International, National, and Local Notions of the Public Library: An extended case study in Namibia

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Abstract

This dissertation is a study of library use in a poor neighborhood in Windhoek, Namibia, to understand the diffusion of public libraries around the world. I used a sociological approach and the Extended Case Method (Burawoy, 1991; 1998). Two theories framed the research: World Society Theory (Meyer et al. 1997) and New Institutional Theory (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). World Society Theory was developed from evidence of similarities in governmental, health and educational organizations globally that demonstrates the growth of a world culture based on a rationalistic and scientific approach to knowledge. The findings show that international notions of public libraries do influence national and local notions of them. Local and national notions of the library also have influence, however, and the libraries are ultimately an amalgamation of local and international notions, reflecting in part the needs of the community for education and self-development.
Dissertation

International, National, and Local Notions of the Public Library: An extended case study in Namibia

Sarah M. Webb

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Information Science and Technology in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

May 2012
This dissertation is dedicated to my parents:

Tom and Joan Webb

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1. Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This dissertation research discusses international, national and local notions of the public library, with a focus on the public libraries in Namibia. The research came about because as a former public librarian, I was interested in building libraries in areas where people live without good sources of information and reading material. I was particularly interested in building these libraries in Africa, where many people live on less than a dollar a day and have little access to information. As I began to read about libraries built in Africa, I found a problem coming up in the literature over the last thirty years of writing about libraries in Africa. Many authors discussed that libraries around the world are similar to each other and follow institutional patterns, and because they do this they do not follow local traditions (e.g. Amadi, 1981; Coble, 1997; Cram, 1993; Odi, 1991; Sturges and O'Neill, 1998) or reflect local resources (Mchombu, 1982).

1.2. Theories

To understand this problem, I turned to organizational sociology, where two theories helped explain this phenomenon. The first theory is World Society Theory, which explains that organizations are becoming similar to each other and that there is a growing global culture. “Many contemporary organizations, particularly in the fields of education, government, and health, are similar to
each other throughout the world because they follow worldwide models constructed and propagated through global cultural and associational processes.” (Meyer et al., 1997). This global culture and the growing similarities of organizations are two sides of the same coin. Because organizations are similar in different countries, and organizations are the building blocks of social structure, societies are becoming similar. At the same time, because there is a growing global culture, people expect to have similar organizations available to them in different countries.

The associational processes described by Meyer and colleagues can be explicated by New Institutional Theory. New Institutional Theory explains why organizations within one culture or nation are similar to each other. Scott explains it this way, “Institutions are comprised of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements that together with associated activities and resources provide stability and meaning to social life.” (Scott, 2008, pg. 48). The way to see these associational forces is through the organizational field, that is all of the organizations interacting with the particular organization being studied.

New Institutional Theory states that organizations must conform to notions of the organization in order to be seen as legitimate. In order for a library to be a library, it must be recognized as a library. World Society Theory sometimes discusses this notion in terms of scripts, in order for the library to be recognized as a library it must use certain scripts in its description.
1.3. *Method*

Having discovered two theories that explained the phenomenon I was reading about in the literature, I wanted to understand what was happening in an actual library. To do this, I used the Extended Case Method. The Extended Case Method is a method developed by Michael Burawoy (1991; 1998) to understand the macro-structures of society at the local level. It allowed me to take theories like World Society Theory and New Institutional theory which explain macro-sociological phenomenon and look at how they play out in one location and in the lived experiences of people.

I therefore chose two case libraries in a neighborhood of Windhoek, Namibia as my location for the study. I chose to do the study in Namibia because the country became independent from South Africa in 1990, and before that it had only a few libraries which were only available to the White population of the country. Since Namibia gained independence, a number of new public libraries have been built, tripling the number of libraries in the country, and these new libraries are open to everyone. I felt that this would give me a good opportunity to see the creation of an organization, so that I could see the influences from the global community as suggested by World Society Theory and also by the other organizations in the country as suggested by New Institutional Theory.

I chose to do my study in a neighborhood of Windhoek, the capital, because that enabled me to spend time in the case libraries and also have access to the library headquarters and the government ministries in charge of
the libraries. If I had done the study in another town, I would not have been able to easily visit other libraries or the library administration.

1.4. Preconceptions

The extended case method suggests that the researcher should lay out the expectations from theory before entering the field. The researcher compares these expectations from the theory to what is actually taking place in the field, and by doing so is able to gain insights into the theory as it plays out in the lived experiences of people. Therefore, before I went into the field, I laid out my expectations from World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory in a memo. As I thought about my expectations, I used the idea of the organizational field, as described by Paul DiMaggio (1991). The organizational field is the group of organizations that interact with the one under study. These interactions clarify the various forces acting on the organization to make it the way it is. It was important that I have a clear idea of what organizations might be expected to be in the organizational field for the libraries in my study so that I could observe the interactions between the case libraries and these organizations. I also needed to be open to other organizations that might appear to influence the case libraries.

I also realized that the notion of the organizational field is usually used to describe the organizations within one nation that influence the organization under study. In my study, however, the influence of international organizations was also important. For that reason, I thought of the organizational field at
three levels, the international, the national and the local level. As I thought more about this, I drew a picture of the three organizations, to give myself a frame of reference in my thinking. I thought of this as my conceptualization of what I would find before I entered the field of my case study.

I use the picture to explain both my expectations as I went into the field and also how I carried out the research in the field.

The picture that guided my thinking looked like this:
This figure shows that the International Organizational field will influence an organizational model of the public library. This field is made up of international
organizations, in particular organizations associated with the United Nations and professional organizations. I thought that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) would have influence over public libraries. UNESCO has written a Public Library Manifesto that articulates why UNESCO believes every country should have a public library and what public library services will do for that nation. This manifesto has been written with the help of the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA). IFLA is the professional organization for librarians, and also has a great deal of influence over the organization of libraries worldwide. In addition to writing the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto, IFLA has brought together international groups of librarians to write out how public libraries should structure themselves in order to carry out the ideas in the manifesto. The latest of these was published in 2010 (after my study took place), but was preceded by books in 2001, 1986 and 1977. These documents were very helpful for my study as they stated in clear terms what the international community thought that public libraries should be like, and I therefore used them as if they really did state the model for public libraries internationally. This is a simplification, of course, but was helpful for my study.

In addition to UNESCO and IFLA as influencers of the international model for public libraries, I also expected that international non-governmental organizations (iNGOs) involved with libraries, such as Book Aid International would also be involved with the idea of public libraries. I knew that Book Aid International was actively involved with Namibia’s public libraries. These iNGOs,
UNESCO, and IFLA would together create an international notion of the public library called the Organizational Model.

At the national level, I felt that a number of organizations would be involved with the public library. In particular, DiMaggio (1991) mentions that professional organizations and university education of professionals who work in the organization are particularly influential over the form that the organization takes. Scott (2008) also notes that regulations and laws form the government may influence the organization. I was therefore expecting that the government, particularly the Ministry of Education, which oversees the libraries in the country, and the university and professional association for librarians would be involved with the public library. These organizations would create a national notion of the public library called the organizational form.

I also assumed at the local level, each of the libraries I was using in my case study would be interacting with organizations in their local community. In particular, the schools, businesses, churches and families living in the area would be interacting with the library.

Overall, I felt that the organizations in the international field, including UNESCO, IFLA, and iNGOs would create an organizational model of the public library. This organizational model would be identical to the organizational form created at the national level by the university education for library professionals, the professional organization for librarians, and the administration of the library through the Ministry of Education and the government. This organizational form/model would be realized in the
community surrounded by schools, businesses, and churches and used by people. I could go into the field and study all of the interactions between these influencers and the case study libraries to gain a sense of how the public library is realized in Namibia.

1.5. Data Collection

As I mentioned previously, I thought about what the theory predicted to enable me to focus on what was different in my observations. These differences would give me new insights into the theory. Once I had laid out these expectations, I went to Namibia and spent 10 months observing in the case libraries and the organizational fields. I observed how people used and interacted with the library. I also interviewed people in the library, in the community and in the organizational field. In addition, I read documents about the libraries. When an observation was different from the prediction, I paid more attention to it. For example, I had predicted that the organizational model would be similar to the organizational form. In reality, I found distinct differences between the international notion of the public library and the national notion of it.

1.6. Overview of Findings

As I paid attention to this difference, I uncovered that instead of one notion of a public library in Namibia, there were three distinct notions of it. One of these was the organizational model developed in the international organizational field. One of my case study libraries, the Greenwell Matongo Community Library, was built to fit this model in 2005. The other two alternative notions
had historical roots. In Namibia, public libraries had previously been only available to White people. These libraries, started in the 1920s, had mostly fiction collections and members had to pay a membership fee in order to borrow books. This membership fee is still in existence, even though it is contrary to some international notions of public libraries, particularly as spelled out in the UPLM. The third notion of the library was informed by the libraries that were available to Black people in Namibia before the country gained independence. These libraries were built by charities or churches and were mostly to help mostly to support formal education. One of my case study libraries had been run by the Rössing Foundation, a charity, and was in the process of being taken over by the government during the time I was there. Each of these three notions of the library were realized in different proportions in the two libraries that I observed and in other libraries that I visited.

These three different notions of the library each reflect a different focus of the library. Public libraries are sources of information, a shared resource for recreational reading, and a support for formal and informal learning. The UPLM speaks to each of these uses, but emphasizes the informational aspects of the library. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library partners also focused on information and the ability of the library, by providing information and access to computers, to help people out of poverty. The historical notion of the library for whites in Namibia emphasizes a shared resource of recreational reading. The libraries still fitting that image have large fiction collections for people to read. The charity notion of the library, or the library available to blacks
emphasizes formal education. The Katutura-Rössing Library was designed to be a place for people to study, filled with materials that would add their schoolwork.

Interestingly, the Greenwell Matongo Community Library is used primarily by students who want a place to study. The students in the library knew about the charity notion of the library, the library that supports formal education. As well, at school and from many of the adults in their lives, they have been told that succeeding at school will help them succeed in life. Those students using the library have taken this idea to heart. They said all the time in interviews that they were in the library to do well in school so they could do well in life.

This notion that school success will lead to life success is a script from the development community. The United Nations in all of its discussions of development states that education will lead to self-development and country development. The government of Namibia has clearly adopted this stance, and its Vision 2030, a statement of the government’s goals for the country, places emphasis on having an educated citizenry to help the country develop. Use of the library, therefore, for many of the people in the library, is about gaining life success and country-wide development. They have co-opted the library as a tool for gaining entry into the global society envisioned by the United Nations. As I explained earlier, World Society Theory describes a growing global society and a growing similarity between the organizations in all countries that make up this growing global society. The libraries in Namibia fit with both of these ideas. The libraries are similar to the global notion of the library (with the
newer library in the case study being closer to the global ideal as expressed by
the UPLM than others), and people use the libraries to gain access to a lifestyle
promised by the global society – a successful life through education.

The process for both of these outcomes is not smooth, and in chapters 4-7 of this dissertation, I give more details about them.

1.7. Significance

Most of the research using World Society Theory has used a macro lens to
understand the phenomena worldwide. These studies look at statistics about
organizations to understand better what is happening across countries. This
study, by contrast, looks at the phenomenon at the local level. I wanted to
understand what it meant for the people involved that the organizations are
similar to a worldwide model, and are not reflecting local traditions and
resources. This should give deeper insights into the impact of this phenomenon
on people’s lives. The growth of a global culture happens locally through
changes in real people and their lives. Development and development aid, often
given through the United Nations and NGOs, plays a role in this change.
Understanding the change and the forces behind the change may enable
planning for better programs that allows people more control over the change
happening in their own communities.

1.8. Purpose

This study also sought to understand the library as it functions in the everyday
lives of people. Bertot and Wiegand (1999) call for further research into “the
library in the life of the user.” This research heeded that call and hopes to make contributions to our understandings of how public libraries affect people’s lives. National decision-makers who choose to implement exogenous models may be interested in understanding how the functionality of such models may be changed by or may change local resources, traditions and cultures.

Evidence from previous studies already suggests that the library’s function in Namibia is to support formal learning. Some critics suggest that changing library policies and services (Kabamba, 2008) will allow library services to reach more of the population and fulfill more of the functions promised by the model. Others may feel that the support of formal learning is enough, and policies and services should build on that success. Evidence from this study of what is happening in the libraries may help decision-makers or at least add weight to their discussions.

1.9. Limitations

The main limitation of this study was that I could not become truly immersed in the case studies as an ethnographer should. In the communities surrounding the case libraries, I was always easily identified as a foreigner. This meant that people treated me differently, and also that I never fully understood the culture I was trying to immerse myself in. I also lived in Namibia for a limited amount of time. To help mitigate these limitations, I hired students from the University of Namibia who helped with data collection and also discussed the culture of Namibia and the various tribes with me.
2. Literature Review

This literature review has two major parts. The first part is a discussion of the theory and the theoretical framework supporting the study, and the second part is a history of public libraries as background for the particular organization that is the subject of this study. Two theories are part of the theoretical framework of the study, World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory. Both of these theories understand organizations, such as public libraries, as products of institutionalizing processes and as building blocks for our current societal structures. The institutionalizing process happens over time, and this necessitates an understanding of past practices and meanings given to an organization in order to understand its current instantiation. Thus, an overview of the history of public libraries is important to understand the institution in the present.

The problem, as stated in Chapter One is that libraries in different cultures with different resources available to them still seem similar. World Society Theory, framed in Meyer and colleagues (1997), notes that organizational structures are similar throughout the world despite differences in tradition and resources. For this reason, this theory was incorporated as the primary theory for the dissertation. New Institutional Theory also gives reasons for why organizations have similar form and structure. Researchers such as Scott (2008) and DiMaggio (1991) developed ways to trace the various forces or
societal actions that create the organization. These ideas were thus incorporated into the theoretical framework and also guided the research.

2.1. Theories

The problem, as stated in Chapter One is that libraries in different cultures with different resources available to them still seem similar. World Society Theory, framed in Meyer and colleagues (1997), notes that organizational structures are similar throughout the world despite differences in tradition and resources. For this reason, this theory was incorporated as the primary theory for the dissertation. New Institutional Theory also gives reasons for why organizations have similar form and structure. Researchers such as Scott (2008) and DiMaggio (1991) developed ways to trace the various forces or societal actions that create the organization. These ideas were thus incorporated into the theoretical framework and also guided the research.

2.1.1. World Society Theory

World Society Theory explains the diffusion of culture and of organizational forms around the world. This is exactly what I was seeking to understand as I saw the similarities between libraries in different countries.

2.1.1.1. Summary of Theory

In “World Society and the Nation-State” (1997) Meyer and colleagues clarify the reasons for similarities between nation-states around the world. They set forth this key proposition, "Many features of the contemporary nation-state derive from world-wide models constructed and propagated through global culture
and associational processes” (pg. 144). Nation-states are isomorphic or similar in their organizational form because an idea of what a nation-state should have and be exists in a global culture, and most nation-states adopt those notions as their own and adapt themselves to them. World Society Theory posits that this happens not only with nation-states, but also to all organizations, particularly those in education, the military and health (Meyer et al., 1997). The organizations that Meyer and others focus on are public organizations, not private organizations such as businesses. Buttel (2000) states the ideas of World Society Theory slightly differently.

“First, while the world’s peoples have come from strikingly diverse socio-cultural origins, there is a startling (and apparently growing) degree of global cultural homogenization. Second, there exists today a level of isomorphism of social structural and organizational forms across world societies that is far too great to be solely explicable in terms of functional necessity or task demands” (pg. 117).

These two features of the current world, the global cultural homogenization and the isomorphism of social structural and organizational forms across societies, form two sides of the same coin. A global culture is creating similar structures and organizations and the similarities of structures and organizations create a homogenous global culture.

For nation-states, key principles of the global culture must be met by their governments in order to participate in global society, and this forces the nation-states to have similar structures and organizations. The key principles are human rights and notions of citizens. “[Nation-states] routinely organize and legitimate themselves in terms of universalistic (world) models like
citizenship, socioeconomic development, and rationalized justice” (Meyer et al. 1997, pg. 148). These principles of human rights/citizenship, socioeconomic development and rationalized justice exist because of a global consensus about the “nature and value of such matters as citizen and human rights, the natural world and its scientific investigation, socioeconomic development, and education” (pg. 148). Thus, according to Meyer and colleagues (1997) the global culture is formed around ideas of science taught by our systems of education to be universal. The ideas taught prescribe various organizations as necessary (such as schools or courts of law).

To illustrate the theory, Meyer and colleagues (1997) describe the discovery of an island with an unknown society. They imagine that within a few years, as the island becomes a nation-state, it would adopt the common characteristics and features of all other nation-states. This, they argue, would happen mostly through engagement with the UN and its treaties.

"A government would soon form, looking something like a modern state with many of the usual ministries and agencies. Official recognition by other states and admission to the United Nations would ensue. The society would be analyzed as an economy, with standard types of data, organizations, and policies for domestic and international transactions. Its people would be formally recognized as citizens with many familiar rights..." (Meyer et al. 1997, p. 145)

They go on to claim that "modern educational, medical, scientific, and family law institutions would be developed” (p. 146) in their hypothetical society. These developing institutions would, in this view, be similar to others from other countries.
This similarity among the newly built organizations (the schools, ministries and agencies being built on the hypothetical island) would come about in part through international organizations such as the United Nations (UN). For example, in order for the people living on the island to be counted as part of the world population, a census would have to be done. Such a census would have to follow the standard practices of any country’s census taking. This requirement means that the organization carrying out the census must be based on the same organizational form as found in other countries. All countries use the same organizational form to create the organization within their country, perform the census and report back their data. Thus, the desire for a standard set of census data to count the world’s population leads to similar census-taking organizations everywhere.

2.1.1.2. Globalization, Organizations and World Society

World Society Theory captures the idea that a growing global society is built through the structures of similar organizations. In the book, Globalization and Organization: World Society and Organizational Change, the editors (and major contributors), Gili Drori, John Meyer and Hokyu Hwang, explore the cultural diffusion that, they theorize, accounts for the growth of organizations around the world. “The intensification of global interdependencies and the consolidation of the global as a social horizon – both captured in the now popular term globalization have provided fertile ground for the creation of new organizations and the expansion of existing ones” (pg. 1).
The authors note that there have been a variety of reasons offered for the growing number of organizations around the world. 1) One idea put forth is that because organizations are efficient and effective they have a competitive edge. In order to compete in the global economy, therefore, everything must be an organization. 2) This idea is contested by Neo-Marxists, according to the Drori and Colleagues (2006), who see these functional needs as capitalist interest. In both scenarios, the global reach of the capitalist economy is central to the growth of organizations world wide in all realms of life. 3) Drori and colleagues (2006), on the other hand, think that globalization is part of a cultural and political process. “Globalization involves the diffusion of cultural practices and commodities from consumption of media like TV programs and Hollywood movies to norms like human rights and environmentalism” (pg. 11).

They see three causal factors for the rise of organizations, including the rise of the whole earth as the relevant social horizon, the process of rationalization and standardization, which reinforces scientific expertise, and the culture of actorhood and empowerment, which is carried out by the globalized education institutions. They repeatedly mention that the national culture is subsumed by the global culture. In Namibia, which is so recently independent, and therefore, still determining its national culture, the importance of a global culture is intriguing. As in much of Africa, tribal affiliations are strongly felt, and the idea of identifying oneself with a national culture is a change from that. One informant in the study mentioned that the importance of a national identity is to ease away from the tribal affiliations in
politics and other aspects of life. I was interested to see how these affiliations would play out within the context of globalization.

2.1.1.2.1. Function versus Scripts

As previously mentioned, organizations are said to be growing in number around the world because of their functionality. Part of this argument is also that each particular type of organization is structured the way that it is because that allows it to function best. Thus, public libraries around the world should have the same organizational structure so that they can perform the same function in each locality. World Society Theory, however, makes it clear that organizations are not functional – they are not built and structured in the way that they are to fulfill a need, rather, they are built they way they are to fit with the perception of how the organization should be (Meyer et al., 1997). The functionality of the organization may be stated as the reason for its being built, but if one looks below the surface, other reasons emerge for why that type of organization was built in a particular way. I was hoping in my case studies to see below the surface in Namibia and understand how libraries were supposed to function, how they actually functioned, and how they conformed to scripts in the global and national community about how libraries are supposed to function.

This idea about the non-functional role of the organization can be a tricky idea; many people argue that a library is needed for various reasons and that if the organization were following functional lines, it would probably fit with local resources and traditions. The organizations that are built, however, generally
follow the international model with its accompanying scripts for how the library should be, *regardless* of the local resources and traditions. In the case of public libraries, many researchers and critics have argued that the global idea or scripts about the public library are not ideal for African societies (e.g. Mchombu, 1981). Mchombu developed an alternative model in his book, *Knowledge Sharing* (2004) that worked with local traditions and resources to perform the function of the library. This model is rarely funded, probably because it does not match would-be funders’ conception of what the library should be. It does not fit with the idea of the library modeled through global scripts on the public library or legitimizing myths of how a library should be. The new model is based on ideas developed in South America, and adapted to the African situation. Therefore, even if this new model were adopted, it would still be demonstrating some of the ideas of World Society Theory. Again, I visit these ideas further in the public library history section of this chapter.

Buttel stated that the similarities among organizations around the world are too great to exist only because of functional necessity (Buttel, 2000, pg. 117). This notion of organizational similarity is only half the story. Global cultural homogenization and the underlying principles of human rights and socioeconomic development make up the other part (Buttel, 2000). Meyer (2010) notes that people are embedded in institutions and culture, which are both global and built on notions of enlightenment and science. The ideas within enlightenment and science are predicated on the idea that people are agents and individuals with human rights that give them greater agency. The
institutions and global culture design a way of life for us, and included in this design is the idea that we design our own lives. This type of agency by which we design our own lives demands a certain level of education and freedom of expression (Frank and Meyer, 2007). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 19 states, “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” It is this right which gives advocates of libraries the fuel to demand building public libraries.

Such ideas of agency are not part of many older cultural systems in which parentage, birth order, and gender design our lives for us. The Universal Declaration of Human rights has changed these notions, and organizations and institutions reflect this change. In a country such as Namibia, which so recently gained independence and ended Apartheid laws that ran counter to human rights, such ideas may still be in the process of being incorporated into society and its institutions.

2.1.1.3. Non-Conformity to World Society Theory

A few nation-states, such as China, Iraq and North Korea do not conform to general expectations of the United Nations. For example, China does not follow the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, although China has ratified it. Considerable force is expended by the United Nations, some nations, and various individuals both inside and outside China to try to make China conform
to the ideas laid out in the Universal Declaration. For example, the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded in 2010 to a dissident living in China, a man who is working towards a more democratic government structure, a structure more in line with the ideals of the United Nations. Members of the international community, as represented by those deciding the Nobel Peace Prize winner, are clearly putting pressure on China to conform.

This non-conformity to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by China and many other nations was studied by Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui (2005), who noted that although countries adopt and ratify treaties and may give speeches indicating they are following these ideas, reality might be different. This suggests a loose coupling between the ideas espoused by the United Nations and other international organizations and the way nation-states actually function. As well, the non-conformity by China to global ideals fed into the protests of the Beijing Olympics (Beer, 2010).

2.1.1.4. Public Libraries and World Society Theory
The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has had an immense influence on the diffusion of public libraries. I will explore this more in the history of the public library (section 2.2.4.4). I mention it here just to note that an international organization affiliated with the United Nations has also been involved with the development of public libraries as an organizational structure around the world. UNESCO’s work has been aided by the International Federation of Library Association and Institutions (IFLA), an international association for librarians. Both of these organizations have
influenced all library organizations, and have allowed for the diffusion of ideas about libraries between countries.

2.1.1.5. Studies Using World Society Theory

Many researchers have used the notion of World Society. I highlight a few which have particular significance for my work. Frank and Meyer (2007) discuss the global expansion of the university organizational form, and Drori and colleagues (2003) reflect on a similar phenomenon in science. Anderson-Levitt (2005) discusses the globalization of schooling in the primary years. Meyer and colleagues (1993) look at the adoption of mass education in Botswana. Go (2003) looks at the variety of constitutions in the post-colonies as a way of seeing the influence of World Society. As well, in recent years some studies have been done of World Society at the local level.

2.1.1.5.1. Universities and Science

Frank and Meyer (2007) discuss the isomorphism of the university organizational form and the curricula offered at universities. As well, the universities and people educated at universities are becoming more ubiquitous around the world. In 2000, 100 million people were university students (Frank and Meyer, 2007), and 20 percent of 18-24 year olds were attending university.

Universities teach a particular way of thinking about the world, a rationalized, scientific view. They teach universalistic ideas over specific skills.

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\[1\] This 20% attendance is not consistent across various regions. 5.6% of Africans between the ages of 18-24 were attending university (UNESCO 2005 Statistical Handbook (the same source which Frank and Meyer used)).
This has clear implications for society and organizations. What Frank and Meyer show is that universities are one of the keys to the formation of a World Society. The growth of universities shows the dominance of organizations and professions in the world. Librarians are professionals trained at universities. As well, university students use the library, or information skills to gain their degrees. In this way, libraries and information are also part of this diffusion of universities and their rational ways of thinking.

