Chapter 7
International influence and diffusion of ideas in LIS

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Introduction

Libraries of one sort or another are to be found in most if not all countries of the world. They differ greatly in their functions, organization, users, collections and resources but for the most part they are recognizably libraries. An American librarian visiting Canadian libraries will recognize many similarities with those of her own country. A British librarian is likely to feel quite at home in libraries in Australia, New Zealand or South Africa; probably more so than in France or Spain. This raises questions about the reasons for the perceived similarities – are they the result of the influence of one country upon another?

In the second of three essays on comparative librarianship submitted for the (British) Library Association's Sevensma Prize in 1971, R.K. Gupta (1973:44) emphasized that the "higher end" of comparative librarianships was to guide the "borrowing" of library ideas from other countries.

This emphasis on the practical utility of comparative librarianship in facilitating the "borrowing" of policies or practices takes us back to an earlier, more innocent period in our field when there was a simpler, possibly naive, belief in the universality of the basic principles of librarianship, as is illustrated by the work of Krzys and Litton (1982). Gupta places this in the context of "cultural borrowing":

> The idea behind the concept of cultural borrowing as applied to librarianship seems to be that a good practice, or a successful innovation, in the library art at any point and in any nation should be borrowed and adapted by others... It is probably more difficult to borrow ideas, philosophies or theories than elements of material culture but as librarianship is a worldwide profession, the basic philosophy behind it is likely to have some common elements. The differences are likely to be in details, but as far as the philosophy of the profession is concerned, we expect to find a common denominator (p.47).

This excerpt raises a number of questions that will be addressed in this chapter, which is about the international spread of ideas in LIS. Is it possible to transplant or transfer LIS philosophies, policies, procedures, and technologies from one country to another? How do library ideas spread and what happens to them when they do? What is the role of culture? What is meant by "borrowing"? What is its outcome?

Figure 7-A illustrates the spread or diffusion of a number of new ideas or innovations. The photograph was taken in December 2011 in the library of Springvale Primary School in Gauteng, South Africa. For many readers, the photograph depicts nothing out of the ordinary.

FIGURE 7-A: Children selecting books in the school library, Springvale Primary School, Gauteng, South Africa (Photo with permission of Springvale Primary School)

However, the image illustrates at least three instances of the spread of ideas in LIS. In order of obtrusiveness:

- 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 'with their own grubby little hands'. Open access to the stacks was an innovation that was hotly debated in American and British libraries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Black, 2009), from where it spread to other countries, such as Denmark (Dahlkild 2006; 2009).[1]
- The school library – the idea that there should be a library in every school – is part of an American school library model (cf. Knuth, 1999) that spread to South Africa from the United States together with some competing British influence.

More fundamentally, the image also illustrates some ideas of schooling which are probably due to American or British influence:

- Co-education (boys and girls in the same school) – US influence
- School uniforms – British influence

Most fundamentally, the photograph illustrates a major societal innovation (at least for South Africa):

- Multi-racial education

How did these innovations reach South Africa? Did they take root successfully? How did this happen? What was the role of British and American influence? How was it exercised? Were the innovations adopted as is, or were they adapted to local conditions? What were the consequences of adoption?

In addition to much historical writing on libraries, there is a vast literature, spanning many disciplines, dealing with questions such as these, using terms such as diffusion and adoption of innovations, policy diffusion, technology transfer, policy transfer, policy borrowing, policy learning, policy convergence and lesson-drawing (Lightfoot 2003). Various theories and models are proposed. In this chapter I situate the concept of diffusion within the phenomenon of cultural change, before outlining some of the theories and models which may be relevant to the study of how libraries in one country are influenced by those in another and how LIS-related innovations spread internationally. I then construct a simple general framework for studying this, which serves as background to a review of selected LIS literature on diffusion and influence in Europe, leaving the diffusion and influence from developed to developing regions to be discussed in the next chapter.

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[1] Black and Dahlkild refer to public libraries. I have so far been unable to find literature on the dissemination of the open access idea in school libraries. Carroll (1977) and Knuth (2009) discuss the dissemination of American and British school library ideas but do not mention shelf access.

Diffusion

Culture is not static. Within cultures there are forces for change and others that resist or impede it. Anthropologists distinguish three sources of impetus for change: forces (such as technological inventions) at work within a society; contact between societies (such as trade, migrations, colonization and wars); and changes in the natural environment (such as desertification and global warming). There are also countervailing forces that resist change. Examples are attachment to traditional and familiar habits, religion; and the interconnectedness of cultural institutions, where changes in one institution (e.g. employment of women) trigger changes in other institutions (e.g. marriage, child-rearing and education) (O'Neil, 2008).

The term 'culture change' is much used in the literature of management, politics and elsewhere to refer to effecting change in values, attitudes and behaviour in the workplace, management teams, boardrooms, communities and even sports teams. In anthropological literature the term 'cultur*al* change' is more often used. For our purposes it is cultural change due to contact between societies that is of greatest interest. Four *processes* can be distinguished here (O'Neil 2008):

- Diffusion, where ideas and innovations move from one culture to another. It is also known as 'cultural diffusion' or 'trans-cultural diffusion' to distinguish it from the diffusion of innovations within a single culture. Examples are the spread of agriculture from the Middle East into the rest of Eurasia around 10.000 BCE, the spread of printing from movable types throughout Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries, the use of Chinese characters in many East Asian languages, and the world-wide dissemination of American television series such as Dallas and the Oprah Winfrey show. The original meaning of the innovation may not make the transition, however, as is witnessed by the outward forms of parliamentary democracy which are found in some highly undemocratic states.
- Acculturation, where the cultural patterns of a society are overwhelmed by the arrival of a powerful group from outside. Bock (1996:302) defined it as "the impact of dominant (colonial) societies on native cultures under conditions of sustained, first-hand contact". The culture of the new arrivals becomes dominant, leading to the disruption, displacement or transformation of the culture of the original inhabitants. An example is European colonization of North America. Such acculturation may be accompanied by a reverse current, examples being the spread of tobacco smoking, learned from Native Americans, into Europe and throughout the world, and the popularity of Indonesian cuisine in the Netherlands. Westernization, "the acculturative influence of Western expansion on native cultures" (Kottak 1994:382), can be seen as a special case of acculturation.
- Transculturation, where individuals, such as immigrants who have moved into another society, fully adopt the language and customs of their new home. In the past many immigrants to the United States were so anxious to become accepted as Americans that they Americanized their family names and discouraged their children from speaking their mother tongue.
- Stimulus diffusion, where a new invention in a society is triggered by an idea that diffuses from another. An example is the invention of the Korean alphabet (*Hangul*), thought by some scholars to be the most logical ever devised, at the court of King Sejong

the Great around 1444 (Hock & Joseph 1996).

Various *types of diffusion* can be distinguished depending on how an idea or innovation spreads from its area of origin to other areas. Two such types are 'expansion diffusion', where the idea or innovation remains strong in the area where it originated as it spreads elsewhere, and 'relocation diffusion', where the idea or innovation spreads into new areas as it fades away in its area of origin[2]. An example of relocation diffusion from our field would the adoption of various management techniques such as PPBS (Planning, Programming Budgeting System) in South African libraries after they have already started losing favour in their countries of origin. The widespread reading of English authors such as Thackeray in former British colonies well after these authors have lost their following in Britain is another case in point.

Trans-cultural diffusion implies contact between two or more cultures. Such contact can occur through various agents, such as explorers, missionaries, traders, invading armies, colonists, and slaves, through trans-cultural marriages, and though the written word: letters, books, scholarly and popular media. Diffusion can thus also be classified in terms of the *mechanisms* through which these contacts are established.[3] 'Direct diffusion' takes place between cultures of adjoining societies (for example, Italian influence on music and theatre in 17th century France). 'Forced diffusion' is the result of conquest and subjugation of one people by another, for example the forced conversion of peoples to Christianity and Islam. 'Indirect diffusion' occurs between cultures that are not in direct contact.

Various theories have been proposed for trans-cultural diffusion. An example is 'diffusionism', which holds that all cultures derive from a single culture or a limited number of cultures with cultural traits diffusing outwards from an innovation centre. This is regarded as having ethnocentric or racist undertones since it implies that only a few societies are capable of originating culture (Hugill 1996). It would deny, for example, that the Maya of Central America were capable of independently inventing an alphabet or designing edifices in the shape of a pyramid, hypothesizing instead that these ideas must have crossed the Atlantic from Egypt before Columbus. This hypothesis has been largely discredited. The opposing school of thought is the evolutionary position, which is today more generally accepted. This postulates the notion of the "psychic unity of humankind" (Hugill 1996:343) and assumes that people everywhere are essentially identical and capable of independently inventing "the basic constituents of social life" (Kuklick 1996:161). Hence it is thought that many similar ideas arise independently in different cultures.

Thus libraries and archives (often undifferentiated initially) have arisen independently in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India and China. On the other hand, in modern times libraries and archives throughout the world have, through processes of trans-cultural diffusion, been strongly influenced by West European and more specifically Anglo-American models, to the extent that some earlier forms have been effaced.

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[2] Wikipedia: 'Trans-cultural diffusion". http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-cultural_diffusion, accessed 2013-04-10.
[3] Wikipedia: 'Trans-cultural diffusion". http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trans-cultural_diffusion, accessed 2013-04-10.

Diffusion of innovations: the Rogers model

Perry (2011) has suggested that three "families" or traditions of diffusion theory can be discerned in sociology: cultural diffusion (referred to above), diffusion of innovations, and collective behaviour (crowd behaviour, fads and fashions). The diffusion of innovations (the spread of ideas) has been a topic of scholarly interest in various disciplines since the early 1900s. Everett Rogers (2003) traced the roots of the study of innovations to a French lawyer and judge, Gabriel Tarde, a pioneer in sociology and social psychology, who wrote a book entitled *The laws of imitation* ([1903]1969). Rogers (2003) identified nine "major research traditions" in diffusion research, including anthropology (the oldest tradition), rural sociology, education, medical sociology, and marketing. Rogers, himself a rural sociologist who had studied the diffusion of agricultural innovations in the American Midwest, in 1962 published the first edition of his influential book, *Diffusion of innovations*, in which he brought together diffusion research findings from the various disciplines and created the first version of his well-known generalized diffusion model.[4]

Here the model of Rogers is outlined, with an emphasis on those elements which may be of relevance in the study of cross-national influence and innovation. Rogers (2003:5) 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).

