Understanding Innovation and Policy Transfer: Implications for Libraries and Information Services in Africa

Peter Johan Lor

Abstract

Library development in Africa has involved large-scale processes of innovation and *policy transfer*, also referred to as *policy borrowing* or *policy learning*. A good deal of theory has been developed in various disciplines to study these processes. This has not been applied in library and information services (LIS) to any significant extent, but it can help us to gain a better understanding of why attempts to transfer new ideas fail, how to select the ideas we want to transfer, and how to improve the chances of successful innovation and policy transfer. This paper places policy transfer within the broader framework of the diffusion of innovations before considering what we can learn from the theory of policy transfer and related processes, with emphasis on theory developed in comparative education. An attempt is made to apply these insights to library development in Africa and draw some lessons for African library decision makers. Some of the examples are drawn from the author's experience in the South African library profession.

Introduction

The introduction of new technologies, systems, and ideas from one context or society into another—the diffusion of innovations—is going on all around us at a dizzying pace. This is also the case in library and information services (LIS). We are daily surrounded by innovations, some new and striking, others so familiar that we take them for granted. To illustrate the pervasiveness and range of innovation, let us pay a visit, during school hours, to the library of a primary (elementary) school located in one of the more affluent suburbs of a South African city.[1] We enter a room about twice the size of the adjacent classrooms. Bookshelves extend along the

LIBRARY TRENDS, Vol. 64, No. 1, 2015 ("Library and Information Services in Africa in the Twenty-First Century," edited by Ellen R. Tise), pp. 84–111.

walls, but some space has been left for posters and artwork. Near the entrance to the room is a circulation desk. At the far end there are tables and chairs, where boys and girls, of different ethnic origins, all clad in their prescribed school uniforms, are sitting reading, making notes, or discussing group assignments. Closer to the desk, there are some low island shelves with reference and nonfiction books. At the shelf ends are posters explaining the Dewey decimal classification scheme. Here, some students are browsing and pulling out books and paging through them. They are probably looking for information for their assignments. One group is being helped by an older student wearing a red sash, identifying him as a library prefect, one of a number of students who help the teacher-librarian. In this area, there are also a number of internet-enabled computer workstations, each one surrounded by students.

Although not every school has a library with internet-enabled workstations connected by Wi-Fi, for most readers, this scene may not convey anything that is particularly interesting or novel. Yet, it provides evidence of a great deal of diffusion that has taken place over a long period. Some innovations are relatively recent—for example, the computer workstations. But most of the innovations are now taken for granted and no longer noticed. Omitting the most recent and some of the oldest ones, such as writing, the book in codex form, paper, and printing, I list some innovations that may easily be overlooked:

- The Dewey decimal classification, an American invention, is used for the shelf arrangement, here and in many other types of libraries in many countries.
- The students are allowed to select books at the shelves themselves. Open access to the stacks was an innovation that was hotly debated in US and British libraries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Black, Pepper, & Bagshaw, 2009), from where it spread to other countries, such as Denmark (Dahlkild, 2006, 2011).
- The school library—the idea that there should be a library in every school—is part of an American school library model (see Knuth, 1999) that spread to South Africa from the United States, together with some competing British influence.

More fundamentally, in this example we see some ideas of schooling that are probably due to US or British influence: co-education (boys and girls in the same school) (US); prefects (British); and school uniforms (British). Most fundamentally, it illustrates a major societal innovation (at least for South Africa): nonracial education.

As this scene demonstrates, library development in Africa has involved a great deal of innovation and policy transfer. This paper addresses the question of what can we learn from the theory of policy transfer and related processes (to which I shall refer collectively as *policy transfer*) that

we can apply in LIS in Africa. First, however, I try to place policy transfer within the broader framework of the diffusion of innovations.

Innovation and Policy Transfer

An *innovation* was defined by Rogers (2003, p. 12) as "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption." (The term *unit of adoption* refers to groups and organizations such as companies.) The phrase *idea, practice, or object* implies a very wide range of things that may be perceived as new. This may be depicted as a spectrum of innovation, as indicated in figure 1.

Using the example of school libraries (on which I claim no expertise), figure 1 suggests that the library innovations mentioned above can be placed on a spectrum that ranges from concrete and highly visible objects, such as the picture books on the shelves, through equipment (for example, a new photocopying machine) and systems (RFID or Wi-Fi in the library), to less visible and more abstract innovations, such as policies on the organization and staffing of school librarians, their education, the aims of school libraries in relation to schooling and the curriculum, educational philosophies, policies on race and gender in education, and, most basically, cultural norms and values of the society. This by no means exhausts the list, and one may debate the order in which these items are listed, but clearly some innovations are more fundamental than others and may have cultural, political, and ideological ramifications, some of which not being immediately visible to would-be innovators. In the literature, such innovations are often considered as instances of *policy transfer*, defined by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996, p. 344) as "a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc., in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place." The *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Thompson, 1995, p. 1057) defines *policy* as "a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by a government, party, business or individual, etc." The concept of *policy* is dealt with in various disciplines, including political science, public administration, and business management. In the latter, the emphasis is often on goal-directed action; for example, Montana and Charnov (2008, p. 136) define *policy* as "general broad guidelines to action that relate to goal attainment." Knuth (1995, pp. 290–291), writing about school library policies, stated that "[p]olicy-makers engage in 'parameter-shaping acts.' They make decisions that require significant amounts of information gathering and contemplation; final decisions entail movement of critical resources toward perceived opportunities in a changing environment." Policies are guidelines embodying a principle, or set of principles, intended to guide future decisions. They are general or conceptual rather than specific and may

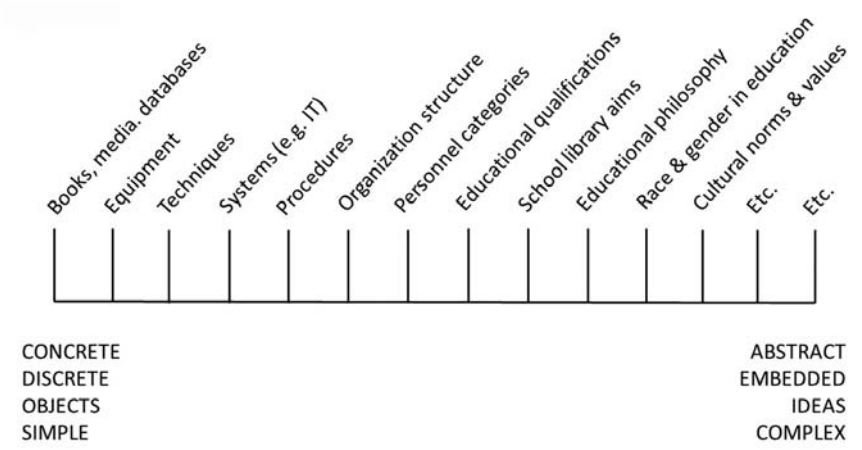

Figure 1. A spectrum of innovations.

have long-term, wide-ranging implications. Depending on their scope and likely impact, they are adopted at a high level in the relevant organization.

As a point of departure, we can consider policy transfer to be a special case of the diffusion of innovations. This distinction, which is a rough one, is depicted in figure 2. There is no clear borderline between the quite visible and concrete innovations, often involving simple, discrete objects that are traditionally dealt with in studies of the diffusion of innovations, and the less obtrusive and more abstract innovations, often involving complex ideas that are dealt with in the literature on policy transfer. However, although figure 2 suggests a simple linear progression, the relation between the diffusion of innovations and policy transfer is more complex. There is only a slight overlap of the literatures dealing with them. The term *diffusion* suggests a natural, autonomous process, as in the diffusion of gas molecules, and the epidemiological analogy used to describe the diffusion of innovations over time reinforces the deterministic aspect of the concept. *Policy*, on the other hand, conjures up more complex political processes involving human agency.