Frank and Meyer’s study is useful for my study in two ways. First, it provides an easily accessible example of World Society Theory and its diffusion of global models. Most people understand that universities are similar around the world, and can easily identify with this example. Second, it helps to make explicit some of the ideas behind libraries and education that underlie the academic library and the public library. Both universities and libraries assume an epistemology and a way of knowledge growth. They assume that knowledge can be codified in books or other information documents and that providing access to these documents will allow people to gain the knowledge. This epistemology is not necessarily shared by all cultures around the world, although as universities and libraries spread, it too spreads. Also, as Meyer (2010) points out, this epistemology is necessary for the underlying principles of the global culture. Our ideas of human rights and socioeconomic development depend on this epistemology. Thus the ubiquity of the organizational form of universities is part of the propagation of the global culture.
Frank and Meyer’s (2007) ideas are in line with Drori and colleagues (2003), who discuss the spread of science and scientific ways of thinking in the globalization process. “We see science as spreading throughout world society as an expanded and cultural package of ideas and assumptions about the lawful and comprehensible character of nature, including human and social nature” (pg. 1). They argue that most ideas of science suggest that science is helping all societies in the world find solutions to various problems and advance knowledge, just as the universities are discovering universal truths to use in any situation or culture. In their view, however, science has a social authority that creates a general cultural model that is spread and affects societies in various ways beyond just helping to find universal solutions to problems (pg. 2). As with libraries (which I will discuss in section 2.2.4.4) the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) “generates what might be termed ‘how-to’ handbooks for developing nations to build ‘proper’ scientific infrastructures” (Drori et al., 2003, pg. 6).

2.1.1.5.2. Local Reaction

Anderson-Levitt (2005) also uses the notion of a World Society and its relation to schooling. She studies primary schooling; in particular, she notes that the idea of a classroom with an authoritative teacher has become ubiquitous, overtaking other models of education. Qu’ranic schools may be the only other model of schooling left, and they exist only in pockets.

She further notes that local reaction to schooling is quite different, despite the similarity of the schools. She uses the image of the schoolyard gate.
In France, she sees a child inside the schoolyard, at the gate, desperately wanting out. In New Guinea, she sees a child outside the schoolyard at the gate, desperately wanting in. She posits that children in Northern countries, such as France, must go to school, and find it painful compared to children in Southern countries, such as New Guinea, who get to go to school instead of doing chores and find it fun. Local differences in the idea of school and what school means do not change the classroom, the teacher or the organizational form, but do have an impact on how the people interacting with the school understand their role and their schooling.

This study clarifies that the structure of the organization may be the same, and may follow the model as World Society Theory suggests, but local people will use it differently. This implies that even though the classroom is following global cultural patterns, the fact that the local culture has not completely caught up to that will still have an impact on the organization.

2.1.1.5.3. Botswana and Mass Education

Another study looking at schooling was done by Meyer and colleagues (1993). They were interested in the expansion of mass education in Botswana. Their data showed national and local elites were in favor of modern education, as they believed it would help Botswana’s society become modernized. Some locals recognized that having all children participate in education would change the nature of work in their communities. This change would be manifested in more unemployed youth. Despite this concern, these people believed in and wanted a modern, centrally run education system. This was clearly stated by
one study participant who said, “People here want the schools to be just like those in Gaborone [Botswana’s capital],” and “soon it will be just the same here as in Gaborone. All the school leavers will be on the streets stealing... We are educating them to be robbers” (pg. 458).

Meyer and colleagues (1993) believe that this strong desire for a modern education system comes from the adoption of world-legitimated notions of society, state and individual citizenship. As well, external funders are supportive of a modern educational system, which Meyer and colleagues (1993) note some would see as hegemony. They argue against this point, stating that hegemony, if it exists, takes place with the adoption of notions of society and individual citizenship rather than the adoption of a system of education. They further note that education ideologies are packaged as truth, by what Meyer (2010) would call “the authoritative Other” (pg. 10). In this case, the authoritative other is Torsten Husen, a renowned Swedish educator who chaired the 1977 National Commission on Education (in Botswana, a commission that was highly influential in the development of the education system).

Two issues were identified in the study that potentially limited the success of the modern mass-education system in Botswana and its ability to help that society become modern and in line with the key principles of human rights and individual citizenship. First, “the negative outcomes [of the education system] stem from the slower modernization of other social sectors (especially the economy and polity)” (pg. 471). The new education system is training youth for jobs that do not exist yet. The economy is still primarily based on
agriculture, which has seasonal periods of employment. Youth, who are now expected to be able to get year round employment, are seen as unemployed when this doesn’t happen. Namibia’s high rate of unemployment bears out a similar story around education and the change away from an agriculture-based economy.

Second, the paper notes that the education system has a new curriculum and new methods of teaching, which differ from the previous school system that was built on the British colonial model. In the classroom, however, the emphasis is still on recitation and memorization, and corporal punishment is still used both to discipline bad behavior and as punishment for not memorizing the material. All of the national and local talk about the educational system and its curriculum has not, in fact, changed what happens in the classroom. A higher percentage of the school-age population may be in the classroom, but they are all still learning by old techniques. Namibia has a similar new education ideology called Learner Centred Learning. This ideology was espoused highly in materials about the education system, but again, did not seem to be practiced in the classroom in the way it was written in the literature. I was particularly interested in this, because a learner centred program would demand that the learners have access to materials outside the classroom, potentially from the library. Before going to Namibia, I was curious to see how this would impact library use.

Corporal punishment is especially noteworthy because as a practice it goes against the view of individual citizenship embodied in the Universal
Human Rights. The principle of human rights is one of the key principles underlying the world-legitimated society and state. The schools, in their classroom practice, carry out the opposite education, teaching respect for authority instead of training students to be citizens of a democracy. Because of this study, and my own prejudices about corporal punishment, I found myself paying particular attention to instances of corporal punishment in Namibia.

2.1.5.4. Constitutions

Go (2003) used World Society Theory to look at African constitutions in the last half-century. He noticed that all of the countries had constitutions, thus conforming to World Society Theory’s notion that these broad-level organizational forms for nation-states are isomorphic. The constitutions were not all the same and they were written in two waves. The first wave of constitution writing happened immediately following independence. These constitutions, in general, followed the style and ideas of the colonizing country, just as post-colonial libraries were funded by and modeled on the libraries of the colonial power. Some of the constitutions also had a socialist structure. This was common in Africa, as many countries received funding from the Soviet Union for their liberation struggles.

The second wave of constitutions was written in the 1980s and 1990s. These ceased to follow the former colonizing country, just as in this period the former colonizers stopped funding the public libraries. Go notes that many

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2 I should note that although Meyer at al. (1993) mentioned this classroom level difference, they did not draw this conclusion from it.
constitutions now decreed that a president would be elected by popular vote. Again, isomorphism exists between nation-states. They now have constitutions and popularly elected presidents. The differences between countries are still evident, however. Conformity to the norm, in some cases, is clearly nominal. One country popularly elects a president after a select group of people picks one candidate to run for president. The constitutions show both the power of the World Society and the individuality of each nation-state.

Namibia’s constitution was written in the 1990s. It is one of the world’s most liberal constitutions (Dobell, 1998), because in part, it was written with help from the United Nations. It reflects the ideas of human rights and freedoms, as the United Nations would prescribe for new countries.

In the day-to-day interactions with some of the promised freedoms, particularly for the press, however, the government seemed less willing to comply. Having such a liberal constitution may help Namibia get funding from foreign donors who want to work only with democratic countries. For example, the Millennium Corporation of the United States has made a sizeable donation to Namibia (including funding for resource centers that are similar to public libraries). This funding was given only to countries that satisfied good governance criteria. In this way, constitutions can be influenced by international forces beyond the United Nations.

The Soviet Union did have influence in the fight for Namibian independence. SWAPO, the liberation leaders, accepted financial aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba. Although these influences are not reflected in the
government, SWAPO is still sometimes listed as a socialist party. Communism, of course, is not part of the growing global society, despite Cuba, China, and North Korea’s continued practice of the ideology. As Go points out, the socialist influence on African governments appears to be waning, and Namibia followed this trend.

2.1.1.5.5. Individual conformity to International Scripts

Boyle and colleagues (2002) looked at how individuals adopt international scripts. World Society Theory suggests that the international community has a variety of scripts about how nation states should work. In this example, Boyle and colleagues were interested in Female Genital Cutting (FGC), which has become illegal in most countries, although it is still practiced in 25 countries. They looked at individual attitudes and actions towards FGC to see what would affect change. They expected and found that women who were more involved with international institutions were more likely not to want FGC performed on their daughters.

2.1.1.5.6. Case study in one country

My study, unlike many of the studies using World Society Theory, is focused on one nation, Namibia. The Botswana example, above, is another example of a study focused on one nation. In addition, Buhari-Gulmez (2011) also looked at one country, Turkey, in light of Turkey’s Europeanization and the importance of global scripts. Other researchers may also be currently investigating the way World Society Theory happens in one country, as this was a logical next step for
studies to take. I have the sense that my study is part of a trend in this direction of which Buhari-Gulmez is also a part.

2.1.1.6. Criticisms of World Society Theory

The notion of a World Society may help to orient the library as an organizational model in Namibia, but critiques of the idea are also worth noting. The biggest criticism seems to be that the idea does not pay enough attention to the power structures and the elite networks that enable a World Society.

For example, Ann Vogel states,

“But Meyer’s argument has an Achilles heel. Because this strand of theorizing has little interest in the local struggles that give rise to the embedding of such world models, the role of elites and expert groups in communication of such models, the efficacious diffusion of which depends on political and economic power is silenced” (Vogel, 2006, pg. 650).

This idea is also particularly clear in Englund’s (2006) ethnographic study of human rights in Malawi. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was carefully written and ratified through the United Nations. Importing a model of human rights into a nation-state means that the actual rights are not negotiated in the local environment. The rights are set and decided before they touch people’s lives. This gives power to those who understand the rights, not to those who need them (Englund, 2006).

Meyer (1997, 2010) often notes that the idea of human rights is one of the key guiding principles for global culture. These rights fundamentally change the idea of a person’s life path. They do away with a notion of peasantry or people who are allowed to be oppressed (Meyer, 2010). But as Englund (2006) points out, people still are oppressed, perhaps even by the
notions of Human Rights that are imposed on them rather than negotiated by them.

Buttel (2000) wrote a commentary on a paper, “The Nation-State and the Natural Environment over the Twentieth Century,” by Frank, Hironaka, and Schofar (2000), which used World Society Theory to understand what is happening with environmental organizations and government structures. He raises a concern similar to as Englund’s, that the transmission of a given idea and its rationale from the global society to the nation-state is often portrayed as conflict-free. Buttel’s point is also that other organizations, particularly ones with money such as the World Bank, may be imposing notions of environmental protection on a nation-state. This imposition of the ideals of others should not be glossed over.

Buttel also notes that World Society Theory gives the impression that the rationalized, scientific culture being spread is a congruent idea. As he points out, however, “the culture of Western rationality has long involved deep contradictions.” These contradictions are often manifested in long-running debates about the best way to handle problems. It goes back to the problem described above and the need to include everyone in the debates, as opposed to debating in wealthy countries and then imposing the results on the poorer countries.

Finally, Buttel also notes that the authors of the paper (Frank, Hironaka and Schofer) do not address “the degree to which the organizational forms documented by [Frank, Hironoka and Schofar (2000)] are correlated with actual
societal outcomes” (Buttel, 2000, pg. 118). This notion relates to who is using the organization or how deeply embedded the organization is in the daily life of people in the location. The daily life of people, in relation to the public library, is exactly what I wanted to understand in my study. As Buttel points out, understanding how the local population responds to the organization, and how much that organization can be correlated to actual outcomes, shows how deeply the global culture is penetrating, or not.

2.1.1.7. Alternative views of Power and World Society

Because criticisms of World Society Theory note that the theory often glides over issues of power, I spent some time before going to Namibia reading theories that focus on power relationships. Two of these theories seemed particularly informative: Post-Colonial Theory and Structural Violence.

Post-Colonial Theory has some striking similarities to World Society Theory. Both theories note that exogenous organizations (or those created by colonialists) may be primarily used by elites. Post-Colonial Theory also explains that the governments replacing the colonialists often mimic the colonial powers (the organizational structures stay the same), but the legitimizing scripts change. The new scripts echo the ideas of democracy, freedom, and equality as stated by the United Nations. But as Post-Colonial Theory (and Englund and Buttel) notes, the conditions for the average person do not change.

In Namibia, the colonial power imposed not only colonialism, but also the politics of Apartheid on the population. This is a different type of power relationship, and needed more than Post-Colonial Theory to explicate these
relationships. Post-Colonial Theory emphasizes the idea of difference between elites and non-elites and their relationship to power. Structural Violence Theory explains the impact of this differential relationship to power on the powerless. It proposes the idea that variance in social opportunity, imposed by social structure, can translate into variance in life expectancy (Uvin, 1998). Thus some groups in society, such as elites, have many opportunities, excellent health care, and live long, full lives. Other groups, particularly the poor, have few opportunities, receive poor health care and are more exposed to diseases, and live short, stressful lives. The groups with lower life expectancies are frustrated by their limited life choices and may react violently, turning to crime. This violence may be turned against other members of the same group in self-hatred (Uvin, 1998). This theory gives an important explanation of the effects of social structure on people’s behavior in societies with highly differentiated groups.

I knew that Namibia had a high crime rate, as well as highly differentiated social groups. These facts legitimize the idea that structural violence was taking place there. I also knew that the libraries were originally only available to one group of people (see section 6.1). I was curious, before arriving in Namibia, to see the relationship of the library to structural violence. I was also curious to see if the materials in the library re-enforced ideas of self-hatred. These two theories, Post-Colonial Theory and Structural Violence, helped me think about power issues before and during my study.
2.1.2. World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory

Before discovering World Society Theory, I had been working with New Institutional Theory to help explain the similarities among libraries in different cultures. This theory works well to explain similarities in an organization within a culture, but not among cultures, which is why I turned to World Society Theory to address this gap. New Institutional Theory, however, has developed clear ways of looking at the forces influencing an organization and the institutionalizing process, all of which remained useful to me in determining how the libraries in Namibia came to be the way they are. I will discuss this further in the section on my theoretical framework. For now, I would like to introduce New Institutional Theory more thoroughly.

World Society Theory makes two claims, that there is a growing cultural homogenization and that organizations around the world are becoming strikingly similar. For the second claim, the supporters of the theory cite institutional theories including New Institutional Theory. “Our own perspective, macrophenomenological in orientation, builds on contemporary sociological institutionalism (Thomas et al. 1987, Powell and DiMaggio, 1991)” (Meyer et al. 1997, pg. 147). This statement is somewhat counter to an earlier statement, “Our institutionalist perspective makes predictions somewhat at variance with those of three more established theoretical approaches to World Society and the nation-state (for reviews, see Powell and DiMaggio [1991]…)” (Meyer et al. 1997, pg 146). For the purposes of my study, I assumed that the statement on page 147 stating that World Society Theory was building onto New Institutional
Theory was correct. Everything I read of World Society Theory seemed to justify this, and even if the underlying institutional perspective is slightly different from Powell and DiMaggio’s New Institutional Theory, the difference, in relationship to this study, is not large enough to matter. Further, Powell and DiMaggio’s New Institutional Theory is developed in part from Meyer and Rowan’s 1977 piece on institutionalized organizations (with the Meyer being the same throughout). Some people might argue, however, that this assumption is erroneous, and Meyer’s thinking shifted considerably over the decades. As untangling this was beyond the limits of my study, I merely note here that I am assuming his thoughts have not changed too much.

2.1.3. **New Institutional Theory**

Institutional theory is a complicated theory that has been used for over 100 years. Many social scientists have written about, used and contributed to this theory. Therefore, it is more than one idea or parsimonious statement. The main tenets of the theory are that institutions embody rules for social conduct, that following these rules accords legitimacy to an organization, change of the rules is difficult and the rules grow out of history (Scott, 2005). “Selznick developed the most explicit theory of institutionalization as the process by which, over time, organizations, created as technical systems, become “infused with value” (Scott, 2005).

2.1.3.1. **Institutions and Institutionalization**

New Institutional Theory is built on a particular conception of institutions and institutionalization. “Institutions are comprised of regulative, normative and
cultural-cognitive elements that together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life” (Scott, 2008; pg. 48). This definition gives a sense of how institutions are the building blocks of social structure. People have the same interactions with these institutions day in and day out. As they navigate through life they can depend on these institutions to stay the same. Using this definition of institutions, one can see that global institutions, like those in World Society Theory, would create a similarity around the world that would be familiar and could perpetuate a global society.

Barley and Tolbert (1997) note that the institutions enforce particular ways of acting. The past practices of the people in the institution are reflected in the current practices, even after the people change or the institution is formed in another location. In this sense, the institution is formed through a process. Indeed, some sociologists speak of institutionalization, the process, rather than of institutions as an object. “Institutionalization is both a phenomenological process by which certain social relationships and actions come to be taken for granted and a state of affairs in which shared cognitions define what has meaning and what actions are possible” (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). Institutionalization is temporal, as Barley and Tolbert state, since the institution must precede an institutional action. In this sense, institutions are always about how past actions constrain present actions.
2.1.3.2. Institutional Forces:

As previously noted, Scott (2008) names three elements that comprise institutions: regulative, normative and cultural cognitive. These three elements act to influence the configuration of an institution or organization. Regulative influences are usually made up of rules and laws. These rules tend to be established by an authority like government, and often are made to effect everyone equally. Economic and political theories of institutions are often focused on the regulative side of institutions.

Normative influences come in two flavors, norms and values. “Values are conceptions of the preferred or the desirable together with the construction of standards to which existing structures or behaviors can be compared and assessed. Norms specify how things should be done; they define legitimate means to pursue valued ends.” (Scott, 2008, pg. 54-55).

Both regulative and normative influences exist because of cultural cognitive ideals of the institution or organization. For this reason, the cultural-cognitive forces have their own section in this review.

2.1.3.3. Cultural-Cognitive Forces

The cultural-cognitive influences are about the creation of meaning. Scott (2008, pg. 57) defines the cultural-cognitive, “the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made.” The cultural aspect reflects the external frameworks and the cognitive aspect reflects the internal frameworks (Scott, 2008). Underlying this is the notion, “Symbols – words, signs, and gestures – shape the meanings we
attribute to objects and activities. Meanings arise in interaction and are maintained and transformed as they are employed to make sense of the ongoing stream of happenings” (Scott, 2008, p. 57).

Norms and regulations are influenced by cultural-cognitive forces. The term, cultural-cognitive, expresses the idea that culture and cognition influence the meanings a person gives to all he encounters and interacts with. One way to describe the cultural-cognitive is to think of time as yesterday and today. Yesterday, I assigned certain meanings to my actions. These meanings were woven into my language and my communications. Some of those communications are re-played today and thus re-construct the meanings associated from yesterday. Therefore, the ideas from yesterday are present today; the meanings from yesterday are used today. Today, I might have had different ideas and meanings, except that I see the events of today through the meaning lens I developed yesterday. This is the first step in the process of institutionalization. I must repeat the sharing of meanings today with the ones developed yesterday, such that I stop thinking of them as meanings and start thinking of them as facts. I must lose other lenses through which to view new happenings.

The above is a simplification of how humans assign meanings. Another layer of the idea is that I am not alone as I assign meanings. Yesterday, my friend may have assigned meanings, and today through our conversation, her meanings from yesterday enter my vocabulary. I may in turn introduce her meanings to others. The power of the person introducing new meanings will
have an effect on how easily they transfer to other people and how far the new meanings are able to spread. Mass communications can broaden the reach of new meanings as well.

Within a nation-state, the homogeneity of the population will also be important to this notion of cultural-cognitive forces. People who are more culturally attuned share more meaning with each other. For countries such as Namibia, with great cultural and linguistic diversity, the sharing of meaning can be more difficult.

2.1.3.3.1. Legitimation

Sharing of meaning can also be stated as legitimacy. In order for anyone to recognize an organization or institution for what it is, it must have a shared meaning and that shared meaning must be legitimate to that person. A hospital is called a hospital because it has doctors and nurses working in it; it is a large building to which ambulances come, and so on. If someone tries to establish a new hospital and does not have doctors working there, other people would probably not associate the organization with a hospital; the word hospital would not fit the building.

2.1.3.3.2. Iron Cage Revisited

Scott’s idea of the three forces acting on the institution is an update of DiMaggio and Powell’s (1983) article, “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields.” In this article, DiMaggio and Powell identify three mechanisms by which institutions become
isomorphic or by which organizations become similar to each other. These are coercion, attraction, and mimesis. Coercion is similar to the regulative forces and relates to power. Structural isomorphism “results from both formal and informal pressures exerted on organizations by other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function” (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, pg. 150). In a way these are similar to cultural-cognitive forces as well as regulative, because the idea of what the organization should be like is part of the power exerted on it. This can also be seen as a force from an external power, such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, which would make this type of coercion possible within the international realm as well as within one nation.

Attraction is also similar to the normative forces. Someone setting up a new organization, for example a new library, may want to build it to be similar to a library that already exists because it is easier. They know that model works, they can sell it easily to investors, and the rationality for doing things in a particular way has already been determined. Professionals are trained to think that particular ways of doing within an organization are the correct ways, and thus doing things that way is attractive to them.

Mimesis is similar to attraction, but in this case, the new organization mimics organizations already in existence not because the other organizations are attractive but because changing the way the organization is structured would need to be justified. By following an already existing model, the actors do not need to worry about failure because they are not the authors of what is
being done; they are copiers. They perceive the model as having legitimacy and want that legitimacy for their endeavors. In other words and as stated above, they are following a script.

After, I had carried out my research, Jans Beckert revisited these ideas in 2010. I will discuss his contributions to New Institutional Theory in Chapter 4 as they relate to my findings.

2.1.3.4. The Organizational Field

The scripts about the organization or the cultural-cognitive understanding of what the organization is, as well as the regulative and normative elements of the organization are not immediately obvious. To help see the elements, DiMaggio conceived of the organizational field. The organizational field includes “Those organizations that in aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and produce consumers, regulatory agencies and other organizations that produce similar services and products” (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991, p. 64). The organizational field comprises those organizations that interact with the particular organization, or organizational form.

The organizational field reveals the regulative and normative forces acting on the organization. Government agencies, universities, and professional associations are particularly important for this purpose. DiMaggio (1991)¹

¹To avoid confusion, please note that within the book on New Institutionalism, edited by Powell and DiMaggio (1991) is both an introduction by both of them and a chapter by DiMaggio on the organizational field.
studied the institutionalization process for art museums in the United States in the 1930s. He describes how the universities began offering courses in art history and creating a standardized curriculum at the same time as a professional association started meeting and discussing the role of the curator. These two organizations helped institutionalize the art museums’ organizational form as art museums began to be built across the country.

2.1.3.4.1. Dimensions of the Organizational Field

Scott (2006) built on DiMaggio’s conception of the organizational field and identified eight dimensions of the field that can help the researcher determine the structuration of the field. The dimensions can be used to gain a greater understanding of the field. They measure how cohesive the field is, and whether the organizations within it are deeply embedded in the field or merely casually related to each other. These dimensions are as follows:

1. Funding centralization – the extent that funding for organizations in the field is concentrated. If we think of this in terms of public schools and public libraries (which as described later in section 2.2.4.1, are two organizations which are strongly associated with each other), centralized funding would occur if both organizations received funding from the same place. For example, if the public library and the public school in a town were paid for by the city’s central budget, this would be centralized funding. If the schools were paid for by a particular property tax and the library was paid for by sales tax, both of which were administered separately, this would not be centralized funding.
2. Unity of governance – the extent to which governance structures are consistent and near each other. Again, we can think of the above example of the public school and the public library to understand this dimension. If both of them are administered by the same superintendent, then this would be unity. If they are administered by two superintendents who had offices next to each other, this would also be some unity of governance. If they are administered by different offices within the government, then this would not be unity of governance. Thus, even though the two organizations interact with each other and are in the same organizational field, the structuration of that field would be low, each part would be distinct from the other parts.

3. Public/Private mode of governance – this is similar to the one above, but also indicates whether one group has control over the whole field. If there are two or more governance structures in the field, power struggles may occur and the field would not be as cohesive.

4. Structural Isomorphism – the extent to which the organization conforms to an archetype or structural model. I have argued earlier that the regulative, normative and cultural cognitive forces create an archetype of the organization that each instantiation of it must follow. This dimension allows the researcher to see how much this has taken place. Two public libraries may be different from each other because there is flexibility in the model to be followed or because there are different ideas of what it should be like.
5. Coherence of organizational boundaries – extent to which each organization is clearly itself, bounded from the other organizations. Again, to use the example of the public and school library, in some towns, the public library is in the school. In this case, the public library does not have a distinct boundary from the public school, even if it has a different governance structure or funding structure.

6. Consensus on Institutional Logics – extent actors embrace and adhere to the same general beliefs. This is another way of thinking about the cultural cognitive idea of the organization, wherein the researcher examines how actors in the organizational field agree on the idea of the organization.

7. Organizational linkages – extent to which there is a relatively high number of formal connections between organizations in the field. To use again the example of the public library and the public school, this dimension looks at the contracts between the two organizations, and whether there are any.

8. Clarity of field boundaries – the extent to which there exists relatively high insulation and separation of field actors and structures from neighboring fields. This looks at the organizations in the field as a whole and whether these organizations could also be said to fit into other fields. For example, my study is interested in the public library, and I have identified all of the organizations that may be interacting with the public library. I would then look to see that if I picked the public school
(or another organization within the field) and put it in the center of the organizational field, would new organizations enter the field, or would it be the same field as for the public library.

2.1.3.5. Limits to New institutional Theory

New Institutional Theory explains why organizations become similar in one nation when a cultural-cognitive understanding of that organization is shared by many people. In many ways, the public libraries in Namibia appear to be quite similar to each other. I noticed, however, in my visits prior to undertaking this research that the organizational field for the public libraries has an international reach. The international professional associations are stronger than the national association. As well, the four main professors of library science at the University are from different countries, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, and have been trained in different countries, including the United States and Britain. Further, international non-governmental organizations such as BookAid International can play a major role in the organizational field.