These elements are depicted in the diagram provided in Rogers (2003:170) (Figure 7-B)

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[4] It is interesting to note that the related field of consumer behaviour was systematized in a number of major texts (Nicosia, 1966; Engel, Kollatt and Blackwell, 1968; Howard & Sheth, 1968) during the same decade, along with an influential book on innovation through dissemination and utilization of knowledge (Havelock, 1969). In all of these works, as in that of Rogers, attempts were made to construct models of human decision making in which relevant variables were identified and relationships between them were postulated for purposes of empirical testing.
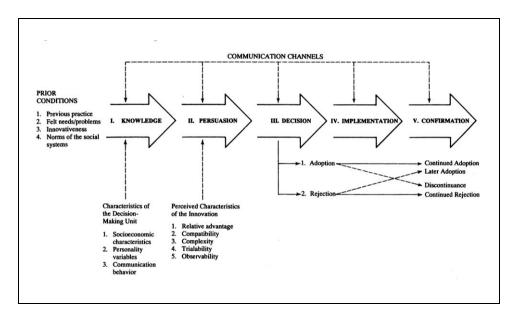
FIGURE 7-B: The Rogers model, reproduced from Rogers (2003:170) [[Permission to be requested]]

Rogers defined an *innovation* as "an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption" (p.12). The innovation is not necessarily new *per se*, but it is new to the person, group or organization which encounters it. Most of the innovations studied have been technological in nature, comprising "hardware" (a tool as a material object) and "software" (a knowledge base for the tool.) Rogers identified five characteristics of innovations that determine the rate of their adoption:

- relative advantage (the degree to which the innovation is perceived as better than what it replaces)
- compatibility (the degree to which the innovation is seen as being appropriate to the values, experiences and needs of the potential adopters),
- complexity (the degree to which it is seen as difficult to understand and use)
- trialability (the degree to which potential adopters can try it out without making a large commitment)
- observability (the degree to which the results are visible to others)

I note in passing that these characteristics have been formulated to serve as independent variables in empirical studies. This is characteristic of the model.

The second element is the *communication channels*. Rogers saw diffusion as "a particular type of communication in which the message content that is exchanged is concerned with a new idea" and a communication channel as "the means by which messages get from one individual to another" (p.18). These can include mass media and interpersonal channels.

The third element in the diffusion process, *time*, is implicit in three aspects of the innovation process. The *innovation-decision process* comprises five stages which occur over time: (1)

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knowledge, (2) persuasion, (3) decision, (4) implementation, and (5) confirmation, mostly but not always in that order. The *innovation-decision period* is "the length of time required to pass through the innovation-decision process" (p.21). Here Rogers refers to the innovativeness of individuals, who tend to adopt an innovation at a relatively early or later stage. In terms of this variable the members of a population can be classified as innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards. The majority of individuals fall in the early and late majority categories and small percentages in the innovator and laggard groups. Various characteristics of these categories of adopters have been studied to determine whether these characteristics (or variables) are related to early or late adoption. The third aspect of the time element is the *innovation's rate of adoption*, which is measured as "the number of members of the system who adopt the innovation in a given time period" (p.20). This is a characteristic not of the innovators but of the innovation.

Note that these characteristics are potential dependent variables, as they lend themselves to measurement.

The final element is the *social system*, which Rogers defined as "a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal" (p.23). These could be individuals, groups, or organizations. Within the social system Rogers considered social structure ("patterned social relationships among the members", p.24), communication structure (patterns of who communicates with whom), norms of behaviour, and special roles that some individuals play in a community (opinion leaders and change agents).

In addition to identifying the four elements of the innovation-decision process, Rogers identified four *types of innovation-decisions* [sic] (pp.28-29):

- Optional innovation-decisions occur when individuals may decide to adopt or reject an innovation regardless of what other individuals in the social system decide to do.
- Collective innovation-decisions are decisions reached by consensus among the members of the social system.
- Authority innovation-decisions are decisions made by a relatively small number of powerful or authoritative individuals in the social system.
- Contingent innovation decisions are choices to adopt or reject that can only be made following an earlier decision.

An illustration of the types of decisions is provided by the decisions made in South Africa during the 1970s to 1980s on the adoption of a MARC (MAchine Readable Cataloguing) format. Initially individual libraries ("individuals" can also refer to units or organizations) decided whether or not to use the American USMARC catalogue record format, the South African version (SAMARC), or various system-specific MARC variants. This is an example of an *optional innovation-decision*. In the mid-1990s South African cataloguing experts held a conference at which it was decided to abandon the SAMARC format and adopt USMARC. This was a *collective innovation-decision*. The cataloguers working in these libraries were not given a choice, however. The decision was made for them by their library management. For them this was an *authority innovation-decision*. Following the profession's decision to adopt USMARC,

the National Library of South Africa made the *contingent innovation-decision* to terminate its development work on the SAMARC standard.

Outcomes of the innovation-decision process are the decisions themselves: to adopt or reject an innovation, to discontinue an innovation, or to adopt it after reconsidering an earlier decision to reject it. The *consequences* of innovations have not been as well studied as other aspects of the innovation-decision process. Much of the research on diffusion research is sponsored by agencies which promote the adoption of certain innovations and tend to assume that their consequences will be beneficial. It is also not easy to measure consequences, which involve value-judgments and therefore raise issues of cultural relativism (Rogers 2003:440-442). Rogers (2003:442-450) has categorized consequences along three dimensions:

- Desirable vs. Undesirable
- Direct vs. Indirect
- Anticipated vs. Unanticipated

The following example illustrates these categories: the establishment of a national site licence scheme for access to electronic journals by South African universities following North American and European examples made it more difficult if not impossible for consortium members to supply other libraries (non-members) with copies of articles from licensed journals on inter-library loan, because the licence conditions precluded such copying. This was an undesirable, indirect, and unanticipated consequence of the innovation.

The Rogers model has been widely adopted in diffusion research as a paradigm usable in many disciplines, including studies of adoption in LIS and information and communications technology (ICT). Maack (1986a) 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 Mbatha, Ocholla and Le Roux (2011) reported on a study of the diffusion and use of modern ICTs in government departments in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, while 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 world-wide 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.

Limitations of the Rogers model

Although widely used, the Rogers model is not without critics. Rogers (2003:105-135) has himself identified several shortcomings, three of which are relevant here:

- "Pro-innovation bias" is the assumption that the innovation being diffused should be adopted. As mentioned above, much research on diffusion is funded by agencies which

have a vested interest in the successful adoption of the innovation they are promoting. Also, it is easier to study successful diffusion than unsuccessful diffusion. Hugill (1996: 343) described contemporary diffusion research as pragmatic and "concerned with how societies can be persuaded to innovate and the likely results of such innovation."

- "Individual-blame bias": when a diffusion process is unsuccessful there is a tendency to blame the individuals who fail to adopt the innovation, rather than the system. 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 text-books and professors' lecture notes may constitute a powerful disincentive.
- The "issue of inequality": the benefits following from the adoption of an innovation 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 which 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 (e.g. introduction of hybrid maize, prescription of new drugs, and boiling drinking water), often by individuals within circumscribed groups or communities (e.g. Iowa farmers, physicians in Illinois, and Peruvian villagers) where empirical studies of manageable scope and with clearly identifiable independent and dependent variables can be conducted.

In a chapter dealing with diffusion and assimilation of information technology innovations, Fichman (2000) considered the key questions in innovations research and suggested that the "classical model of diffusion" of Rogers is the closest approximation to a comprehensive theory of innovation. However, the Rogers model was

> ...synthesized from a body of research that focused primarily on *simpler* innovations being adopted *autonomously* by individuals. It applies less well to more *complex* technologies, to technologies for which adoption decisions are *linked* in some important way, and to technologies adopted in and by *organizations* (p.107, Fichman's emphases).

In a harsher critique of Rogers and diffusionism in general, McMaster and Wastell (2005) argued that

> diffusionism is a myth; its potency and pervasiveness derive not from any empirical validity but from its synergy with a colonialistic mind-set, i.e. the generic aspiration of an elite few to gain power and influence over a subject community. (p.384)

Their deconstructive reading criticized the models and theories of Rogers and his followers as implying that only a small percentage of people can think creatively, while the vast majority can only imitate. They saw diffusionism as perpetuating the notion, derived from Malinowski (1928), that culture is "contracted through contagion", which negates the capacity of cultures to develop independently. It is tied to an outdated Victorian notion of "progress". The models assume that innovation is desirable and resistance is backward. McMaster and Wastell considered the Rogers model to be inherently positivist and deterministic.

Diffusion in ICT and information systems

Studies focusing on information technology and information systems have been reviewed by Shayo (2010), who drew on the Rogers model as well as one by DeLone and McLean which is referred to below. In this area and in technology transfer more generally researchers have tried to address the perceived deficiencies of the Rogers model mainly in two ways, either by extending and 'tweaking' the model, or by developing or adopting new models. Various alternative models emphasizing the stages of the adoption process, adapting or building on those of Rogers, have been developed (Wildemuth 1992). The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), which is based on the "Theory of Reasoned Action" (TRA), was developed for studies of information systems adoption (Davis, Bagozzi and Warshaw, 1989; Totolo, 2011). Dulle and Minishi-Majanja (2010) cited a veritable alphabet soup of models which they considered before opting for the Unified Theory of the Acceptance and Usage of Technology (UTAUT), an extension of TAM. DeLone and McLean (2003) devised an "IS Success Model" which has been quite widely used in the study of adoption of information systems. Most of these models comprise a limited number of quantifiable variables. McMaster and Wastell (2005) criticized TAM, which they saw as owing much to Rogers, for editing out "context and contingency" in a "neat geometrical ordering of simple cause-effect relationships" (p.386). Mathematically sophisticated models have been developed, for example by Gonçalves, Laguna and Iglesias (2012), who developed a simulation model, by Toole, Cha and González (2012), who examined the spatial distribution of Twitter accounts, and by Liu and Rousseau (2012), using citation data. Pereira (2002) proposed a "sensemaking" approach which focused on the "subprocesses that affect perceptions and attitudes" of adopters (p.40).

Most of the innovation studies done in the field of IT, as in the study of technology transfer more generally, have taken a variable-oriented approach, attempting to identify and measure limited sets of variables that may determine or affect adoption, as well as outcome variables. However, somewhat less deterministic and more qualitative approaches have also been reported. Currie and Swanson (2009) discussed the use of institutional concepts[5] to analyse and interpret the adoption or diffusion of IT. McMaster, Vidgen and Wastell (1997) proposed the notion of "translation" as embodied in Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in preference to that of "transfer", as in technology transfer. In ANT facts are not discovered but "created across time and space", each fact developing as a "black box" formed by ever-stronger alliances in which "each actant translates and contributes its own resources to the shape and ultimate form of the emerging black box" (p.67). This means, it would seem, that the adoption of an innovation requires the building of a coalition of supporters, by whom, inevitably, it is adapted ("translated"). Although, like the other studies referred to so far, their study also concerns the adoption of a fairly simple technology (an automated access control system), two features are worth retaining: the building of coalitions and the "translation" of the original innovation into something different.

Diffusion of a far larger and more complex type of system was dealt with in a literature review by Dada (2006), who analysed the frequent failure of e-governance projects in developing

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[5] According to Weerakkody, Dwivedi and Irani (2009:355), "[i]nstitutional theory posits that structural and behavioural changes in organizations are determined less by competition and the desire for efficiency, and more by the need for organizational legitimacy."

countries, using as a model the "archetypes of failure" of Heeks (2003). Here "design-reality gaps", i.e. mismatches between the current reality in the country concerned and the design proposals, are analysed with reference to seven dimensions: information, technology, processes, objectives and values, staffing and skills, management systems and structures, and other resources. Heeks identified three "archetypes" of situations where design-reality gaps occur: "hard-soft gaps", "private-public gaps", and "country context gaps". The latter type is of particular interest here. It is the "large design-reality gap [which occurs] when you try to introduce in a developing/transitional country an e-government system designed in and for an industrialized nation" (Heeks, 2003:5). As will be seen from the literature in other disciplines, country context gaps can also occur between developed countries.