But there is no doubt that the two are intertwined in the real world; a new policy is in itself an innovation. Policies do not appear out of thin air, but are influenced by experience and external examples—hence the terms *policy transfer* and *policy borrowing*. Policies are quite likely to entail innovations. For example, changes in a country's educational philosophy toward resource-based education should have implications for the aims of school libraries, possibly entailing closer integration of the school library in the curriculum, which should give rise to new policies concerning the qualifications and categories of school library personnel. Innovations in

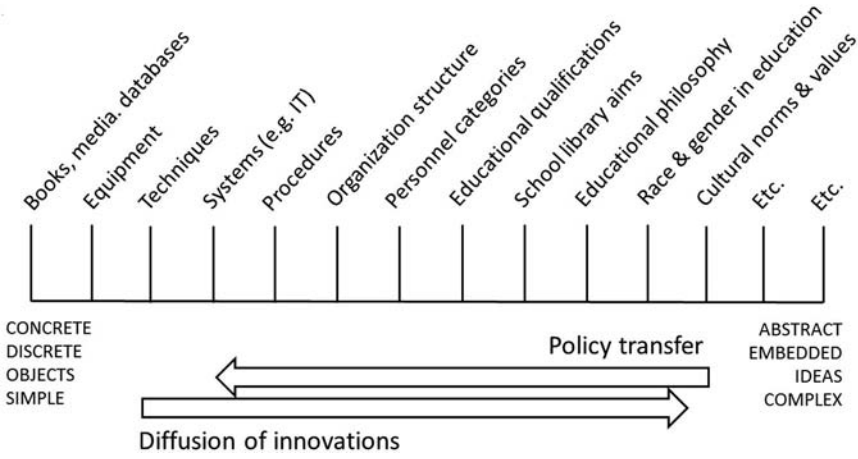

Figure 2. Policy transfer in the spectrum of innovations.

respect of LIS training courses, school library facilities, and the range of media to be acquired should follow. I write "should" because these consequences are not necessarily drawn by the decision makers "higher up." On the other hand, the adoption of innovations of a concrete nature often provokes the adoption of new polices—for example, relating to the use of the photocopying machine or access to the internet in the school library.

In sub-Saharan Africa, a striking example of a complex innovation that is located toward the policy end of the spectrum has been the introduction of Western-style public libraries. A library is an institution (or an agency, depending on your sociology) that is not easily transplanted.[2] There is a huge literature on the introduction and failure of Western library models in Africa, going back to Amadi (1981), Mchombu (1982), Ochai (1984), Sturges and Neill (1990, 1998), Sène (1992), Rosenberg (1993), and Raseroka (1994), to mention just a few in approximate chronological order. It is interesting that the flood of criticism of the Western model is primarily a sub-Saharan African phenomenon. I have not found nearly the same volume of critical literature in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and North Africa, or Asia and the Pacific—not that there is no such literature. In Southeast Asia, Wijasuriya, Lim, and Nadarajah (1975) wrote a well-known book, *The Barefoot Librarian: Library Development in Southeast Asia with Special Reference to Malaysia.* In Latin America, Briquet de Lemos (1981) and Gassol de Horowitz (1988) stand out as authors who have analyzed the Western library model and found it wanting. But the literature from the rest of the developing world is less critical. Following the end of the Great Proletarian Culture Revolution in 1977, China again turned to the West, especially the United States, and since then US librarianship and

information science concepts and techniques have been eagerly studied and introduced there on a large scale (Cheng, 2001). The South Koreans, Singaporeans, and Malaysians also do not appear to have major reservations about adopting Western library models. Why Western models have apparently been received so much more critically in Africa than in other developing regions is a question worthy of comparative research.

Diffusion of Innovations Theory

How and why new ideas and innovations are adopted, and what the outcomes are of adoption, is the subject matter of a large body of literature, which can be broadly classified as *diffusion theory*. Diffusion theory, according to Perry (2000), encompasses cultural diffusion, diffusion of innovations, and collective behavior (as in crowd behavior, fads, and fashions). The landmark work about the diffusion of innovations was written by Everett Rogers, who as a rural sociologist had studied the diffusion of agricultural innovations in the US Midwest. In 1962 the first edition of his influential book *Diffusion of Innovations* was published. In it, he brought together diffusion research findings from nine "major research traditions" in diffusion research, including anthropology (the oldest tradition), rural sociology, education, medical sociology, and marketing, and created the first version of his well-known generalized diffusion model.

Rogers (2003, p. 5) defined *diffusion* as "the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system." This definition implies the "four main elements in the diffusion of innovations": the innovation, communication channels, time, and the social system (p. 11). The process of innovation is seen as taking place over time, proceeding from prior conditions (before the innovation is introduced) through stages of knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation (which can range from continued adoption to continued rejection). Different communication channels are used at different stages. The process is influenced by the characteristics of decision makers and by the perceived characteristics of the innovation.

The Rogers model itself and other models derived from it have been quite widely used in studies focusing on information technology and information systems—for example, Davis, Bagozzi, and Warshaw (1989), Wildemuth (1992), Mbatha, Ocholla, and Roux (2011), Totolo (2011), Gonçalves, Laguna, and Iglesias (2012), Liu and Rousseau (2012), and Toole, Cha, and González (2012). A review of this literature by Shayo (2010) used a conceptual framework derived from the Rogers model. It has also been applied in studies of adoption in LIS in the narrower sense. In a study of the influence of the Carnegie Corporation of New York in New Zealand, Rochester (1981, pp. 286–290) made use of the model to analyze the role of change agents. Maack (1986) applied the stages of the

Rogers model to a study of US influence on the philosophy and practice of public librarianship in France from 1900 to 1950. In a study of the diffusion of ICTs in the communication of agricultural information in Kenya, Minishi-Majanja and Kiplang'at (2004) cited a number of such studies in LIS and ICT; in spite of some shortcomings, they found that the Rogers model provided a suitable framework for their research. More recently, Neo and Calvert (2012) applied the Rogers model in a study of the adoption of Facebook by New Zealand public libraries. Xia (2012) adopted a diffusionist and epidemiological perspective in a study of the worldwide diffusion of open access. In a discussion of freedom-of-information legislation, Darch and Underwood (2010) critically discussed the Rogers model but warned against naïve diffusionist notions. A recent doctoral dissertation on contextual factors influencing the management and preservation of digital cultural heritage in Ghana utilized the Rogers model (Boamah, 2014).

Although widely used, the Rogers model is not without critics. Rogers (2003, pp. 105–135) himself identified several shortcomings. Much research on diffusion is funded by organizations that have a vested interest in the successful adoption of the innovation they are promoting. This is called "pro-innovation bias." Another form of bias is "individual-blame bias": that is, when a diffusion process is unsuccessful, there is a tendency to blame the individuals who fail to adopt the innovation rather than the system itself. For example, in developing countries we may blame "lazy" students for not using the library, when in fact a system of instruction that is based entirely on textbooks and professors' lecture notes may constitute a powerful disincentive. A problem that tends to be ignored in innovation studies is that of inequality, where the benefits following from adoption are not equally distributed among a population in which diffusion has taken place. For example, small peasant farmers who are not eligible for bank loans may be unable to adopt an innovation that enables farmers with larger holdings and access to credit to out-compete and ultimately displace them. A reading of Rogers further suggests that much of the work to which he referred as examples of diffusion research has been concerned with the adoption of innovations of a technological or practical nature (for example, the introduction of hybrid maize, prescriptions of new drugs, and boiling drinking water), often by individuals within circumscribed groups or communities (Iowa farmers, physicians in Illinois, and Peruvian villagers, respectively) where empirical studies of manageable scope and with clearly identifiable independent and dependent variables can be conducted.

Policy transfer is a phenomenon that is much more complex and unfolds on a larger scale, often involving values and ideologies and international or transnational movements. An example is the introduction of outcomes-based education (as "Curriculum 2005") in South Africa. Sadly, this in-

novation, which has been thoughtfully analyzed by Chisholm (2005), features in the international literature of comparative education as an interesting example of failed policy borrowing (see, for example, Archer & Brown, 2013; Jansen, 2004; Maodzwa-Taruvinga & Cross, 2012; Spreen, 2004). There has been much analysis of the causes, not to mention apportionment of blame. Another example is the introduction of e-government in developing countries, where many failures have occurred (Dada, 2006; Heeks, 2003).

Theories of Policy Transfer

In a number of disciplines, considerable attention has been paid to building models and developing theory to account for such cases. This has happened in fields like comparative politics (Hall, 1993), comparative social policy (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996, 2000; Stone, 2001), social work (Lightfoot, 2003), public administration (Pollitt, 2003; Weyland, 2005), business management (Djelic, 2001; Neumayer & Perkins, 2005), and comparative law (Twining, 2004, 2005).

In comparative education there is a large literature on policy transfer or borrowing going back to the nineteenth century. In fact, this was the central problem of comparative education, expressed in the frequently cited question posed by one of its pioneers, Sir Michael Sadler (1900/1964, p. 307): "How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?" Attempting to learn from other education systems has become standard practice in educational policy development (Steiner-Khamsi, 2010). Much recent work (for example, Carney, 2009; Cowen, 2006, 2009; Rappleye, 2012; Schriewer, 2000; Steiner-Khamsi, 2010; Thomas & Postlethwaite, 1983, 1984; Zymek & Zymek, 2004) and especially that by Phillips and Ochs (Phillips, 2004, 2006; Phillips & Ochs, 2003; Ochs & Phillips, 2004) provides useful insights for application in our field. Here, I draw mainly on the body of theory developed by Phillips and Ochs.