The international presence with respect to the public libraries in Namibia did not fit with the description of the organizational field as DiMaggio (1991) was painting it. In his article on art museums in the United States, DiMaggio focuses on the national influences on the art museums. He barely mentions the international influences. This may work for a large country such as the United States, although I wonder about the influence of European art museums on our organizational form. For a small country such as Namibia, however, the international forces must be a recognized part of the landscape. As I prepared
to conduct my research, therefore, I broadened the scope of the organizational field to include international organizations.

New Institutional Theory focuses on organizations as they occur in the Western tradition. Part of the proof of this is in the language used to describe the phenomenon under discussion. Meyer and Rowan’s paper is filled with terms such as “modern societies.” DiMaggio (1991) brings up the idea of a “Western Cultural account.” Namibia is not a “Western society,” although it may be a “modern” one. Part of what I tried to test in this study was how cultural differences played out in the library. I hoped to see if the library promoted more than books and readings, but also the culture that underlies those books and ideas.

2.2. Libraries

The aim of this section is to clarify the idea of a library and public libraries. The first part will discuss libraries as a general concept, starting with their etymology and then discussing scholarly conceptualizations of the idea. The second part discusses public libraries, their etymology, history and scholarly conceptualizations. The third part gives some idea of the history of public libraries in Africa and Southern Africa. As mentioned in the section on New Institutional Theory, the idea of an institution is influenced by past ideas of the institution. This section, therefore, attempts to give an idea of the past and current ideas of libraries and public libraries. It focuses on international ideas of the library as much as possible.
2.2.1. Definition/Etymology⁴:
Every language has a word for a library. This section looks at a few of these words to understand through language what is meant by a library. In English obviously a library is called a library. This word has two root words, *libro/liber* and *aria*. *Libro/Liber* is the Latin word: book. *Aria* is the Latin adjective suffix meaning place. The combination of *liber* and *aria* means book place or of or belonging to books. Richardson (1914) interprets *aria* differently, as *use* instead of as *place*, thus for him library means books in use. These two roots, *liber* and *aria* are used in French, and combine to make *librarie* or *bookshop* in modern French.

Most European languages use a term combining *Biblio*, Greek for papyrus roll and *teka*, Greek for collection. A few examples of this combination in modern European languages are *bibliothèque*, (French), *biblioteka* (Polish), *bibliothek* (German), and *biblioteek* (Afrikaans).

In Arabic, the word for library is *maktaba* from the root *kataba*, to write. This is the same root for the word *kotob* meaning book. In Arabic, the root of the word is always a verb. Alternative terms are also used to describe a library, *dar al kotob*, house of books; *dar el elm*, house of science; *dar al hikamah*, house of wisdom. This last Dar al Hikamah is mentioned in the Koran, as part of a general directive from God to seek knowledge and learning.

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⁴ Many people helped me understand the roots of this word in different languages. Jeff Carnes was particularly helpful with the Greek and Latin roots of the word. Xiaozhung Liu helped with the Chinese, and Swati Bhattacharyya helped with the Hindi; Raed Sharif helped with the Arabic.
The Chinese word for library is made up of three symbols, *tu*, *shu*, and *guan*. The first two, *tu* and *shu*, are the symbols for book. *Shu* is the symbol for printed word and *tu* is the symbol for a picture. The final symbol *guan* means building. So the Chinese word for library means *book building*.

In Namibia, many different languages are spoken, and I was not able to learn the word for library in all of them. English is the official language, and Afrikaans was widely taught and spoken before independence. I have already mentioned the words for libraries from those languages. Almost half of the country speaks a variation of Oshiwambo (it has 7 dialects). Oshindonga is the official written language of all of the dialects. In that language, a library is called *ongulu yo maambo*. *Ongulu* is the word for room, and *maambo* is the word for book. So, it translates exactly to “room for books”. The Otjiherero language is similar, and the library is called *onganda yomambo*. *Onganda* means house or building, and this translates to “house of books.” In Caprivian, a library is called *ndu yali pulukelo yali buka*, which translates to “house of storage of books.” I did not find out what a library is called in the Dama/Namara language or Kavango.

These words used to name the idea of a library all incorporate the word *book*. This focus on the book is a key part of the idea of the library. Libraries are places where written materials are collected and preserved so that messages can be communicated across time. Collections of radio programs, dances, movies, artwork and other communication artifacts are in libraries but they have not been privileged within the library.
How the *book* is associated with the library, however, has some difference in different languages. Some associate the books as a collection, some with use, and some associate the books with a building. *Use* is only associated with the library through Richardson’s re-interpretation of *aria*. Most languages associate the library with a collection or place of books. As scholarship has changed and as technologies have changed, librarians have worked to change the association of the library from a passive collection of materials to an active collection for use by the community, as I will discuss further in the section on conceptualizations. Our languages may hold an older notion of the library, however.

### 2.2.2. History

Having defined the word *library* etymologically, I would like to take a moment to look at the beginnings of the idea in history. I focus on four types of historical libraries, those in Sumer/Assyria, those in Greece and Rome, and finally Islamic libraries. These libraries have the most impact on the libraries in Africa today. The ancient libraries of Assyria, Greece and Rome gave rise to the modern libraries in Europe, an idea that colonists brought to Africa. The Islamic libraries were spread throughout the Muslim world, including much of Africa. Libraries are also found in Ancient China and other Eastern countries, but these have had less influence on the libraries in Africa today (Dunlap, 1972).

Five thousand years ago, the Sumerians developed a written notation to record business dealings. These dealings were often kept in one place in ways similar to archives today. The collections of materials had religious texts added
to them and were stored in the temples. The first major library was put together by the Assyrians in an attempt to preserve the culture of the Sumerians. This library, the Royal Library at Nineveh, was founded by Sargon II around 721 B.C. The library had letters from administrators, and then began collecting literary works, as King Ashubanipal (Sargon’s great grandson, 668-636 B.C.) ordered that all tablets in the kingdom should be included in the library. Although the record of what the library held is known, how the items were used is not (Dunlap, 1972).

The Greeks also had libraries, mostly small private libraries used as part of the learning done with various scholars. Aristotle’s library is quite famous. “In the 4th Century, ‘the Greek world passed from oral instruction to the habit of reading’ and the key figure in the transition is that of the great Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)” (Dunlap, 1972, pg. 18). Aristotle passed on a love of books and libraries to many of his students, including Alexander the Great and Ptolemy. Alexander the Great founded Alexandria and started a library there. Ptolemy, the next king, made the library into a Museum and Library and invited Greek intellectuals to study there. “In the new institution scholars supported at public expense would devote their time and energies to science and literature... from first to last the Greek intellectuals in Alexandria found nurture in the Museum’s library.” (Dunlap, 1972, pg. 18) In this library and the smaller versions of it elsewhere in Greece, an association between the library and scholarship was created and maintained.
Romans also had private libraries, and Julius Caesar planned the first public library. Augustus, the next emperor, opened libraries built with public funds. Ovid, the poet, described one of the libraries that Augustus opened this way, “Whatsoever men, both formerly and now, have learnedly conceived lies open to the perusal of readers” (Dunlap, 1972, pg. 32). and “The books in the Roman libraries could be read and consulted in reading rooms or borrowed for use elsewhere, and the institutions served as places for meetings of literary, social and political groups” (Dunlap, 1972, pg. 33).

Islamic libraries (736-1233 A.D.) were similar to Aristotle’s library, in that they were used to teach a select group of scholars in the house of a scholar. A few had large collections that were semi-public in nature so that more people could use them than just the students associated with the owner of the library (Dunlap, 1972).

Ernest Cushing Richardson (1914) gives a different way of determining how widespread the idea of the library and the importance of book collections were. He notes all of the religions that mention their Gods have collections of books or libraries. “Almost all great god families, Indian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Scandinavian had their own book collections, so it is said” (Richardson, 1914, pg. 27).

2.2.2.1. Libraries, Books, and Written History

The bias towards books in relation to libraries, both in the word and in their history comes through in an article “The Library in the New Age” by Robert Darnton (2008), a professor of European history with a scholarly emphasis on
books, and the director of the Harvard Library. Darnton draws a picture of history from the library point of view in which he describes the four major technological advances after the advent of language as writing, book making, printing and computers/Internet. He states clearly that this is a particular twisting of history to make his point, but it also shows how librarians narrow the world of storytelling within the world of libraries. What is important is that humans learned to write, then humans learned to make books, then humans learned to print those books easily. These changes had huge impacts on the course of history, according to Darnton. They certainly had huge impacts on the history of libraries. First, libraries appeared as we learned to write, then when books came, the library had an easier item to store (than stones or papyrus rolls). Printing made more books accessible on more topics, and as books became cheaper, libraries were more easily able to expand their collections or have small collections for various groups of people.

The computer/Internet part of the story has re-expanded the storytelling, as the Internet has begun to have videos and stream radio and make use of the other technological breakthroughs around the other ways of telling stories. Libraries did not change with the advent of radio or the advent of television as much as they did with the advent of computers and the Internet.

What is clear from the example of Darnton’s history is that writing is of vast importance, while oral tradition cultures are left out of the history of libraries. Jack Goody, quoted by Darnton, believes that writing has allowed for scientific advancement and other advances in knowledge. This type of thinking,
naturally, would lead us to believe that those without writing cannot be as knowledgeable because they do not have the fundamental tool, writing, for the advancement of knowledge. This is privileging one way of advancing knowledge and one type of knowledge.

Cultures that follow oral traditions have other ways of advancing knowledge and other types of knowledge. Oral traditions are cultures that pass messages orally through the generations (Alemna, 1992). Odi (1991) explains that “Africans have their own view of nature, their own epistemology and quest for reality.” By “quest for reality,” Odi is describing the Western notion of scientific advancement and the African cosmology that explains the world around them. He quotes Robert Horton who explained that African descriptions of spirits could be reinterpreted as physics, where the spirits are atoms and molecules. Thus, when the African cosmology is carefully understood, the scientific understanding being expressed is as sophisticated as that of a written culture (Odi, 1991).

Insights into how oral cultures advance knowledge and transmit knowledge may give us new ways of creating library service, particularly as we move away from written materials as the focus of library collections. Libraries everywhere need new methods and ideas for collecting and maintaining materials and services.

This bias towards one form of knowledge, that of books and science, is clearly also part of the global culture described in World Society Theory. Meyer (1997, 2010) frequently makes the point that the global culture is based on
rational and scientific ways of viewing the world. The global culture follows Jack Goody’s way of thinking in privileging knowledge shared through writing over knowledge shared through oral traditions. This type of privileging is partly why some feel that building libraries in places with strong oral traditions is a form of colonial brainwashing (Amadi, 1981).

2.2.3. Concepts
The etymology of a word and the history of an organization clarify conceptualizations of the idea, in this case, conceptualizations of the library. Scholars in the field of library science deliberately think about how to conceptualize what a library is. Detailed below are some of their conceptualizations of the library.

2.2.3.1. Ranganathan
Ranganathan, through the five laws of library science, has had a lasting impact on scholarly conceptions of the library. These laws were developed by Ranganathan to act as mathematical laws in library science. I think they are used more as principles, underlying ideas of what the library and its collections are to do. His laws are

- Books Are for Use
- Every Reader His Book (alternately: Books Are for All)
- Every Book its Reader
- Save the Time of the Reader
- Library is a Growing Organism
The first law, *books are for use*, is a counterpoint to the idea that books are for preservation, something Ranganathan observed in some of the libraries he saw. Books, particularly in special collections, or items in archives may be there for the purpose of preservation. *Books are for all* and *Every book its reader* are counterpoints to the idea that books are only for scholars and scholarship. Any person may read a book, and they may read any book. *Save the Time of the Reader* refers to all of the work that librarians do to make the resources in the library more easily accessible to people. This work is what defines the professional work of librarians (Shera, 1968).

*The library is a growing organism* means that change happens within libraries. This partly suggests that libraries are always gaining new material and trying to preserve some of the old. As well, information and communication technologies change and those changes are reflected in the ways libraries work. Ranganathan recognized that this change and growth was a part of the library always.

Because Ranganathan’s laws were so often counterpoints to other ideas about the library, they show that the library at the time was primarily about preservation and use by scholars. In the book on the Five Laws, Ranganathan spends considerable time arguing against current (in his time) library practices of preservation and privilege. To a degree, his ideas changed the way libraries are used and understood; but at the same time, the idea of libraries as places of scholarship for scholars/elites has persisted. Not everyone feels welcome to use any library in the world or to touch any book.
2.2.3.2. Intermediation

Lancaster (1977) describes *Save the time of the reader* this way: “The library exists as an interface between a particular user population and the universe of bibliographic resources.” (Lancaster, 1977, pg. 5) For Lancaster the whole universe of resources is available to the community. The librarian makes choices, however, to make it easier for the community to find what it needs. Materials deemed more relevant to that community will be more easily accessible than others.

Intermediation between the person using the library and the universe of bibliographic resources takes place in a number of ways, including reference, catalogs, and classification schemes. Taylor (1986) conceptualizes these as *value-added*. The library adds value to the bibliographic resources to make them more useful. This added value can take many forms, including knowledge organizing systems that help people identify and find material and also navigate through information on a topic (Taylor, 1986). Librarians work to create the catalogs, databases, classification schemes, bibliographies and other similar items that help intermediate between the person and the universe of resources.

Librarians directly act as mediators with people in the library through reference services. Librarians answer questions and help people locate the material needed. In countries with low levels of literacy and/or low output of published materials, the reference librarian may be called on to create
information materials (Mchombu, 1982). The librarian may be needed to translate materials into forms more easily understood by her community.

This idea of intermediation highlights the librarian in the library. The people working in the library interact with the material in a variety of ways to make it more accessible to the community. Previous ideas about the library and the word itself describe the place and the collection, but the conceptualizations of what the library does must include the people working in the library.

2.2.3.3. Place of Stories

Another way to see the library is as a place of stories. The library is a place that stores our stories and our history. “[Our libraries] deal in the enduring treasure of the whole human past,” claims Daniel Boorstein, a former Librarian of Congress (quoted in Molz, 1988, pg. 5). Bonnie Mak phrases the same idea this way, “The library is considered to be the embodiment of a collective intellectual inheritance” (Mak, 2007 pg. 209). In parts of Africa⁵, there is a saying that when an old person dies, a library burns (Cram, 1993). This implies that the old person who knows many stories is comparable to the library in a written culture. This saying then supports the conceptualization of the library as a place that houses the stories of the community. The saying also indicates a fear that the stories known by the old person are no longer being passed down the generations.

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⁵ I was introduced to this saying by a seatmate on a flight from Zambia to South Africa. My seatmate was Malawian and claimed the saying comes from Malawi. The saying is also mentioned in Cram, 1993, although it does not reference a particular country, and in that version she states that “the whole library died with him,” not that the library “burns.”
David Thelen explains why communities need such a place or person that holds stories when he says, “People develop a shared identity by identifying, exploring, and agreeing on memories” (Thelen, 1990, quoted in Gregory, 1998, pg. 13). The library collection, what is stored in the collection and what is accessed from the collection, may reflect the identity of the community. People may use it to identify and explore their history.

The idea that the community shares the stories and an identity is a bit utopian. Stories are often hotly contested, and identity can be tied with a particular view of the story. People in power often control or try to control what gets recorded and remembered. Trouillot (1995) makes this point in his book, *Silencing the Past*. He notes that humans participate in history both as actors and as narrators. All humans are actors and narrators – that is, we all live our lives and we all tell stories about our lives. The stories that become part of the library, those that are packaged and sold as information, represent one perspective on what happened, or perhaps two or three perspectives, but not all the perspectives. The agreed-upon history of the community is shaped by the power interactions of people within the community. Libraries often try to have balanced collections and collect materials from many points of view, but the view of the powerless can be almost impossible to include since it is rarely recorded, packaged and sold to the library (Brammage, 1992).

2.2.3.4. Sharing Knowledge

Kingo Mchombu (2004) sees the library as a place to share knowledge. People come to the library to access information and learn. This is true no matter the
medium, through books, through movies, or through conversation. For Mchombu, who works primarily in rural areas and places of urban poverty, books and other written works are not a useful way of sharing knowledge since the people in the community may not be literate. Thus, he expanded the idea of the library from a place to read books to a place to share knowledge through any communication medium. He also places heavy emphasis on local and indigenous knowledge and emphasizes an exchange of information as taking place in the library (Mchombu, 2004). The person visiting the library is just as likely to create information as he is to access information created by others.

This view of the library as a place for creation, as well as access to created materials, is echoed by Lankes and colleagues (2007) in their paper on participatory libraries. They state that the new web technologies, such as blogs and wikis, are breaking down traditional notions of authorship and recording information practices. These changes in technology will require changes in the way people interact with information resources and libraries (Lankes et al. 2007). In some ways these changes are enabling the oral tradition’s ways of sharing knowledge.

2.2.3.4.1. Books and Orality in Knowledge Sharing

Mchombu (2004), who uses the idea of knowledge sharing, implies that the library does not have to store an object (a book or document) that represents a thought. The thought can be passed between source and receiver within the library without leaving behind an artifact. This is a change from the other ideas of what happens to the thought in the library. Not all ideas and thoughts have
artifacts; a dance once performed is gone; a statement once said is a memory. Yes, both of these can be recorded in various ways, and the artifacts from those recordings are often stored in libraries, but if they are not recorded, they may still belong in the library. These issues may be important in communities with a strong oral tradition. They may also be important issues to study for wikis, blogs and other technologies that enable collaborative authorship.

Brammage (1992) points out that libraries collect “…pre-packaged information, they rely on the information from the press and publishers in various media…. As such, the mainstream library is an arm of the dominant group, as it purchases and promotes commodities produced and packaged within the demands and constraints of commercial market forces” (Pg. 3). Brammage goes on to say that libraries are primarily one-way information flow, from publishers to people. The people using the library are rarely contributors to the material in the library. She urges librarians to collect more material from the community to be stored in the library. The library can be seen as a place of information creation as well as a source for information. Mehra and Srinivasan (2007) developed a new model for libraries, the Library-Community Convergence Framework. This framework enables the community to use the library to create new knowledge databases of community information.

These new ideas of the library, as conceptualized by Mchombu (1982, 2004), Lankes and friends (2007) and Mehra and Srinivasan (2007) would change the organizational form of the library. New technologies may be helping to make these changes possible. Such changes may be particularly desirable in oral tradition communities, but as I noted, little funding has helped to build
libraries in these ways. Currently, these are mostly just ideas of what all libraries should be. These newer ideas of the library are particularly important for public libraries that are designed to be used by the community, as discussed in the next section.

2.2.4. The Public Library
The public library is a library paid for by government funds (taxes) for the use of the citizens of a community. For the most part, histories of public libraries in various countries show them appearing in this form in the 19th century (e.g. Crawford, 2007; Croteau, 2006; Eide, 2010; Dzurak, 2011). These libraries formed in Europe and the United States mostly in response to the Enlightenment movement and to the growth of public education. The ideas in enlightenment called for people to have continuous access to learning, and therefore to some sort of source of knowledge. At the same time, book prices decreased at the end of the 19th century, making books more accessible both through libraries and bookstores.

Four types of libraries preceded the public library as organizations that made books available to large numbers of people. One was the circulating library, a commercial enterprise usually run by a store owner who would lend books out at a price to those willing to pay. These libraries usually supplied mostly popular material (Croteau, 2006). The other type was a social library, usually created by a group of people who would come together for the purpose of having books to read and people to discuss them with. These libraries had
many different forms, and usually contained books of useful information rather than popular materials (Valentine, 2011).

The other types of libraries were the school library or Parish library (Parr, 2009; Eide, 2010). In parts of England, these were combined in Sunday School libraries. Both the Sunday School libraries and the school libraries might be available to children and their parents to support the public education. In some areas of the United States the school libraries, particularly in rural areas, existed just prior to the public library (Valentine, 2011). The Parish libraries were open to all, but had many religious texts and no popular reading material.

Public libraries appeared in many different countries in the second half of the 19th century, but had different purposes depending on the needs of the host country. For example, Poland had public libraries partly to preserve a national identity and the Polish language (Dzurak, 2011), as they were in Norway (Eide, 2010). They also promoted reading and literacy as education became more important (Eide, 2010; Cullen, 2007). The Anglo-American idea of the public library is generally understood to have become the dominant notion worldwide (Thorsen, 1972; Welch, 1997) and is discussed in the next section.

2.2.4.1. Anglo-American Public Library history

The idea of a Public Library in its current incarnation started in the mid-nineteenth century. This particular idea and this name is Anglo-American; it is not that similar ideas did not exist in other languages, but the idea of a public library, and the history detailed here is Anglo-American.
The development of the public library occurred in both the United States and the United Kingdom, and both countries influenced each other and were influenced by similar events. I will speak to both histories and try to indicate where they are separate and where they overlap.

Both countries had libraries open to some members of the community at a price prior to public libraries. As I mentioned earlier, some of these were circulating or commercial libraries that loaned books for a fee. Others were social libraries that allowed members to pay a fee (annual or one-time) and then borrow materials to read and discuss. Sharing of books was not uncommon. In Britain, a few public libraries existed. “In the seventeenth century this ‘Puritanism’ meant freedom of thought and its connection with town libraries is quite natural on reflection” (Allred, 1978, pg. 16). Around the same time in the United States, still a colony of Britain, books were scarce and were often shared among townspeople informally (Morsch, 1964).

The industrial revolution, in the 18th and 19th centuries created many changes in society, particularly with respect to how people worked and lived with each other. Ideas of public education began around this time, partly because factory workers needed a different education than did farm workers. Arguments for public education centered on the notions of education for all children. These ideas flowed over into notions of education for everyone, and with it the idea of having space to continue learning after formal schooling was finished.
2.2.4.1.1. History of British Public Libraries

In 1849, The British Parliament discussed the establishment of public library services. Various members of parliament argued that library services should be offered in every town just as police and prisons were. They also argued that “havens of quiet and reasonableness” would help to counter “excesses of drunkenness and debauchery” (Allred, 1978, pg. 20). The debate also included a discussion of which classes would use the library, and whether all classes should use them simultaneously or not. For the most part, the libraries were set up for the working classes; other classes were not mentioned in the discussions (Allred, 1978).

The debate surrounding the creation of the law shows the cultural-cognitive understanding of what the public library would be at that time before those understandings were hardened into a law, which would become part of the regulative forces, as understood by New Institutional Theory.

2.2.4.1.2. History of American Public Libraries

In the United States, during the first half of the 19th century, the ideas of democracy expressed at the time of the Revolutionary War were being implemented through the construction of various infrastructures (Stielow, 2001). One of the important infrastructure components being built was public education. “The new entitlement to education quickly became institutionalized as an inalienable right” (Stielow, 2001; pg. 4). Similar arguments and rhetoric were used to make the case for the public library. The public library was seen
as public education for adults, sometimes called the “people’s university.” Frederick Stielow calls the public library “the most democratic social service ever conceived” (pg. 4). He is reviving an earlier work by Sidney Ditzion author of *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* (1947). Ditzion described the creation of the public library as an act toward democracy.

This view of the creation of the public library was disputed by Michael Harris in 1978. Harris reviewed the beginnings of the Boston Public Library in 1850 in order to demonstrate that two men were highly influential in the creation of this library, George Ticknor and Edward Everett. Everett wanted a library for scholarly research. Ticknor wanted this and more. He also wanted a library that would guide the lower classes morally. This idea is similar to the ones mentioned in the British parliament implying that the library would be a calming influence.

2.2.4.1.3. Carnegie Corporation of New York

In the previous section, I described the legislation surrounding the public libraries and their beginnings in the 19th century. In the early 20th century, the Carnegie Foundation had an impact on library services in both the United Kingdom and the United States primarily through funding the construction of over 2000 public libraries. “The wave of Carnegie building shortly after the First World War made public libraries suddenly visible” (Totterdell, 1978, p. 12). Carnegie himself used a private library as a child in Scotland and believed that it helped him become the man he was. He is quoted on the St. Louis Public Library,
“I choose free libraries as the best agencies for improving the masses of the people because they only help those who help themselves. They never pauperize. A taste for reading drives out the lower tastes” (Williamson, 1920).

This quote shows that Carnegie’s conception of the public library was of a place where a person could learn, and through learning become a better person. His conceptualization of the public library was reflected in the design of the building and the general idea of public libraries. Because Carnegie and his foundation built so many public libraries, his conceptualization was worked into the idea of the library as well.

2.2.4.1.4. Public Libraries and Democracy

The relationship between the public library and democracy as endorsed by Ditzion (1947) has become one of the key concepts of the library in the United States. Librarians use this idea often to advocate for funding. Buschman (2007) feels that a silence has been maintained around the relationship, despite its frequent mention. He found that little has been studied about how libraries relate to democracy, how they aid the democratic process, how often they are used for democratic purposes and so on. He asks scientists to follow through and actually study the library’s impact on democracy. He also points out, “Libraries and information systems, like education, can be and have been used to oppress, stifle, control, and direct information” (pg. 1492).