Glaser, Abelson and Garrison (1983), also focussing on technology transfer mainly from developed to developing countries, used another framework for the discussion of international diffusion or borrowing. They discussed international political factors and conflict as well as social and cultural factors, pointing out that "the diffusion of technology into the fabric of a traditional culture is bound to have intense socioeconomic repercussions" (p.354). They included a discussion of a social process model, the "technology delivery system" (TDS), which comprises a quite elaborate framework identifying inputs, outputs, government roles, functional criteria, steps of international transfer, structures, and processes.[6] They described four models of technology transfer: (1) direct borrowing, where the government of the recipient country takes the initiative; (2) joint development, where representatives of both the transferring and recipient countries participate in the process, (3) the multinational enterprise, involving direct investment or the licensing of technology, and (4) technical assistance, where assistance is provided in the form of goods and services (pp.342-343).

While the Rogers model, its extensions and alternatives to it do contribute concepts that are relevant to questions of international diffusion and international influence, it is in disciplines other than ICT and LIS that we need to look for theories that can account for the diffusion of less concrete innovations such as ideologies, values and policies, across international boundaries.

Transfer and borrowing in applied social science disciplines

In the applied social sciences – especially public policy, public administration, social policy and social work – various models of diffusion have been put forward for the analysis of phenomena variously referred to as lesson-drawing, social learning, policy convergence, policy diffusion and policy transfer. These mainly concern the diffusion of policies. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) presented an extensive review of policy transfer literature from a political science perspective, tracing its origins, citing earlier analyses, and addressing a number of questions that were implicit in this literature. Subsequently Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) expanded these questions to form the basis of a quite comprehensive and frequently cited model that can serve as a framework for analysing policy transfer:

- Why do actors engage in policy transfer?

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[6] Glaser *et al*. refer to Edward Wenk as the author of the model. However, their reference is incomplete and the work referred to cannot be traced. An account of Wenk's model is found in Bea (nd).

- Who are the key actors involved in the policy transfer process?
- What is transferred?
- From where are lessons drawn?
- What are the different degrees of transfer?
- What restricts or facilitates the policy transfer process?
- How is the process of policy transfer related to policy "success" or policy "failure"?[7]

Of particular interest in this model is the continuum of reasons that they propose in answer to the first question, distinguishing between "voluntary transfer" and "coercive transfer". In "direct coercive transfer" one government forces another to adopt a policy. In "indirect coercive transfer", "externalities"[8] deriving from the functional interdependence of states exert pressure for policy transfer. Also of interest are their categories of the political actors (e.g. elected officials, bureaucrats, think tanks, transnational corporations) and of the degrees of transfer, constraints on transfer, and policy failure associated with policy transfer.

The literature survey of Dolowitz and Marsh was followed by that of Stone (2001), who provided useful analyses and definitions of key concepts in policy transfer, lesson-drawing and diffusion, including terms such as "policy shopping", "exporting ideas" and "policy convergence". Policy convergence can result from four "political modalities of transfer" as distinguished by Bennett (1991):

- "penetration" (coercive or forced transfer, which takes place when one state exercises power over another, as in the case of Germany during the US occupation)
- "emulation" (voluntary borrowing of ideas),
- "harmonization" (policy convergence resulting from the recognition of the interdependence of states, as in the European Union)
- "elite networking and policy communities" (transnational communities of experts who interact regularly and develop shared understandings of policy issues)

Stone's survey emphasized elite networking in policy transfer, including learning processes, trans-national policy networks, and the role of various "non-state actors" such as multinational corporations, scientific associations, foundations, training institutes, NGOs and consultants. In a subsequent article Stone (2004) returned to this theme, drawing attention to "soft forms of transfer" such as the spread of norms, and emphasizing the role of international organizations.

On the basis of an extensive, multi-disciplinary literature review, Wejnert (2002), a sociologist, contributed a conceptual framework intended to integrate the large number of variables that have been put forward in diffusion research. She grouped these in three categories: characteristics of innovations, characteristic of innovators, and environmental context. Although much of this is

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[7] Dolowitz and Marsh (2000:8) states that their framework is based on six questions. However they listed seven, as above, and in their summary table (p.9) a further question was added, "How to demonstrate policy transfer?"

[8] In economics an "externality" is defined as "A consequence of an economic activity that is experienced by unrelated third parties. An externality can be either positive or negative" (Investopedia, http://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/externality.asp, accessed 2013-04-08). Generalized to our context I interpret this to mean that policy borrowing by state A from state B might exert pressure on state C, which is in a relationship of interdependence with state A, to follow suit.

reminiscent of Rogers, the scope of "characteristics of innovators" was broadened to include a consideration of adoption by "large collective actors" such as nations, states, or social movements, which adopt innovations with public consequences, such as educational models and welfare policies. Under "environmental context" attention was given to geographical settings (such as geographical proximity, climate and ecological conditions), societal culture (such as belief systems, cultural traditionalism and cultural homogeneity), and political conditions (such as political stability, bureaucratic efficiency, and "global uniformity", and including mechanisms and consequences of globalization).

In the field of social work Lightfoot (2003) presented a "policy transfer model" largely based on Dolowitz and Marsh (1996), before developing a "policy borrowing model". This model was intended not as a framework for research on policy borrowing, but as a framework for prospective evaluation of policies by policy-makers who are considering borrowing them. It also consists of a series of questions grouped according to three types of constraints documented in the literature:

- the *comparability* of locales transferring policies,
- the *complexity* of the policy to be transferred, and
- the *internal characteristics* of the borrowing locale. (p.28)

Pollitt (2003), author of a book in which public management reform in a number of developed countries was compared (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004), made the point that

> ...knowledge of what works and what does not tends to be heavily context-dependent. That is to say, a technique or organizational structure which succeeds in one place may fail in another. There is no set of general tools that can be transferred from one jurisdiction to another, all around the world, with confidence that they will work well every time. This means we have to look carefully at contexts... each time we are thinking of borrowing a good management idea from somewhere else.' (p.1)

Pollitt went on to challenge six common assumptions that underlie transfers of public management reforms: (1) The management technologies transferred are simple and well understood; (2) they are applied to simple and well-understood management tasks; (3) the transfer of knowledge is rapid and straightforward; (4) the transfer is voluntary – a free choice; (5) the transfer is dyadic – there is one 'importer' and one 'exporter'; (6) there is a shared language between the importer and the exporter. Politt stressed that none of these can be taken for granted. Other insights in public policy reform have been offered by Nakano (2004) who emphasized the role of domestic political conditions and actors in public management reform in Japan, and Weyland (2005), who discussed pension reform in Latin America and offered possible explanations of what he described as "waves of policy diffusion".

In business and management attention has also been paid to the transfer of practices and business models. In a frequently cited book Djelic (1998) examined attempts made as part of the Marshall Plan after WW2 to "export the American model" of industrial production as "a universal model for the Western world" to three European countries, Germany, France and Italy (p.2). She showed that neither the "evolutionary theories", which emphasize convergence and similarities and assume "a universal and unavoidable logic of change" (p.8), nor the "national specificity

theories" which emphasize unique national cultural and institutional environments, could adequately account for the outcome. In spite of post-war changes, distinct national systems are still evident. Pointing to the roles of the geopolitical environment and of individual actors working within institutional structures, she identified a number of conditions for "large-scale, cross-national structural transfer":

- A traumatic disruption which creates a national sense of crisis
- The availability (within a geopolitical context of asymmetrical dependence) of a foreign model that appears "both relatively familiar and superior"
- An active binational modernizing network which shares similar or compatible objectives to create a bridge between the two countries (pp.65-68)

Djelic also identified different types of transfer mechanism (mimetic, coercive and normative)[9] and put forward a simple model of the stages of a cross-national transfer process encompassing conditions, mechanisms, and obstacles (p.280).

Neumeyer and Perkins (2005) studied the global diffusion of organizational innovations, looking specifically at the adoption by organizations in 130 countries of the ISO 9000 standards for quality management. They pointed to the role of transnational networks (including those related to customer-supplier relations, investment flows, ex-colonial relations and development aid) that connect geographically dispersed firms. The influence of conditions in the national environment of the adopting organization was also examined.

An empirical study investigating how the American business practice of socially responsible investment (SRI) was transferred to France and Quebec (Boxenbaum and Gond, 2006) had a much narrower focus, but is of interest because the authors identified five "micro-strategies" that individuals employed to contextualize SRI for their own society. For example, the strategy of "filtering" involves downplaying foreign elements that may constitute stumbling blocks in the society where adoption is proposed, while "coupling" consist of combining a foreign business practice with one that is widely accepted locally. The authors suggested that these strategies may explain why some transfer initiatives fail while others succeed. They may provide a useful framework for examining such cases in LIS.

In law, diffusion of law, often referred to as "reception" or "transplantation" is a field of long-standing and somewhat technical scholarly interest which has been largely isolated from sociological studies of diffusion (Twining, 2005). However, it is interesting to note that Twining (2004), a legal scholar, has identified and challenged ten common assumptions underlying the accepted model of diffusion, for example: the model assumes that there was an identifiable exporter and importer; that the export-import relationship is between countries; that the typical process of reception involves a direct one-way transfer, and that the main agents involved are governments (p.3). The assumptions questioned by Twining are not far removed from those dealt with in the social science literature.

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[9] These categories are based on the distinction made by DiMaggio and Powell (1983) between coercive, normative and mimetic forces of isomorphism, that operate in the process of homogenization in organizations. Coercive isomorphism derives from political influence, laws and regulatory instruments; normative isomorphism from professional values; and mimetic isomorphism refers to imitation in response to uncertainty.

Transfer and borrowing in education

'Transfer' and 'borrowing' have been a central theme in comparative education from its beginnings in the 19th century, the assumption being that policies that were successful in one country could be transferred to another (Cowen, 2006).[10] This is illustrated by the frequently cited question posed by one of the pioneers of comparative education, Sir Michael Sadler, "How far can we learn anything of practical value from the study of foreign systems of education?" (Sadler [1900] 1964, pp.307). Attempting to learn from other education systems has become standard practice in educational policy development (Steiner-Khamsi 2010).

One strand of thinking emphasizes convergence, described by Inkeles and Sirowy (1983:305) as "movement towards common institutional forms, orientations, values, and behaviours". In a large-scale quantitative study they found evidence of the worldwide diffusion of certain basic educational concepts, institutions and practices that are characteristic of the modern educational system. Schriewer (2000b:314-317) described the "astonishing processes of global alignment" that have taken place in education worldwide, referring to a worldwide expansion of education at all levels, a global acceptance of a "largely standardized model of institutionalized schooling" and an international communication system that promotes an Anglo-American educational ideology. However, he pointed out that the expected uniformity has not materialized. Instead, there remains a great deal of international variation, where specific national profiles coexist with global trends. This was borne out in a bibliometric study (Schriewer and Martinez, 2004) which disproved the assumption that educational thinking in various national contexts is converging towards an internationally accepted understanding of educational knowledge.