The central problem of educational policy borrowing, as studied in comparative education, hinges on the relationship between *context*, "the local, social embeddedness of educational phenomena," and *transfer*, "the movement of educational ideas, policies and practices from one place to another, normally across a national boundary" (Cowen, 2006, p. 561). Both have been dealt with by Phillips and Ochs (2003); the overarching framework they proposed is that of four "principal stages of borrowing": 1) cross-national attraction; 2) decision; 3) implementation; and 4) internalization/indigenization (pp. 451–452). The basic framework is depicted in figure 3.

Here, I focus on the first and fourth stages. Stage 1, "Cross-national attraction," encompasses two elements: *impulses* and *externalizing potential*. *Impulses* are the conditions that predispose to borrowing by the borrowing

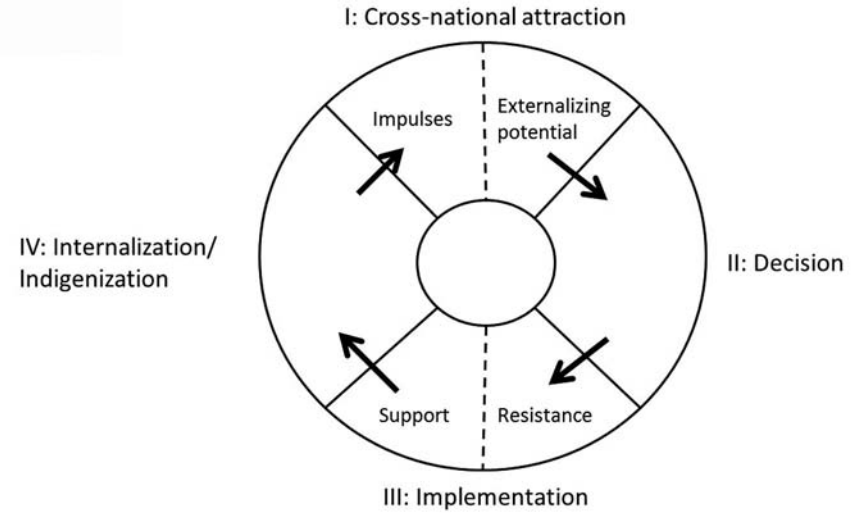

Figure 3. Simplified diagram of the four principal stages of educational policy borrowing. (Source: Adapted from Phillips and Ochs [2003, p. 452].)

country, such as internal dissatisfaction, systemic collapse, poor results in international comparisons, research findings, political and economic change, motives of political leaders, and globalization. These impulses may give rise to a search for foreign models. Many models of diffusion or policy transfer depict the process as being initiated by the originating party, but in this model it is initiated by the recipient. At this stage, the recipient is open to considering a range of aspects for borrowing: the guiding philosophy or ideology of the educational system of the other country, its ambitions or goals, strategies, enabling structures, processes, or techniques. These are referred to as the "six foci of attraction," and they constitute the *externalizing potential* of the "target country"—that is, the country from which borrowing is being considered. This is the stage at which, in South Africa, various political players started looking at foreign models that could be adopted for a postapartheid educational system.

In stage 4, Phillips and Ochs (2003) regard *internalization/indigenization* as a series of four steps: the impact of the imported model on the existing system and way of doing things; the absorption of external features of the imported model; synthesis (the process through which the imported model becomes part of the overall strategy of the borrowing country); and evaluation, which feeds back into the first stage in the form of impulses for further change, completing the circle depicted in figure 3.

Phillips and Ochs also dealt with context, identifying five "forces of context" that affect borrowing and relating them to the stages of the policy cycle. Attention is paid to contextual forces that affect the motives behind

cross-national attraction and those that act as a catalyst for cross-national inquiry, as well as to contextual interactions between the *target* (source) and *home* (recipient) countries. For example, in the fourth stage of internalization/indigenization, the similarities and differences between the two countries and the potential effect of the target country on the internalization of educational policies and practices in the recipient country need to be considered. If the context from which the borrowed policy or practice is taken is very different from the context in which it is to be adopted, and if this is not taken into account, borrowing may ultimately fail. This is cited as one of the reasons for the failure of outcome-based education (OBE) in South Africa and e-government in developing countries.

When applied to the introduction of public libraries into sub-Saharan Africa, this model does not quite fit. Initially, public libraries were introduced by colonial officials and colonists, often for their exclusive use. At a later stage, after independence, various players—such as foreign-aid agencies, the British Council, the US Information Service (USIS), book-aid charities, and other intergovernmental organizations and NGOs (such as, respectively, UNESCO and IFLA)—all came to disseminate or promote their ideas about libraries in Africa (Maack, 1980, pp. 210–212; Olden, 1995; Sturges & Neill, 1998). Thus, much of the initiative was coming from the source countries or from countries whose ideas were dominant in international organizations rather than from the recipient country. Source-pushed policy transfer also occurs in education. This aspect was addressed by Ochs and Phillips (2004) by the addition of the concept of the *continuum of educational transfer*.[3] This continuum reflects the extent to which the transfer is forced or voluntary. This can range from cases where policies are imposed through authoritarian rule or on territories governed by colonial powers to cases whereby the transfer is entirely voluntary. The distinctions made here are useful since they enable us to use the framework for the transfer of policies and practices to developing countries in colonial and postcolonial settings, as well as for the transfer under the pervasive influences associated with globalization, which cannot necessarily be attributed to a single country.

Outcomes of transfer have received much attention, not least because the transfer may fail or have unanticipated and unwelcome effects. Ochs and Phillips (2004, pp. 16–17) have tried to explain this by postulating a series of "filters" (or "lenses") through which perceptions of practice pass and are transferred. Such filters involve processes of interpretation, transmission, reception, and implementation involving different sets of individuals and agencies at each filter. Once a policy has passed through all these filters, the resulting local practices may be very different from those in the country of origin. In this connection, Cowen (2006) distinguishes among *transfer*, *translation*, and *transformation*. Simply stated, *transfer* is the movement of an idea across borders at a "space-gate moment"; *translation*

is the "shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas," which Cowen (p. 566) likens to a "chameleon process"; and *transformation* refers to the much more radical changes that take place through social and economic forces in the recipient society. These can lead to the indigenization of the new ideas or policies or to their disappearance.

An example to illustrate Cowen's distinction can be found in the development of public libraries in South Africa. During the first half of the nineteenth century, subscription libraries based on the British model made their appearance in the larger country towns, stimulated by the arrival in 1820 of a sizable number of British settlers. These libraries spread through the Cape Colony following the introduction of subventions for public libraries in 1874 (Immelman, 1972, pp. 19–26). This process of *transfer* was followed by one of *translation* as, in response to the local political context, membership of these libraries was restricted to white colonists. *Transformation* took place after World War II as the subscription libraries made way for free public libraries that were mostly affiliated with provincial library services (Musiker, 1986, pp. 171–177). These were for whites only, with separate facilities being provided on a much smaller scale for other "population groups" in accordance with apartheid policies. But, fortunately, transformation did not end there; new, more radical forms of popular library service were developing in South Africa's "townships" (Dick, 2007, pp. 16–21). During the 1980s and '90s, as the largely recreational white suburban public libraries became increasingly irrelevant, a resource-center movement aligned to antiapartheid organizations gave radical new life to the idea of "libraries for the people" (Stilwell, 2001).

Cowen's (2006) reference to a "space-gate moment" (reminiscent of space travel in science fiction) suggests a brief period (a "window of opportunity") during which circumstances are propitious for transfer. This is depicted in figure 4, which underlines the importance of the time dimension: transfer is facilitated when a particular policy or practice is available and visible in country A at a time when circumstances in country B make it receptive to innovation in respect of a similar policy or practice. In fact, there are two other possibilities: an appropriate policy is available in country A, but country B is not yet ready for it; or country B is ready for it, but in country A it is already passé or discarded.

Application to Library and Information Studies (LIS)

Many theories and models have been devised to account for the diffusion of innovations and the transfer of ideas. Some emphasize stages or cycles, others the role of relationships and networks. Together, they illuminate many different facets of diffusion, the different perspectives making possible a richer understanding. It is not my intention to contribute yet another theory or model. What is presented here is a simple framework—a

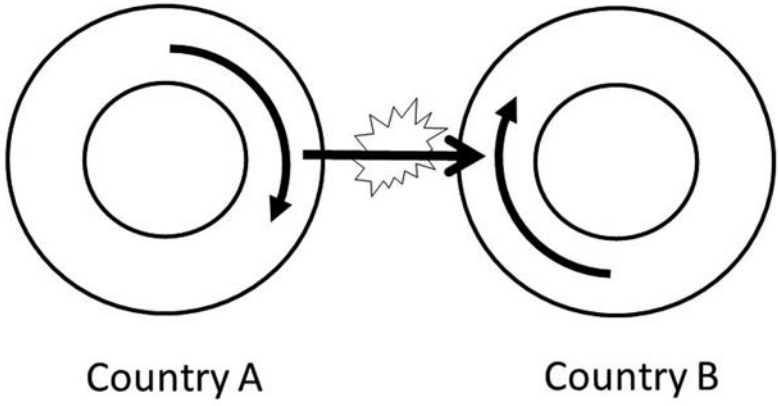

Figure 4. A "space-gate moment."

list of factors derived from the literature, which may affect diffusion in LIS. These factors are worth considering when research is conducted in this field, or when African library leaders evaluate new ideas and innovations that may be introduced from elsewhere. Hence, for most of these factors, I have added one or more "lessons" that may be considered by African decision makers in LIS.