The Anglo-American vision of the public library may relate to democracies, but that is partly because they are in democracies. Totalitarian regimes, particularly the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, had public libraries. These libraries had similar features to the Anglo-American model. One possible
distinguishing characteristic is the values of the library profession in relation to censorship or freedom of expression. In Nazi Germany, the books available in the library were all strongly in support of the regime in power (Stieg, 1992). As noted earlier, the powerful are often in control of the story and therefore the collection of stories available in the library. Over the history of libraries in the United States and Britain, censorship, or what books should be in the library, has always been discussed. Sometimes, this discussion is focused on fiction materials and how “good” or “high” they should be in terms of their literary merit (Snape, 1996). Often, these discussions are political in nature, and revolve around discussions of what stories the library is making available.

The American Library Association has taken a strong line against censorship, which includes a Library Bill of Rights. The first “right” states “books and other library resources should be provided for the interest, information, and enlightenment of all people of the community the library serves. Materials should not be excluded because of the origin, background, or views of those contributing to their creation.”

Despite this clear idea of non-censorship, public libraries are always making selection choices. Libraries cannot own all of the information materials available to them, and thus make available a subset of these to the community. Fortunately, with interlibrary loan and other ways of getting materials, items not owned can be procured for patrons. Usherwood (1996) believes that librarians must make judgments about the materials available in their libraries, particularly if they are supporting democracy. He feels that materials that
support obvious untruths, for example, materials that state that the Holocaust never happened, can hurt or hinder democracy. This is counter to the earlier notion that what distinguishes a library in a democratic country is that materials are included across differences.

Usherwood (1996) also notes some paradoxes of the public library in the Anglo-American model. The first paradox is that the library is an agent of free communication, yet it is also a formal institution of the nation; therefore the library may help sustain the political process but is also vulnerable to it. The second paradox is that the public library serves both the capitalist ideology of individualism and collectivist notions of community. Reading is a private activity, but reading library materials is “based on the principle of borrowing from a common resource that is greater than any individual or family could afford or maintain” (pg. 204).

This relationship between democracy and libraries has been used by UNESCO to promote public libraries worldwide. The idea that the library will support democracy is emphasized in the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto. This tie between the library and democracy allows the library to demonstrate its societal importance in relation to the scripts of the global society. This relationship is critical for libraries in developing countries, and they were in the forefront of my interest in the diffusion of libraries around the world. I will discuss this at greater length in section 2.2.4.4.
2.2.4.2. Purposes of the Public Library

The historical review of the public library gives three conceptual views on the library. One notion is that public libraries will be a counterweight to prisons and the police. They will fight crime by giving people something else to do, and by elevating the tone of their thinking. Another idea is that the library will educate people, particularly the working class, who will read to better themselves and their understanding of the world. Finally, the library is seen as a part of the infrastructure for a democracy. These ideas work together, but each has a different emphasis. The changes in emphasis may be reflected in policies, particularly with respect to collection development. The collection developed for elevating the tone of working class thinking may be quite different from the collection developed for building democracy.

Barry Totterdell (1978) notes that although the historical political debate about the public library gives rise to various conceptualizations, the use of the public library paints a different picture. Most surveys of library use find that people use the library as a source of reading material for recreational or leisure reading. This notion that the people using the library wanted reading material for entertainment is left out of much of the discussion of the purpose of the library. Totterdell implies that for the people using them, public libraries were a way of sharing reading material among everyone in town.

A collection of speeches given in Turkey in the mid-1960s to encourage Turkey to start a public library service further reveals conceptualizations of the public library (White, 1964). The speakers were invited from Britain, Germany,
and Denmark as well as the United States to encourage the creation of a library system in Turkey. The conceptualization of the library is revealed in the words of the speakers. Germany and Britain both have colonial influence in Namibia, so their ideas of libraries and public libraries are particularly important.

Morsch (U.S.A.) and McColvin (U.K.) put more emphasis on the needs of the community. Morsch also mentions that the library is for cultural, education and recreational uses. Peterson (Denmark) and Dude (Germany) emphasize the cultural side and have a greater idea of national culture. They both also explicitly state the need for the library to uphold democracy through the provision of a balance of viewpoints (White, 1964).

2.2.4.3. Services of the Public Library

The public library is often linked to the creation of two types of society, democratic societies and knowledge societies. In general, most public libraries fulfill these abstract ideals by supporting formal and informal learning, providing information and allowing people in the community to share entertainment. Librarians often work with local schools and educational organizations to support formal learning. The library is well stocked with information, and librarians provide reference services to help people find the information they need. Libraries stock books for people to read for any reason, including the pleasure of reading. As any avid reader knows, it is difficult for one person to purchase and store the number of books desired. These days, books are not the only entertainment offered by the library. Games, movies,
music, artwork and other items of entertainment and pleasure can be found in most libraries.

Some argue that provision of information and the sharing of entertainment supports formal and informal learning. Playing games and reading for pleasure are ways to learn informally (Gallagher, 2001). Gaining new information is one definition of learning. I name them separately, however, because the provision of entertainment materials is often overlooked despite being, as Totterdell noted, a key use of the library.

2.2.4.4. UNESCO and Public Libraries

Since World War II, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has worked to spread public libraries into countries that do not have them (UNESCO, 1952 and White, 1964). Countries were encouraged to have public libraries to support democracy and education in their communities. UNESCO organized talks and conventions on public libraries as part of their way of encouraging countries to build them. Development of Public Libraries in Latin America (1952) is an example of these types of talks.

In 1994, UNESCO and the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) worked together to re-write the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto, a document which details why countries should have public libraries and what the mission of those libraries should be. This document states, “The Public Library, the gateway to local knowledge, provides a basic condition for lifelong learning, independent decision making, and cultural development of the individuals and
social groups.” They were updating the 1947 and 1972 versions of this document.

IFLA published guidelines and standards of public libraries throughout this time period (IFLA, 1977, 1986; Gill, 2001, Koontz and Gubbin, 2010). These were meant to be used by library staff and administrators in order to provide a similar service to others. Early versions (in the 1970s) were titled Standards for Public Libraries. People objected to the term “standards,” saying that it was too prescriptive and that public libraries need to fit the needs of their local community not a global standard (IFLA, 1977). The name was therefore changed to “guidelines,” because library staff and administrators still wanted some type of benchmark by which to measure themselves. The production of the guidelines was sometimes financed by UNESCO (Gill, 2001).

UNESCO also built libraries in many developing countries that provided development information to people. These libraries were usually in the capital city and downtown areas.

2.2.4.5. Public Libraries and World Society Theory

UNESCO and IFLA have been actively promoting public libraries since the end of World War II, which World Society Theory posits as the start of the diffusion of organizations around the world. I was interested to see what this diffusion of the public library would mean for the people in a community. I was also interested to see if the libraries in a country with a strong oral tradition would be different from libraries with a written tradition. I took this information about
the history of the public library with me to Namibia as a point of comparison to
the libraries there.

2.2.5. History of Public Libraries in Southern Africa
This history details what I could find about libraries in Africa (focusing on
Southern Africa) before I went to Namibia. South Africa and Zimbabwe had the
most publications on libraries.

The current state of public libraries in Africa is summed up by Aissa Issak
(2000): “[T]he public library movement in Africa [is] very weak, with numerous
problems regarding financial constraints, lack of human resources, outdated
materials and poor use. The only sector of the African population that uses
public libraries is school children” (pg. 3). Issak’s statement is made from a
study of ten African countries’ public libraries. Namibia was not included in her
study.

2.2.5.1. Pre-Colonial Period
Before colonialism, African societies had “modes of collecting, analyzing,
storing, and disseminating information. These modes were oral and rested
upon a conservative institution – the village assembly” (Odi, 1991, pg. 596).
The collection and analysis of information were also based on African
epistemologies, which are different from Western ones. Different African
societies have different cultural ways of understanding and disseminating
information, although many of these have been disrupted as a result of the
colonial period and by new communication devices such as the radio and the
mobile phone.
2.2.5.2. Colonial Period

Colonizers imposed many changes on African societies including many new organizations, of which libraries were one. The library was often imposed as part of an educational system. Public libraries were also built, but to a lesser extent than academic, national and special libraries (Rosenberg, 1994). The public libraries built were mostly in cities and followed the institutional norms of the public libraries of the colonizing country (Maack, 1981; Rosenberg, 1994).

Libraries built in the early 1900s in Africa were generally built by Europeans for White and highly educated people to use. “The library as an institution and the legal instruments that established it existed, but they were largely ignored by the generality of colonial inhabitants; only those who sought social ascent by Western, colonial standards through formal education patronized the library” (Odi, 1991, pg. 599).

2.2.5.2.1. South Africa Public Libraries for Blacks History

Two writers, Rochester (1996) and Cobley (1997), wrote histories of the public library services for Black South Africans before the end of Apartheid. Rochester focused on the Carnegie Corporation of New York and its funding for British Commonwealth countries, including Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. The Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), which funded the building of many libraries throughout the United States and Great Britain, also funded the building of some libraries in British dominions and colonies, including South Africa (Rochester, 1996). The fund paid for the building of
libraries and to support the travel of librarians in South Africa to the United States or Britain so they could study the way libraries were run there. The fund also supported library education in South Africa based on the model of library education at Columbia University. South African librarians visiting the United States were quick to notice how Black Americans were treated. CCNY did fund libraries for Black Africans in South Africa, although these were separate from libraries for Whites (Rochester, 1996). CCNY “regarded library provision as a necessity to promote racial uplift, foster interracial understanding, and maintain social order” (Cobley, 1997, pg. 64).

Before 1930, there were no public libraries open to Black South Africans (Cobley, 1997). The issue was not just that there were no libraries, but also that there was no material written from the point of view of Blacks. D.D.T. Jabavu said,

“We want a history book on the Zulu nation, written by a pure Zulu Native, from the standpoint of Zulus, and based upon information gotten from the Zulus who remember the stories of their own people” (Jabavu in Cobley, 1997, pg. 60-61).

Whites, however, were loath to give Blacks access to material that might be incendiary or revolutionary. Cobley does list the public libraries or collections of books that were made available to Blacks in South Africa from 1930 through the end of Apartheid. These were small initiatives that never managed to reach more than a few communities. As well, many of these initiatives reflect the
same desire for social control and moral uplift seen in libraries in the United States at this time.

2.2.5.3. Independence

During the post-colonial period, the library came to be viewed as an elite institution for those Africans who had been educated in elite and often Western schools, but not for the majority of people in the society. This was partly because the libraries tended to be in cities where more of the people were educated and wealthier than those living in rural areas.


After many nations in Africa became independent (excluding Namibia\(^6\) and South Africa\(^7\)), two groups supported the libraries, the new government and the former colonial power (Mchombu, 1991).

“The imperial powers, whilst granting Independence, still hoped to assert some influence over their former colonies and retain their advantages in, for example, trade. Britain felt that an informed populace would be the most likely to maintain democratic traditions and be open to Western influences” (Rosenberg, 2001, pg. 12).

Throughout this period, librarian positions were often filled by people from other countries, and librarians were trained abroad (Raseroka, 1994;

\(^6\) Namibia remained a colony of South Africa until 1990. Because South Africa was a neighbor, not a Western or Northern power, some aspects of this colonization have been different. History is still determining whether the post-colonial period for Namibia will be different or similar to other countries in Africa.

\(^7\) South Africa became independent from Britain, but Blacks remained under the control of Europeans in the country until 1990.

In the 1980s and 1990s, most countries in Africa suffered economic downturns, governments ran out of money, and libraries ceased to be funded by them (Issak, 2000; Rosenberg, 1994). Rosenberg (2001) gives an example of what this meant for libraries. In one library, in Sierra Leone, 1500 monographs were purchased per year in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1993-94, that library purchased 60 monographs. The lack of funds meant that the buildings fell apart, the bookshelves were empty and the staffs were poorly paid. Many staff were not trained as librarians.

Sturges and Neill (1998) also note that African governments often suppress information. The lack of funds going to the libraries may be because the governments do not have money, but it may also be a direct attempt to limit the provision of information.

Donor agencies have stepped into the breach. “That these libraries have continued to exist at all over the past decades is due to the funding and support received from donor agencies” (Rosenberg, 2001, pg. 13). Mchombu (1991) and Rosenberg (1994, 2001) note that the donor-funded projects are rarely sustainable. They describe a cycle of donor funding. Donors fund the start of a project, hoping that the local governments will become responsible for funding once the project is up and running. The donors finish their part; the project either ends or looks for another donor.
Many of these projects have been quite creative, finding new ways to share information beyond the traditional ways of the Anglo-American library. These new methods include rural community centers as well as a different model of knowledge sharing put forth by Kingo Mchombu (2004). The new models have a greater emphasis on the spoken word as a method of information transfer.

2.2.5.4. Current State of Libraries

In reading through materials on African libraries, I found many articles decrying the current conditions and asking for new solutions and better librarians (du Plessis, 2007; Issak, 2000; Rosenberg, 1994; Kabamba, 2008). Most often, these papers have descriptions of the sad state of libraries, brief discussions of the need for better-spirited librarians who can be better intermediaries to their communities, and a call for more funding. They do not have empirical evidence to support the changes they ask for. Many of them decry the use of the public library by school children. Issak found that children use the library as a place to study, but not as a resource. They use the space but not the materials. This was not true of my pilot study in Namibia, however, where many participants mentioned that they use the library as a study location because of the materials they are able to access there.

Many articles are about the provision of library services for adults. As well, emphasis is put on libraries in rural areas (Chiware and Hadebe, 1999). Urban areas are seen as having libraries and providing services to elites. Although many people in urban areas are well educated and well employed,
large numbers of people in Southern Africa live in poverty in rural areas. Some of them commute back and forth between their villages and the urban areas and are often information conduits for their villages.

2.2.5.4.1. Alternative models

As I have mentioned previously, Kingo Mchombu, working with Oxfam, developed an alternative model to the Anglo-American public library. This model is more of a community space for sharing information, stories and ideas (Mchombu, 2004). It follows his conceptualization of the library as a place for sharing knowledge. Chiware and Hadebe (1999) worked on an organizational model for rural libraries in Zimbabwe, which also are more responsive to oral ways of learning and knowing. Both of these alternatives had working models, but the Zimbabwean ones have probably shut down because of the current financial crisis.

These models are built using ideas and evidence about orality and indigenous knowledge. Stevens (2008) lays out the issues involved in creating databases of indigenous knowledge. She also notes that such projects have been carried out in Canada and Australia, and there is hope for more of them. Such databases are using new technologies such as wikis, to create different ways of storing and retrieving the knowledge of village elders. Perhaps they will decrease the fear that when an elder dies, a library burns.
2.3. Theoretical Framework

In order to study World Society Theory in an actual location, as the Extended Case Method (my methodology) would have me do, I needed a theoretical framework to structure my observations and data collection. World Society Theory posits two main ideas: 1) a global culture exists and is growing in strength; and 2) organizations and institutions are similar around the world despite local differences in tradition and culture. Both of these ideas can be mapped onto libraries.

The global culture that exists and is growing in strength, as posited by World Society Theory, is built on ideas of science and knowledge. Libraries and the ability to preserve information have aided these ideas of science and knowledge. In an academic setting the library has traditionally housed the past knowledge on which new knowledge is built. As Darnton (2008) explained it, the book and collections of books made this type of knowledge and knowledge building possible. Public libraries in the United States and Britain were built to be the “people’s university” and allow everyone access to the knowledge in books. They promoted a certain way of living and thinking (Allred, 1978; Harris 1978) and were established to enlighten people and keep them from drinking and gambling. UNESCO and IFLA have promoted the building of public libraries to support democracy and human rights, both also part of the global culture. Thus, the global culture described in World Society Theory which encompasses both a rational, scientific approach to the world and one in which human rights are a guiding principle is represented by libraries. I don’t know if libraries fit
with this global culture intrinsically or whether they have been fit to it through rhetoric. I just want to acknowledge here the fit.

Public libraries also have similar features in their organizational form in many parts of the world. Various histories of different countries’ public libraries note that the libraries are built to resemble libraries elsewhere (Thorsen, 1972; Welch 1997). UNESCO and IFLA have worked together to produce standards and guidelines as part of their promotion of public libraries (IFLA 1977, 1986; Gill 2001).

World Society Theory gives this picture to show how all of this happens.

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**Figure 2.1: From Meyer and Colleagues (1997)**

In this picture, the ideas and principles from the culture are influencing the nation-state system, the organization and individual identities. As well, the nation-state system is influencing the organization and individual identities and the organizations are influencing the individual identities. The nation-state system is not only maintained by the different nation-states themselves, but
also in their relationship to each other. Each nation-state is made up of organizations and associations, some of which relate to each other on an international level as well. The organizations and associations, particularly the international ones and the interactions of nation-states, are all built on principles such as Universal Human Rights. In a way, their model needs an arrow pointing up from individual citizenship back to nation-states, as these states rest on the principle of individual citizenship.

2.3.1. World Society Theory in Figures
In their paper, Meyer and colleagues (1997) explain why the structure of nation-states is similar. I am trying to understand why the organizational structure of libraries has diffused around the world. Therefore, if I were to attempt to adapt their model to libraries it might look something like this:

![Figure 2.2: World Society Theory related to Model 2](image)
In this case, the culture relates to each level, that of the international standards and library systems, the organization or the national idea of the organization, and the idea that people have a right to information, and therefore a need for libraries.

2.3.2. Organizational Fields
World Society Theory builds on institutionalist theories, including New Institutional Theory (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991). New Institutional Theory has been used to study the institutionalizing processes surrounding organizations (e.g. Barley and Tolbert, 1997). DiMaggio (1991) developed a way to study these processes by looking at the organizational field. The organizational field is made up of those organizations that interact with the given organization being studied. Scott (2008) further clarified the idea of the field, by describing three different forces that push the organization to be similar to others: regulative, normative and cultural cognitive. Although I found DiMaggio’s notion of the organizational field helpful, I felt that it did not look beyond the national boundaries enough for my study.

Paul DiMaggio’s 1991 study of the organizational field surrounding the art museums in the United States is the fundamental paper for understanding the organizational field. As I was designing my own study, I went through his paper and thought about how I would relate such a study to Namibia. I wanted to include organizations from other countries or international organizations. For example, DiMaggio put emphasis on the professional organizations as places of change. In Namibia, the professional organization for librarians is
small, and many members also belong to regional or international professional organizations. These larger organizations are more likely to set standards or professional norms than the national one. Universities were another major player in the organizational field of the art museums in DiMaggio’s study. In Namibia, a small country, there are two major universities, the University of Namibia and Polytechnic. Only one of these universities has a library science program to train librarians. Many of the professors in the program are from other countries, and the university itself must look to other regional universities to set the syllabus and curriculum. Thus, I felt that looking only at a national organizational field would not allow me to see all of the influences on the library’s organizational form in Namibia.

I therefore conceptualize three organizational fields, one at the international level, one at the national level and one at the local (community) level. The international field is made up mostly of normative forces, since in the international arena few laws are passed. In this field, international organizations such as the United Nations create, build on, and propagate notions about an organization. I suggest that this creates an international organizational model for what that particular model should be like. The international model is created from scripts such as those developed by UNESCO and IFLA about the public library.

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8 Meyer and colleagues (1997) use the idea of an international model to discuss principles such as Human Rights. I use the term slightly differently here to refer to something more like a cookie cutter – something that the organization is supposed to follow in order to be recognized as that type of organization.
To aid my own conceptualization of the organizational fields, I drew them starting with Figure 2.6 (which is shown after a break down of its parts, seen in Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4, and Figure 2.5). These drawings helped me develop my theoretical framework and are included here to help illustrate my thinking. They are merely illustrative and are simplifications of the ideas.

**Figure 2.3: International Organizational Field**

In Figure 2.3, I have drawn the international organizational field. Within the field, I have imagined that UN organizations, international media, professional organizations and international non-Governmental organizations are all interacting to produce scripts for how a particular organization should be. The ideas embedded in the script are represented by the organizational model.
The national organizational field is much like that conceptualized by DiMaggio (1991).

**Figure 2.4: National Organizational Field**

Government organizations and agencies, national professional organizations, universities, national media and other organizations would work together to create an organizational form. Regulative forces (Scott, 2008) would come from government organizations, agencies and laws. For example, laws about how the library receives funding from the government and donations would influence how the library works. Normative forces are usually produced by universities, who train professionals in the field, and by professional organizations. Librarians are often trained in universities and are members of professional organizations. The regulative and normative forces are built on cultural-cognitive ideas of what the organization should be like. These ideas come from media and from history. They may be the most important and the most difficult to see, so the norms and laws can be ways of gaining understanding.

Both the organizational form and the organizational model represented in these two pictures are merely ideas in people’s minds. They inform and
influence the actual organization, which is shown in the local organizational

field.

Figure 2.5: Local Organizational Field

The organization sits here amongst other community organizations such as
schools, religious organizations, the family (represented by homes), community
groups, stores, and other organizations. The local media are also here. People
interact with all of these organizations as they instantiate the particular
organization under study.

This model could be more complex in many dimensions. In particular,
regional influences, particularly from South Africa, but also from the regional
professional organizations, are not visible in this model. I did try to engage
with the regional influences as well, but for the purposes of understanding my
theoretical framework, I have started with only three levels.

The international model influences the organizational form that
influences the actual organization. Putting all of them together shows that the
scripts developed internationally would influence the national ideas of the
organizational form. As Meyer and colleagues (1997) posit, the organizational
model and the organizational form would be identical. They would both influence the instantiation of the organization locally. Thus, the drawing that helped me formulate these relationships looked like this (Figure 2.6):

![Diagram of three levels of organizational fields]

**Figure 2.6: Three levels of organizational fields**

### 2.3.2.1. Receptor Sites

In their paper on environmental movements, Frank and colleagues (2000) explain how global notions of an organization enter the nation-state. They
suggest that receptor sites transmit the ideals from world society to a nation. They define receptor sites as “social structures with the capacity to receive, decode, and transmit signals from outside (here World Society) to local actors (here nation-states)” (pg. 103). In their study, international scientific organizations, which scientists from the nation-state belong to, would act as receptor sites. The scientists would go to an international conference and then bring back the ideas and notions of World Society to their country and diffuse them through the local chapters of the scientific organization. The professional organizations in my model are acting as receptor sites. One can imagine that elite professionals in any career (or the professors who train professionals) would travel to international conferences. Norms and values from these conferences would be brought back to the home country with them. I would therefore say that the professional organizations in my model could also be called receptor sites.

My model, however, also notes influence from UN organizations and international non-governmental organizations. These are different from receptor sites, to me, because these organizations are funding projects in poorer countries. Their influence is different, and has different power negotiations associated with it.

2.3.3. Public Libraries and Organizational Fields
Above, I used a general illustration suitable for any organization. To help conceptualization the ideas for my study, I applied this model to the public library.
Figure 2.7: Three levels of Organizational Fields for the Public Library

This drawing depicts the three levels of the organizational field, as I understood them before I travelled to do fieldwork. Again, I used this drawing to help myself understand all of the different influences on the public libraries in
Namibia. The international organizational field has UNESCO, IFLA and international non-governmental organizations in it. It also has the Internet and new technologies, which are not organizations as such, but ICTs are creating changes within organizations as they diffuse around the world. I therefore felt compelled to include their influence here. The national organizational field has the University of Namibia, the Namibian Information Workers Association (NIWA, which is the national professional organization for librarians), the Ministry of Education (which I knew was the governing body for the public libraries), publishers and the Rössing Foundation (a local NGO, which built libraries). The local organizational field was much the same as the one for the generic organization.

Figure 2.6 can be related to Figure 2.1 (by Meyer et al., 1997) and Figure 2.2. Although the organizational field is used mostly to identify the organizations influencing the library, it can also be used to help identify the cultural-cognitive influences. In Figure 2.1 and 2.2, these have been set to one side and identified as influencing all aspects of the system. In my model, the cultural influences are inside the fields. The different levels of influence in Meyer’s model are the system of the nation-state – that is the system around the organization (if a nation-state can be called an organization), the organizations and associations that make up the nation-state (the organizational field of the nation-state), and the rights and ideas that create and which sustain the nation-state. I can almost map the first two ideas in my model. The international organizational field defines the system for the nation-
state or library, and the national organizational field is made up of the organizations and associations (this takes some adjustment, of course, but is perceptible). My study, however, is interested in an instantiation of an organization, which does not appear in Meyer’s model. His model does not look at individual organizations, but the system of them; thus, it does not have a local level.

As I drew the picture of my model, I was aware that it was too simple. In particular, the various international, national and local organizations would also be interacting with each other. The international ideas of the library would not be the only international ideas in Namibia. As well, I had been to a regional conference, the Standing Conference for Eastern, Central and Southern African Libraries (SCECSAL), so I knew that regional notions of the library would also play a role. Therefore, the framework probably looked something like Figure 2.8. Again, this illustration helped me clarify some of the relationships and think out what relationships I was expecting before I entered the field.
Figure 2.8: Organizational Fields and their interactions
This theoretical framework was designed before I went to Namibia. I envisioned that it would guide my observation. I was interested in the organizations influencing the public libraries, particularly the international influences, which would indicate a diffusion of the organization.

By identifying particular organizations and relationships to pay attention to, I had a preliminary direction for my observations. As the next chapter on my method will clarify, I was interested not just in confirming these relationships, but also in seeing if contradictions to these expectations existed. This framework was a prediction based on the theory. Contradictions would provide insights into the theory.

2.3.4. Concepts
To use World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory, I defined a number of concepts. I will list these definitions here.

**Organizational Model:** The associational processes at the international level produce an ideal of the organization, or an organizational model that organizations in all countries around the world try to follow. The Organizational model is also the result of the international organizational field for the organization.