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, 2006:561). Both have been dealt with in the body of theory developed by Phillips and Ochs (Phillips and Ochs, 2003; Ochs and Phillips, 2004; Phillips 2004 and 2006). The overarching framework proposed by Phillips and Ochs (2003) is that of four 'principal stages of borrowing":

1. Cross-national attraction
2. Decision
3. Implementation
4. Internalization/indigenization (Phillips and Ochs, 2003:451-452)

The basic framework is depicted in Figure 7-C.

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[10] Cowen (2006) has pointed out that the emphasis on the 'usefulness' of comparative education for improving policy has led to confusion at the epistemological, ethical and political levels.
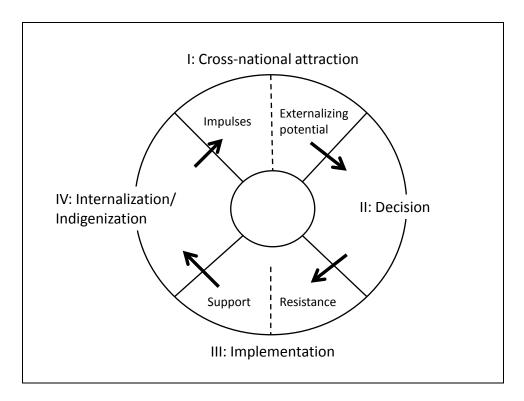
FIGURE 7-C: Simplified diagram of the four principal stages of educational policy borrowing, following Phillips and Ochs (2003:452)

The first stage, *cross-national attraction*, is that part of the model that has been most widely referred to. It encompasses two elements: "impulses" and "externalising potential". *Impulses* are the conditions that predispose to borrowing by the borrowing country, such as internal dissatisfaction, systemic collapse, poor results in international comparisons, research findings, political and economic change, globalization and influences from regional alliances such as the European Union (EU). Under impulses they also include the motives of the political actors. These impulses may give rise to a search for foreign models, in which a range of aspects may be considered 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", i.e. the country from which borrowing is being considered.[11]

The second stage, *decision*, is not concerned with the decision-making process as one might expect, but with "measures through which government and other agencies attempt to start the process of change". These may be based on *theory* – a theoretical position on which policy choices and priorities are based (typically expressed in slogans such as "education for a competitive economy"); they may be *"phoney"* (for example ideas which may appeal to voters that are brought back by the education ministers after an overseas visit, but are unlikely to be introduced); *"realistic/practical"* decisions; and *"quick fix"* decisions, which can have disastrous

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[11] "Target country" in Phillips and Ochs refers (somewhat confusingly) to the country from which is borrowed, presumably because it is the target of the attraction. The borrowing country is referred to as the "home country".

results.

The third stage is *implementation,* concerned with the adaptation of the foreign model in the context of the borrowing country. Many contextual factors will determine how much adaptation is needed and also how long the process will take. "Significant actors" (agencies, groups and individuals) may support or resist the proposed innovation. Resistance may take the form of delaying tactics, inaction or failure to make decisions.

The fourth stage is *internalization/indigenization*, which Phillips and Ochs see as a series of four steps: impact of the imported model on the existing system and way of doing things, 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. Thus the four stages are linked in a policy cycle that can be depicted in a circular diagram (Figure 7-C).

Phillips and Ochs (2003) 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" and "home" (borrower) countries. For example, in the fourth stage of internalization/indigenization, the similarities and differences between the two and the potential effect of the target country on the internalization of educational policies and practices in the home 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 was the case of outcomes-based education, introduced in South Africa in the aftermath of apartheid. Sadly, this has become a frequently cited example of such failure (Jansen, 2004; Spreen, 2004).

This model differs from that of Rogers and many other similar models in that here the initiative for innovation (in this case policy borrowing) is taken by the adopting country, and not by an agent or agency pushing innovation in a population of potential adopters. This is a useful corrective to Rogers, but it does not cover cases where adoption of educational policies is less than voluntary; neither does it accommodate cases where the policy being borrowed originates in more than one country, or is in general circulation internationally. However, this shortcoming was addressed by the addition of the concept of the "continuum of educational transfer" (Ochs and Phillips, (2004). 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 entirely voluntary transfer. The spectrum is depicted in Figure 7-D.
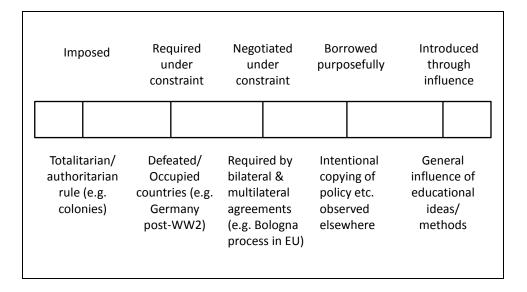
Imposed	Required under constraint	Negotiated under constraint	Borrowed purposefully	Introduced through influence
Totalitarian/ authoritarian rule (e.g. colonies)	Defeated/ Occupied countries (e.g. Germany post-WW2)	Required by bilateral & multilateral agreements (e.g. Bologna process in EU)	Intentional copying of policy etc. observed elsewhere	General influence of educational ideas/ methods

FIGURE 7-D: Continuum of educational transfer, adapted from Ochs and Phillips (2004:9)

The distinctions made here are useful, since they enable us to use the framework for transfer of policies and practices to developing countries in colonial and postcolonial settings, as well as for transfer under the pervasive influences resulting from globalization, which cannot necessarily be attributed to a single country.

Outcomes of transfer have received much attention, not least because transfer may fail or have unanticipated and unwelcome effects. Ochs and Phillips (2004:16-17) 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) distinguished between transfer, translation and transformation:

> a) *transfer* is the movement of an educational idea or practice in supra-national or trans-national or inter-national space: the 'space-gate' moment, with its politics of attraction and so on;
> b) *translation* is the shape-shifting of educational institutions or the re-interpretation of educational ideas which routinely occurs with the transfer in space: 'the chameleon process'; and
> c) *transformations* are the metamorphoses which the compression of social and economic power into education in the new context imposes on the initial translation: that is, a range of transformations which cover both the indigenization and the extinction of the translated form (Cowen, 2006:566).

Cowen's reference to a 'space-gate' moment (reminiscent of space travel in science fiction) suggests a brief period during which circumstances are propitious for transfer. This 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. But this is just the beginning of a long process. Cowen (2009) expanded on the "shape-shifting" that accompanies the "mobilities" of social phenomena: migrations, the reinvention of societies by migrants, the flow of ideas as

exemplified by the Catholic Church and communism, and the more subtle ideas of rationality deriving from the European Enlightenment, which gave rise to modernization movements in Asia. These transfers are accompanied by transformation: "as it moves, it morphs" (p.315).

The Phillips and Ochs model has been applied explicitly by a number of scholars, including Jansen (2004), to the adoption of outcomes-based education in South Africa, and Shibata (2004), to changes in German and Japanese universities that were instigated by the occupying powers after WW2. Other authors, while not explicitly following the Phillips and Ochs model, have used stage or process approaches which complement it and provide further insight. For example, in her analysis of the South African experience with outcomes-based education, Spreen (2004) showed that, while the international origin of ideas and concepts embodied in contested reforms may carry persuasive weight at the beginning of the process, these same origins become an obstacle and tend to be concealed as the reforms are indigenized (p.234).

The role of particular categories of agents or actors (individuals, groups and agencies) in policy transfer processes, touched on by Phillips and Ochs, has also been developed by other authors. Tanaka (2003, cited in Ochs and Phillips, 2004) distinguished between 'transmitters" who are involved in the translation phase, moving the educational concepts and practices from one culture to another, and "receivers", who are involved in the indigenization phase, putting the new concepts into practice. Tanaka made a further distinction between "importing transmitters", who seek to import educational concepts and practices to their own country, and "exporting transmitters", who seek to export these to other countries. Roles played by individuals and groups such as "policy entrepreneurs", who "'sell' their solutions in the academic and political market-place" (Ball 1998:124) "knowledge entrepreneurs", "advocacy coalitions" and "epistemic alliances" (Pons and van Zanten, 2009), politicians (Gruber, 2004), bureaucrats (Spreen, 2004), professors and their students, "foreign advisers with pet enthusiasms" (Phillips and Ochs, 2003:455), multilateral organizations, foundations, etc., have been identified by various authors, often with an emphasis on relationships and networks that transcend national boundaries (Ball, 1998; Jansen, 2004; Pons and van Zanten, 2009). The increasing emphasis on networking tends to be accompanied by a critical approach to methodological nationalism (over-emphasis on the nation state) (Roldan and Schnupp, 2006). There is growing scepticism about the significance of national education systems, i.e. systems defined in terms of national boundaries, in educational transfer (Zymek and Zymek, 2004), particularly against the background of globalization (Carney, 2009).

The impact of globalization on educational transfer has been problematized by Ball (1998), who pointed to the misuse of "the 'globalization thesis'…to explain almost anything and everything" (p.120), by Cowen (2006), and by Steiner-Khamsi (2010), who pointed out that references to globalization and international standards are frequently used as a means of persuasion by proponents of policy change:

> Both globalization and international standards are empty shells that may be filled with whatever is needed to promote controversial reforms. We may therefore conclude that "globalization" is not an external force but rather internally induced and reflects, more than anything else, the domestic policy context. Its meaning is determined domestically (p.332).

This does not mean that globalization is to be ignored in the study of policy transfer. Schriewer

(2000:310) has argued that if our understanding of the world as "a multitude of separate regional or national societies which, as autonomous entities… constitute one another's mutual environments" (p.310) is obsolete, attention should shift to widespread processes of cultural diffusion and to "global analyses of transnational interdependence". A balance has to be struck between recognizing the reality of globalization and using it as a fig leaf to disguise shallow conceptualization.

Much remains to be learned about educational transfer, as articulated by Steiner-Khamsi (2010:326):

> There are a myriad of puzzles that must be assembled to fully understand how, when, why, and by whom, comparison is used as a policy tool. Questions such as the following shed light on a key, yet dimly understood, area of research: Why is policy borrowing more likely to occur after a change in government? Why are failed policies borrowed, and "worst practices" transferred, from one country to another? Why are educational crises created out of fear of falling behind "international standards?" How come everyone talks international standards, but nobody knows what they are? Why is the same set of global reform packages imported and sold as the solution to a diverse set of local problems?

The literature reviewed up to this point has yielded a number of approaches and concepts that should prove useful in studying the spread of ideas and innovations in LIS. It is clear that the various processes that can be broadly grouped under the heading of 'diffusion' are quite diverse, and that these processes can be conceptualized in different ways. Perhaps the most important lesson to be learned is that diffusion is less linear, more complex and more context-dependent than the simpler, earlier models suggested. The question arises: to what extent are all these insights relevant to LIS? Generally, LIS does not comprise many for-profit undertakings or involve large amounts of money; neither does LIS – for better or for worse – receive the same amount of attention from policy makers as other areas of social and economic policy. Due to this low profile, we may expect diffusion and innovation to be relatively uncontroversial processes, but they are processes that can nevertheless be observed and analysed.

