the Internet at home. Libraries generally provide computer terminals with Internet access in communities even in the most remote geographical regions or high poverty areas of a country and have a responsibility to provide "public access to the Internet as well as providing information in traditional forms" (Pautz, 2013, p.30). Access to information of all types helps educate a population and facilitate its participation in

democratic processes. This in turn has been argued to be important in contributing to the national security of a country by reducing the potential for internal conflict or reducing vulnerability of the population to external influences such as extremist movements (Hamilton, 2004).

Equal access to information is a key principle underlying international codes of practice such as the IFLA/UNESCO guidelines. These emphasize the importance of incorporating a diversity of sources reflecting different opinions and perspectives within public library collections (Hamilton, 2004; Pautz, 2013; Saunders, 2013). In order to fulfil this role effectively, libraries also have a responsibility to find out about the information needs of different communities and endeavor not only to meet these needs but also to ensure that access to the information is available. This might involve, for example, providing mobile libraries or outreach services, information campaigns, workshops or working with community radio, television channels or other local media (Kargbo, 2004; Tinuade & Fadekemi, 2015).

#### Promoting Digital and Information Literacy

The literature also highlights, however, that librarians have a key role to play not only in ensuring access to information but also in ensuring that individuals have what Torras-Calvo (2017) refers to as "intellectual access" and UNESCO defines as "media and information literacy" (Torras-Calvo, 2017, p.56). Equitable access to information is itself insufficient to contribute to national security; it is also essential that all citizens have the skills and competencies necessary to retrieve and understand this information and evaluate its accuracy and reliability (Saunders, 2013; Torras-Calvo, 2017). The ALA defines information literacy as the ability to "recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use effectively the needed information." (ALA, 1989). As Ogunsola (2011) observes, librarians often play an important role in educating their users how to find and evaluate information both in electronic and traditional formats.

Digital skills also include understanding of the privacy and security risks when searching for and using information on the Internet, and being able to protect oneself as far as possible from these. This is especially important now that online behavior may be tracked by government bodies as well as third parties, some with malicious intent. In the UK, researchers have reported evidence of a growing divide between those

with and without the digital literacy skills necessary to protect themselves online, and flagged up the role of libraries in helping to close this gap (Clark, 2016). In many western countries, specific library initiatives, such as the Library Freedom Project in the U.S. and the "cryptoparties", or digital privacy and security workshops being held in many European countries as well as the US, Canada and Australia, are delivering education and guidance to library users on how to protect themselves online (Kim, 2016; IFLA, 2015). Alerting the Government and Citizens to National

**Security Threats** 

Since a central role of libraries is to identify, capture and preserve the information needed by a country and its population, they also contribute to national security by ensuring that security agencies and government officials have access to the information, services and data needed to inform protect national security (Bhatti, 2010). This may include, for example, information about terrorist groups and their activities which may present a particular threat to national security, or translation services to enable government to understand this information (Itsekora et al., 2017). Another direct way in which libraries can help protecting national security through information dissemination to the population at large, particularly in high-risk settings, is through the use of "crisis alerts". This role has been emphasized in particular in the work of researchers investigating the role of libraries in protecting national security in Nigeria, where many communities are at risk of attack by the domestic Islamic fundamentalist group Boko Haram. For example, Itsekor et al. (2017) refer to the use of "Communities in Crises Alerts" in Nigeria, used to disseminate information on terrorist attacks, kidnappings, natural disasters and outbreaks of disease, for example. In a different setting Kargbo (2004) stressed the importance of expanding the role of library services in Sierra Leone to make information more accessible in times of emergencies and crises.

The information dissemination role of libraries can be especially important in national settings which have a history of internal conflict or in which there are distinct communities with different or competing interests. In this type of context, libraries can help to bridge the gaps by disseminating information about different communities and their beliefs and thus raising levels of tolerance and empathy, as well as increasing awareness and understanding of peaceful means of conflict avoidance or conflict resolution (Bhatti, 2010; Ossai-Ugbah, 2013; Tinuade and Fadekemi,

2015). Thus, contributing to conflict avoidance or resolution is another of the main roles of libraries in promoting national security by reducing internal threats, or indeed by mitigating external threats through the use of conflict resolution strategies that are supported by citizens, working with governmental and non-governmental organizations to do so. A World Bank report (2005) cites examples of libraries in countries including Ethiopia, Namibia, Uganda, Somalia and Liberia which have played an active role in conflict resolution by organizing and delivering lectures, conferences and workshops on this issue, disseminating relevant information to communities in conflict, and developing online forums for discussion of relevant issues by interested parties.

Providing Safe Spaces and Social Interaction Venues More generally, libraries provide venues both for educational activities and as meeting places for social interaction. As such, they are uniquely placed to influence the development of social attitudes and values which support national security and reduce the susceptibility of a country's young people in particular to the messages of extremist groups (Bhatti, 2010; Mansour, 2017).

#### Securing Library Systems

Library users are at risk of being monitored by other third parties or having their accounts hacked for malicious purposes which may have national security implications. Since individuals often use library computers for personal uses such as banking and accessing e-government services, especially in countries or regions where domestic Internet access is limited, this presents risks not only to individual citizens but to government systems.