For the purposes of this framework I use the term *transfer* to refer to what the literature may refer to as diffusion, borrowing, learning, convergence, and so on. That which is transferred is referred to as the *innovation*, in the case of artifacts, technology, techniques, procedures, and so on; but in the case of more abstract ideas, philosophies, policies, values, and influences, these terms may be used as appropriate. The lending or transferring country is referred to as the *source country*, and the borrowing country, to which an innovation is transferred, as the *recipient country*. Critics of methodological nationalism (see, for example, Dale, 2005; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002) will object that conceptualizing countries as the actors in transfer processes (for example, "the United States exported the Dewey decimal classification to South Africa") is a gross oversimplification. Institutions, government bodies, organizations, and individuals are involved in this process in both the source and recipient countries. Multiple countries may be involved as both source and (especially) recipient. Emphasis on countries overlooks transnational phenomena; some ideas may be part of the zeitgeist of an era. Global or Western influences may have become so widely diffused as to be impossible to pin down to a single source country. This is a useful caveat, but since we are concerned here with cross-national transfer, countries provide a useful point of departure for analysis and discussion. The factors are as follows: source countries; intermediaries; recipient countries; relations between source and recipient

countries; mode of transfer; agents; motives; the innovation; beneficiaries; context; timing; process; and outcomes

Source Countries

Which is the source (lending, transferring) country? Is more than one source country involved? Continental Europeans (Bertrand, 2013; Vitiello, 1996) often refer to "Anglo-Saxon" influences, meaning US and British influences. Today, arguably, these influences are more American than British. Instead of a country, the source of the innovation may be more generalized (as in ideas that have become common currency regionally or worldwide). A great deal of what we may consider to be universal or international principles and practices in librarianship, disseminated by international bodies, may be imbued with Western values, neoliberal capitalism, and managerialism.

Simultaneous or sequential borrowing from more than one source country can lead to crosscurrents. Carroll, Kerr, Musa, and Afzal (2013) studied the interactions resulting from the introduction of competing and contradictory British and US models of LIS education in four countries in the British Commonwealth: Australia, Jamaica, Nigeria, and Pakistan. Tensions arising from the competing models gave rise to recurring debates. A somewhat similar situation arose in South Africa during the 1930s and '40s. Here, the library association provided training and set examinations based on those of the (British) Library Association. The conflict that arose in the profession when American-influenced university courses were introduced in certain universities was described by Malan (1970). However, Malan did not deal with the broader political context that pitted an Afrikaner camp in favor of university education on the side of P. C. Coetzee, an Afrikaner nationalist who had initiated such education at the University of Pretoria, against an English-speaking group that adhered to the British model.

Lesson 1: Be aware of the source of the innovation and of its possible ideological implications.

Intermediaries

The diffusion of innovations may be a multistage process; for example, when British and US library ideas are transferred to other African countries via South Africa or Botswana. Many library leaders in sub-Saharan Africa have received their library education at the University of Botswana. Since 1994, South African influence has grown because the country has an advanced LIS infrastructure and accepts increasing numbers of PhD students from other African countries.

International bodies, both intergovernmental organizations (such as UNESCO) and international NGOs (such as IFLA) have been criticized for disseminating Western library concepts globally—for example, through UNESCO/IFLA guidelines and standards (Neri, 2009). Pilerot

and Lindberg (2011) have written a critique of information literacy advocacy and policymaking by UNESCO and IFLA, alleging that the emphasis of these two organizations on textual sources and technology borders on an imperialistic project.

Lesson 2: The policy offerings of even trusted international bodies should be scrutinized critically.

Recipient Countries

Which is the recipient (borrowing, receiving) country? Is more than one recipient country involved? Where are the recipients located? What is their development status? This leads to the next element.

Relations between Source and Recipient Countries

Ideas can spread between neighboring countries as a result of proximity, or they may spread to distant countries due to trade links and historical, cultural, linguistic, and other affinities and relationships that exist between them. What relationships of political and economic power exist between them that may play a role—for example, equality, dominance, conquest, colonization, or shared membership of an association or alliance of nations? In Africa, it is clear that colonial ties have greatly influenced library principles and practice (Maack, 1982). Former French colonies have adopted many of the characteristics of librarianship in France (Dione, 2012; Maack, 1981; Sène, 1992). Former British colonies were heavily influenced by Anglo-American models (Olden, 1995; Rosenberg, 1993; Sturges, 2001). Even today, it seems that as far as library development is concerned, the relationship of Francophone countries to their former colonial power seems to be stronger than their relationship with their immediate Anglophone neighbors. It will be interesting to see how this changes over time and how library development proceeds in countries like Mozambique, which has a long Portuguese colonial history, but has joined the British Commonwealth. Colonial history is a major determinant of library development; formal political independence does not necessarily terminate the colonial influence.

Lesson 3: Be aware of the power relationships between source and recipient countries.

Mode of Transfer

On whose initiative does transfer occur? Is it initiated in the source or the recipient country? Is the transfer process in one direction only, or is there mutual influence and learning? Who controls the process? Phillips and Ochs (2003) refer to the source country as the "target country," implying that it is the recipient country that initiates a search for an innovation. But where the source country takes the initiative, particularly in cases of coercive transfer, it seems rather that the recipient country is the target. Is transfer imposed or voluntary? There are various gradations between

these two extremes. The colonial conditions referred to in the preceding paragraph are at the involuntary end of the spectrum; at the voluntary end, innovations are "introduced through influence." One example of such influence is that of government agencies of cultural diplomacy, such as the British Council, which both before and after independence played a major role in disseminating an inappropriate British public library model in former British colonies (Kaungamno, 1985; Olden, 1995). Government aid agencies impose varying conditions on the projects they sponsor, as do US foundations. Aid is never free of ideology; in postcolonial conditions, it is naïve to think that policy borrowing from a developed country can be entirely value-free.

Lesson 4: Understand whose initiative sets the transfer process in motion. It is generally better if the recipient country takes the initiative.

Agents

The diffusion of innovation and policy transfer can be seen in primarily structural terms, as inevitable movements between influential and less influential entities or between more and less highly developed societies, which is the questionable assumption of *diffusionism*. But the role of individuals with foresight, energy, and strong convictions must not be underestimated. Here, we think of Andrew Carnegie, whose posthumous influence in the old Commonwealth dominions (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa) did not extend merely to his funding of the erection of library buildings but also had a major impact on the education and professionalization of library workers along American lines—leading, in some cases, to the clash referred to earlier of British traditions and new American ideas. In West and East Africa, the influence, for better or worse, of British expatriates has been well-documented (for example, Olden, 1995).

In countries where major transfers of LIS philosophy have taken place, one can usually find one or more individuals who have served as change agents or "midwives" to facilitate the adoption of new ideas—for example, Eugène Morel in France (Maack, 1986). Today, it is recognized that networking among professional leaders, particularly in transnational networks and advocacy coalitions (Pons and van Zanten, 2007), may be an important factor. It would be interesting to examine the influence of the relatively small group of African library leaders that have studied in the United States as Fulbright scholars or were graduates of the universities of Aberystwyth, Sheffield, Loughborough, or Pittsburgh, to mention just a few of the major LIS schools that attracted many students from Anglophone developing countries. Other potentially influential groups are those who are privileged regularly to attend IFLA and other international conferences, and those who worked in British Council libraries or the USIS or US embassies.

Lesson 5: Identify and understand the key individuals and networks that promote policy transfer in both the source and recipient countries, and the links between them.

Motives

When considering transfer and influence from the political and economic perspectives at the level of countries, questions arise about government strategies and/or policies that motivate transfer: what are the motives that can be imputed to the source country or to the agents or institutions involved? In Anglophone Africa and beyond, the library influence of the British Council and the USIS (which was later incorporated into the US Department of State) has been profound. Neither of these agencies is funded by its government for entirely altruistic reasons (Amadi, 1981, pp. 69–70); they are used to conduct "soft diplomacy" by promoting political and economic interests through art, culture, and education (Kraske, 1985; Maack, 2001; Robbins, 2001).

In any study of the diffusion of Anglo-American library ideas worldwide, the influence of professional education stands out. Wherever we look, whether in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, or Asia and Oceania, library education has been profoundly influenced by expatriate teachers, especially from the United States and United Kingdom. Almost immediately afterwards, this influence has been reinforced by librarians who returned to their countries after graduating in the United States or United Kingdom to set up library schools, devise curricula, and teach. Thus, for the donor countries, granting Fulbright and other scholarships has been a very worthwhile investment in cultural diplomacy.