A framework for transfer (diffusion) in LIS

The preceding paragraphs have touched on, but by no means exhausted, the great variety of theories and models that have been devised to account for the diffusion of innovations and the "borrowing" or transfer of ideas. These theories and models deal with borrowable phenomena at various levels, ranging from simple products and practices such as boiling drinking water to prevent transmissible diseases (Rogers, 2003), to policies embodying values and ideologies. Some of the theories and models concern themselves with behaviour in quite homogeneous and limited populations of potential adopters, others with international or transnational movements of great complexity. 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 richer understanding.

It is not my intention to contribute yet another theory or model. What is presented here is at most a simple framework – a list of questions worth asking when examining the literature of diffusion

in LIS and worth considering when contemplating research in this field. 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, etc. That which is transferred is referred to as the *innovation*, in the case of artefacts, technology, techniques, procedures, etc., but in the case of more abstract ideas, philosophies, 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 will object that conceptualising countries as the actors in transfer processes (e.g. "the USA 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 the recipient countries. Multiple countries may be involved as both source and (especially) recipient countries. Emphasis on countries overlooks trans-national 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 the pin down to a single source country. This is true, but since we are concerned here with cross-national transfer, countries provide a useful point of departure for analysis and discussion.

Countries

The first set of questions relates to the countries concerned:

- Which is the source (lending, transferring) country?
- Is more than one source country involved? Concurrently or serially?
- Instead of a country, is the source of the innovation more generalized (as in ideas which have become common currency regionally or worldwide)?
- Which is the recipient (borrowing, receiving) country?
- Is more than one recipient country involved?

Relations between countries

The next set of questions is concerned with the relationships between the source and recipient countries:

- What is the geographical relationship between them (neighbouring countries, or distant)?
- What current or historical affinities and relationships exist between them that may play a role (e.g. cultural, linguistic, historical and political)?
- What relationships of political and economic power exist between them that may play a role (e.g. equality, dominance, conquest, colonization, shared membership of an association or alliance of nations)?

The relationships may overlap, for example, the (former British) Commonwealth of Nations comprises countries most but not all of which were British colonies and use English as an official language. The United Kingdom, Cyprus and Malta are also members of the European Union.

Some former British colonies are not members of the Commonwealth, while Mozambique and Rwanda joined later in spite of having had a different colonial history.

Modalities of transfer

This leads to a consideration of the modalities of transfer:

- On whose initiative does transfer occur? (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?
- Is the transfer process in one direction only, or is there mutual influence and learning?

Here the four "political modalities of transfer" of Bennett (1991) are relevant, as are the categories proposed by Dolowitz and Marsh (1996), ranging from voluntary to coercive transfer, Djelic's (1998:280) mechanisms, and the modalities distinguished in the "continuum of educational transfer" of Phillips and Ochs (2004).

Motivations

When considering transfer and influence from a political and economic perspective at the level of counties, questions arise about the government strategies or policies that motivate transfer:

- What are the motives that can be imputed to the source country or to the agents or institutions involved?
- What are the motives that can be imputed to the recipient country or to the agents or institutions involved?

Context

As suggested earlier, the notion of 'country' needs to be examined more closely. This gives rise to questions concerning context, where 'context' refers on the one hand to the institutional or administrative frameworks in which the innovation is sourced and introduced, and on the other hand 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 does the innovation come?
- From what context (cultural, social, economic, political, etc.) does the innovation come?
- Into which sector, institution or organization in the recipient country is the innovation introduced?
- Into what context (cultural, social, economic, political, etc.) in the recipient country is the

innovation introduced?

The contexts of the source and the recipient countries change from time to time, giving rise to Cowen's (2006) "space-gate moment" and to the preconditions for "large-scale, cross-national structural transfer" identified by Djelic (1998).

Agents

The preceding questions emphasize structure rather than agency. The more recent, idiographically oriented, literature has put more emphasis on agency. Thus questions need to be asked about the agents involved in transfer and the channels through which they communicate:
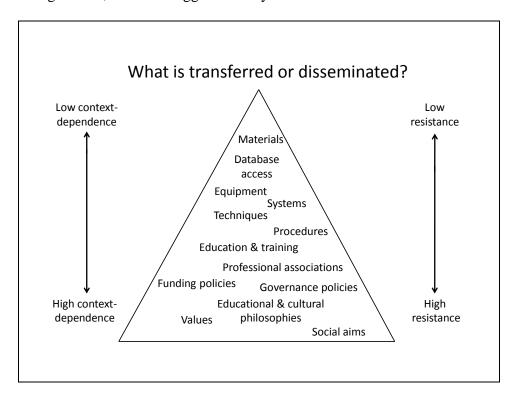
- Which individuals, groups, and networks are involved in the source country, for example, Ball's (1998) policy entrepreneur and Tanaka's (2004) "exporting transmitters"), and what roles do they play?
- Which individuals, groups, and networks are involved in the recipient country, for example, Tanaka's (2004) "receivers") and the advocacy coalitions of Pons and van Zanten (2007), and what roles do they play?
- Which transnational networks play a role in the transfer process?
- At what stages do the various categories of agents contribute to (or impede) the process of transfer?
- Through which channels do the various agents communicate and exert influence at various stages of the transfer process?

The innovation

A central question concerns *what* is transferred:

- What are the characteristic of the innovation? The characteristics distinguished by Rogers (2003) are relevant here: relative advantage, compatibility, complexity, trialability, observability; although one may argue that some of these are perceptions of potential adopters rather than characteristic of the innovation.
- What is the nature of what is transferred? (As suggested by the "six foci of attraction" of Phillips and Ochs (2003), and transposing their categories to LIS, this 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, the establishment of professional training, to policies on funding and governance, all of which are 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 innovations', 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 7-E, which is suggestive only. It does not set out an absolute hierarchy of innovations.

FIGURE 7-E: Hypothesized relationship between context dependence and degree of resistance to an innovation

Process

There are many ways of looking at the transfer process. The "principal stages of borrowing" in the Phillips and Ochs (2003) model, expanded here, provide a useful framework for questions:

- How does a climate conducive to seeking foreign solutions develop in the recipient country? (Which impulses stimulate a search for, or openness 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 favourable to the process?
- How important is timing, i.e. the availability of a model in a source country or its prominence in the media coinciding with a need in a recipient country?
- What barriers or obstacles are there to transfer? (E.g. 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?
- To what extent and in what way is the foreign model subjected to adaptation for implementation in the recipient country?

- How is the imported model "internalized" and "indigenized"? Cowen's (2006) distinction between transfer, translation and transformation is useful here.
- How long does the process take before the cycle starts afresh?
- Over what time-scale are major innovations transferred to various countries and regions? One of the aspects of interest here is the time lag between the development of an idea or technology in a source country and its transfer to a recipient country. This may give rise to 'relocation diffusion', referred to earlier in this chapter.

Outcomes

The outcome of a transfer process is not necessarily adoption of an innovation. An innovation may be successfully indigenized, leading to the transformation of the recipient system. An innovation that is adopted may have unwelcome effects (Rogers, 2003). An innovation may be rejected but leave behind some traces (Gruber, 2004).

- What is the ultimate outcome?
- Does it lead to significant international policy convergence (cf. Inkeles and Sirowy, 1983) or harmonization (Bennett, 1991)?
- Does a rejected innovation nevertheless leave behind some traces (Gruber, 2004)?

Diffusion and influence in Europe

Origins and influences are the stuff of library history.[12] It is not my intention to trace influences back to antiquity. Although some reference is made to 19th century and early 20th century influences in order to frame later examples, this section is concerned with the more recent literature which focuses on international influences, the spread of ideas, and transfer in LIS. It deals specifically with diffusion and influences affecting European LIS. Other regions and in particular the influence of Western librarianship on developing countries will be discussed as a separate theme in the next chapter, against the background of colonialism, post-colonial conditions and development aid.

To deal comprehensively with international LIS influence and diffusion of innovations would require a book. In fact, books and dissertations have been written on the influence of just the USA on a number of individual countries, such as Norway (Danton, 1957), India (Konnur, 1988) and South Korea (Chang, 2000). In this section some *capita selecta* are presented in a roughly geographical and chronological order. At the end of the next chapter the framework developed in the previous section will be used in an attempt to draw some conclusions from the literature covered in both chapters.

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[12] The frequently renamed *Journal of Library history* (1966-1972; 1974-1997), later *Libraries and culture* (1998-2006) and *Libraries and the cultural record* (2006-2011), and most recently *Information and culture* (2012-), is a particularly useful source of material on trans-national diffusion in LIS.

American influence on librarianship in Western Europe before the Second World War

By far the largest proportion of the literature concerns the huge influence of the United States on LIS in most parts of the world. Interesting as the origins of American librarianship are, it is not possible to deal here with the influences on North America that emanated from Britain and Europe, such as the bequest of John Harvard and the donation of Thomas Bray, the initiatives taken by Benjamin Franklin following his sojourns in Europe, and the role of Alexandre Vattemare in the founding of the Boston Public Library (Shera, 1976), except when they are referred to in the literature of American influence on Europe. A case in point is the influence of the German research universities on those of the United States in the 19th century, specifically that of the university library of Göttingen, which was attended in the first two decades of that century by a number of Americans, such as George Ticknor, who later took leadership positions in American librarianship (Vodosek, 2003; see also Rayward, 1976). From that point on, however, the transatlantic influence seems to have been mainly from West to East.

American influence on libraries in Scandinavia has been well documented, starting with Danton's (1957) monograph on US influence on Norwegian librarianship, in which he highlighted the role of Norwegian librarians who had spent time working in the USA or had received their training there. More recently this theme was addressed by writers from Norway (Byberg, 1993) and Sweden (Thomas, 2004; 2010), while US influence on LIS education in Finland, a Nordic country, was touched on by Audunson (2005). In turn, Nordic librarianship has served as a model for the development of libraries in southern Europe (Thomas, 2004).

American influence on public librarianship in Germany was discussed by Chaplan (1971) and Vodosek (2003). Chaplan distinguished three periods: the mid-1800s, the late 1800s; and the period following the Second World War (WW2), when a large part of Germany was under American occupation. Her account of the first two periods is of particular interest because it describes the efforts of leading German librarians who, having visited the USA, returned to Germany inspired to establish popular libraries on the model of American public libraries. Very limited success was achieved during the first two periods, mainly because of social and cultural differences between the two countries. In the second period, that of the *Bücherhallenbewegung*, a considerable controversy, the *Richtungsstreit*, arose between supporters of the Anglo-American public library model and the more elitist German concept of the role of public libraries, which emphasized the "literary-aesthetic education of the people" (p.44). Chaplan's third period will be dealt with below as an example of coercive transfer following WW 2. Vodosek (2003) described two examples of German emigrants to the USA who, having made their fortunes, founded American-inspired public libraries in their home towns.