**Organizational Form:** The institutionalizing forces—regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive—create an organizational form that is followed by all of the organizations in one country. This is also the result of the national organizational field for organization.
**Notion:** The cultural-cognitive forces influencing the library are the most difficult to see or define. A cultural-cognitive idea of the organization exists in every person’s mind, and that influences how they interact with the organization. These ideas are based on the organizational model and form, but may also be more ephemeral than those two. I labeled this more ephemeral piece a *notion*. When I found a group idea of a library, I called this a notion.
3. Method

This dissertation study was designed to gain a deeper understanding of the processes involved in producing similar organizations around the world. World Society Theory has an explanation of this process, and this study sought to test those ideas in one location, Windhoek, Namibia, and in one organization, the public library. To test a theory in this way, the Extended Case Method was used.

3.1. Defining ECM

The Extended Case Method (ECM) guided this research and the exploration of the phenomenon in question. Michael Burawoy (1991; 1998) created ECM as a way to research the effect of social structure on people’s lived experience. The method focuses on one location and enables the researcher to see the relation between what is happening in that location and theories about how social structures work. ECM helps the researcher see how institutional forces, social and cultural structures influence people in a particular field site (Lichterman, 2002, p. 123). ECM uses theory to define the social structure. The particular structure in which I was interested is best described by World Society Theory (Meyers et al., 1997), which clarifies the globalization of culture particularly through educational institutions. ECM gave me guidelines for how to look at this theory in a particular location at a particular time. The particular place was
the Katutura neighborhood and two of the public libraries in that location during 2009.

3.1.1. Background to ECM

In order to understand social structure, Burawoy asserts researchers need to understand the interaction between social structure and the people living in one location at one time. Social structure theories are generally theories about macro-level phenomena that happen across time and space. The researcher locates a time and a space to see how the theory is playing out, and then relates the findings back to the theory. For example, Burawoy situated himself in the copper mines in Zambia in the mid-1970s. He used Post-Colonial Theory (Fanon, 1963), which describes how societies react when the colonial forces leave to help explain what he saw happening there.

Burawoy and his followers (1991) feel that social scientists need theories that explain macro-level phenomena, and they also need to be present to what actually happens in specific localities as part of the macro-level phenomenon. This allows the researcher to see how people interact with social structures, and broadens our notions of the social structures.

Many theories explain the interaction between a person and structure. The steps and the dialogues used in ECM are ways to get at the interaction between people and social structures. Structuration theory, one of the more general theories describing the interaction between people and social structure, describes another way. Structuration states that there is a duality between the agent and the structure. Agents act and their actions are in response to
structure. Each action either continues the structure as it is or changes the structure (Sewell, 1992; Giddens, 1979). This is a cycle; each interaction with structure is part of the overall flow of the cycle. ECM and the theories in the study help to focus the researcher on the actions of people and the structure and their interaction.

Burawoy often uses Habermas’s description of the life-world as a way to understand how societal structures impede people’s daily lives, or as he phrases it, “the institutional context that shapes and distorts what happens in the lifeworld.” (Burawoy, 1991, Pg. 6) In this way, ECM is a critical methodology, always interested in the issues of power and domination as played out in a specific location. The external forces shaping the situation at hand are of particular interest to the research and the researcher (Burawoy, 1991, pg. 6). This is also how ECM brings the macro forces to the local level. “[ECM] requires that we specify some particular feature of the social situation that requires explanation by reference to particular forces external to itself” (Burawoy, 1991, pg. 9).

ECM is also interested in reconstructing social theory. The design of the study is to understand the theory in this time and place that will make our collective understanding of the theory better. “Instead of proving a theory by corroboration or forsaking a theory because it faces falsification, our preferred approach is to improve theories by turning anomalies into exemplars” (Burawoy, 1991, pg. 10). The extension of the case is to test that case against a theory. Most often, ECM is done by looking at a case that seems to be refuting
the theory. The researcher says, in this situation, the theory does not seem to hold true, so what is happening? The researcher then relates the findings back to the original theory to strengthen that theory. Theory can be tested also through internal contradictions, gaps or silences.

3.1.2. Ethnography, Case Studies and ECM

ECM as a methodology is similar to ethnography and to case studies. Burawoy uses ethnography as an underlying method for ECM in the sense that he uses participant observation and interviews to understand the interaction between people and social structure. Ethnography is often associated with understanding culture from the participants’ point of view. ECM is more focused on understanding structure, which is closely linked with culture. Culture is one of those terms that can be ambiguous because it is used (and sometimes overused) to relate different ideas. In this instance, I was interested in understanding the meaning that people assigned to their interactions with the library as a way of understanding the structural nature of the library. The purpose of ECM is to understand the relationship between structure and the everyday lives of people, not to understand the general meaning that people give to life. The difference between ECM and ethnography then is one of purpose.

In my study, I used participant observation; interviews and document analysis to understand how organizational structures, associated with a World Society, affected the lived experiences of people in Katutura. I located my study in a time and place, and in this way my study is a case study (Yin, 2003). By
relating my work to World Society Theory, I extended it beyond the one case to
the global phenomena described by the theory.

### 3.2. Steps of ECM

The following is an abstract description of how ECM should work, as I
understood it in preparing to carry out the study. Section 3.5 discusses how the
research actually took place. Burawoy describes a four-step analytical process
for ECM. The first step is for the researcher to enter the study location. The
researcher seeks an I:Thou relationship (Buber, 1970) with the people in the
location. This relationship is developed through dialogue and observation. The
researcher is seeking to understand from the people in the location the
meaning that they give to their world. The second step is to understand the
interaction between each person in the location and the situation. The
researcher listens deeply to the participants and tries to understand what they
are saying and how they are saying it in order to comprehend the underlying
meanings given in step one. This listening reveals the deeper level of what is
happening in that space and time. The third step brings together the
experiences and the interactions which build meaning of the participants with
the social structure. The first two steps have revealed social processes and in
the third step the research delineates the social forces impressing themselves
on the locale (Burawoy, 1998, p. 15). The final step is to reconstruct theory. All
of the observations of processes and forces have been made within a
theoretical frame. The researcher has been checking the relevance of the
theory, looking for evidence that contradicts the theory. These contradictions force the researcher into dialogue with the theory and a re-construction of the theory.

Burawoy also frames these steps as dialogues. At each step the researcher is actively engaged asking questions, listening and learning. Step one, Burawoy’s first dialogue, is between the researcher and the participant. This is an intervention into the participant’s life, in which the researcher attempts an I:Thou relationship with the participant. The researcher does not believe that she can see the world through the eyes of the participant – a false “we” interaction, but also does not want the distance of an I:It (other) relationship, where the participant is an object in the study. Dialogue allows movement towards the I:Thou relationship, a chance for both participant and researcher to understand one another and the situation. The researcher may not directly engage with each participant. Some of the dialogue takes place in the researcher being present as the participants enact their daily lives. The researcher observes and stays attuned to the present moment. The researcher may also engage participants in direct dialogue, interviews, in which the participant and the researcher work towards mutual understanding. This is often part of step two.

Step two, the second dialogue, is therefore between the participant and his/her situation. When the researcher is in conversation with the participant, part of her job is to engage the participant in this dialogue. The participant will be thinking about his or her situation and engage in a dialogue, like a think-
aloud while talking to the researcher. Every person takes action as he or she moves through life; this action maintains or changes the structures with which she or he is interacting. Burawoy thinks of these interactions as dialogues, exchanges between the person and the situation.

The third step or dialogue is between the situation and the extra-local forces, such as rules and regulations. The researcher looks over the notes and the ideas from the field and analyzes them for extra-local forces. The researcher may also look at documents and other organizations as they interact and impose on the structure. For example, libraries in Katutura receive most of their books from the library system that receives many books from BookAid International. Thus, the extra-local is felt in the local through the books from an International source.

The fourth dialogue is between the researcher and theory, a conversation with the literature in the field. The researcher is looking for evidence that disconfirms theory, evidence that intervenes with the theory, that throws the theory off and forces it to be reconstructed. The researcher is trying to trip the theory up, and then put it back together. This dialogue is also between the researcher and the literature about the situation.

3.3. **Choosing the Cases**

In any case study, the choice of the case is important to the findings. In ECM, the tendency is to look for cases that refute the theory, and thus are most likely to help the researcher understand the theory. I chose my cases because they
refuted a particular part of the theory that I was interested in. Both World Society Theory and Post-Colonial Theory state that some of the organizations built in a country are for show and are not used by the common people. World Society Theory, in many ways, admits this somewhat quietly, as most of the studies are looking at large data sets that do not have great detail on how the organization is being used, but just that it exists. Criticisms of World Society Theory often point out that the existence of an organization does not mean much. Post-Colonial Theory says the same thing; the new government builds organizations and such in the center of town, for their own use, and these organizations strengthen the relationship with the former colony, but do not change the everyday lives of most of the people.

Critics of libraries in Africa often point out that the libraries are mainly used by elites and are built in the center of town, which makes them difficult for ordinary people to get to. For this reason, I was intrigued by the libraries in the poor neighborhood of Windhoek. These libraries were built to serve a non-elite population in their own space. I knew about the Greenwell Matongo Community Library before I went, and I was sure that that would be one of the case libraries. I had an idea that there was another library in the neighborhood, which I planned to make my other case. For Greenwell Matongo Community Library, I knew the library existed, was heavily used, and that the people using the library had some say in the set up and design of the library. All of this was counter to what the theory suggested, as it suggested the library would not be in a poor neighborhood, nor heavily used (as it would be just a front or show
piece), nor would the local population have much say in how the library was structured.

Furthermore, although literature on public libraries in Africa is scanty, much of what is written seems to be about rural libraries (e.g. Aboyade, 1984; Chiware and Hadebe, 1999). Most libraries in Africa, however, are in cities, usually in the centers of the cities and away from the poor. I was interested in libraries serving the urban poor, because I could see that many cities in Africa (and the rest of the world) have growing populations of poor. In the last few years, the world population has shifted from mostly rural to mostly urban. Although none of the theories I was interested in spoke to this phenomenon, I felt that understanding public services in urban areas was important. Furthermore, I was interested to see if the people moving to urban areas were experiencing a shift in culture as their way of life changed from an agricultural lifestyle to an urban one. This potential shift in culture, I felt, might be in line with the global culture (which could possibly be described as a metropolitan culture).

It turned out that three other libraries are in the same neighborhood. One of the libraries is on a campus of an education facility and between the poor neighborhood and a slightly more well-to-do neighborhood. One library is in the center of the poor neighborhood and the third is far out in the poorest area of the poor neighborhood. I decided to use the library in the center of the poor neighborhood as my second case. This library has been in that location for at least 25 years, so unlike the Greenwell Matongo Community Library it has a
long history. It was also being taken over by the government library service and therefore, had the potential to allow me to see how the organization was institutionalized into the fold of the government libraries.

I did not choose the other libraries for particular reasons. I did not choose the library that was far out in the poorest of the poor areas because it was almost impossible to get to. The only time I was able to visit, I had to take a ride with the people delivering the newspaper (and even then, I almost didn’t get back to town). I also felt that this library was sufficiently similar to the Greenwell Matongo Community Library that it would not give me new data. I did not choose the library in between neighborhoods because it was inside an educational facility and I thought that might change the way it was seen and understood.

In some ways, the libraries that I chose were exemplars of the theory, rather than refutations of the theory. As I explained earlier, they refuted the theory in one particular way. On the other hand, both libraries were clearly in line with the problem I had set out to understand – they both are structured like libraries in other countries, and I knew this going in. I knew that resources were organized using the Dewey Decimal System and had card catalogs and shelves of books and were in a myriad of ways like libraries elsewhere in the world. In these ways, the libraries upheld World Society Theory’s precepts. I knew that I would have to look deeper, under the surface to see if there were ways in which they were different from the theory.
These sites were also chosen for practical reasons. Studying the libraries in the capital city meant that I could observe in a particular library as well as in the administrative structure of the library. I was able to be present at meetings and to visit other parts of the organizational field easily. I also had easy access to the two libraries, which were relatively easy to get to by taxi.

3.4. Data Collection

To carry out the steps mentioned above, I used three ways to gather data: participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. Again, I will discuss these in the abstract and then relate them to what I actually did.

3.4.1. Participant Observation

Participant observation is a way for a researcher to study people as they live their lives. The researcher watches the action in a particular location, observing how people act and react to the situations they find themselves in. The study is done in a natural habitat, not in an experimental setting (Burawoy, 1991, pg. 2). Researchers doing participant observation fall along a spectrum of their own participation in the action being watched. The spectrum goes from complete participation through participant as observer through observer as participant to complete observer (see Table 3.1) (Burawoy, 1991, p. 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full participation</th>
<th>The researcher is studying events in which they are involved. The researcher’s involvement in the events extends beyond the research project. For example, a librarian studying the interactions of librarians with people in the library for a month.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>The researcher is involved in the events studied because of the research. The researcher is an actor in the events, but also watching and observing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
as observer everyone. The reason the researcher has become an actor in the events is for the purposes of the research. For example, a person takes a job in the library for a few months in order to observe how people interact with each other.

Observer as participant The researcher is observing events and their presence is part of the action. The researcher is in the place and time in order to observe. The people in the place and time interact with the researcher making those interactions part of the events the researcher is studying. For example, a person goes to the library and watches people interacting. The researcher is another person in the library and therefore part of the action being observed.

Full observer The researcher is observing in such a way that the participants in the events do not know she is there. The researcher is in the place and time, but is hidden from the participants. For example, a researcher observes online chat reference. Either the librarian or the person asking the reference questions would not be able to sense the presence of the researcher, particularly as the researcher could look at the interaction after it is over.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1: Participant Observation Spectrum</th>
</tr>
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</table>

The spot the researcher occupies on the spectrum is not as important as their ability to use the observations and participation to create dialogue and work towards an I:Thou relationship (Buber, 1970) with the other people in the situation. The researcher must avoid thinking of herself as the same as the people in the situation; this is a false “we” scenario. She is herself and they are themselves. She must also avoid thinking of the people in the situation as other, this is an I:They relationship in which the researcher objectifies the people in the situation, and in so doing reduces their humanity in some sense.

Martin Buber (1970) believed that the I:Thou relationship was always fleeting, a moment of great relationship between two people before they sank
back into loneliness. The researcher is therefore, always dancing between the various types of relationships, hoping to gain understanding.

3.4.1.1. Participant Observation in this study

I did participant observation in three areas of the study. First, I observed the activity in the libraries. This is the foundation of the study, where I observed what people did in the library and how they interacted with the library. This gave me insight into the function of the library in people’s lives. This observation allowed me to paint a picture of the uses of the library, the things that are enacted in the library. For this observation, I was an observer-as-participant. By being in the library and observing, I was participating in the enactment of the library, particularly as a former librarian from the United States. The people in the library and the staff were always aware of my presence and responsive to it. As Burawoy (1998) notes, the reactions to the observer give us information as well. These observations also included observing within the administration of both of the libraries. I tried to be present to meetings of administrators.

My second observation was in the organizational field. This took place in two areas. One was through the Namibian Information Workers Association (NIWA). I went to meetings and participated in the activities organized by the association. The professional organization is another key place for determining the function and scope of the library. By participating in meetings and activities, I gained a better understanding of the function of the library as seen by the people who work in it. Here, I was again observer as participant, although I did
officially pay the dues to be a member. My position as a librarian from abroad influenced the way people interacted with me.

Another observation within the organizational field was centered on a national celebration of libraries. I attended the meetings for this celebration that were organized by the Director of the National Library and Archives Services (NLAS) for Namibia. These meetings were attended mostly by librarians who work in libraries that are run by NLAS. I participated in the meetings, although I tried to hold on to an observational position. This was made difficult by the desire of some of the participants to have me work more closely with the planning process.

My third observation was at the university. Here I was participant as observer. I worked with students to help with my own study and also to better understand the library science education the students receive. The university forms a major part of the organizational field, as it trains future librarians. This is one of the places where the function of the library is theorized and discussed. I hoped to grow my understanding of that from my work with students and also by talking with professors. I was asked to speak in a few of the classes, and in this way could interact with students and be part of their instruction.

I was also able to be an observer in the community around one of the libraries. I spent time in the community watching what people were doing and talking to people. I was also able to attend a community meeting put together by the city and to attend a course for adults with low literacy.
Observations in a space were recorded in field notes. Photographs and sketches of the space were also put in the notes. The space or building around the site can be a physical manifestation of social structure, particularly in the case of libraries, and I paid attention to that physicality.

3.4.2. Interviews

Interviews are conversations with the people in the study. I attempted to conduct ethnographic interviews, as described by Spradley (1979). These interviews usually started with a clear point of observation or asked for a description. For example, I often started an interview by asking what the person had come to the library to do that day. People were able to describe in their own words what brought them to the library and what they did in the library.

The interview is a moment of connection between the researcher and the participant. In this moment, both are learning and seeking new knowledge about the situation and about each other. In ECM, the researcher takes the attitude that the participant is an expert on the situation, and portrays that attitude in every question, word and gesture. This is partly an ethical concern. The researcher is asking the participant to reveal thoughts and feelings often kept private or related only to intimates. This behooves the researcher to act with deep respect and patience. This is also a research concern. If the researcher believes that she is the expert on the situation and the participant is only filling in details, then she risks losing the nuance and discovery the interview allows.
These interviews did not work in the way they were intended. Spradley’s techniques can’t be accomplished quickly, and time should be taken to develop a relationship with the participant. The cultural differences between the people I was interviewing and me created a distance that was difficult to overcome in the formality of the interview. I did my best to establish deeper relationships with some people, but mostly when these worked, they still did not work in the formal interview setting. Although the interviews did elicit some interesting data, they did not provide an I:You relationship with the subject.

For the interviews with administrators and others in the organizational field, the interviews were often more conversational and less structured. I addressed them as an expert and asked questions on issues related to the library that I did not understand. I usually attempted to start the conversations in the way of Spradley, but as the participant and I were more comfortable with the conversational style, this is usually what they became.

In addition, students from UNam, whom I hired to help with data collection, also conducted interviews of people in the neighborhoods. They too attempted to do ethnographic interviews as described by Spradley (1979). Unfortunately, I did not plan enough time for them to really engage in the Spradley interview. They were therefore able to have mostly superficial conversations about the libraries. Some of these were enlightening, however.

3.4.3. Document Analysis
Document analysis is a way of uncovering the regulative and normative forces acting in the situation. The documents often are written clarifications of
rules or norms. For example, if the library has a mission statement, this is a statement of a value. This is how the staff has decided to state one of the values of the library.

A document is just a piece of paper with words on it, unless people enact it. Any analysis of a document, therefore, must incorporate analysis of how people interact with the document (Smith, 2005). In the case of a library’s mission statement, the important moment is when a librarian or a person in the library engages the mission statement in their actions. Perhaps, a person is asking the librarian for something and the librarian is unwilling. That person might make reference to the mission statement or words that in effect say, “Your mission statement says that you provide this service.” Here, the mission is being brought into the action.

Documents can also open up the past, and help explain the laws and regulations around libraries before the present moment. This is important for understanding the historical forces acting on the libraries.

In this research, I examined the current and past laws dealing with public and community libraries. I also read the newsletters and other documents put out by librarians and former librarians about the libraries. These items helped to give an idea of what the libraries had been like.

I was also interested in the many studies done of the libraries, particularly what was studied and who and how it was studied. These documents reveal what is politically important about the libraries.
I also tried to use the documents to follow the money. I wanted to understand how the libraries received funds and who paid for which aspects of the library and its services.

### 3.4.4. Limitations

The main limitation of this data collection was my outsider status. In the communities surrounding the case libraries, I was always easily identified as a foreigner. An ethnography relies on the immersion of the researcher into the community, and I found this difficult in three ways – the cultural differences been local and foreigner, the language barrier, and safety concerns.

Foreigners often visit Katutura to implement new programs to alleviate poverty or help people develop. Almost all of the White people in the township are working on a project of this nature. People naturally assumed the same of me. This had advantages, as people were often quite friendly and open in the hopes that this would help me give them or their community money. They expected me to be a staff member of the library and treated me as such. It also meant that comments about the library or the community were always couched in this framework. I was a person who could bring them more library services or more services in general; I was not just a person, an equal, or someone to kibitz with.

For this reason, and also to help with the language problem, I hired a number of library science students from the University of Namibia. The students were from different language groups in Namibia and nearby countries (Namibia has a number of immigrants). I hoped that the students would be able
to talk to the community residents more as equals. I also hoped they would be able to speak to the residents in the local languages and be able to pick up on nuances of meaning that conversations in English, with me, would not uncover. Finally, I hoped the students would be able to help me understand the local culture and the cultural nuances of the different groups of people.

In many ways, the students did these things. Language, however, proved more complex than I had initially understood. English and Afrikaans are public languages which people use to speak about public life, including school and libraries. Many people proved reluctant to talk about the library in their home language. One of the students I hired uncovered this problem for me, when she found that she didn’t know the vocabulary in her home language to talk about the library. She was so accustomed to switching between Afrikaans, Damara (her home language) and English that she hadn’t realized that her Damara vocabulary did not cover everything she wanted to say. I do not know if this mixed use of language meant that the discussions about the library in English and Afrikaans with my students blocked some of the deeper feelings people had about the library or not.

My physical safety was always a concern and meant that I could not immerse myself completely in the neighborhoods. Katutura is generally thought of as an unsafe place, where people are frequently mugged and physically harmed. White people are thought of as bigger targets, since they are generally assumed to be wealthier, although almost everyone in the community (not
White) I spoke with had some story of being mugged. For this reason, I always had to be careful and alert.

Being alert to my surroundings was good for my observations and fieldwork. At the same time, I was limited in the places I could go and the people with whom I could talk. For example, most of the socializing happens in Shebeens, informal bars run from people’s homes. People come and drink and laugh and talk late into the evening. I was never comfortable being in the neighborhoods after dark. My gender also worked against me, as unmarried, childless women have a particular role to play in the Shebeens, and not a role I was ready to play. My immersion in the neighborhood was therefore limited to the library almost exclusively, and to the times when the library was open. This was particularly problematic in one of the libraries that was not open on the weekends.

Burawoy (1998) notes that the researcher brings something new into the situation, and that can allow for deeper insights into what is happening. This idea that the foreigner would bring money into the library certainly helped to clarify some of the ways that people think about and understand the library as a local organization. Over the ten months I was visiting the libraries, I did feel that there were times when my intense difference from everyone else disappeared. People, particularly staff members and other librarians, became used to my presence and to me and no longer thought of me as a stranger. Still, the nature of my difference was always present. I was never immersed.
3.5. Research Steps

This research followed the four steps outlined by Burawoy; however, a few additional steps were added for clarification. First, I wrote an initial memo clarifying my assumptions and what I expected to find in the field. Second, I spent time observing what happened in the library, familiarizing myself with the libraries, the regular people who visit the library, the routine and the library staff. This is part of how I carried out Burawoy’s first dialogue. Third, I interviewed people in the library, including staff. This is where I carried out Burawoy’s second dialogue. Fourth, I observed the neighborhood around the library. This was another way of carrying out the first dialogue. Fifth (but simultaneous with step 4), I observed the organizational field and did interviews within the organizational field. Sixth, in parallel with all of these previous steps, I gathered documents about the library and from the organizational field. I used these documents to question what I saw happening around me. Steps five and six carried out Burawoy’s third dialogue. Finally, I continuously analyzed the data and used that analysis to focus what I sought out for further observation. Throughout these steps, I wrote notes, created a few memos, and had conversations with my analytical partner, Swati Bhattacaryya. The memos and conversations with Swati helped me generate new questions and kept me focused on what I was trying to learn from the field. In the memos and conversations, I continuously brought in ideas from theory, thereby carrying out Burawoy’s fourth dialogue. For example, World Society Theory implied that local resources would not have a serious impact on the
organizational model. This was partly true; everyone seemed to want to enact the international organizational model. At the same time, the lack of local resources meant that the administrative structures for the libraries was very different from what the model suggests they should be.

**Table 2: Dialogues and Steps**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Dialogue</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>Starting memo</td>
<td>Dialogue 4</td>
<td>January, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>Observations in Library</td>
<td>Dialogue 1</td>
<td>February – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 3</td>
<td>Interviews in Library</td>
<td>Dialogue 2</td>
<td>March – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 4</td>
<td>Observation in Community</td>
<td>Dialogue 1</td>
<td>April – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 5</td>
<td>Observation in Organizational Field</td>
<td>Dialogue 3</td>
<td>April – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 6</td>
<td>Document analysis</td>
<td>Dialogue 3</td>
<td>February – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 7</td>
<td>Memo writing and conversations with analytical partner</td>
<td>Dialogue 4</td>
<td>February – October, 2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2: Steps of the Research Process**

The table (3.3) below sets out the numbers of days I spent doing each of these steps.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Days Observing</th>
<th>Number of Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greenwell Matongo Community Library</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10 people, 2 families, 1 Community Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenwell community</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 interviews by University students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katutura-Rössing Library</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>8 people, 1 staff, 2 administrators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katutura community</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 interviews by University students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 administrators</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120
I observed in Greenwell Matongo Community Library more days than in Katutura-Rössing because the Greenwell Library was opened on Saturdays. Visiting the library on Saturday also made it easy for me to observe in the community, as the library would close in the afternoon, and I could hang out with friends until dark. Other days, I would have to leave the area as soon as the library closed.

Some of these interviews (50) were done by students from the university in the communities surrounding the libraries. I hired the students to help me with issues of translation, and they conducted interviews by walking around the communities and talking to people about the library. We then discussed those interviews and their interpretations of them.