The parallel question is: what are the motives that can be imputed to the recipient country or to the agents or institutions involved? A president or cabinet minister may return from a foreign trip with ideas for "quick fixes" to the educational system that may help win votes in the next election; Phillips and Ochs (2003, p. 455) refer to such initiatives as "phony." A Western government may seek to extend its influence or reward a compliant ally by donating a new university library building in the province constituting the president's main power base. Such motives may overrule any rational planning process. A previous South African Minister of Arts and Culture returned after a visit to a country in Asia with the idea of a large-scale exchange of books between the national libraries of South Africa and the Asian country. But how would the National Library of South Africa organize a collection of several thousand books in a language and script known by only a handful of South Africans? And, given that South Africans are reluctant to read anything in foreign languages, even French and Portuguese, which are widely spoken within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), who would read them?

Lesson 6: Scrutinize and understand the motives of those who promote policy

transfer both in the source and recipient countries, bearing in mind that positive consequences can flow from activities that are motivated by self-serving concerns and vice versa.

Lesson 7: Seek to maximize the benefits and minimize the risks of what is offered.

The Innovation

A central question concerns *what* is transferred. What are the *characteristics* of the innovation? The characteristics distinguished by Rogers (2003) are relevant here: namely, relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trial-ability, and observability. One may argue, however, that some of these are the perceptions of potential adopters rather than being characteristic of the innovation. A second question is: what is the nature of what is transferred? As suggested by the "six foci of attraction" of Phillips and Ochs (2003) and transposing these categories to LIS, the nature of what is transferred can range from quite concrete and technical things, such as library materials, databases, equipment, and computer systems; through readily documented and taught procedures and techniques; to more complex phenomena, such as the LIS education and training system and the establishment of professional training; to policies on funding and governance—all of which being ultimately grounded in the institutional and national educational and cultural philosophies, values, and social aims.

The literature suggests that "hard" (concrete, technical) innovations can be adopted more readily than "soft" ones—those involving goals, values, and philosophies. The latter are more context dependent and will encounter greater resistance in the receiving country, as hypothesized in figure 5, which is based on figures 1 and 2. The figure is suggestive only and does not set out an absolute hierarchy of innovations.

I suggest that there will be higher context dependence and higher resistance to innovation nearer the base of the pyramid because these elements are more fundamental, more embedded in history and tradition, and more constrained by politics and economics. Furthermore, the elements are all interconnected: elements at the top of the pyramid require support from those below. For example, in South Africa, any group of people can come together and form an association to promote their shared interests. However, in some developing countries, civil society is looked on with suspicion; founding an association requires permission from a cabinet minister or other senior functionary, and this may be long in coming. Thus, governance policies may constrain the development of professional associations and may impede the development of the library profession. Policies on the types and levels of higher education that are funded by government may determine what kinds of LIS qualifications can be offered. If, as in some countries, financial regulations hold librarians personally liable for missing library books, interlibrary lending will be inhibited. The introduction of concrete innovations, which are readily

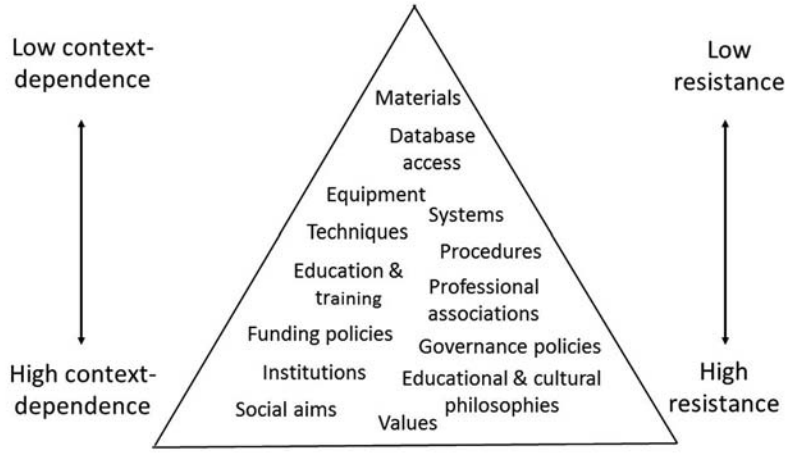

Figure 5. The hypothesized relationship between context dependence and the degree of resistance to an innovation.

adopted in widely different societies, can have enormous repercussions much lower down in the pyramid.

Lesson 8: Carefully analyze the nature of the innovation that is proposed, bearing in mind that any innovation entails changes in entities both above and below it within the hierarchy. Nothing is ever as simple as it seems.

Beneficiaries

Who are the beneficiaries of the innovation or new policy? In Africa, libraries were initially established for the use of colonial officials and colonists. Whom are African public libraries intended to serve today? Whose welfare is served—a small, literate urban elite's? Three decades ago, Mchombu (1982, p. 246) lamented that in East Africa, after fifteen years of investment, library systems were barely reaching 1 percent of the population.

It is also possible that the main beneficiary is the donor. For example, a well-endowed research library in a wealthy country offers to assist in setting up a program to digitize the struggle archives of a developing country. Who are the primary beneficiaries of the digitized materials: professors and PhD students in the wealthy country? In that case, could the limited human resources of the recipient country not be better utilized in some other way? (See Limb [2007].) I am reminded here of the critical questions that Kagan (2007) asks about the value of "American corners"—collections donated by the US Department of State to be accommodated and cared for by recipient libraries. Given the limited space and limited professional staff available in recipient institutions, is it justifiable to set space and staff aside for these collections? These resources could conceivably have been better utilized for other purposes.

Lesson 9: Identify the ultimate beneficiaries, and ask whether they are the ones who most deserve the benefits of the proposed innovation.

Context

Policy transfer requires that there should be some congruence between the source and recipient contexts. *Context* refers, on the one hand, to the institutional or administrative framework in which the innovation is sourced and introduced, and, on the other, to the broader societal milieu or circumstances in the source and recipient countries at the time of transfer. From which sector, institution, or organization in the source country and from what context (cultural, social, economic, political, and so on) does the innovation derive? Into which sector, institution, or organization in the recipient country and into what context (cultural, social, economic, political, and so on) in the recipient country is the innovation introduced?

Until World War II, the introduction of American-style public libraries in Germany failed. In the nineteenth century, progressive librarians and educationalists who had visited the United States and been impressed by its public libraries wanted to set up similar institutions in Germany. But it did not seem sensible to decision makers that working-class individuals should want or need to read the same materials as the more highly educated and affluent classes. Some influential library leaders bitterly fought this idea of American-style public libraries. This controversy about the direction that public libraries should take became known in Germany as the *Richtungstreit* (Chaplan, 1971). Essentially, the innovators wanted to transplant an institution from a democratic and egalitarian society into an authoritarian and stratified society like Germany's. A rather similar situation is highlighted by Sturges (1997) in a study of library conditions in Malawi during the regime of President Hastings Banda. Here, librarians wanting to promote library development were trying to persuade the government to increase funding for libraries on the grounds that information is power, while Banda's regime was trying by every conceivable means to restrict the free flow of information. The president was well-aware that information is power and was determined not to let go of it.

As previously mentioned, in many African countries, public libraries failed to thrive in the decades following independence because they had been set up according to a British model, which assumed inter alia an urbanized, moderately affluent, literate population speaking English (a language with a huge and varied book production). Britain also has relatively well-organized and financially viable local authorities. In the absence of these conditions, it was not surprising that African public libraries have fared poorly since independence. Commenting on the results of a survey of public libraries in nine Anglophone African countries, Issak (2000, p. 12) stated that

> public library models were imported into Africa, without any consideration of the real situation of the continent and of the information needs of the people. Public libraries in Africa have therefore failed to fulfil their role within society because they were built for a small percentage of users, the ones with access to formal education systems. Additionally, the provision of library services now are not taking the political, social and economic realities of the African countries into consideration.

In the literature of information system design for developing countries, much emphasis is placed on what are called "design-reality gaps," of which three "archetypes" are identified by Heeks (2003, p. 5):

- *Hard–soft gaps*: The gap between the technology (hard) and the social context of people, culture, politics, and so on (soft)
- *Private–public gaps*: Systems that work in the private sector will not necessarily work in the public sector
- *Country–context gaps*: A system designed for a developed country will not necessarily work in a developing country, which has different circumstances and constraints

It is the last of these gaps that is particularly relevant here.

Lesson 10: Analyze the context of the proposed innovation in both the source and recipient country. The better the match between them, the better the prognosis. Pay attention to the gaps. If the gaps are significant, the match is poor and the outcome will be uncertain. Pay particular attention to the needs and characteristics of intended beneficiaries, skills base, infrastructure, and cultural, social, and political factors.