A different mechanism of American influence was manifested in Belgium and France through the establishment of children's libraries directly after the first World War (WW1). In 1918 a group of American women set up a foundation named the American Book Committee on Children's Libraries, which aimed to develop the "literary culture" of school-age children (Mitts-Smith, 2007: 464). The children's libraries were named "L'Heure joyeuse". The first was opened in Brussels in 1920. The foundation also helped to disseminate the "American model of user-centered librarianship" (p.466) through training of local librarians. A second such library, opened in Paris in 1924, "soon became an embodiment of new ideas that were promoted by those who

sought to bring about a radical paradigm shift in French librarianship" (Maack, 1993:258). It was later taken over by the City of Paris, which then developed a network of neighbourhood libraries for children (Ferguson, 1971). The American Library in Paris was another consequence of World War 1. During that war, many American libraries had participated in the Library War Service, which collected almost one-and-a-half million books for distribution to American servicemen on the battlefield. After the war, the American Library Association set up the American Library in Paris with a core collection of these books (Maack, 2007; American Library in Paris, 2013).

Maack (1986) provided an insightful account of American influence on public libraries in France from 1900 to 1950, identifying the transfer of ideas (such as the philosophy of free, publicly supported public libraries), practices (such as training for librarians, the Dewey Decimal Classification and reference service) and objects or equipment (such as the physical organization of public libraries in separate library buildings). She applied the five stages of (1) knowledge, (2) persuasion, (3) decision, (4) implementation, and (5) confirmation, proposed in the diffusion of innovations theory of Rogers (1983), to the introduction of "open access public libraries". While French awareness of American public libraries had been raised by the American model library exhibit at the Universal Exposition of Paris in 1900, the devastation caused by World War 1 created an opening for American library influence. This gave rise not only to the creation of the model children's libraries and the American Library in Paris, but also to the creation of a number of small model public libraries in devastated regions of France. This was the work of an American philanthropic group, the Comité Americain pour les Régions Dévastées (CARD). An American training course for public librarians, which became known as the Paris Library School (1923-1929), was also established. Witt (2013) described this school against the background of an America internationalism that gave the United States as key role in "the advancement of civilization and peace" (p.144), and emphasised its evolution as "a hub for international exchange and cross-cultural understanding" (p.143), which also played a role in the founding of IFLA.

WW1 served as the "traumatic disruption" which Djelic (1998) saw as one of the preconditions for innovation at a national scale. Maack (1986) sensitively traced the interaction between American librarians and younger French librarians, particularly alumni of the American Library School, which led to the development of an indigenous movement for free and open public libraries with its own association and journal. More recently, two French authors (Gaudet and Lieber, 2002) discussed ongoing American influence, posing the question to what extent, given the huge impact of new information technology, French libraries would resemble those of the USA five years later They suggested that the preconditions for the rapid changes that are taking place in American libraries are not yet in place in France.

American influence in occupied Germany and Japan after the Second World War

I have suggested that while libraries have been destroyed in wars, the social and political disruptions caused by wars have also created circumstances predisposing to innovation in libraries. This is illustrated by the coercive transfer of educational policies that took place in Germany and Japan when these countries were occupied by American armed forces at the end of WW2. American attempts to root out the vestiges of Nazism in Germany and militarism in

Japan led to drastic interventions in the educational systems of these two countries (Pepin and Clark, 2004; Shibata, 2004; Tanaka, 2005). At the same time the advent of the Cold War led to attempts to introduce American approaches to industrial organization to Germany, France and Italy within the framework of the Marshall Plan (Djelic, 1998). As part of a programme to 're-educate' the German population, reading rooms, soon renamed U.S. Information Centers, and later *Amerikahäuser* ("America houses") were set up in the American zone of occupied Germany to combat Nazism and militarism and to promote democracy and mutual understanding between the USA and Germany. Ultimately there were 36 of these centres, providing not only reading materials but also offering film shows and other programmes. The coming of the Cold War led to greater emphasis on anti-Communist propaganda. After the fall of the Berlin Wall the number of *Amerikahäuser* declined and some of the remaining centres received German government funding, becoming "German-American Institutes" (Fickel, 1999; Kreis, 2012). Detailed studies of the *Amerikahaus* in Augsburg (Bartl, 2005) and Frankfurt (Kiessling and Leicht, 1966; Wiesinger, 1996) describe their functions and activities, and how they were received by their intended public. Chaplan (1997) provided a broader perspective on American influence in post-war Germany, mentioning a short-lived American Library School in Erlangen and the role of the American information centres, and emphasising the role of the Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek in Berlin. This public library, which was erected with US funds as a cultural monument to the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949, was operated on American lines and served as a model which incorporated innovations such as open access to the shelves, free usage, reference service to the public, and cultural programming. It exercised a strong influence, setting the standard for what became accepted as the norm in German public librarianship. Chaplan's analysis of the Gedenkbibliothek's influence provides an interesting illustration of the role of national catastrophe in creating receptivity to innovation:

> It must be recognized that the Gedenkbibliothek was built at a time when German librarianship was perhaps more than usually receptive to new influences – librarians had to start over from the beginning to build a new system, the old way of life and all of its appurtenances had collapsed and been discredited, and foreign ideas were coming into Germany from several sources... (p.52)

Ironically, the widespread destruction of library buildings made it unnecessary to remodel many existing library buildings in order to accommodate an open shelving layout (p.49).

By contrast in Japan, despite mandatory legislation passed as part of post-war reforms, an attempt to transplant American school library concepts did not succeed. Due to cultural differences, the nature of the Japanese educational system, and an ineffective law, Japanese school libraries took on a different shape (Knuth, 1995).

American influence in Russia, the Soviet Union and its satellites

Before the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 there had been considerable American influence on Russian librarianship (Klim, 2000).[13] Following that revolution, an uneasy relationship developed that was characterized by "mutual fascination and distrust" (Richards, 1998:390).

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[13] An example is the spread of Dewey's Decimal Classification in Russia before the Revolution, as described by Samurin (1959 [1967]:478-480).

Nevertheless, while in exile Lenin and his wife N.K. Krupskaia had been impressed by various major Western libraries, including the New York Public Library, the British Museum Library and the Bibliothèque nationale. After the Revolution this admiration was reflected in Lenin's writings, speeches and decrees aimed at modernizing Soviet librarianship (Kaldor, 1970). In the 1920s and early 1930s, library leaders in the newly formed Soviet Union made extensive use of American experience to introduce reforms in such areas as classification, library education and provincial library services. A number of Soviet women who had travelled and studied in the USA played a gate-keeping role in introducing American practices. Americans who had travelled to the USSR also reported that they had gained new insights, but these received little attention in the USA. There were significant American influences on cataloguing and classification theory and practice in the Soviet Union (Klim, 2000). By the mid-1930s increasing ideological tension put paid to professional exchanges (Richards, 1998). During the Cold War period that followed WW2 some relationships were pragmatically but discreetly maintained for the sake of access to scientific information (Richards, 1996), and there were occasional improvements in relations between the USA and the USSR which offered librarians in the USSR some glimpses of American librarianship (Klim, 2000). However, in general reporting on librarianship in the West was heavily coloured by Marxist ideology (Volodin, 2001) and relations between the USA and the USSR were characterized by ideological rivalry (Richards, 2001).

In the United States fear of communist subversion gave rise to pressures for censorship. This led to conflict within the library profession about intellectual freedom (Karetzky, 1991, 2002; Jenkins, 2001). The use of libraries as an element of "cultural diplomacy" in the ideological competition between communism and capitalism became a feature of the Cold War period, particularly where this war was waged in developing countries (Robbins, 2007; Maack, 2001). Such utilization of libraries, entailing censorship and slanted book selection, also caused moral problems for American librarians devoted to intellectual freedom (Robbins 2001, 2007). These cross-currents show that attempts to exert international influence may have unintended effects domestically.

From 1985 onwards the Soviet Union underwent a process, known as *perestroika*, of democratization and transition to a market economy, which also caused an economic crisis affecting libraries. At the end of 1991 the Soviet Union broke up into 15 sovereign states. In the changed circumstances, Soviet librarians were again open to American influence. Conferences and study visits sponsored by various agencies and foundations increased Russian exposure to American librarianship. The libraries of the United States Information Service (USIS) and American centres in Russia served as models of American librarianship and they organized visits by American experts. American influence was felt in various aspects, ranging from open access to marketing and education for LIS (Klim, 2000). It is interesting to note that some aspects of American library philosophy and values such as open access to information and political independence were widely accepted, while some more technical innovations such as USMARC were not (Klim, 2000).

The growth of American influence in Russia has been mirrored in the other former Soviet republics and in the "East Bloc" countries of Central and Eastern Europe that were under Soviet influence during the Cold War. A vast range of LIS aid and cooperation programmes has been put in motion, not only by the USA, but also by other western governments (Teplitskaia, 1998).

Examples are the funding of ambitious library automation projects by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (Krysiak, 1996; Lass, 1997; Lass and Quandt, 2000), and the work of the Open Society Institute in Budapest, one of the foundations set up by the Hungarian-born billionaire philanthropist George Soros. The Open Society Foundation has concentrated considerable resources on former East Bloc countries and the former Soviet republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia, providing access to resources through eIFL.net (Bernal, 2007), helping to set up national library networks (Buruma, 2001; Robinson and Glosiene, 2007), and encouraging greater regional cooperation (Plassard, 2000). While the purpose of these activities is not Americanization, the net effect is to bring these countries into the fold of modern Western librarianship. In some cases the literature has a strong undertone of alignment of library programs with US political and business interests, e.g. in Teplitskaia (1998), who mentions close cooperation with US government and business agencies.

In many cases, the aid is clearly motivated by ideological and geopolitical considerations – in the case of the Soros-funded philanthropy it reflects an expressed intention to build open, democratic societies. From a geopolitical perspective it seems that underlying much of the aid has been a desire to wean these countries from Soviet political and economic systems and bring them within the Western sphere of influence, creating a 'Europe whole and free" (Basora and Boone, 2010:4). Janos (2001) sees the process of 'democratization' as a transition from the Soviet regime to Western hegemony. In this connection the influence of Western Europe and especially the accession of former East Bloc countries to the European Union must also be taken into account (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005).

The European Union: integration in Western Europe

For at least three decades, the European Union (EU) has been the scene of significant international influence in LIS. This influence has expanded in two dimensions: in terms of the degree of integration of EU members, and in terms of the EU's geographical extent.

The EU developed from the European Coal and Steel Community (formed in 1951) and the European Economic Community (EEC), which was formed under the Treaties of Rome of 1958, with six member countries, Belgium, France, (West) Germany Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. The name European Union (EU) was adopted under the Maastricht Treaty of 1993.[14] Since its beginnings the EU has expanded considerably. By 1990, most of the countries of Western Europe had joined, major exceptions being Norway and Switzerland, which have close and privileged relations with the EU. After the fall of Communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union, the EU was enlarged eastwards to include ten Central and East European countries (CEECs), with at least seven in various stages of the complex process of application, candidacy, and preparing to accede to the Lisbon Treaty of 2009, which is the latest in a series of founding treaties (Fontaine, 2010).[15]

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[14] I shall use the name European Union to refer also to the pre-1993 European Economic Community (EEC) and to cover EU organs such as the European Commission (EC), which is directly responsible most of for the LIS-related programmes.