### 3.5.1. Pre-Step: IRB and ethical concerns
In any study of this nature, it is important to act ethically with the people one interacts with as part of the study. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) makes sure that the study meets certain ethical criteria through its forms. These forms are difficult to fill out for a study of this nature because of the inter-cultural concerns and also the qualitative nature of the study.
The first problem for me was to understand the ethical concerns in the Namibian context. As a White foreign woman, Namibians often perceived me as a person with money and privilege. This perception meant that some of them were interested in befriending me, talking to me and interacting with me, because they wanted my money or help from my privilege. People asked me at all levels of education – from those with a Bachelor’s degree to those finishing high school. I was also asked to marry a Namibian by White and Black Namibians. The people I interviewed were in general eager and willing to talk to me, but it was not always clear that they were thinking about or interested in the study as part of the conversation – they were just eager for time with a person like me.

In addition, most of the librarians and library staff that I spoke with perceived me as very knowledgeable about librarianship. They spoke with me partly to show off their knowledge. Both of these situations created ethical concerns for me as I interacted with people. I felt it was important to be clear about my interest in talking to them, which IRB helped me with through its pre-interview forms.

No one seemed particularly worried about the two things that the IRB is greatly concerned with, anonymity and confidentiality. The librarians, library staff, professors and other members of the organizational field with whom I spoke seemed to be pleased to talk to me with the idea that I would be including their opinion in my research. They felt that my speaking to them honored their position and their standing as a knowledgeable person about the
topic. The idea that I would be careful not to divulge their identity did not make sense. Some of them did say things that they didn't want associated with themselves – issues with other staff members, and so on, but on other matters they were proud to be speaking their opinion.

Some of the interviewees did make comments that they clearly wanted to have disassociated from themselves in the study. A few were critical of the government or the way things work in Namibia, and they were fearful of having their comments recorded as such. This could be part of being a new democracy – Namibians are still learning how to have opinions about the government and government services such as libraries. They want these services, they appreciate them when they are offered, and they also want to continue supporting the government and keeping life flowing in its proper channels. At the same time, they are aware that it is people like me (as they perceived me) – wealthy White foreigners- who bring money to libraries. They are eager to have more money spent on their library, and were certainly ready to do what needed to be done to make that possible.

I should note here, that one of the students used this stereotype and idea openly. When asked why a person should participate in the interview, she said because this White woman might bring money to the library if you do. I was horrified to find that she was saying this, as this is not an idea I wanted to perpetrate. On the other hand, she was just saying what many were already thinking.
The IRB forms were difficult to fill out because although they have a careful and legal role in research, they are not set up to guide and manage the ethics involved in this type of study. Their focus is on quantitative studies and studies of medicines. At the same time, it was good to ensure that I had met the legal requirements of the IRB.

3.5.2. Pre-Step: Training students
Eight students from the University of Namibia worked on the project with me. They helped with the interviews, conducting interviews in the communities around the libraries. The students were trained in the technique of ethnographic interviewing. I had them read part of Spradley's book, and then we did exercises in class to learn how to listen and give non-directive interviews.

The students were hired, in part, to help translate. I wanted to be able to do some of the interviews in the native language of the interviewee. This did not work out. The local population is used to talking about official things such as libraries in English – they were not comfortable talking to strangers in their own language. Although we did conduct some interviews in native languages, the majority of the interviews were in English.

The students did help with cultural translations. We met every other week to discuss my research, and the interviews they had done. They offered their opinion and insights into my findings. The students were able to explain Namibian culture to me and help me understand and navigate the landscape.
3.5.3. Step 1: Starting Memo
The first step in my research process was to clarify my assumptions and what I expected to find in the field. Before going to Namibia, I had been thinking about the research and reading about libraries. This reading and thinking had built up expectations in my mind of what I would find. Some of my expectations were from the literature, some were from theory, and some were from previous observations in Namibia. I wanted to be clear about what it was that I didn’t know and needed to learn, and what it was I thought I knew and needed to check or disconfirm. I needed to be careful not to over-specify what I would do before I did it so that I remained open to the realities in the field. At the same time, I needed to be conceptually ready for the study.

3.5.4. Step 2: Observation in the library
The second step was to observe what people did in the libraries of Katutura. I observed mainly in two libraries, Greenwell Matongo Community Library and the Katutura-Rössings Library. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library opened in 2005 and is on the edges of Katutura, surrounded by informal settlements. The Katutura-Rössings Library opened in 1989 at the present site. It sits near the center of Katutura by a shopping center. The Katutura-Rössings Library was in the process of being turned over to the Ministry of Education Community Libraries while I was there.

I went to the libraries at least twice a week for the majority of the study period to observe. While in the library, I focused on observing the following:

• Tasks people were engaged in
• Interactions between individuals and the library
• Interactions among the people in the library and with the library staff
• The workflow of the library staff.

I was interested in what the library enabled people to do. Understanding the tasks that people performed gave me a sense of how the library functioned in their lives. Tasks were broadly defined and went beyond work or schoolwork-related tasks to include the play children did in the library or the ways people entertained themselves.

Observations in the library were recorded in field notes (see Appendix 2). I also took photographs and made sketches of the library’s seating arrangements as a way to take notes on the library building. The building is a physical manifestation of the library as a social structure, and I recorded that physicality through images as well as my writing.

During the ten months I was in Namibia, I visited the Greenwell Matongo Community Library 64 times and the Katutura-Rössing Library 41 times. In the beginning of the study, this meant I was visiting both libraries at least twice a week. Later, I might visit only once a week. The observation time allowed me to become quite familiar with both libraries and their staff. Some of the patrons came to know me and to talk to me casually as well. In some ways, use of the library was consistent every day, and in others it changed over the year, so observing throughout the time that I was there helped me to see these changes. Observing for such a long time also allowed everyone to become comfortable with my presence. I was always an outsider and people were always
conscious of my presence, but I did also become part of the routine of the libraries.

3.5.5. Step 3: Interviews of library members and staff
The third step was to interview people who were using and working in the libraries, to hear from them what they used the library for and how they thought about it. These interviews flowed out of my observations. The interviews were inspired by Spradley’s model (1979) and were open and unstructured. I listened as people talked about using the library and the tasks they perform in the library. Interviews of people in the library were carried out mainly during one month of my time in Namibia. The interviews were useful, but not overly revealing. People did not easily let me see more deeply into their lives. I performed ten interviews in one library and eight in another. I also attempted to interview families as a way of interviewing the children about their library use.

A few of the interviews were with older adults, but most were with the students from tertiary institutions such as the University of Namibia, who were so prevalent in the library. Although I visited a number of families in Greenwell Community, having interviews was difficult because of the culture of hospitality and my outside status. As well, people answered questions with scripts, sometimes. I was never able to make contact with a family near the Katutura-Rössing library.
I was able to record all of the interviews and listen to them again later. I took notes during the interviews as well, partly to help keep myself focused on the conversation.

3.5.6. Step 4: Observations and Interviews in the community
The fourth step was to observe and interview people in the community around the library. My observations in the neighborhoods began after I had been observing in the library for a month. I wanted to learn how community members felt about the library even if they were not using it themselves, and also to see if there were distinctions between the people who used the library and those who did not. Observations in the neighborhoods were more difficult than I had anticipated, but I did my best. The biggest impediment was that it wasn’t safe for me to walk alone, even in the daytime, in these neighborhoods. Crime rates are high in Namibia, and highest in the poor areas of town. I did walk through the neighborhoods, but usually with someone from the neighborhood. I was more successful at finding escorts in the Greenwell Community than I was in the neighborhood around the Katutura-Rössing Library.

The students I hired from UNam filled in for me in walking around and talking to people in the neighborhood. They were much less likely to be victims of crime, especially in the daytime, because of their skin color.

I had planned to observe the local businesses and their interactions with the library. The libraries, however, did not appear to have many interactions with local businesses, and so although I visited some of the local schools and
tried to visit a few of the local businesses, I did not conduct the observations I had expected to in these locations.

I began to observe and interview in the neighborhoods, to the extent that I could after I had been observing in the library for a month.

I made the decision to use public transportation to travel between my living space and the libraries. Taxis carrying a maximum of four people (plus the driver) provide public transportation in Windhoek. Some rides were quiet and people did not interact much, but other times, people were friendly and talkative. This allowed me to get a sense of people in an informal way. The taxi drivers were important sources of information, as they carry many people around the city, and therefore have a knowledge and understanding of the city that was useful to me. By taking the taxis, I also got to see different areas of Katutura, as the taxi did not drive me straight to the library, but dropped other passengers off along the way. This type of background information was very important to understanding the area and the people. It was biased, of course, because only people who could afford to do so took the taxi. There was a bus service, as well, which was not much cheaper than the taxis ($N5 instead of $N7.50 for a taxi). I never did take the bus or figure out its routes.

3.5.7. Step 5: Observing the Organizational field
The fifth step was to observe and interview in the organizational field to give me a sense of the structuring processes around the library. The organizational field comprises all of the organizations that interact with the public library. It is part of the structuration process surrounding the organization (DiMaggio,
1991), and in order to understand what is happening in the library I placed it in the context of the organizational field. My theoretical framework identified three levels of organizational fields, the local, the national and the international. The local, that is the community around the library was part of step 4. In step 5, I was conducting observations in the national and international organizational fields.

The theoretical framework helped me identify the organizations in each field to observe. At the national level, the university, the professional organization for librarians, and the library administration in the Ministry of Education were the primary ones I observed. I made my observations in these areas as a participant, as previously mentioned.

I also observed a few other libraries in the country, just to get a sense of public libraries elsewhere. I visited the Swakopmund Public Library for a morning and the Otjiwarango Public Library for two days. Swakopmund is a town on the coast of Namibia, about a four-hour drive from Windhoek. Otjiwarango is a town to the North on the main road as one travels towards Owamboland. It is also about a 4-hour drive from Windhoek.

In the international organizational field, my observations were often of documents produced by international organizations related to libraries. I was also able to observe interactions between the libraries and particular organizations from other countries, such as the City of Vantaa (Finland) librarians who help administer the Greenwell Matongo Community Library.
3.5.8. Step 6: Document Analysis
The sixth step was to analyze documents from the library and the organizational field to see the textual relationships in which the library is involved. Documents revealed the regulative and normative forces within the organizational field that are acting on the library to structure it in the way it is. Throughout the process, I looked for documents, forms, and other materials that show the structure of the library.

As the study unfolded, I realized I needed to understand the history of the libraries. This led me to the National Library and the National Archives (both in the organizational field), where such documents are located. I was able to find some documents about the history of Public Libraries in Namibia, but not as much as I would have liked. These documents allowed me to understand the history of the libraries and their past structure.

3.5.9. Step 7: Memos
The seventh step in the research process was to bring together my field notes with the literature and theories I used. For the most part, this took place in conversations with a fellow researcher, Swati Bhattacharyya. We met using VOIP weekly to discuss my research and her research. These discussions forced me to explain my observations and reactions to another person (see Appendix 1). Swati then pointed out flaws in my logic. I also wrote two memos while I was in Namibia for my committee to read. These gave my committee a perspective on what I was finding and thinking.
During a visit home, I also discussed my observations with my committee. As in the discussions with Swati, stating what I was finding to others forced me to be critical and aware of what I was working on.

3.6. Analyzing the Data

After I had finished my data collection, I returned to the United States and began to analyze and process all that I had observed in Namibia. As I mentioned previously, I had continuously been making links between my observations and my theoretical framework. As I did this, I was always struggling to describe what I had observed in terms of World Society Theory or New Institutional Theory. This continuous reflection on what I was learning helped me to identify places to look further.

For example, the Katutura-Rössing Library did not have a circulation desk. For me, the circulation desk is one of the primary identifiers of a public library, versus a bookstore or a private collection of books. Walk into almost any public library and the first sight is of the circulation desk, which invites you to borrow the items in the collection. The other libraries in Namibia I visited all had their circulation desks in full view as one entered the library. This suggested two ideas to me. 1) Katutura-Rössing Library was not following the basic idea of a library, neither the organizational model as predicted by World Society Theory or the organizational form as New Institutional Theory. Its organizational structure was not similar to the other libraries in Namibia or the world. How did it become different, and why was it different? 2) Why didn’t
Katutura-Rössing Library need a prominent circulation desk? Was use of the library different from other libraries? Swati Bhattacharyya and I discussed both of these ideas and possible answers to my questions. I wrote about the lack of the circulation desk in my first memo to my committee. I also worked on answering why the library was different and what the difference meant.

My observations in the Katutura-Rössing Library continued, including notes on its history. I learned that the building housing the library had originally been a municipal building used to collect utility payments. I also saw day after day that many people came to the library to sit and study, rarely interacting with the staff.

The circulation desk (or lack thereof) was related to many other features of the Katutura-Rössing Library. I often thought of these observations and the questions they raised as following a thread in a tapestry. As I followed the thread of the circulation desk, I engaged with the observations on the use of the library, the history of the library, the administration of the library, and so on. The picture in the tapestry became clearer, and I began to understand how all of the threads fit together to form it.

Sometimes as I followed a thread, however, I found myself getting tangled in issues far away from the library. The tapestry occasionally felt huge to me, depicting a bigger picture than I could understand in the brief time I spent in Namibia. Large areas of the tapestry seemed out of the scope of the study, and yet, their threads were intertwined with the library threads, so that I had to follow them, just a little.
In writing up my observations, I felt as if I were trying to describe the picture on the tapestry. In some areas, I had followed a thread and most of its connections. In those spaces, I had a clear idea of the picture on the tapestry and could (in chapter 5, 6 and 7) write an account of it, which would, I hoped, give others also an idea of the picture.

In other areas, the threads were tangled or carried me into spaces and conversations too complicated for me to understand. In these areas, I had to let the picture remain out of focus. Some days, the tapestry was almost more than a metaphor. I felt I could see it hanging on a wall, with some areas full of knotted and tangled threads, and other areas neatly embroidered to show a clear picture.

My observations helped me to see the picture in the tapestry, and what I observed was always related to theory and my theoretical framework. Thus, the theory led me to look at certain aspects of the tapestry more closely and from a certain perspective. As I wrote up my findings initially, I had great difficulty in talking about any observations without referencing the theory. At the same time, I found that by constantly discussing the theory, I could not describe the picture in a way that allowed anyone reading my writing to see it or understand my observations.

After struggling with this problem, I decided to first describe in detail the picture I saw on the tapestry. I therefore wrote a chapter to give others the same mind picture of the public library situation in Namibia and in my two case studies as I had. The picture was framed by the theoretical framework for the
study and by my previous understanding of libraries. The frame, as with many picture frames, is not the focus of the narrative, however.

Once I had clarified the picture, it became easier to relate the observations back to the theory and to discuss their significance. This discussion became another chapter. The writing of the first chapter engaged me in dialogues one, three and four, and the writing of the second engaged me in dialogue five of Burawoy’s dialogues. Once I had finished that exercise, I realized that it left the reader too confused about the ideas. I therefore, re-wrote the narrative description as three chapters (5, 6, and 7) describing each of the organizational fields. But before I gave the detailed picture, I wrote a summary of the re-constructions in chapter 4 to help guide the information in the narrative.

3.7. Conclusion

These steps, completed in the framework of ECM helped me to see the relationship between the macro-level theories about social structure and the interactions in the libraries. By observing and interviewing in the libraries, I was able to observe what the library enables people to do and who is enabled. By observing and interviewing elsewhere and by analyzing documents, I observed how the social structure set up the library to enable or constrain people and their interactions with the library. ECM gave me the tools and the philosophical approach to relate what I observe in the field to theories from other thinkers.
4. Results

I spent ten months in Namibia conducting this research by observing as much as possible about people’s lives and the public library as an organization. The majority of my time was spent in the Katutura neighborhood at two of its libraries, which served as my case study; but I also spent time in meetings about the libraries and in the national archives. All of these observations allowed me to develop a picture of the library as an organization in Namibia. The picture was always framed by the two theories, World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory. In analyzing the data and sketching out the picture for myself, I was able to gain insights into these theories. In the following chapters (5, 6, and 7) I wrote out a narrative description of my observations to provide a picture of what I observed. In this chapter, I give an overview of the theory reconstructions and insights from the data as a guide to the following chapters.

4.1.1. Summary of Study
This research grew out of the perception that library services in Africa follow international models of library service, which are not always suited to local needs. The libraries based on the international model have been criticized for thirty years, because of their lack of relevance to local needs (Mchombu, 1982; Amadi, 1981). Alternative models for libraries, which are supposed to better meet local needs (Mchombu, 2004), have been proposed but remain only
models, as little funding exists to build them. In seeking to understand why the international model dominates in Africa, I found that World Society Theory explained why international ideas of the library would overshadow local needs, and thus, it became the theory I used to focus my data collection.

4.1.1.1. Method

My desire for this understanding led me to adopt 1) the Extended Case Method (ECM) as a research method and 2) Namibia, as the place for my study. ECM allows the researcher to investigate at the local level macro-level social phenomena as described in a theory. It therefore allowed me to understand and clarify World Society Theory in one place and at two instantiations of an organization. Using this methodology, I could pick a locale and observe how the people living there used a globally recognized organization, the public library. I could compare these observations of actual lived experiences to the expectations from World Society Theory, a macro-level sociological theory.

This method of observation made me, the researcher, the main instrument for the study. I observed the people and their use of the library, the library administration, the organizations surrounding the library and library system. All of my observations were integrated together with interviews of people at the libraries and in the communities and with documents about the libraries. These observations, interviews and documents form the core of the data for this research.
4.1.1.2. Place

Namibia seemed like a perfect country in which to do this study. The country gained Independence 20 years ago; much in the country is therefore new and organized in different ways from before. I thought this newness would mean that some of the people using the library would be able to remember a time when they did not have access to such a facility. This presumption of newness was also a factor in World Society Theory. In one description of World Society Theory (Meyer et al., 1997), the authors presume a new country untouched by the international community, and then presume that when it makes contact with the United Nations it will soon start to conform. I wanted to see if this had been the case in Namibia, which had many reasons to attach itself to the UN.

Namibia gained independence through the United Nations, and long before it gained independence, the UN was working to influence how Namibia would govern itself. Here was a country most likely to conform to international models in government. Indeed, it has one of the most liberal constitutions ever written, not because it is governed by the most liberal people, but because the writers appear to have followed the UN script for constitutions closely (Dobell, 1998).

In addition to the writing the constitution, in 2004, the government of Namibia laid out a plan for the development of the country called Vision 2030. The vision is for Namibia to become a knowledge society and part of the growing global information economy. Such a vision suggested to me that the
government wants the country to be part of the growing global society as suggested by World Society Theory.

Since Namibia gained independence, new libraries have opened around the country. In 1990, there were 23 public libraries (Stander and Tötemeyer, 1991), and in 2008, there were 59 listed in a brochure, with at least one opening during 2009, while I was there.

Namibia held another appeal to me beyond the notion of new libraries and its seeming desire to fit in with the international community. Professor Kingo Mchombu was working at the University of Namibia and willing to help a researcher interested in doing her dissertation on the public libraries there. He offered access to the library community and helped me in setting up and getting the research off the ground.

4.1.1.3. Study Expectations

The Extended Case Method encourages the researcher to map out the expectations of what she will find in the field, and then look for ways in which people act differently than expected. To correctly frame my findings, I lay out my expectations from the theory, so that I can more directly speak to the ways in which the data confirmed them or differed from them.

The original theoretical framework for this research took into account World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory. World Society Theory explains how organizations are diffusing around the world and how this diffusion should result in many countries now having similar organizations. This diffusion is taking place, according to this theory, through various United
Nations organizations and professional associations (Meyer et al., 1997). New Institutional Theory explains why organizational structures are similar within a culture. This theory explains that three forces shape the form of an organization: regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive forces (Scott, 2008). These forces are most easily seen within an organizational field (DiMaggio, 1991).

Before starting my study, I used the notion of an organizational field to identify the forces at the international, national and local levels, and thus expanded the idea of the organizational field beyond New Institutional Theory (see chapter 2). The International organizational field creates an organizational model—an ideal form of an organization that is recognized worldwide. This model is developed through the United Nations, non-governmental organizations and international professional associations. These are the organizations that make up the international organizational field.

The national organizational field creates an organizational form, an ideal form of the organization that is instantiated within the country in the actual creation of the organization. The organizational model from the international ideal often informs the organizational form. The organizational form is created through the regulative forces, normative forces and cultural-cognitive forces. All of these forces can be seen in the various organizations that interact with the one under study.

The local organizational field depicts the actual organization – not the form or model, and the organizations and people interacting with it.
Organizations interacting at this level form horizontal ties – or interactions at the local level (see Figure 4.1). The influences from the national and international level are vertical ties or external forces acting on the organization. Although, at each of those levels, the organizations within them that form the model or the form may be horizontal. This can be true at the national level, where organizations of similar national scope may have a horizontal tie with the organization being studied (in this case, the public library).

To help me think through these various organizational fields, I drew Figure 4.1 (for more complicated depictions of this picture, see Figure 2.6, Figure 2.7, and Figure 2.8 in Chapter 2, pg. 99). Drawing the picture forced me to think about the different organizations in the international, national, and local organizational fields, as well as the horizontal interactions between the organizations. The organizations within one field are all influencing the organizational model or the organizational form in that field in a horizontal way, but the influences between fields are vertical.

In the picture, I depicted each level as an organizational field. The top one is the **International Organizational Field**, below it is the **National Organizational Field**, and below that is the **Local Organizational Field**. At the international and national levels, the library is in blue (or light grey, if printed in black and white) to signify that this is a model (international level) or form (national level), but not an instantiation of the organization. The library at the local level is in black to show that it is an actual instantiation of the library. Each field has various buildings to depict within the level of that field.
Figure 4.1: Theoretical Framework.
4.1.3.1. Summary of Theory expectations

This theoretical framework led me to expect that the two instantiations of libraries in which I would be spending my time would be influenced by the organizational form at the national level that would, in turn, be influenced by the international model. In explaining this I will look at each piece of the drawing in turn, and then go back over the inter-relationships.

Figure 4.2: International Organizational Field

My original idea of the International Organizational Field (Figure 4.2) is that international organizations would have ideal visions of what a public library should be and how it should function, which would create an organizational model. UNESCO and IFLA, I thought, would be the main organizations influencing the public library organizational model. These two organizations had collaborated in 1994 to update the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto (called UPLM in this document), which they had written in 1947. The manifesto gives the reasons for having public libraries and details the mission of the public library. IFLA has also written a series of small books that outlined standards or guidelines for public libraries. In 2001, a book of this nature was written as a companion to the UPLM. I had in mind that these writings and
these organizations would have influence on the instantiations of libraries in Namibia. I also thought that international non-governmental organizations (iNGOs) would be likely to influence the libraries through donations to communities and schools. My assumption was also that these influences would be mainly normative and cultural-cognitive influences, but not regulative. These organizations would not be writing international law that would then mandate how libraries should be, but prescribing values and norms to the ways libraries should be.

![Diagram of National Organizational Field]

**Figure 4.3: National Organizational Field**

At the national level, I assumed that a different set of organizations would influence the creation of an organizational form for the public libraries in Namibia. I imagined that this would include the government, which would pass some laws about how public libraries would be funded and what they would do (e.g. create regulatory forces); the university and the professional organization that would establish norms and values for libraries (e.g. create normative forces); and the media that would help to create a cultural-cognitive notion of the public library. All of these groups would be influenced by the international organizational model, as they sought to create an organizational form. For
instance, people from the university would attend the IFLA conference and thus bring IFLA’s ideas of the public library to Namibia.

**Figure 4: Local Organizational Field**

At the local level, I imagined that I would see the instantiation of the organizational form and model. Here the library would actually exist, and the various influences from national and international forces would come to life. I also thought that there might be interaction between the library and local organizations—such as schools, churches, shops and families—to set the specific cultural context for their public library.

### 4.2. Insights into Theory

My observations gave me some new insights into the theories and my theoretical model. In brief, I found the following:

1. Instead of one idea of a library built on an international model and the organizational form, as I had supposed, there were three notions of the library: a **UPLM notion**, a **charity notion** and an **historical notion**.
a. The particular history of Namibia with its legacy of Apartheid has left traces in the organizational structures of the country, which show up in the **historical notion** and **charity notion** of the libraries.

2. People using the library do so to fit in with their idea of the global society. World Society Theory states that a global culture is forming, and this formation impacts the structures of organizations. People in the libraries certainly reflected this notion because they had a clear conception of a global culture and used the library in order to fit into it by studying for school success.

3. International influences did not just come from UN-related organizations, but rather involved iNGOs, government organizations from other countries, and the influence of librarians trained abroad.

4. The government of Namibia cannot afford to provide government services on the level they are provided in wealthier nations, which means that the Namibian government relies on donations from other governments, from UN organizations and from international NGOs. These donor organizations influence the services they fund.

   a. At the same time, the lack of local resources at other local and national organizations puts added pressure on the libraries.

Below is a more detailed look at each finding and what it means for the theories.
4.2.1. Three notions of the library
During my observations in the libraries and the national organizational field, I became aware of three notions of the library, which I named the *historical notion*, the *UPLM notion*, and the *charity notion*. These three notions of the library all influenced the instantiations of any given library in the country in different ways. This was contrary to my expectation that the international idea of the library would influence the national idea of the library and be instantiated in each library.

The *historical notion* of the library reflected the historical idea of the public library in Namibia, which was of a library built for the elites (Whites) to find reading material. Some of the older libraries still maintained much of their original organizational structure. They were partially publicly funded and partially funded by membership fees. The libraries were dominated by bookshelves and had large fiction collections, encouraging people to use them as lending libraries for reading pleasure.