Timing

The contexts of the source and recipient countries change from time to time, giving rise to Cowen's (2006) "space-gate moment," when the availability of a model in a source country or its prominence in the media coincides with a need in a recipient country, and when the preconditions for "large-scale, cross-national structural transfer" identified by Djelic (2001, pp. 66–68) are in place.

In South Africa, many librarians thought such a "space-gate moment" had arrived in the early 1990s, as the country prepared for the African National Congress (ANC) to come to power. Important statements of principles and policy gave rise to expectations that a socialist-inclined government would assume power. One was the *Freedom Charter* (ANC, 1955/2011), a statement of the core principles of the ANC and its allies; another was the *White Paper on Reconstruction and Development,* generally known as the *RDP White Paper* (ANC, 1994), a left-leaning blueprint for the new South Africa. Although the document had little to say about libraries, it had a lot to say about social justice (Lor, 1994). Generally, socialist or left-wing governments were thought to be more library friendly than right-wing ones. Progressive librarians thus had high hopes for a unified,

democratic, nonracial library and information dispensation that would serve the entire population, inspired in part by the example of socialist countries. (Ironically, at this very time in most socialist countries, their highly elaborate library systems were being savagely cut back under the influence of the neoliberal economic policies adopted after the breakup of the Soviet Union.) Members of the profession invested a great deal of time and energy in participating in a number of policy-development processes: the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI); Implementation Proposals for Education and Training (IPET); and the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) (Nassimbeni, 2001). The results were disappointing, as the ANC-led government swung toward neoliberal policies and essentially abandoned the white paper (Terreblanche, 1999). Clearly, the space-gate moment had not arrived. It turned out later that librarians' efforts had not been wasted. In 2005, the South African government announced that an investment of R1 billion would be made in the upgrading and expansion of public library services (Witbooi, 2007). One would like to think that the awareness raised in government through librarians' participation in the policy-development processes of the 1990s helped to create a favorable climate; this time, the space-gate moment was created by the government's decision to invest heavily in infrastructure.

In innovation and policy transfer there is a risk that innovations or policies will be adopted that are already nearing the end of their "shelf life" in the source country. One such example is provided by the experience of a number of pioneer African librarians who traveled to Britain during the 1950s and '60s to work in British libraries and obtain associateship in the Library Association. However, during the 1960s and '70s, the British moved to university-based education for librarians. Sturges and Neill (1998, p. 108) comment that this had a "disastrous effect" as the Library Association associates and fellows now appeared to have inferior qualifications in comparison with younger librarians returning from Britain with graduate qualifications.

Lesson 11: Seize the "space-gate moment," but be aware that the future is uncertain and present circumstances in the recipient country may change quickly.

Lesson 12: Beware of introducing innovations that are already passé or questioned in the originating country.

Process

There are many ways of looking at the transfer process. The principal stages of borrowing in the Phillips and Ochs (2003) model provide a useful framework for questions, of which I can give no more than a few examples:

- How does a climate conducive to seeking foreign solutions develop in the recipient country? (Which impulses stimulate a search for, or open-

ness to, solutions from other countries? What political processes are involved?)
- How is the process of change launched?
- Are there circumstances in the source country that are favorable to the process?
- What barriers or obstacles are there to transfer (for example, the "gaps" identified by Heeks [2003])?
- Which are the forces arrayed in support of, or resistance to, it?
- What strategies do they use?
- How does this contest play out?

With hindsight, it is clear that the librarians who worked so hard during the 1990s to influence government decision making on libraries largely lacked political experience, senior-enough contacts, visibility, and clout. This is hardly surprising, given that the ANC's accession to power was a once-in-a-lifetime experience; they also did not, until later, have a unified profession behind them. Sometimes, obstacles or resistance arise in unexpected quarters; civil society does not always function harmoniously. Those who have participated in UN summits, such as the World Summit on the Information Society, will have observed much jockeying for position and competition for the ownership of processes among civil-society participants. An understanding of the dynamics of civil society can be invaluable.

Lesson 13: Know enough about the transfer (borrowing) process to be able to understand and interpret events, reactions, positions taken, and the discourse around the innovation at various points in the process. Seek to identify and evaluate the forces for and against the innovation.

Outcomes

The outcome of a transfer process is not necessarily the adoption of a policy or innovation. The effects of innovations can be direct or indirect, intended or unintended, beneficial or harmful. An innovation may be successfully indigenized, leading to the transformation of the recipient system. However, an innovation that is adopted may have unwelcome effects (Rogers, 2003). The literature is replete with examples of unintended consequences. These include some innovations that attracted much hype—for example, the Indian "computer in the wall" experiment (Warschauer, 2002). One of the unintended consequences of the very thorough library training that young African librarians received in Britain was an excessive fixation on technical matters. Some donors have horror stories to tell of returning to recipient libraries to find book donations that are still in the boxes in which they arrived a year or two earlier. In a case recounted by Sturges and Neill (1998, pp. 91–92), donated books could not be made available to readers because there were no catalog trays in which to file

the catalog cards. Thus, the striving for technical perfection defeated the purpose of rendering the material available to users.

An innovation may be rejected but still leave behind some useful traces (Gruber, 2004). An idea that was initially rejected may be resuscitated later, when contextual factors are more favorable. We have to bear in mind that many policy-transfer initiatives fail, and that the cost of failure to the recipient country can be high (Heeks, 2003).

Lesson 14: Be wary, but do not be paralyzed by indecision. Policy-transfer initiatives can result in unqualified success, partial failure (the most likely outcome in policy transfer), or costly total failure. But even in cases of total failure, some learning takes place.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to derive some lessons from the quite extensive literature of innovation in various disciplines other than LIS, concentrating on the insights that have been gained in comparative education. I have barely scratched the surface of the theory and research that has been developed in the pursuit of a better understanding of the diffusion of innovations and policy transfer. Often, we can learn more from the failures of others than from their successes.

Innovation is key to the success of Homo sapiens, allowing us to spread throughout the world and occupy a wide range of ecological niches. There is a downside to this, as many of our innovations have negative side effects that place the planet at risk. But we can learn from experience to minimize the risks as we maximize the benefits of the ideas that we borrow and put to work. In LIS, the risks involved in borrowing are not nearly as spectacular as they are in some other fields, but the risks are real, if only in wasted resources and lost opportunities. In Africa, we have many challenges and limited resources. In policy transfer, things are never quite what they seem. We need to borrow wisely.

Acknowledgments

This paper is an adapted and expanded version of the Seventh Annual Public Lecture on African Librarianship in the Twenty-first Century, delivered under the auspices of the IFLA Regional Office for Africa and the University of South Africa (UNISA), at UNISA, Pretoria, on May 22, 2014. It incorporates material from the author's book, currently in progress, on international and comparative library and information studies.

Notes

1. Sadly, this scene would not be replicated in schools located in less affluent areas. Less than half of South Africa's children have access to a functioning and professionally staffed school library (Hart & Zinn, 2007, pp. 92–93).
2. Note the horticultural metaphor, which embodies one of many ways of thinking about policy transfer.

3. The gradations distinguished in the Ochs and Phillips (2004) "continuum" are not entirely clear. For example, should colonies be seen as under "totalitarian/authoritarian rule" or as "defeated/occupied countries"?

References

African National Congress (ANC). (1994). *RDP white paper: Discussion document.* Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=232

African National Congress (ANC). (2011). *The Freedom Charter.* (Original work published 1955.) Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72

Amadi, A. O. (1981). *African libraries: Western tradition and colonial brainwashing.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow.

Archer, E., & Brown, G. T. L. (2013). Beyond rhetoric: Leveraging learning from New Zealand's assessment tools for teaching and learning for South Africa. *Education as Change, 17*(1), 131–147.

Bertrand, A.-M. (2013). Un anglicisme encombrant: les sciences de l'information et des bibliothèques en France [An awkward Anglicism: Information science and libraries in France]. *Revue de L'enssib, 1.* Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://revue.enssib.fr/un-anglicisme-encombrant-les-sciences-de-l%E2%80%99information-et-des-biblioth%C3%A8ques-en-france

Black, A., Pepper, S., & Bagshaw, K. (2009). *Books, buildings and social engineering: Early public libraries in Britain from past to present.* Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Boamah, E. (2014). *Towards effective management and preservation of digital cultural heritage resources: An exploration of contextual factors in Ghana.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved July 26, 2015, from http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/3270/thesis.pdf?sequence=2

Briquet de Lemos, A. A. (1981). *A portrait of librarianship in developing societies.* Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Graduate School of Library and Information Science. Retrieved July 26, 2015, from https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/bitstream/handle/2142/3806/gslisoccasionalpv00000i00148.pdf?sequence=1

Carney, S. (2009). Negotiating policy in an age of globalization: Exploring educational "policyscapes" in Denmark, Nepal, and China. *Comparative Education Review, 53*(1), 63–88.