[15] Croatia became the 28th member of the EU on 1 July 2013.

At the same time, the successive treaties expanded the competences of the EU, leading to increasing integration (Jamet, 2011). From the initial emphasis on a common market in which people, goods and money can move freely across the national borders of its member states, the EU has extended its influence to most aspects of national life, including libraries and domains relevant to LIS such as cultural heritage, education, information-related rights, information technology, intellectual property, languages, science and technology and social services. Since member states tend to be jealous of their sovereignty, much of this integration has been taking place quietly, through the "backdoor" (Threlfall, 2003:136) sometimes in spite of the wishes of national electorates and leaders.

A variety of theoretical perspectives have been brought to bear on the processes of European integration and Europeanization (Montanari, 1995; Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999; Threlfall, 2003, Jamet, 2011) so that there is much variation in what the above terms mean. However, a typology of processes of European social integration by Threlfall (2003) provides a useful framework for our purposes. Threlfall (2003) distinguished between a number of concepts that occur frequently in EU documents and the literature about the EU without being explicitly defined.[16] Threlfall identified four processes, taking place at different levels: convergence, approximation, harmonization and single social area. *Convergence* is the least integrated level, where "policies, trends and indicators may converge without real integration, being simply the result of actions taken in each state separately" (p.124). *Approximation* implies "an intermediate level of integration, with some approximated laws (made more similar) and similar standards but with patchy coverage of the field or narrow, weak forms of regulation". *Harmonization* represents the next level, where a given field "is widely covered by stronger regulation and there is therefore harmony between all member-state laws, but they are still applied within national frontiers" (pp.124-125). Threlfall's "*single social area*" appears to represent an ultimate stage in which boundaries and barriers have been removed so that citizens of the European countries experience the field as a single space.

Iljon (1998:151) pointed out that libraries are among the areas in which the European Commission does not intervene in order to regulate because they are a national or local responsibility. Such intervention as does occur is "indirect and focussed on the added-value of the action at the EU level in agreement with member states". While this appears to rule out intervention through regulation, libraries and information services are affected both directly and indirectly by European integration. A number of programmes and initiatives have been *directly* concerned with libraries, starting in the 1980s, when resolutions proposing the creation of a "European Library" led to discussions about greater cooperation among European libraries. Attention was consequently drawn to the library and information sector as a market for information technology (Aslan, 2012). Subsequently various library and information related projects were included in the EU's framework programmes for research and technological development. The framework programmes (FPs) are the EU's instrument for funding multi-disciplinary, multinational, collaborative research across Europe. They fell within the remit of

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[16] A response to an inquiry directed to the EUROPE DIRECT Contact Centre (http://europe.eu) confirmed that the EU does not have agreed or standard definitions for such terms as 'integration', 'convergence' and 'harmonization'. However, EUROPE DIRECT does maintain a glossary as part of its legislation summaries, at http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary. It includes definitions of the terms 'community acquis' (acquis communautaire) and 'convergence criteria'.

Directorate General XIII (DG XIII), the department of the European Commission that was responsible for telecommunication, information technology, information society, media, innovation and related themes.[17] Vitiello (1996a) and Iljon (1998) described LIS-related EU projects during the 1990s. Of special interest is the LIBECON project, funded by the EU, which collected and published library statistics for 29 European countries on its Web site[18] (Ramsdale and Fuegi, 1999). The sixth and last *LIBECON Newsletter*[19] contained an article (Does Finland..., 2004) proposing a statistical methodology for ranking library services at the national level based on LIBECON data and presenting the results. Comparisons of this nature tend to give rise to "catch up" initiatives and hence promote convergence.

Aslan (2012) has published a useful overview of the LIS components in the five relevant framework programmes, starting with the third (1990-94), the first to include LIS-related projects, and concluding with the seventh (2006-2013)[20]. Work continues under the designation of Horizon 2020, which is part of the EU's Research and Innovation Programme. These framework programmes have covered a considerable range of projects, including library automation and networks, standards, cooperation, digital libraries, information society issues, heritage resources, technology-enhanced learning, and open access to scientific information. There has been a general emphasis on information technology, especially digital resources. It is also noteworthy that the more recent framework programmes have been concerned with resources and content regardless of whether these are held in libraries, archives or museums, thereby encouraged the convergence of these institutions.[21]

Given Threlfall's typology it is interesting to note that the library-related projects known as the "Telematics for Libraries Programme" in FP3 and FP4 (1990-1998) aimed at the creation of a "European Library Space", the goal of which:

> ... was not to create and impose a supernational [sic] electronic library but to encourage environments where national and regional networks of libraries and services could co-operate and interact and where the national policies could find added value from European Community initiatives... The long-term goal was to initiate a process of change for European libraries based on the co-operation amongst them, provoking a snowball effect over the years (Merola, 1999: n.p.).

This suggests that these projects aimed at convergence, the lowest level in Threlfall's typology. Vitiello (1996b) considered it unlikely that a European library policy (*una politica Europeana*

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[17] The name and scope of this portfolio were changed from time to time. In 2012 the numerical designation was dropped and it became the Directorate General for Communications Networks, Content and Technology or DG CONNECT
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Directorate_General_for_Communications_Networks,_Content_and_Technology, accessed 2013-04-05).

[18] The website still exists, at http://www.libecon.org/about.asp, but the project ended in 2004 when funding ceased.

[19] Available at http://www.libecon.org/newsletters/6/libecon_newsletter6.pdf, accessed 2013-04-01.

[20] A summary of the Seventh Framework Programme can be found at
http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/research_innovation/general_framework/i23022_en.htm (accessed 2013-03-39).

[21] 'Convergence' in this sense is not to be confused with the convergence of national policies and practices of EU members, discussed below.

delle biblioteche) would develop from the EU library programmes.

LIS-related activities are also included in other EU initiatives described by Aslan (2012). These activities, which mostly affect libraries more *indirectly*, include action plans and programmes to promote access to the Internet and the dissemination of European digital content. This includes the Europeana project, which aims to offer a single point of access to content held in European libraries, archives and museums (Fontaine, 2010). Mention should also be made of the ERASMUS programme, aimed at stimulating student mobility in higher education (Papatsiba, 2006). On a wider scale the Bologna process (which is not limited to the EU but also extends to other European countries) aims to create a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), in which comparable degrees and degree designations (according to a three-cycle system of Bachelor's, Master's and Doctoral programmes) will be implemented in universities throughout the EU (Fontaine, 2010). This has implications for libraries serving higher education, as well as for the education of librarians, giving rise to much interaction and collaboration among European LIS schools (Tammaro, 2002; 2006; Virkus, 2007). This has a significant potential for influencing the younger LIS professionals and researchers in Europe.

Although large numbers of projects have been listed by Iljon (1998), Vitiello (2000a; 2000b) and Aslan (2012), it would seem that the process of change in European LIS has not received explicit attention within a conceptual framework of diffusion or innovation. Nevertheless a perusal of LIS literature emanating from Europe shows much evidence of international cooperation among libraries in European countries. This ranges over many themes, in such diverse areas as multilingual subject access (Clavel-Merrin, 2004), the benchmarking of ISO 9001:2000 based quality management Systems (Balagué and Saarti, 2009) and the state of European school libraries (Marquardt, 2008). While the EU is by no means directly involved in all this work, it can be argued that over time a "European library space" has developed, with a climate favourable to European LIS collaboration. This is also reflected in the emergence of a number of European LIS bodies:

- CENL (Conference of European National Libraries): its project TEL (The European Library) received support from the Fifth Framework Programme and served as an incubator for Europeana)
- EBLIDA (European Bureau of Library Information and Documentation Associations), an umbrella association of library, information, documentation and archive associations and institutions in Europe, one of the main activities of which is lobbying for libraries in Europe. It arose from an initiative of the Council of Europe.
- ENSIL (European Network for School Libraries and Information Literacy)
- EUCLID (European Association for Library & Information Education and Research)
- LIBER (Ligue des bibliothèques européennes de recherche, the European association of research libraries)

The European Union: eastward enlargement

A second expansion of the EU's influence on LIS has resulted from its geographical enlargement. This took place in a number of phases, first towards the northern, western and southern periphery of Europe and then, following the collapse of Communism, to Central and Eastern Europe – the Central and Eastern European countries often referred to as CEECs.

To join the EU a country must be prepared to sign the treaties and "respect the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law" (Fontaine, 2010:16) and it must meet the "Copenhagen criteria" which relate to stable democratic institutions, a market economy capable of functioning in the EU environment, and the administrative capacity to meet the obligations of membership, including applying EU laws (Fontaine, 2010). Each country participating in an enlargement of the EU is required to adopt what is called the *acquis* (*acquis communautaire*, or community *acquis*) which is the "total body of EU legislation accumulated prior to the enlargement" (Jamet, 2011:579). This is seen as part of a process of convergence necessary to ensure that the new members can fit into the EU, particularly into the economic system. Countries engaged in the process of applying for membership are not left to their own devices. The EU promotes convergence, which in this context aims

> ...to help the least-developed countries and regions catch up more quickly with the EU average by improving conditions for growth and employment. This is done by investing in physical and human capital, innovation, the knowledge society, adaptability, the environment and administrative efficiency." (Fontaine, 2010:32).

Since the 1990s there has been a much emphasis on upgrading the political and economic institutions in the CEECs. This process is also referred to as Europeanization. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005:1) have pointed out that

> The desire of most CEECs to join the EU, combined with the high volume and intrusiveness of the rules attached to membership, allow the EU an unprecedented influence on restructuring domestic institutions and the entire range of public policies in the CEECs.

This influence is not universally seen as benign and positive. Critics point to the asymmetry of the relationship between the EU and the CEECs and liken it to a quasi-colonial situation (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2005). Hubregtse (2005) has warned of a widening digital divide between old and new EU members, and questioned the assumption that the privatization of IT infrastructure will solve the problem.

LIS have not been left unaffected by this wide-ranging restructuring of domestic institutions and public policies. Before the accession of the CEECs, DG XIII commissioned a study on 'Library Economics in Central and Eastern European Countries' (1997) covering ten countries, as an aid to policy making (Fuegi, 1997). The LIBECON project referred to above also included ten CEECs (Ramsdale and Fuegi, 1999). Valm (1999) outlined the assistance provided to the ten CEECs that had signed association agreements with the EU in the 1990s. In the "belief that

library co-operation between the hitherto divided halves of Europe had an important contribution to make in building democratic and prosperous societies" (n.p.), the EU libraries programme was opened up to them. A conference on library development in Central and Eastern Europe was held in Strasbourg in 1994, followed by various other conferences held in CEECs, and their participation in the Telematics for Libraries programme was facilitated. During 2005-2006 under the Sixth Framework Programme the European Commission funded the TEL-ME-MOR project, which was aimed at helping the national libraries of the ten CEEC member states to participate fully in The European Library (TEL). The European Library in the mean time has national library members in most European countries, including those that are not EU members.[22] Valm (1999) described Estonia's participation in EU programmes in some detail, while the impact of EU programmes on LIS in Lithuania has been described by Petuchovaite, Vilar and Bawden (2003).