The *UPLM notion* of the library reflected the UNESCO/IFLA Public Library Manifesto of a dynamic library for the free exchange of information. Administrators, especially those who had worked abroad, and non-governmental organizations donating money and resources to the libraries tended to have this idea of the library. University professors of library science who travel to IFLA conferences also have this notion of the library and teach it in their courses. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library, one of my case libraries, was designed to follow this model.
The charity notion of the library was also historical and grew out of the libraries run by charities or churches for non-elites before independence. These libraries tended to be set up as places for people to study and gain access to books. Although very few of these libraries existed, the idea of the library as a place to study continued to be enacted by the people using the library. The Katutura-Rössing Library, one of my case libraries, was originally run by a charity (the Rössing Foundation) and historically followed this model.

Each notion of the library was sometimes embodied in the statements of library administrators. As I was analyzing the data and reading over the interviews, I had a clear image of three different administrators who each championed a different library notion. One supported reading in the library, one supported formal education in the library, and one supported information and the alleviation of the poverty through library services. In some of the meetings I attended, administrators who favored reading and libraries for reading, particularly pleasure reading, were often arguing with administrators who thought of the library as supporting information needs, particularly information needs that could be met through computers and the Internet. These arguments were one of the ways that I was able to identify the different notions of the library.

These three notions of the public library as I have just described them are simplifications. Each different notion of the library did not develop in isolation. For example, the historical notion of the public library was influenced by ideas of libraries from Germany, South Africa and other nations, through the
colonialists and whatever sharing of library ideas was then happening in the world. In some ways, therefore, it also reflects international ideas of a public library (albeit, not present ones). By separating out the three notions of the public library, however, I was able to get a clearer picture of the international and institutional influences upon the public library as an organization in Namibia today.

These three competing ideas of the library all help to create the actual libraries, and the contradictions among them were sources of tension. Each actual library was an amalgamation of the different notions, but with a different mixture for each. For example, the Greenwell Matongo Community Library was heavily influenced by the UPLM notion of the library, but most of the people using it were expecting the charity notion of the library, and a few of the administrators were expecting the historical notion when they initially designed it.

4.2.1.1. Notions of the Library and Library Conceptualizations

In sections 2.2.3, 2.2.4.2, 2.2.4.3, and 2.2.4.4, I discussed the various conceptualizations of libraries and of public libraries. These conceptualizations varied, and their variations are reflected in the different notions of the libraries in Namibia. The history of libraries in many countries shows a difference of opinion about what the library is for and what it should be achieving, so it is not surprising that Namibia would have the same complexity. Even the UPLM gives a large number of ways that the library can be used (which makes calling one notion the UPLM notion is difficult).
I could have labeled these three notions by their function, as well. The historical notion could be the reading notion as these libraries were primarily about reading. The charity notion could be the educational notion as these libraries were primarily about supporting formal education. The UPLM notion could be the information notion as this idea of the library was mostly about the provision of information to people. All three notions of the library, reading, educational and informational are seen in the conceptualizations of public libraries in the UPLM and in many countries.

The three libraries are all recognizable as libraries. None of them stray far from the legitimizing scripts of the library. They just each emphasize a different idea of the library. The overarching idea of the library is flexible, and allows for institutions that support all of these ideas: information provision, recreational reading and formal education.

4.2.1.2. Differing Notions and Apartheid

The different notions of the library within Namibia appeared to be products of apartheid. Because Blacks were not allowed to use the public libraries from their inception in 1920 until 1985, other services were provided for them, which not surprisingly fit a different organizational schema. The two main differences between the organizational types were the funding structures of the libraries and the emphasis on reading (Whites) or studying (Blacks).

The historical notion of public libraries grew out of the 10-25 public libraries from 1920-1990. Many of the original libraries are still active today, and at least for the two I visited, their fiction collections are still large. This
keeps the notion active as the libraries are 1) still used for their extensive fiction collections, 2) some administrators still plan new libraries for this type of use, and 3) the membership fees are still due if a person wants to borrow material from the library.

The *charity notion* was more difficult to trace historically because it was less represented in the archival record. This poor representation happened partially because the libraries were privately funded and partially because the National Archives were biased towards information about Whites. The notion is kept active today because there are still privately run libraries by charities in poor neighborhoods or towns in Namibia. I did not manage to visit any of these (besides my case library), but I heard about their existence. The emphasis of these libraries on education and using the library as a place to study is re-enacted by many people’s use of the library today. In the two case libraries for this study, the library was clearly associated with education and studying in this way.

### 4.2.2. Global Society and Library Use
The three notions of the library, as I stated above, each emphasize a different part of the overall idea of what the library can do. The public library supports recreational reading, information provision, and formal and informal education. For the people using it, however, the support of formal education was primary.

Two ideas stand out from this use. First, this use fits with the charity notion of the public library as discussed above. The charity notion of the public library was developed for Black Namibians, and the libraries in my case study
were a) a former charity library and b) serving mostly blacks. Second, this use fits with the other scripts in the country about development, both self and country development.

4.2.2.1. Use and the Charity Model

As I explained in the previous section, the libraries in Namibia are based on three notions of public libraries. One of these notions is that the library supports formal education for the poor. This notion, the *charity notion* of library services has historically been provided by private charities. The Katutura-Rössing Library, one of my case libraries, was originally funded by the Rössing Foundation. In sections 5.2.1, 6.1.6.3, and 6.1.6.4, I explore in more depth the history of these libraries. There were not many of them before Independence, but there were a few. Everything that I read about them or about library services for Blacks in Namibia was about support for educational support. This clearly had a strong impact on the way that Blacks used and thought about the libraries.

The Greenwell Matongo Community Library was built in 2005 by many partners (see section 5.3.1), including people who believed and were committed to the *UPLM notion* of the library and others who believed in the *historical notion*. The library was, according to one informant, originally built with more bookshelves and little space for people to sit. This was because one of the designers was thinking that the library should provide books for people in the community to read. When the community saw the plans, they asked for more places to sit. They wanted to be able to come to the library and study,
and in order to do so; they needed desks, tables and chairs. The plans were revised to accommodate this, initially, and the library opened with seating for 10-20 people or so (I visited in 2006). In 2008, the library was expanded. Two rooms were added, a study room, with seating for over 50 people and a computer room with 15 more computers. The expansion supported the *UPLM notion* and the *charity notion* of the library, by giving more space to the computers and more access to the Internet. It also gave more access to the library as a study space.

The library was heavily used by students from the community. The majority of the people in the library were there to study for secondary school, tertiary school or university. They used the space in the library to study, used the materials in the library to support their studying, and typed their papers on the computer (see sections 5.2.4 and 5.2.5 for more details on this). Some people used the library for information, reading the newspaper, searching the Internet, and looking up information on health, business, etc. Some people also checked out books to read. A steady stream of people used the photocopier to help them manage their documents, usually around identification. These uses of the library fit with all three ideas of the library, but the majority of the use was about formal education and fit with the *charity notion* of the library. The majority of the discussion of the library outside of the library mentioned the support of formal education as well.

The partners in the library emphasized the library as a provider of information and a help in poverty alleviation. Some of them felt that the library
could be doing more in these areas. Various conflicts existed between people around this issue. Although the library was often full of people and very active, some felt that more could be done and more should be done. The more that should be done would have encouraged the library as an information provider for adults, people who were out of school and needed better jobs or information about health. Adults in the community did not think of the library as a place for this type of service; they thought of it (in the interviews for this study) as a place for students. Some of the administrators wanted to change this; they wanted to find ways to bring those adults into the library so that they could change their life circumstances. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library, it should be noted, is in a poor neighborhood and some of the people in the neighborhood are struggling to eat. The idea of getting some of them better information to help them get better jobs and have better life choices makes sense in this context. It just didn’t seem to occur to the people in the community, however.

This conflict between scripts also takes place in other countries. In 2008, Kabamba gave a paper at a conference on libraries in Southern Africa, in which he discussed how the public libraries in poor neighborhoods in South Africa are used primarily by school children and not by adults, thereby not fulfilling the UPLM’s ideals.

4.2.2.2. Use and Development Scripts

The reasons for using the library given in interviews matched the scripts from the development community. They also spoke to a desire to fit in with the
global society. According to Meyer and associates (1997) this notion is of a capitalist, liberal and democratic society—a society that respects the human rights as laid out in the Declaration of Human Rights (1948). I found that it also includes a society that follows ideas of development such as those underlying the Millennium Development Goals (www.un.org/millenniumgoals/). This societal ideal includes a strong push for education, and it is that idea of education and life success through education that affected the way people used the library. Most of the people using the library were trying to do well in school, and they felt that studying in the library would help them. Although this desire for education, educational success and life success through education was not echoed by all Namibians, it was clearly stated by those using the library. They were trying to achieve for themselves entrance into the global society, with its liberal, democratic ideals of success through education and hard work.

Libraries, unlike many organizations discussed in organizational sociology, are enacted by the people who work in them and the people who use them. Far more people use the library than work in the library or are administrators of the library. These people are the main enactors of the library, although the other actors, the administrators and staff, may have more power to set up the library. I have previously explored how the administrators are influenced by three notions of the library. I also remarked that many of the people using the library were expecting the charity notion of the library, that is a library that is closely tied to school and education. In the following paragraphs I show the way the data demonstrate this idea.
The people in the Greenwell Matongo Community Library had an impact on the instantiation of that organization. When it was first built, they immediately demanded more places to sit and study, and a few years later they asked for more computers and a study room. This was always how these changes were presented to me. Most of the time, however, administrators were explaining to me the changes made to the library. If these changes happened as stated, that is, the study room was built because the community demanded it, then it does show that the community using the library wanted a different building than that envisioned by the administration. They wanted a study space that would provide them the resources to do their studying. Their use of the library emphasized the library as a place to support formal education.

I found that almost everyone I talked to consistently stated this reason for using the library. The library would help them get a good education that would help them have a good and successful life. They expressed a desire to make the right choices in life, which could be learned in school or from the books they read in the library. One person who came to the library to study, when asked how he would describe the library to a friend, said this,

“The library is a place of knowledge where you can get new ideas, read a lot of books about what you want to be in life, how to become successful or how to change your life to be a better person. I would refer them to the library because there are all types of knowledge here, books, newspapers, and different people. The library is about learning. If you want to learn go to the library.”

The view as he expresses it is that the library helps with formal learning and school, and also with life learning. Other people also echoed this idea that the
books in the library, including the “story books” (fiction) would help them figure out how to live their lives.

People in the community who were not using the library were also clear that the library’s purpose in the community was to help the youth with their education. Children who have access to the library as a place to study and as a source of information and educational materials would succeed in education and therefore life. This view is prominently displayed in the drama that was written, directed, and produced by secondary students for the Greenwell Matongo Community Library celebration. You can watch the first part of the drama here: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PuUEElshcg.

The video shows various students in a secondary school. When their teacher assigns them a history assignment, some of the students decide not to do it. Instead, they flirt with each other and head home to listen to music. Other students try to find resources in the library, and are successful with the help of a street kid. The librarian, watching the street kid, recognizes that he would like to go to school and promises to arrange that for him. The actors then change into adult clothes and inform the audience of what happened to their characters based on their life choices. The girls who did not work on the history assignment have become pregnant or sex workers. The boys who did not work on their assignment are thieves and drunkards. The boys who did work on the assignment are a doctor and a lawyer, and the street kid who helped them has become a successful businessman with a fancy ring. “It doesn’t matter where
you come from,” he says. “You can make it in life.” Of course, in this drama, making it in life only happens if you work hard at school and use the library.

This view of the library as a place to help with education and life has a clear relationship with the UPLM and the UN vision of development, as well as Namibia’s own Vision 2030. I will discuss this relationship later in this chapter, but first, I want to briefly discuss some counter ideas, which also existed in the community.

Not everyone took this view. It was difficult to hear a different viewpoint, but one mother interviewed was clear that her daughter should not go to the library but be at home to look after her younger siblings. Perhaps for her and others, the traditional role of children was to help around the house and not to worry about education.

The actual success of people in school was very low. Youth are tested at the end of Grade 10 and the end of Grade 12. In order to stay in school, students have to pass the exam for Grade 10. In 2009, 36,120 students in Windhoek took the grade 10 exam as full-time students, and 18,149 passed, or 50.3%. Those who do not pass can continue their education through the Namibian College of Open Learning (NamCOL). The Grade 12 exam allows students to qualify for the Polytechnic or the University of Namibia (Namibia’s two public universities). 17,255 students took the exam, roughly half as many
as took the grade 10 exam. Of those, 3,640 (21%) of them scored well enough to go to UNam or Polytechnic.

These numbers are better than they have been in the past. Education has slowly been improving in Namibia since independence, but they are still only seeing success in very few students. Most students who succeed are going to more expensive schools.

Many Namibians are not achieving school success. Unfortunately, I do not know if or how much the library affects school success. Many people said that they felt that the library had helped them, but I do not have actual statistics to compare the success of students who came to the library regularly to that of those who did not.

This view that the library and education would help them to life success did not appear to be supported by the real circumstances in which most of these people lived. Furthermore, unemployment in Namibia was around 40% in 2009. This statistic was mentioned all the time, and qualified as measuring formal employment. Many people, particularly in Katutura, worked very hard to make money, but not in a formal way. Life success, if measured by formal employment, was difficult to achieve. A few of the young people who had graduated from college and couldn’t find a job were bitter that the success promised did not exist. They felt, unlike those in school, that school success was not the only guarantee of life success. A couple of them mentioned that

whom you know is more important than what you know. One informant also explained that because her name was similar to someone the government didn’t like, she couldn’t get a job. Tribal affiliations were also mentioned as barriers (or helps, depending on the tribe) to getting a job.

I bring up these statistics and this reality because I think the faith that people showed in the library and in education was remarkable in light of this. The idea of success through education was incredibly strong. Before I went to Namibia, I thought a lot about the myths surrounding the public library and its relationship to democracy, freedom and development. In Namibia, I encountered this new myth, so beautifully portrayed by the drama, that working hard at your education would lead to life success. Even an unemployed man in his 20s was touched by the message in the drama and spoke to me about how it expressed a great truth.

I also noticed in my interactions and interviews with people, that many people asked me about life in the United States and asked if they could go to school there. A number of informants, at the end of an interview, would ask about their chances of getting into an American university. They were aware that moving beyond Namibia would also increase their chances of life success.

This idea that success comes from education is also very strong in the United Nations literature about development. For instance, the UNESCO website states, “UNESCO’s mission is to contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue
through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information.”\textsuperscript{10} Obviously, since UNESCO is about education, science and culture, this comes as no surprise (and hardly proves my point). The United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are about ending poverty by 2015, and they have eight goals to achieve this (www.un.org/millenniumgoals/). The second goal is for universal primary school education. “Goal 2: Achieve Universal Primary Education. Target: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling.”\textsuperscript{11} A statement about this goal reads, “A sustainable end to world poverty as we know it, as well as the path to peace and security, require that citizens in every country are empowered to make positive choices and provide for themselves and their families.”\textsuperscript{12} This justification for primary school education as one of the goals to end poverty mirrors the idea that many people expressed about their use of the library. I don’t believe that such a close relationship between these statements is an accident.

Namibia’s Vision 2030 also mirrors this talk. In the forward to the Vision written by the founding President Sam Nujoma, he states:

“The vision will transform Namibia into a healthy and food-secure nation, in which all preventable, infectious and parasitic diseases (including HIV/AIDS) are under secure control; people enjoy high standards of living, a good quality of life and have access to quality education, health and other vital services. All of these aspirations

translate into a long life expectancy and sustainable population growth” (pg. 9); and
“Namibia’s future will also depend largely on the people themselves; much will depend on our ability and willingness to respond with innovation and commitment to new challenges” (pg. 12).

In the preface to Vision 2030, the national ideals are clarified. “People are the nation’s human wealth: a population of healthy, well-educated, skilled, pro-active and financially stable people with a broad range of talents and positive attitude towards themselves, their fellow citizens, their country and global humanity” (pg. 14). This statement identifying one of the national ideals calls on the citizens of Namibia to be pro-active about their education and to create a citizenry with a broad range of talents. The people using the library seem to be aware of this ideal and doing their part to work towards it.

I felt that people in Namibia were hoping that their good education would help their country attain vision 2030. In my 2006 pilot study, one person said as much. When I asked why she used the library, she stated that she was trying to get a good education to help her country develop. This may mean that the people are using the library to achieve their place in the World Society. As I remarked on World Society Theory, it tells a two-sided story. On one hand, a global culture is developing with science, rational thought and human rights as key components. On the other hand, organizations are similar to each other in all countries. The people using the library seemed to be using it as a way to bring the global culture into their own lives. They wanted the resources in the library and their own education to help them live a successful life as defined by
the United Nations or the global culture. Not everyone in the community may be thinking in this way or working towards this vision of society, but the people using the library were.

4.2.2.3. Vertical and Horizontal Ties

New Institutional Theory distinguishes between vertical ties to the organization — i.e. those that come from an external place, not the community in which the organization sits—and horizontal ties to the organization—i.e. those that come from within the community. In many ways, this finding represents both a vertical tie because the idea of what a person’s life should be like is coming from outside, and also a horizontal tie between school and the library.

The United Nations, with its idea of development and the Millennium Development Goals, is emphasizing a particular type of life style, one in which school success is important. This idea, which is external to Namibia, is then reflected in Namibia’s Vision 2030. An international model (the MGDs and their like) is represented in the national government and its organizational form (the many visions in Africa also show that this is an international model of a form that governments should follow). In this case, by presenting a vision of how the country should be, the government influences the values of many citizens, encouraging them to try for educational success.

The libraries are also heavily influenced by the schools because of this association in people’s minds between the library and educational success. People using the library use it in ways that fit with their education. The
materials they want to see in the libraries and the way the space is organized around studying are all influenced by their schools and schooling.

4.2.2.4. Relating Finding to Pre-conceptions

In many ways, this finding shows the strength of World Society Theory, and the idea that a global society is spreading around the world. People in Namibia are using the library in the hopes of being able to live the life they hear about happening in other countries. The library is the vehicle for them to achieve that lifestyle.

I had thought, before arriving in Namibia, that the library might be imposing a worldview and a world culture on people in Namibia through its organizational structure and the books in the library. I found instead that people were demanding entry into a world culture and asking the library to help them get there. This helped to explain, in part, why materials in the local culture were so lacking in the library. People found other places in the community – their homes, their churches, dance, and singing – to preserve their culture.

4.2.3. International Influences

I had expected that the international influences to the libraries in Namibia would come mainly through an international model of libraries created by UNESCO and IFLA. This model would also receive support from iNGOs, such as the Gates Foundation. I found that more organizations were involved in the international organizational field. These included embassy libraries and
government aid agencies. Librarians were also often either trained abroad or from other countries adding another level of international influence.

Governmental aid agencies, such as the Millennium Challenge Corporation (an aid agency from the United States), are helping to build libraries and resource centers in Namibia. Their ideas of the library may be more related to what they know from their own countries, and therefore, follow less closely the international model. Furthermore, since one of the countries interested in funding libraries was Cuba, a communist country, these government aid agencies may be less interested in democracy and other such ideals of the United Nations. World Society Theory that focuses on the growing global culture as liberal and democratic does not account for influences from cultures that do not share these values. Although I saw no direct evidence of this, I think the possibility is worth remembering in light of World Society Theory.

A few embassies also housed libraries that were open to the public. These libraries were all in the center of town. They promoted the culture and ideals of the host country. Most of them were member libraries, so that people borrowing books had to pay. This strengthened the notion in the country that one must pay to borrow books.

Many of the librarians working in the country had been trained abroad or were from another country. This was another way in which the diffusion of organizational models happened. This diffusion method has been extensively studied according to Drori and colleagues (2006). They claim, “The actors who
carry the message of rationalization of cultural themes and the social groups (mostly professional) that serve as agents in the globalization of managerial rationalization. [Studies] thus focus on the network connections among groups as conduits through which the notions diffuse worldwide. Our work develops this line of argumentation further and focus specifically on the cultural themes themselves as they are advanced by professional groups and associations.” By “our work”, Drori and colleagues mean the World Society Theory perspective on this situation.

4.2.4. Library Funding
One of the major differences that I found between the expectations I had from World Society Theory and the data was around the issue of funding for the library. Meyers and colleagues (1997) stated that organizations followed a world model regardless of local traditions and resources. I was, therefore, expecting structural isomorphism between the Namibian libraries and libraries in other parts of the world, as posited by World Society Theory. The structure of the library was similar in many ways to the international ideal of what a library should be, but the local resources for library service also influenced the structure. Perhaps it would be more pertinent to say that the lack of local resources further influences the structure of the library in two ways. 1) The international model for a library describes one that is funded by public monies. Namibia’s public funding is small and so not much money goes to the library. For this reason, the structure of the library reflects a lack of money. 2) The lack of money means that international ideas about the libraries are more influential
than local ideas about the library. The diffusion of the organizational model, or idea of the library at the international level, is spread more easily because the libraries must conform to it in order to get the funding to exist. This second idea assumes a local notion of the public library as different from that promoted internationally. As I discussed earlier, the people using the library tended to want the library to conform to the *charity notion* of the library which was somewhat different from the ideas that some of the administrators had.

4.2.4.1. Administrative Structures and Funding

The biggest evidence of low local resources is in the administrative structures. The UNESCO/IFLA public library model calls for libraries to be publicly funded. As stated in the UPLM (1994), “The public library is the responsibility of local and national authorities. It must be supported by specific legislation and financed by national and local governments.” The legal structure for the public libraries in Namibia meets these criteria. The Library Act of 2000 creates the funding structure for libraries at the national level, and public libraries are a partnership among the municipality, which provides the building for the library, and the regional government which provides the staff, and the national Community Library Service which provides the books and materials for the library (see 6.3.2.1.1 and 6.3.2.1.2 for a complete description of this process).

The books and the building are important to the library, but more important is the library staff. Because of decentralization, the boss of the library staff was somewhat confusing. Each region is supposed to have a Regional Librarian in the regional ministry of education who would oversee the
library staff in that region. In Khomas region (the region in which Windhoek is located), this position was temporarily filled for part of the time I was there, so the interim Regional Librarian did not oversee the staff. Instead an Adult Education person did. I don’t know if this happened in other regions, but in Khomas, it meant that the library staff were reporting to someone who did not have library training.

The difficulty filling the Regional Librarian position happened for two reasons: 1) the position was not well paid and 2) not many people were qualified to oversee librarians in this capacity (and those that were, worked in higher paid positions). This lack of a Regional Librarian demonstrated that another local resource (or lack of it), that of human resources, also affected the library service. Because highly qualified librarians were few and in high demand, many positions were open. This lack of highly qualified librarians did not just happen in these regional positions but in almost all higher-level positions within NLAS. This meant that librarians in NLAS had fewer mentors and were less likely to have bosses who knew about library services and could encourage them to create great library services.

The Library Act also allows for a committee of people from the community to oversee the library. This type of committee existed previously (1920-1965) for most of the libraries that served White people before independence, and this type of committee is encouraged by IFLA and UNESCO. “Public libraries should be governed by a properly established body made up of largely of representatives of the local community including those elected either to the
local council or to the library board” (Gill, 2001, pg. 20). This governance structure was lacking, however, in the two libraries that I observed.

The two case libraries that I observed both had complicated administrative structures. These structures showed that outside funding sources played a role in the provision of library services. The libraries were responsive to the outside funding agencies as well as to the government funders, and this changed the way the libraries functioned.

4.2.4.1.1. Katutura-Rössing Library administrative structure

Katutura-Rössing Library had two administrations during 2009 because it was in the process of transferring from the Rössing Foundation to the Community Library Service. This meant that the costs of running the library were shared. No one spoke directly to me about who paid for what, but here is what I figured out through observation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Paid for by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building including utilities</td>
<td>Owned by Rössing Foundation – in the process of being transferred to NLAS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>Paid by Rössing Foundation. Salaries were considerably higher than NLAS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>2 shipments from CLS formed the basis of the collection. One large order from Rössing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>1 computer purchased by Rössing Foundation. No internet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper and Magazines</td>
<td>Rössing Foundation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.4: Table indicating who paid for what at the Katutura Rössing Library.*
As this list demonstrated, during my observation most of the costs of the library were taken care of by the Rössing Foundation. This made sense since the Rössing Foundation had been running the library through 2008. I assumed that the transfer of the library meant that at some point, NLAS and CLS would have ownership of the library.

The mixture of administrations did mean that the staff of the library were asked to learn the statistics methods for both CLS and the Rössing Foundation. In my observation, however, they kept a minimum of statistics for the Rössing Foundation. CLS attempted to train the staff to keep their statistics, but I never observed the staff doing so.

One NLAS administrator wanted the library to do more programming with story times for children, and so forth. She wanted the library to be more than a place for people to study, and thought programs might help. She was able to find an American volunteer who came to the library and worked with the children. The staff were pleasant to the volunteer, but when she left, the programs ceased. Because the NLAS administrator had no control over the staff, she could not make them do things that she thought would be appropriate.

To be fair, however, one of the Rössing Foundation administrators talked about offering a program in the library that was offered in other Rössing Foundation libraries. One staff member tried to do something like that for one week, and then that program also fizzled.
4.2.4.1.2. The Greenwell Community Library administrative structure

The Greenwell Matongo Community Library had three main administrative bodies, the Community Library Services (both regional and national), the City of Windhoek Development Office and the Finnish sister City of Vantaa. The staff was officially under the jurisdiction of the Khomas Regional Librarian, but they actually answered to the person in charge of adult education for the area (see above discussion of the Khomas Regional Librarian). All of the partners were interested in the services being provided by the library and the work done by the staff. This led to many tensions because the staff had difficulty pleasing everyone. In a sense, there were too many cooks in the kitchen. To help with this, the City of Windhoek was planning to hire a librarian to oversee the libraries under it’s purview, Greenwell Matongo Community Library and a library in the Maxiulili Community Center, plus a possible new library opening near the Katutura-Rössing Library. This person would be working for the community development office and the City of Vantaa. They could then provide some of the services desired by these folks, and leave the staff of the libraries to perform the services desired by the Community Library Services and the Regional Office of the Ministry of Education.