Carroll, M., Kerr, P., Musa, A. I., & Afzal, W. (2013). Commonwealth of uncertainty: How British and American professional models of library practice have shaped LIS education in selected former British colonies and dominions. *IFLA Journal, 39*(2), 121–133.

Chaplan, M. (1971). American ideas in German public libraries: Three periods. *Library Quarterly, 41*(4), 46–53.

Cheng, H. (2001). The effect of the cold war on librarianship in China. *Libraries & Culture, 36*(1), 40–50.

Chisholm, L. (2005). The politics of curriculum review and revision in South Africa in regional context. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education, 35*(1), 79–100.

Cowen, R. (2006). Acting comparatively upon the educational world: Puzzles and possibilities. *Oxford Review of Education, 32*(5), 561–573.

Cowen, R. (2009). The transfer, translation and transformation of educational processes: And their shape-shifting? *Comparative Education, 45*(3), 315–327.

Dada, D. (2006). The failure of e-government in developing countries: A literature review. *Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries, 26*(1), 1–10.

Dahlkild, N. (2006). *Åbningen af biblioteksrummet—de formative år i Danske folkebibliotekers arkitekturi det 20. århundredes første halvdel* [The opening of the library space—the formative years of Danish public libraries architecture in the first half of the 20th century]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Danmarks Biblioteksskole, Copenhagen. Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://iva.ku.dk/ansatte/?pure=files%2F47056376%2Fnan_dahlkild_phd.pdf

Dahlkild, N. (2011). *Biblioteket I tid og rum: arkitektur, indretning og formidling* [The library in time and space: Architecture, design and communication]. Copenhagen: Danmarks Biblioteksforening.

Dale, R. (2005). Globalisation, knowledge economy and comparative education. *Comparative Education, 41*(2), 117–149.

Darch, C., & Underwood, P. G. (2010). *Freedom of information in the developing world: The citizen, the state and models of openness.* Oxford: Chandos.

Davis, F. D., Bagozzi, R. P., & Warshaw, P. R. (1989). User acceptance of computer technology: A comparison of two theoretical models. *Management Science, 35*(8), 982–1003.

Dick, A. L. (2007). The development of South African libraries in the 19th and 20th centuries: Cultural and political influences. In T. J. D. Bothma, P. G. Underwood, & P. Ngulube (Eds.), *Libraries for the future: Progress and development of South African libraries* (pp. 13–24). Pretoria: Library and Information Association of South Africa.

Dione, B. (2012). The development of libraries in sub-Saharan Francophone West Africa with a focus on the Senegalese situation. In R. N. Sharma (Ed.), *Libraries in the early 21st century: An international perspective: Vol. 2* (pp. 463–471). Berlin: De Gruyter Saur.

Djelic, M.-L. (2001). *Exporting the American model: The postwar transformation of European business.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (1996). Who learns what from whom: A review of the policy transfer literature. *Political Studies, 44*(2), 343–357.

Dolowitz, D., & Marsh, D. (2000). Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance, 13*(1), 5–23.

Gassol de Horowitz, R. (1988). *Librarianship: A Third World perspective.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Gonçalves, S., Laguna, M. F., & Iglesias, J. R. (2012). Why, when, and how fast innovations are adopted. *European Phys. Journal B, 85*(192) (arXiv:1208.2589). Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://arxiv.org/abs/1208.2589

Gruber, K. H. (2004). The rise and fall of Austrian interest in English education. In D. Phillips & K. Ochs (Eds.), *Educational policy borrowing: Historical perspectives* (pp. 185–197). Oxford: Symposium.

Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics, 25*(3), 275–296.

Hart, G., & Zinn, S. (2007). The conundrum of school libraries in South Africa. In T. J. D. Bothma, P. G. Underwood, & P. Ngulube (Eds.), *Libraries for the future: Progress and development of South African libraries* (pp. 89–106). Pretoria: Library and Information Association of South Africa.

Heeks, R. (2003). *Most e-government-for-development projects fail: How can risks be reduced?* (iGovernment working paper series #14). Manchester: Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester. Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/NISPAcee/UNPAN015488.pdf

Immelman, R. F. M. (1972). The history of libraries in South Africa. In J. G. Kesting, S. I. Malan, A. H. Smith, & L. E. Taylor (Eds.), *Give the people light: Essays in honour of Matthew Miller Stirling* (pp. 15–37). Pretoria: State Library.

Issak, A. (2000). *Public libraries in Africa: A report and annotated bibliography.* Oxford: INASP. Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://www.inasp.info/uploads/filer_public/2013/03/08/public_libraries_in_africa.pdf

Jansen, J. D. (2004). Importing outcomes-based education into South Africa: Policy borrowing in a post-communist world. In D. Phillips & K. Ochs (Eds.), *Educational policy borrowing: Historical perspectives* (pp. 199–220). Oxford: Symposium.

Kagan, A. (2007). Amerikansk bibliotekskolonialism [American library colonialism]. *Bibliotek & Samhalle, 1*, 16.

Kaungamno, E. E. (1985). Patterns of library and information services in some Anglophone African countries south of the Sahara. In M. Wise (Ed.), *Aspects of African librarianship: A collection of writings* (pp. 1–30). London: Mansell.

Knuth, R. (1995). School librarianship and macro-level policy issues: International perspectives. *IFLA Journal, 21*(4), 290–298.

Knuth, R. (1999). On a spectrum: International models of school librarianship. *Library Quarterly, 69*(1), 33–56.

Kraske, G. E. (1985). *Missionaries of the book: The American library profession and the origins of United States cultural diplomacy.* Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Lightfoot, E. (2003). The policy transfer model. *Social Policy Journal, 2*(1), 21–34.

Limb, P. (2007). The politics of digital "reform and revolution": Towards mainstreaming and African control of African digitisation. *Innovation: Journal of Appropriate Librarianship, 34*, 18–27.

Liu, Y., & Rousseau, R. (2012). Towards a representation of diffusion and interaction of scientific ideas: The case of fiber optics communication. *Information Processing & Management, 48*(4), 791–801.

Lor, P. J. (1994). The RDP and LIS: An analysis of the Reconstruction and Development Programme from the perspective of library and information services. *South African Journal of Library and Information Science, 62*(4), 128–135.

Maack, M. N. (1980). Libraries for the general public in French-speaking Africa: Their cultural role, 1803–1975. *Journal of Library History, 16*(1), 210–225.

Maack, M. N. (1981). *Libraries in Senegal: Continuity and change in an emerging nation.* Chicago: American Library Association.

Maack, M. N. (1982). The colonial legacy in West African libraries: A comparative analysis. *Advances in Librarianship, 12*, 173–245.

Maack, M. N. (1986). Americans in France: Cross-cultural exchange and the diffusion of innovations. *Journal of Library History, 21*(2), 315–333.

Maack, M. N. (2001). Books and libraries as instruments of cultural diplomacy in Francophone Africa during the cold war. *Libraries & Culture, 36*(1), 58–86.

Malan, S. I. (1970). Die opleiding van professionele bibliotekarisse in Suid-Afrika [The training of professional librarians in South Africa]. In J. G. Kesting, S. I. Malan, A. H. Smith, & L. E. Taylor (Eds.), *Libraries and people: Essays offered to R. F. M. Immelman* (pp. 28–58). Cape Town: C. Struik.

Maodzwa-Taruvinga, M., & Cross, M. (2012). Jonathan Jansen and the curriculum debate in South Africa: An essay review of Jansen's writings between 1999 and 2009. *Curriculum Inquiry, 42*(1), 126–152.

Mbatha, B. T., Ocholla, D. N., & Roux, J. L. (2011). Diffusion and adoption of ICTs in selected government departments in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Information Development, 27*(4), 251–263.

Mchombu, K. J. (1982). On the librarianship of poverty. *Libri, 32*(3), 241–250.

Minishi-Majanja, M. K., & Kiplang'at, J. (2004). The diffusion of innovations theory as a theoretical framework for library and information science research. In T. J. D. Bothma & A. Kaniki (Eds.), *PROLISSA 2004: Progress in library and information science in Southern Africa, proceedings of the third biennial DISSAnet conference, Pretoria, 28–29 October 2004* (pp. 325–341). Pretoria: Infuse.

Montana, P. J., & Charnov, B. H. (2008). *Management* (4th ed.). New York: Barron's Educational.

Musiker, R. (1986). *Companion to South African libraries.* Craighall, SA: Ad. Donker.

Nassimbeni, M. (2001). Library and information policy in South Africa in the nineties and beyond: Process, product and practice. In C. Stilwell, A. Leach, & S. Burton (Eds.), *Knowledge, information and development: An African perspective* (pp. 25–39). Pietermaritzburg: School of Human and Social Studies, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg).