LIS education has been an important area of cooperation between old EU members and the CEECs. Pors and Edwards (2001) and Pors (2002) discussed Danish cooperation in respect of LIS education with Lithuania, Hungary and Macedonia, in the context of the EU's TEMPUS programme[23], pointing out that such programmes provided valuable learning experiences for the Danish educators as well as for the students from those countries. Juznic and Badovinac (2005) compared LIS education programmes of old EU members with those of new EU members and applicant countries (i.e. mainly CEECs) and found a high degree of homogeneity, evidence that the LIS schools in the CEECs had been working towards a common European standard. Virkus (2007) discussed the participation of the Department of Information Studies of Tallinn University, Estonia, in various EU programmes and also referred to BOBCATSSS, an annual symposium held under the auspices of EUCLID.[24] BOBCATSSS is organized by students from two European universities, one from a CEEC and one from Western Europe. The impact of the infusion of Western LIS education into CEECs is likely to be far-reaching and lasting.

Collaboration among LIS workers in western and eastern EDU countries has resulted in numerous conference papers and journal articles, often on comparative or cross-national studies, e.g. Bawden, Vilar and Zabukovec (2005). Karacsony (2010) discussed participation by Hungarian academic and research libraries in the DRIVER-II project[25], intended to create an open access repository infrastructure for research results. A perspective on the impact of EU-related activity was provided by Teodorescu and Andrei (2011), who undertook a bibliometric analysis to measure the outcomes of research collaboration between academics in Western

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[22] See http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/confluence/display/wiki/TEL-ME-MOR, and
http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/discover/contributors, accessed 2013-04-06,

[23] "TEMPUS [originally (Trans-European Mobility Programme for University Studies] is the European Union's programme which supports the modernization of higher education in the EU's surrounding area. Tempus promotes institutional cooperation that involves the European Union and Partner Countries and focuses on the reform and modernization of higher education systems in the Partner Countries of Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Western Balkans and the Mediterranean region.
It also aims to promote voluntary convergence of the higher education systems in the Partner Countries with EU developments in the field of higher education." (From web site of the European Commission's Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, EACEA, at
http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/tempus/programme/about_tempus_en.php, accessed 2013-04-06.)

[24] See http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bobcatsss, accessed 2013-07-14

[25] The DRIVER-II project ended in 2010. Further information is available at:
http://www.surf.nl/en/themas/openonderzoek/infrastru
ctuur/Pages/DRIVERII.aspx, accessed 2013-04-06.

countries (pre-1994 EU members) and those in Eastern Europe as promoted *inter alia* by the EU, and found a significant growth of such collaboration as reflected in co-authored publications.

Mention should be made here of the Council of Europe, not to be confused with the Council of the EU. Based in Strasbourg, the Council of Europe is an international organization with 47 members, spanning the continent of Europe, from Iceland and Malta to Azerbaijan and the Russian Federation.[26] Of particular relevance here are its activities relating to cultural cooperation and its focus on promoting respect for human rights, through the European Court of Human Rights (created in 1949 and operational since 1959) and the European Convention on Human Rights (an international treaty adopted in 1950)[27]. The Court's scope includes information-related rights such as freedom of expression, privacy, and protection of children, with particular emphasis in recent years on the Internet (Sturges, 2000). From a LIS perspective, the Council of Europe is also noteworthy as the godparent of LIBER, founded under its aegis in 1971 (Fox, 2007). Vitiello (1996b) devoted a chapter to the Council of Europe's library activities and discussed in particular the *Council of Europe/EBLIDA guidelines on library legislation and policy in Europe* (Council for Cultural Co-operation. Culture Committee, 2000). This was developed by the Council and EBLIDA. Vitiello (2000a; 2000b) also discussed the Council of Europe's interventions and documents on library relations with the knowledge industries and European legislation on the heritage preservation role of libraries. However, a search in *LISA* showed that literature on CoE programmes and projects, numerous until the 1990s, petered out around 2000.

European integration: a process in two phases

To conclude this section, the question that arises is, who is influencing whom? A systematic account of the influence of the European Union and the Council of Europe on LIS in member countries is still to be written. It is as if such influence is taken for granted and not discussed as such, so that one has to rely to a large extent on brief mentions and comments in literature dealing with substantive LIS issues. However, although it is nowhere systematically described, the general picture that emerges is of influence spreading in two phases. In the first phase influence flows from the US and Britain (the "Anglo-Saxon" [28] or more properly Anglo-American influence) and Scandinavia southwards towards the Mediterranean countries. In a second phase, influence spreads eastwards to the CEECs. Of course this is an over-simplification. For one thing, the global preponderance of US-based media and information enterprises such as OCLC and manufacturers of library automation systems (Vitiello, 2000a) means in effect that Europeanization carries a significant component of Americanization.[29]

In a recent book chapter on LIS in France, Bertrand (2012) – in an unusually frank comment – referred explicitly to 'French backwardness" compared to LIS in other countries, mentioning US, Canadian, German, Dutch and Finnish libraries as "sources of inspiration" (vol. 1, pp. 161-

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[26] http://www.coe.int/aboutCoe/index.asp?page=quisommesnous&l=en, accessed 2013-04-06.
[27] http://www.echr.coe.int/ECHR/EN/Header/The+Court/Introduction/Information+documents/ accessed 2013-04-06
[28] Continental European authors, e.g. Vitiello, tend to use the somewhat dated term "Anglo-Saxon" to refer to American and British influence.
[29] The term Anglo-American is also a misnomer, as the influence is probably more American than British.

162,172).[30] In the same volume Selgas Gutiérrez (2012) referred to Spain's big deficit in library development, which he largely attributed to the ideological censorship and constraints imposed by the Franco regime, while Tammaro (2012) touched on the traditional Italian emphasis on the "bibliographical heritage". This has had the result that the preservation and bibliographic description of collections is prioritized, to the detriment of service to the public, so that libraries are turned into museums (Vol. 1, p.327). Tammaro also emphasized internationalization:

> Internationalization has had a big impact and the author believes that it will continue to have an important role in Italy. Library automation from the beginning in Italy was supported by such international organizations as FID, IFLA and UNESCO and is presently oriented by the European project, Europeana. The European reference frame has become more important and structured, not limiting itself to technical indications of standard, as it was in the beginning, but orienting from the outside the development of the digital environment of libraries for global access to information. (p.340)

Such reflection in Italy was also illustrated by Vitiello's (1994) study of national libraries and bibliographic agencies in Britain and Italy, which ended with a critique and recommendations on improving the situation in Italy. However, in his book on comparative librarianship, Vitiello (1996b) points out that it is not necessary to learn only from the "Anglo-Saxon" library science, as the example of Portugal recent rapid library development shows; hence his book emphasizes other European library systems, specifically German, French and Danish systems rather than the British. Italian interest in Scandinavian library systems is exemplified by De Pinedo and Vitiello (1992).

The second phase saw a major catch-up movement taking place in the CEECs, which were widely reported in the literature as lagging behind with respect to the West, for example, by Pors (2002:41):

> We see these differences in relation to the status and image of librarianship and information work in the national contexts. Most East European countries are at least 20 years behind the systems in Scandinavia and UK.

Thus the general impression from the literature is that of libraries in CEECs hungrily catching up with the West, in several cases after a slump in library funding in the early to mid 1990s, immediately after the fall of Communism. They are described as making use of various sources of funding, including US foundations, the Open Society Institute, and the British Council, with the source of support and innovation shifting to the EU as the possibility of accession took shape. Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier (2005:1) commented that

> Much of the literature on European integration refers to the domestic impact of the European Union (EU) as "Europeanization"". In this sense, a far-reaching process of Europeanization is currently under way in Central and Eastern Europe. In the aftermath of the fall of communism, international organizations have become strongly involved in the political and economic transformations in the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs).

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[30] In a doctoral dissertation Hassenforder (1967) had already drawn an unfavourable comparison with US and British public libraries.

There is no doubt that LIS is one of the spheres affected by this transformation. Although not necessarily subjected to analysis or reflection, there is widespread evidence of the effects of European programmes and initiatives in countries which, for one reason or another, were not at the same 'level' of library development as those in the north-western corner of Europe.

Further international influence

There is vast scope for the study of international influence in LIS. It is not possible here to cover the whole field. One area would be Soviet influence on its component republics and the CEECs under its hegemony between 1995 and 1990, reflected in e.g. Raymond (1993), Richards (1998c; 1999), Maceviciute (2006), and József *et al*. (2012). Waves of influence have washed over the CEECs and other countries situated in zones of geopolitical competition, each wave leaving behind sediments of LIS traditions. These are reflected, for example, in the second languages children are taught in school and in the languages of texts used in higher education. To what extent are these erased by each new wave as new generations take over? Similarly the cross-currents resulting from the influence of the library programmes of the Carnegie Corporation of New York in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa between the two world wars are worth exploring – these will be touched on in the next chapter. Some other areas worth further study are;

- European influences on the United States: These are dealt with quite extensively in histories of American LIS (cf. a thoughtful essay by Rayward, 1976), but it may be of interest to reinterpret some of this material using one of the many conceptual frameworks available for diffusion studies.
- American professional attitudes on the dissemination of American librarianship abroad: since WW2 a shift can be seen from the rather brash confidence of Swank's (1963) "Six items for export", through the more nuanced reprise of this theme by Asheim (1985), to recent self-deprecating and highly critical assessments of US influence (e.g. Wertheimer, 2009).
- Non-Western influence, for example Ranganathan's influence on Western librarianship (Foskett, 1991).
- British influence in Europe, although very much overshadowed by the USA, should not be overlooked (e.g. Dyrbye, 2008)
- Influence of American school and children's librarianship (Carroll,1977; Pellowski, 1977; Knuth, 1995a; 1995b; 1999): how is this related to the dissemination of American pedagogy?
- Mediated or indirect transfer of LIS innovations, e.g. in Europeanization projects as discussed above, or more generally as these ideas are "in the air" globally due to globalization.
- The role of intergovernmental organizations such as the FAO, UNESCO and WHO, and international non-governmental organizations such as IFLA, in mediating the transfer of innovations from influential member states

Conclusion

Conceptual frameworks have been developed in various disciplines for the study of influence and the diffusion of innovations. Although there is much evidence of diffusion in LIS, this evidence is seldom the primary theme of the literature. There has not been much systematic study of the phenomenon in our field and only limited use has so far been made of the frameworks that have been put forward in other disciplines. This leaves a great deal of interesting work to be done in LIS.

The overview of diffusion and influence in Europe in this chapter illustrates themes that are found in the literature on diffusion in other disciplines. It seems that, as in other spheres, LIS influence tends to follow lines of political and economic power and that the influence is exerted at "space-gate" moments when disaster or disillusion in a recipient country makes it receptive to innovative ideas from more powerful and influential source countries. Thus innovation at a given time is often borne on a wave of influence. This means that we need to look at the wave as a whole, not merely at individual instances of innovation. But these are premature conclusions. In the chapter that follows the material presented here will be subjected to further analysis within the framework proposed above.

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