Libraries therefore play an important role in ensuring that their own systems, including those provided by third party vendors, are secured from attack, using best practices such as data encryption, two factor authentication processes, strict password requirements and automatic log off functions (Breeding 2016; Kim 2016; Klinefelter 2016; Hennig 2018; IFLA 2018; Yoose 2017). In order to protect the privacy of users, it has been highlighted that libraries also have a responsibility to purge any records that are not necessary for administrative purposes (Phillips, 2005). This type of measure has been highlighted by IFLA and the ALA as contributing to the ability of libraries to uphold their commitment to the values of privacy and confidentiality as far as possible in the face of national security measures which may

threaten these.

Libraries and National Security: A Proposed Strategic Direction

Based on the national security legislation literature relating to libraries, the library sector appears to be increasingly adopting an advocacy role with regard to national security legislation at least in some national settings, with efforts directed at the reform of national security legislation to protect the civil rights of library users. These are of course important and essential measures, but may divert attention from the more diverse and proactive roles of libraries in promoting and strengthening national security in more subtle and indirect ways than legislation.

By developing a new strategic direction and position which takes account of all of these roles, it is believed that library associations at a global and national levels will be better placed to work collaboratively and constructively with governments in promoting national security, while also adhering to their core values and protecting the rights of users.

While the details of this strategic direction will be for the library sector itself to develop within specific national settings as well as potentially at global level. However, based on the critical review of literature discussed in this article, it is suggested that the key elements of this should include:

- Documentation by national library associations or communities of the various ways in which the sector can contribute to national security within their country setting, and incorporating these as appropriate in the development of strategic plans and library budgets. These should include in particular ensuring that all communities have equal access to information and the information and digital literacy skills needed to understand and use this.
- Seeking opportunities for direct involvement in the development of national security legislation that has implications for libraries, to improve awareness and understanding among government policymakers of the wider implications of such legislation and to generate a better balance between national security measures and civil rights. This role will also draw on librarian's knowledge and expertise of civil rights legislation such as freedom of information and data protection laws, in order to reduce the potential for conflict between various laws affecting library users.
- Increasing the value of the library sector to

government policymakers by playing a more proactive role in identifying potential threats to national security, especially those using library and information services as a channel of communication, and working collaboratively to mitigate these threats with minimal impacts on the rights of library users.

- At global level, developing and continually updating best practice standards in library privacy policies, which can be adapted for use by libraries and library associations around the world to reflect political and legislative contexts. And, within the constraints of national security legislation, actively disseminating information to users about potential monitoring of their online activity by government or other third parties and providing advice on how to protect their own privacy and confidentiality, ideally through workshops or other community/ user education initiatives.
- Working with software developers to ensure that Internet filtering and surveillance tools are developed that work in the best interests of national security while also ensuring that librarylevel standards of privacy, confidentiality and access to information can be attained (Klinefelter, 2016; Massis, 2017).
- Developing and maintaining records management policies and practices in which data collection about library patrons and their use of library services is kept to the minimum necessary for administrative or legal purposes, and destroyed when no longer needed.
- Where appropriate and feasible, expanding the specific roles and responsibilities of the library sector in national or local settings, to include crisis-alert or other important public information services.
- Developing clear policies and guidance for staff on how to respond to government requests for user records under national security legislation. For example, in the US, ALA recommends that these should require verification of a written warrant and a valid law enforcement identification and that the request should be reviewed by an attorney (Phillips, 2005), and has established a hotline for librarians to seek advice. IFLA's Committee on Access to Information and Freedom of Expression also provides services in support of librarians faced with ethical conflicts (Jones, 2007); national library associations might raise awareness of the existence of this and services available.

- Ensure that training is provided to librarians on how to advocate and work together with politicians and legislators. Jones (2007) remarked that advocacy training should be a high professional development priority in many countries where this is not currently provided.
- Finally, the global library community might seek cost-effective ways to support libraries in developing country settings with limited resources available for promoting national security. For example, Mansour's (2017) survey of library staff in Egypt found many challenges facing libraries in the fight against terrorism, including lack of time and resources, lack of training, and Internet connectivity problems. While many of these factors fall outside the control or influence of the global library community, efforts might be made to identify ways to help address these issues, such as the delivery of free or low-cost online training.

#### Conclusion

The success of the proposed strategic direction for libraries will depend largely on co-operation from national governments and their willingness to involve the library sector in national security policy development. This involves acknowledging the important role of libraries in protecting the rights of individuals to privacy and in promoting freedom of information, and utilizing the knowledge and expertise of librarians to help ensure that an acceptable balance can be reached between these principles and national security considerations (Bhatti, 2010; Itsekora et al., 2017).

Governments must also ensure that libraries are adequately resourced in terms not only of the collections and computer and Internet facilities that enable access to information, but also in terms of librarian training and skills. Tinuade and Fadekemi (2015) cite a number of previous studies which have identified inadequate librarian skills for identifying, processing and disseminating information for use in conflict resolution or for enabling community members to effectively use library information resources, in addition to a lack of adequate technological infrastructure. They also cite previous studies which found that a lack of government support and understanding of the importance of information for social cohesiveness had undermined the role of libraries in promoting national security (Tinuade & Fadekemi, 2015). By working together more effectively in future, governments and library sectors around the world will be in a much stronger position to implement strong national security policies which do not undermine the rights of citizens.

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