Neo, E., & Calvert, P. J. (2012). Facebook and the diffusion of innovation in New Zealand public libraries. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science, 44*(4), 227–237.

Neri, F. (2009, March). *La biblioteca di Babele: Come (non) scrivere linee guida nell'era della globalizzazione* [The library of Babel: How (not) to write guidelines in the era of globalization]. Paper presented at the Convegno "Il mondo in biblioteca / La biblioteca nel mondo. Verso una dimensione internazionale del servizio e della professione," Palazzo Stelline, Milano.

Neumayer, E., & Perkins, R. (2005). Uneven geographies of organizational practice: Explaining the cross-national transfer and diffusion of ISO 9000. *Economic Geography, 81*(3), 237–259.

Ochai, A. (1984). The purpose of the library in colonial tropical Africa: An historical survey. *International Library Review, 16*(3), 309–315.

Ochs, K., & Phillips, D. (2004). Processes of educational borrowing in historical context. In D. Phillips & K. Ochs (Eds.), *Educational policy borrowing: Historical perspectives* (pp. 7–23). Oxford: Symposium.

Olden, A. (1995). *Libraries in Africa: Pioneers, policies, problems.* Lanham, MD: Scarecrow.

Perry, R. W. (2000). Diffusion theories. In E. F. Borgatta & R. J. V. Montgomery (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of sociology: Vol. 1* (2nd ed.) (pp. 674–681). New York: Macmillan Library Reference.

Phillips, D. (2004). Towards a theory of policy attraction in education. In G. Steiner-Khamsi (Ed.), *The global politics of educational borrowing and lending* (pp. 54–67). New York: Teachers College Press.

Phillips, D. (2006). Comparative education: An approach to educational inquiry. In C. F. Conrad & R. C. Serlin (Eds.), *The Sage handbook for research in education: Engaging ideas and enriching inquiry* (pp. 279–294). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phillips, D., & Ochs, K. (2003). Processes of policy borrowing in education: Some explanatory and analytical devices. *Comparative Education, 39*(4), 451–461.

Pilerot, O., & Lindberg, J. (2011). The concept of information literacy in policy-making texts: An imperialistic project? *Library Trends, 60*(2), 338–360.

Pollitt, C. (2003). Public management reform: Reliable knowledge and international experience. *OECD Journal on Budgeting, 3*(3), 121–136.

Pons, X., & van Zanten, A. (2007). *Knowledge circulation, regulation and governance: Literature review* (part 6). Louvain, Belgium: KNOW and POL project (Knowledge and policy in the education and health sectors). Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://www.knowandpol.eu/Literature-review-and-theoretical,142.html?lang=en&rub_id=263

Rappleye, J. (2012). *Educational policy transfer in an era of globalization: Theory–history–comparison Vol. 23.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Raseroka, H. K. (1994). Changes in public libraries during the last twenty years: An African perspective. *Libri, 44*(2), 153–163.

Robbins, L. S. (2001). The overseas libraries controversy and the freedom to read: U.S. librarians and publishers confront Joseph McCarthy. *Libraries & Culture, 36*(1), 27–39.

Rochester, M. K. (1981). *American influence in New Zealand librarianship as facilitated by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations* (5th ed.). New York: Free Press.

Rosenberg, D. (1993). Imposing libraries: The establishment of national public library services in Africa, with particular reference to Kenya. *Third World Libraries, 4*(1), 35–44.

Sadler, M. E. (1964). How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education? Notes of an address given at the Guildford Educational Conference, on Saturday, October 20, by M. E. Sadler, Christ Church, Oxford. *Comparative Education Review, 7*(3), 307–314. (Original work published 1900)

Schriewer, J. (2000). World system and interrelationship networks: The internationalization of education and the role of comparative enquiry. In T. S. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Educational knowledge: Changing relationships between the state, civil society, and the educational community* (pp. 305–343). Albany: SUNY Press.

Sène, H. (1992). Les bibliothèques en Afrique Occidentale Française: 1800–1958 [Libraries in French West Africa: 1800–1958]. *Libri, 42*(4), 306–329.

Shayo, C. (2010). Information technology adoption. In M. J. Bates & M. N. Maack (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of library and information science: Vol. 4* (pp. 2653–2665). Boca Raton, FL: CRC.

Spreen, C. A. (2004). The vanishing origins of outcomes-based education. In D. Phillips & K. Ochs (Eds.), *Educational policy borrowing: Historical perspectives* (pp. 221–236). Oxford: Symposium.

Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2010). The politics and economics of comparison. *Comparative Education Review, 54*(3), 323–342.

Stilwell, C. (2001). Community resource centres: A turn-of-the-century update. In C. Stilwell, A. Leach, & S. Burton (Eds.), *Knowledge, information and development: An African perspective* (pp. 200–214). Pietermaritzburg: School of Human and Social Studies, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg).

Stone, D. (2001). *Learning lessons, policy transfer and the international diffusion of policy ideas.* Coventry: Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick.

Sturges, P. (1997). The political economy of information: Malawi under Kamuzu Banda, 1964–1994. In J. Feather (Ed.), *Transforming libraries and educating librarians: Essays in memory of Peter Havard-Williams.* London: Taylor Graham.

Sturges, P. (2001). The poverty of librarianship: An historical critique of public librarianship in Anglophone Africa. *Libri, 51*(1), 38–48.

Sturges, P., & Neill, R. (1990). *The quiet struggle: Information and libraries for the people of Africa.* London: Mansell.

Sturges, P., & Neill, R. (1998). *The quiet struggle: Information and libraries for the people of Africa* (2nd ed.). London: Mansell.

Terreblanche, S. J. (1999). The ideological journey of South Africa: From the RDP to the GEAR macro-economic plan. Retrieved March 20, 2015, from http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/confer/me99/procs/pro_terr.htm

Thomas, R. M., & Postlethwaite, T. N. (1983). *Schooling in East Asia: Forces of change—formal and nonformal education in Japan, the Republic of China, The People's Republic of China, South Korea, North Korea, Hong Kong, and Macau.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Thomas, R. M., & Postlethwaite, T. N. (1984). *Schooling in the Pacific islands: Colonies in transition.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Thompson, D. (Ed.). (1995). *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English* (9th ed.). Oxford: Clarendon.

Toole, J. L., Cha, M., & González, M. C. (2012). Modeling the adoption of innovations in the presence of geographic and media influences. *PLoS ONE, 7*(1), e29528.

Totolo, A. (2011). Adoption and use of computer technology among school principals in Botswana secondary schools. *International Information & Library Review, 43*(2), 70–78.

Twining, W. (2004). Diffusion of law: A global perspective. *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 49*, 1–45.

Twining, W. (2005). Social science and diffusion of law. *Journal of Law and Society, 32*(2), 203–240.

Vitiello, G. (1996). *Le biblioteche europee nella prospettiva comparata* [European libraries in a comparative perpective]. Ravenna: Longo Editore.

Warschauer, M. (2002). Reconceptualizing the digital divide. *First Monday, 7*(7). Retrieved July 26, 2015, from http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/viewArticle/967/888

Weyland, K. (2005). Theories of policy diffusion: Lessons from Latin American pension reform. *World Politics, 57*(2), 262–295.

Wijasuriya, D. E. K., Lim, H. T., & Nadarajah, R. (1975). *The barefoot librarian: Library development in Southeast Asia with special reference to Malaysia.* London: Bingley.

Wildemuth, B. M. (1992). An empirically grounded model of the adoption of intellectual technologies. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science, 43*(3), 210–224.

Wimmer, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2002). Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks, 2*(4), 301–334.

Witbooi, S. L. (2007). Current developments in public libraries in South Africa. In T. J. D. Bothma, P. G. Underwood, & P. Ngulube (Eds.), *Libraries for the future: Progress and development of South African libraries* (pp. 61–70). Pretoria: Library and Information Association of South Africa.

Xia, J. (2012). Diffusionism and open access. *Journal of Documentation, 68*(1), 72–99.

Zymek, B., & Zymek, R. (2004). Traditional–national–international: Explaining the inconsistency of educational borrowing. In D. Phillips & K. Ochs (Eds.), *Educational policy borrowing: Historical perspectives* (pp. 25–35). Oxford: Symposium.

Peter Johan Lor holds a D.Phil. degree (1991) as well as an honorary doctorate (2008) from the University of Pretoria. He held positions in special and academic libraries and as a professor of library science at the University of South Africa before becoming the director of the State Library in 1992. He was South Africa's first National Librarian (2000–2003) and served as secretary general of IFLA during 2005–2008. He was a visiting professor in the School of Information Studies at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee during 2009–2011, where he continues to teach an online course in International and Comparative Librarianship. He is now a professor in the Department of Information Science of the University of Pretoria. His current research focuses on international and comparative librarianship and the ethical, political, and economic aspects of international information relations.