To understand the relationship of each funder to the library, I asked about who paid for what. Here is what I found.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Paid for by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Building including utilities</td>
<td>Owned by the City of Windhoek. Utilities paid for by the City, except for Internet that was paid for by the Finns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>Paid by the Community Library Service through the Regional Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>Most books from the Community Library Services, but augmented with books purchased by the Finns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>Paid for by the Finns, maintained by the City of Windhoek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers and Magazines</td>
<td>Community Library Service, supplemented with donations from the American Cultural Center (old magazines).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Table indicating who paid for what at the Greenwell Matongo Community Library

4.2.4.1.3. Summary

I have tried to show that the lack of resources from the government has created a different administrative structure than is expected by the international model for the public library. In the every day workings of the library, this difference in administrative structure was important. In the Katutura Rössing Library, the fact that the library had been a charity library run by a foundation and not by the government had created a different type of service. The library was built and used primarily along the lines of the charity library described above. Although the new administration clearly wanted the library to begin to function along the lines of the *UPLM notion*, it will take a while for this transition to happen. The staff, paid for by the Rössing Foundation, did not seem responsive to the
changes needed. They were content to continue doing their job as they had
done them previously.

In Greenwell Matongo, the administrative structures made the library
more likely to follow the *UPLM notion*. I will talk about this more in the next
section.

4.2.4.2. *International Influences through funding*

The administrative structure in the two case libraries is the way it is because of
a lack of government funding. The need for outside money has meant that
other groups, like the City of Vantaa and the Rössing Foundation must be
partially responsible for the libraries. Thus, the lack of money does make a
difference to the organizational structure of the library. This is counter to the
statements by Meyer and colleagues in 1997 that organizational isomorphism
will exist despite differences in resources. The differences in resources,
however, also mean that international ideas of the library are more likely to be
embedded into the library structure.

This international influence is demonstrated well by the Greenwell
Matongo Community Library. The Finns have clear ideas of how this library
should be run and how it should serve the community. Their ideas are partially
built on the way their libraries are run in Finland. After all, the Finns who visit
are librarians in Finland. Their ideas are also formed by the international ideas
and ideals for public libraries. For example, the Finns were actively seeking
money from the Gates Foundation, which, influenced how computer services
were made available to the community. The Gates Foundation will only give
money if the Internet and computers are offered free of charge to the community. The library had to change its policy, and the Finns were the ones to clarify the need for the change in policy. Previously, staff had insisted that people who used the Internet be members of the library and pay the $N6 fee, but afterwards, this was no longer required. The Gates Foundation idea that the services of the library should be free to the community was enforced in the library.

The lack of local funds for the library meant that the Finns played a role in the administration. This role led them not only to bring in ideas of library services from Finland, but also to apply for international grants, such as the Gates Foundation, which also imposed outside ideals of library services. This situation was also true of the Millennium Challenge Corporation building the regional resource centres and BookAid International’s book donations. If the library did have more local funding, it may have meant that fewer foreigners would have visited the libraries bringing their ideas of library services.

4.2.4.3. Local Influences and funding

In the above section I described a vertical tie and its influence on the library. Within the community, organizations also influenced the library, particularly the schools, and were therefore horizontal tie (also discussed in 4.2.2.3). The schools also had resource issues, and these resource issues had an effect on the library and its collections.

The schools appeared to affect the libraries in two ways. First, both the schools and the libraries had fees associated with them. This appeared to me to
be part of a greater societal acceptance of private and public moneys being involved in public goods. The fact that neither of them had managed to get rid of these fees after independence, suggested a relationship between the two fees to me. The second was that the lack of resources in the schools, particularly around textbooks, influenced the library collection policy.

4.2.4.3.1. Fees

Both the schools and the libraries charged fees for use of their services. These charges were so accepted in the society that they went mostly unquestioned, or at least, I heard very little discussion of them. Both fees are counter to the international models of these organizations. Public schools and public libraries are supposed to be free, according to UN descriptions of these organizations.

I never heard from a library administrator about the role of the membership fees in the budget, so I don’t know how important they were to the libraries in that sense. Historically, the membership fees made up half of the library budget (from 1920-1965). In the schools, however, the fees were an important part of the budget. The Namibian government spends 23.5% of its budget on the Ministry of Education. Most of that money pays for schools and education. It seems unlikely that the government can spend more on schools, but the money they spend currently is not enough, without school fees, to educate their youth. The school fees therefore continue, partly because Namibia is poor and partly because it has a tradition of private/public funded public education.
This tradition of private/public funding for education also seems to be a leftover from apartheid or unequal services. Schools for Whites are more expensive and much better. Although schools can no longer just serve Whites, some public schools still charge higher fees than others and they are better quality. Although this bias does not happen in the libraries, which all charge the same amount, the schools that charge more tend to have their own libraries. This means that students going to better schools are less likely to need the community library for educational support.

4.2.4.3.2. Textbooks

One influence was in the collection development policy. In Namibia, purchasing textbooks is a standard process for the public libraries. In many other places, particularly here in the United States, most libraries deliberately do not purchase textbooks. One administrator acknowledged this issue to me by stating that they purchase textbooks now. The way the statement was made it sounded as if this had been debated for a while, and finally agreed to because the library users were so strong in demanding textbooks. The Namibian schools do not have enough textbooks and are currently working on fixing that problem. A textbook policy was published during the time I was there. It seemed as if the lack of textbooks was because of a lack of resources for schools. As I mentioned earlier, 20% of the national budget is spent on education, and yet the schools seem to be under-resourced. This lack of resources for the schools meant that students demanded the resources at the library. On a national scale, the public libraries cannot possibly fix the problem
of the lack of textbooks. With 60 public libraries and over 1,650 schools (according to the EMIS Education Statistics of 2007), the public libraries will make only a small difference in access to textbooks.

I have talked at length about the way in which the vertical linkages to the public library have impacted the way the library service works. The administrative structures, the outside funding sources, etc. all relate to vertical linkages or the influence of external organizations on the public library. The issue of the textbooks in the library, however, comes from a horizontal linkage. One can look at this horizontal linkage in two ways. 1) The link is between the school and the library or 2) the need for the textbooks came from the people using the library directly and not from an outside source. In each of these ways, this is a fundamentally different influence on the service of the library than was expected by the theories. New Institutional Theory posits that most of the influences are external to the local community particularly in relation to the regulative and normative forces. World Society Theory posits that the international influences are stronger than the local. In regards to the textbooks in the library, some evidence suggests that the local need for textbooks because of the lack of textbooks in the schools forced a change in the library service.

4.3. Conclusions

These four findings show that New Institutional Theory and World Society Theory were good guides for the research. Both theories predicted many of the
influences on the structure of the libraries in Namibia. At the same time, the libraries in Namibia were less tightly organized around one set of institutional logics than I was expecting. Instead, three sets of institutional logics, including one that could be seen as an international model of libraries, were involved in the library structure. As well, the people using the library were aware of a global culture and wanted to participate in it. To do this, they used the library. The development scripts of their own government and the United Nations supported them in doing so. The international influences on the libraries, however, were not just from the United Nations or NGOs, as I had expected. Librarians in the country often trained abroad and some came from other countries. Funding from foreign government agencies also contributed to the libraries in Namibia. Finally, the funding of the libraries, which was usually from an amalgamation of sources, many foreign, meant that the international idea of the library was strong within Namibia. It also showed that the Namibian government had difficulty financing the libraries on their own. These economic influences on the structure of the library emphasized the scripts about the library and also the lack of adherence to some of them.
5. **Local Organizational Field: the cases**

As my theoretical framework laid out, I was interested in the organizational fields for the library at three levels, the local level, the national level and the international level. At the local level, I was looking at two instantiations of the library, the Katutura Rössing Library and the Greenwell Matongo Community Library both situated in the Katutura neighborhood, the former Black township to Windhoek. The observations at this level formed the basis of my case study research, and are described in this chapter. In terms of my theoretical model. Therefore, this chapter describes the local organizational field at the bottom of the model (see Figure 5.1; for a larger view of this figure, see Figure 4.1)

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 5.1: Theoretical framework: this chapter describes the local organizational field at the bottom of this model.**
I chose these two libraries for a variety of reasons. First, I wanted to observe libraries in Windhoek where I would have easy access to the national administration of the libraries and documents about the library. This would make it easy for me to extend the case studies to the national scene. Second, I wanted to be in a new library, to be able to observe people who did not have previous experience interacting with a library. I thought (naively) that they would have fewer preconceived notions of what the library should be. Third, I wanted to be in a poor urban neighborhood because not many studies of libraries have focused on the urban poor. Discussions of libraries in Africa are often about the rural poor.

I knew before I arrived that the Greenwell Matongo Community Library would be one of my case libraries. This library was newly built and opened in 2005. It served a poor community on the outskirts of Katutura, the poor, urban neighborhood of Windhoek. In 2006, I visited the library and met the staff, who were friendly and eager to work with me. This library perfectly fit my needs, as outlined above.

For my second case library, I was expecting to work in a library that sits between Katutura and Khomasdal (a middle class neighborhood, which was formerly only open to Coloureds). I had briefly toured this library in 2006, and knew it to be bigger than the Greenwell Matongo Community Library. It had been built by the Rössing Foundation as part of an education facility. In 2006, the library was turned over to the government to become part of the community library services. When I arrived in 2009, however, I learned that
another Rössing Foundation library was in the process of being turned over to the government and the Community Library Service. This library is situated in the center of Katutura, and I thought it would make an even better case. I was pleased to have a library in a different part of Katutura, as well as one in which I would be able to witness the transition into the community library service. I thought that, as an older library that at least a generation of people had been using, it would contrast with the newer Greenwell library, but in every other way it fulfilled the same conditions as the Greenwell Matongo Community Library.

5.1. Katutura

Before I can reasonably discuss the two cases, I would like to give a sense of the neighborhood they inhabit. This neighborhood, Katutura, is the former Black township or location for the Blacks in Windhoek. Katutura is north and west of Windhoek and was built in the 1950s and 1960s. Windhoek had always had a separation between Blacks and Whites, but the neighborhoods were closer to each other, with the Blacks living in two or three locations around the city center. The White population was growing in the 1950s, however, and Apartheid laws were tightening. These laws started in South Africa in 1948, and some Namibians told me the laws were enforced more strongly in Namibia than in South Africa. For both of these reasons, the neighborhoods of Windhoek were changed in the late 1950s, and Khomasdal for Coloureds was built, along with Katutura. The Black population did not want to move to Katutura and they protested, but the protests were shut down violently (Nujoma, 2001). Katutura,
in Otjiherero, the language of the Herero people, means, “the place we do not want to stay.”

In addition to being a less pleasant location farther from the city center, Katutura was a carefully planned community. The houses were all built for the people moving there. They were small, and built to be identical. Each tribe had a different area or neighborhood, which were named Herero Location, Owambo Location, Damara Location, Nama Location, etc. Many of these names were shortened to Namloc or Damloc, and are still used today. There was also an area called Single Quarters for single men living in Windhoek, and a hostel for the laborers who came through Windhoek on their way to labor in the south in mines or on farms. All of this careful planning was part of the general plan to keep labor cheap and easily available to the White farmers and miners. The population of Katutura was carefully controlled and everyone living there was counted. People could not move freely in the area. They did not own their homes but rented them from the government.
This history is still clearly visible in the neighborhood. The old hostel building is still standing, although it has been recommissioned as an art center. The neighborhoods are still called by their original names, e.g. Single Quarters or DamLoc. Many of the houses are still the same buildings as those originally built. In between the old Herero Location and the old Nama location is the Katutura Rössing Community Library, one of the libraries in my case study.

Some evidence suggests that the Katutura Community was given a library. A letter had been written by the Windhoek Public Library committee to the administration requesting that they be allowed to offer the use of the library to Black students who were studying for their matriculation exams. This request was denied, and the fact that the Lion’s Club was going to be building a library in Katutura was one of the reasons cited for the denial. This library was, as far as I could determine, located in the Katutura Community Hall, in the center of Katutura. I was unable to discover much about this library in the archives. In the
1980s, a review of the libraries in Windhoek was published, and two libraries were mentioned, a community library which was vibrant and heavily used and another library which was full of donated books, and was dark and uninviting (Hillebrecht and Zulu, 1990). Katutura was not, therefore, without library services.

The community has been growing at a rapid rate since independence in 1990. With the lifting of the laws about travel and movement, people have been leaving their villages and coming to the cities to find work. One informant in city government estimates as many as 500 people a month move to Windhoek. Most settle in informal housing to the north and west of Katutura. The government has worked on setting up ways to bring running water and electricity to these informal settlements and to formalize the living situations, but this is difficult because most of the people moving in are very poor and because so many of them are moving in all the time. The schools cannot keep up with the changing populations of people. Greenwell Matongo Community Library, the other library in my case study, is to the west of Katutura, and is near a mixture of informal and formal settlements, all built since Independence. The community is named after Greenwell Matongo, a Caprivian general in the fight for independence. He was killed in action during the war.

Katutura has many large roads, including Independence Avenue, which bisects the old center of the township. Independence Avenue is also one of the main streets in downtown Windhoek. If one drives north out of downtown, the road will soon bend to the left (west), and pass the Katutura State Hospital
before entering Katutura. The old hostel is a tall edifice on the right, as one moves into the township. Near the hostel is a large shopping mall with a fast food restaurant, some furniture stores, clothing stores, a large grocery store, some bank branches, a dentist, and some Chinese shops. Taxis\textsuperscript{13} are readily available in the parking lot. Across the street is a post office with many street sellers in the parking lot, selling fruit, meat and fat cakes\textsuperscript{14}.

\begin{map}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{katutura_map.png}
\caption{Map 5.1: Map of Katutura}
\end{map}

Continuing down Independence Avenue, one passes the old community hall, which looked unused the whole time I was there, but I heard rumors of a revival. A library used to be available in the back of this building. Another

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{13} Taxis are public transportation in Namibia. Most taxis carry up to 4 adult passengers, and cost (in 2009) \$N7.50 per person for a regular trip (longer trips are \$N15).
\item \textsuperscript{14} Fat cakes are deep fried bread buns, very popular in Southern Africa.
\end{itemize}
shopping mall with much the same stores but anchored by two different
grocery stores is further down along the street. The Katutura Rössing Library is
nearby. A few blocks farther west is the United Nations Plaza, which sits in a
large park. The plaza has a basketball court and other amenities. Across the
street is a large education complex that includes a Namibia College of Open
Learning (NamCOL) campus. Still further down the street is the Soweto Market,
which has a number of stalls selling fruit, cooked meat, fat cakes, clothes and
crafts. Buses and vans to Zimbabwe can be caught here. They leave when they
are full, and some are always waiting. At other locations in Katutura, similar
buses make trips to other cities in Namibia or other places in Southern Africa.
Zimbabwe is a common destination because so many Zimbabweans are in
Namibia.

By Soweto Market, Independence Avenue has left the historic area of
Katutura. Two of the new neighborhoods are Luxury Hill and Wanaheda. Both
have areas of larger homes with more space around them.

Figure 5.3: Houses in Wanaheda. Photo by T. Webb III
Independence Avenue ends at the crossroads with Otjimuise Street. After this, the street is called Eveline Street. Eveline is infamous in Windhoek for its nightlife, most of which takes place in the large Shebeens\textsuperscript{15} lining the street. The homes around Eveline are a mixture of informal and formal ones, some shacks built from corrugated iron sheets, and others built more substantially. Often a more substantial house has informal structures attached or nearby. The main house has access to electricity and running water that the informal structures will make use of. Greenwell Matongo Community Library is situated just off of Eveline Street.

\textbf{Figure 5.4:} Houses with attached corrugated iron structures. The one in front, “Justy Rastaurant,” is a small shebeen. The boys are in school uniform. Photo by T. Webb III

\textsuperscript{15} Shebeens are usually illegal bars, but some of the larger establishments are probably operated legally, but are still referred to as shebeens. Many of the names may have the word “bar” in them.
I have used Independence Avenue for this brief written tour, because both case libraries are near it. Other highlights of Katutura include the new Sam Nujoma Stadium that was built at one end of the historic area.

![Image](image.png)

**Figure 5.4: Looking West on a hill of shacks. Photo by K. Inoue.**

Surrounding all of Katutura to the west and north, are large, tightly packed neighborhoods of shacks. Most of these areas have some outhouses, which are provided by the city for registered groups of shack dwellers. One agency, the Shack Dwellers Association, has worked on a way for people to set up their homes and save money. The city works with people in groups to help them build permanent homes on the land. Permanent homes usually have access to electricity and running water. The city is trying not to have completely informal settlements. I asked many questions of many people about the informal settlements, but for the most part, the organization around this never made sense to me. I do know that many people do not use the outhouses (I sometimes saw children using the streets as bathrooms), and some use the bushes. Furthermore, the schools in these neighborhoods were sometimes
tents. The area is much farther from the city center both in actual distance and in ease of finding transportation.

Figure 5.5: Shacks with outhouse (building behind left fence). Photo by T. Webb III
5.1.1. Employment in Katutura
The Unemployment rate in Namibia in 2009 was around 40%. I heard this statistic over and over again, but I don’t know that I ever found a source listing the exact unemployment rate. This measure was of formal employment, and in Katutura, it was clear that informal employment occupied many people. As I mentioned previously, businesses abound in Katutura, some of which are registered legally and many of which are informal. These businesses were mostly hair salons, car washes, shebeens, and food sellers, with the occasional cyber café mixed in. Many men were taxi drivers (I never saw a woman taxi driver in Namibia), and taxis were the main traffic in much of Katutura.

Figure 5.6: Men waiting for work in the shade near my neighborhood. Photo by T. Webb III.
On many street corners in Windhoek and on the way to Katutura, men would stand or sit often in blue uniforms hoping for day labor. Some places were clearly gathering spots for day laborers, and a few of them were clustered in groups playing cards or dice (and gambling?) as they waited.

The laborers were often transported in the back of dump trucks or pickup trucks to their work. Unfortunately, I never managed to get a picture of this. Their labor was clearly cheap; my guess is that they made less than $N50 (US$5-7) per day, if they got work.

I felt that the day laborers were clear leftovers from Apartheid farm labor. Apartheid laws in South West Africa, as Namibia was known before independence, had clearly been designed to provide cheap farm labor for the White farmers. Although that system was no longer legally established, the need for cheap labor on the farms still existed and was in part met by these men who would wait for work in groups around Windhoek.

5.1.2. Adventures in Katutura
I spent most of my time in the libraries, partly because everyone kept warning me that it was not safe for me to wander around Katutura by myself. Everyone had a story of crime committed against him or her, and clearly the crime rate in the area was high. This in part related to the high unemployment rate and many people's need to make money through the informal economy.

Below I attempt to describe how it was for me to be in the neighborhoods. I relate some stories of my rides to the libraries. I then try to describe the houses I visited to give some sense of how people lived. I also
describe the food I ate in these areas, again to give some sense of how people live. I finish by describing the information and communication technologies available outside of the libraries.

5.1.2.1. Taxis to and from Katutura

I used taxis to get to and from the libraries, and I often talked to the taxi drivers or other people in the taxi. These conversations gave me insights into Namibian culture and ideas. For example, two of the taxi drivers mentioned that in town you have to pay for food. They felt that when they lived in Owamboland (in the North), food was free. They were clear that this had been a big adjustment for them when they moved to town. My city-girl American interpretation of this was that in Owamboland, they lived on farms and the family grew the food they ate. The food was not “free” in Owamboland, but it didn’t cost money. I never checked this with them.

The workers at the City of Windhoek Community Development Office also alluded to this idea of what is free and what has costs. They spoke of needing to train people to pay for water and other utility services. Life in the country did not come with these costs, but in the city it did.

In another taxi ride, an older woman started describing the “Old Location” where her family had lived before they were forcibly moved to Katutura. I was excited to hear this history, but was unable to get her talking about the schools or libraries in the area.
5.1.2.2. **Houses in the Greenwell Neighborhood**

As I mentioned, the Greenwell Matongo Neighborhood is made up of a mixture of formal and informal homes (formal or permanent homes can be seen in figures 4.1-4.3 and in the foreground of figure 4.4; informal or impermanent homes can be seen in 4.5 and the background of 4.4). I was able to visit a few of the homes. One house close to the library was large and well furnished, giving a sense of prosperity, but the other homes were small. Two of the homes I visited had shebeens attached. One had a large front room with a big billiard table. I rarely saw customers in the shebeen, although the one next door had many customers. The other was newly built – I went to the opening. Everyone was very excited about the potential earnings from the shebeen.

Two of the houses were almost identical, and were next door to each other. Both had a kitchen/living room as the first room one entered in the house. I was warmly welcomed into this space, but not shown any other part of the house, and all of the doors to what I guessed must have been bedrooms were carefully kept shut. One of the members of one of these households mentioned to me that it was important to keep doors locked. The possibility of someone stealing something was always around, and people were careful not show wealth or leave money unlocked. People outside of Greenwell Matongo took this type of care as well. A professional living in another part of Katutura mentioned that something expensive had been stolen from her, possibly by her brother.
The people in these houses had decent jobs as a soldier, a nurse, and an office worker. One family was involved with their church; the mother ran the youth choir. I often heard them singing and one time was able to see them preparing the maize meal for a traditional dish.

I also was able to visit one informal home, although calling it informal is almost a misnomer. The house was built of temporary material, but it was well decorated and had a television, a small refrigerator and a microwave. I visited this house a few times, and was then warned not to be friendly with the owner anymore. She had apparently told a tabloid newspaper that she was part of a crime ring, involved in shoplifting items from stores and re-selling them. This was another example of informal business.

I mention these details in the hopes that they give a sense of the lives people were living in the area. The lived experience of these people was part of what I wanted to understand as I carried out my observations of how the library fit into their lives and their community.

5.1.2.3. **Food**

Food is a large part of any culture. I was only able to observe food at lunchtime, but these are my observations of eating.

The Katutura Rössing Library was near a shopping mall, and when I ate lunch there, the staff and I usually walked over to the grocery store and bought our lunch. I usually had a meat pie and they often had spaghetti or another warm dish, which could be purchased from a counter in the store. We traded off, sometimes the staff paid for the food, and sometimes I did.
In Greenwell Matongo, the grocery store was some distance from the library, but many smaller businesses were nearby. On special occasions we ate at a nearby restaurant that served local foods, a chicken curry dish, a dried meat dish and some others. Next to this was a covered market where we could purchase fat cakes (fried dough) and kapana (meat cooked in long pieces over a fire). The fat cakes were usually $N1.50 and the Kapana was $N1 per piece. Fruit was also available for sale. We would often buy a large amount and share with the volunteers and other people who worked in or near the library.

Greenwell Matongo also had a soup kitchen to feed hungry children. They made muffins and bread that I would sometimes buy to eat at a $N1 each.

5.1.2.4. Information and Communication in the neighborhoods

Every family I encountered seemed to have a cell phone and some children had them also. Two companies sold cell phone time, and their advertisements were easy to see throughout the neighborhoods. Some people had Internet access on their cell phones, but most just used them for sending text messages and making phone calls. Cell phones were easily stolen, as well. Cell phone use was prohibited in both libraries, although it still occurred.

A few of the shops offered typing, computer services and Internet. Most of these were referred to as Cyber-Cafes although the café aspect of them was ignored. One of the volunteers at the Greenwell Matongo Community Library was thinking of opening one of these, so together we visited a few of the others in the neighborhood. Most of them had one computer and a printer, and included a standard price list. Similar shops near the Katutura Rössing
Community Library looked bigger, but I never managed to go inside any of them.

Some houses had satellite dishes. Satellites could connect to a pay service but could also help people get more TV channels for free. The pay service allowed access to South African channels, where the free service let people access stations from Botswana and other Namibian stations. An antenna could also get access to the Namibian Broadcasting Service (NBC). Many of the houses in Katutura had satellites or antennas, and when I first was visiting the area, I was struck by how many of the informal houses had a satellite dish on top.

5.2. Katutura Rössing Community Library

The Katutura Rössing Community Library is in the center of Katutura in an old municipal building. It made an excellent case library because it was in the process of becoming part of Community Library Services. This following description of the library includes the history, administration, layout, use, and interactions with other organizations.

5.2.1. History and Administration

The Katutura Rössing Library was taken over by the Rössing Foundation in 1986. Its prior history is unclear and is discussed further in the upcoming history section (see section 6.1.6.4). The Rössing Foundation was founded in 1978, with money from the Rössing Uranium Limited, a company under the wing of Rio Tinto, which began mining for Uranium in Namibia in 1973. The agreement was that the Foundation would have money in the amounts
equivalent to 2% of all dividends distributed to shareholders after taxes (Grobler, 2008). The 1980s were a boom time for uranium, and the Rössing Uranium mine contributed 30% to South West Africa’s GDP during much of that period (Grobler, 2008). This money was initially spent on free education usually focused on English and basic skills. The foundation, in 1982, opened a training center in the space between Khomasdal (the Coloured part of Windhoek) and Katutura. This training centre was a huge success and a library was added to it. Because of the success with the library in Khomasdal, in 1986, the Foundation took over the Katutura Library, which, according to Foundation papers, was badly in need of funding at that time.

David Godfrey ran the Foundation from 1979 until 1997. When the staff mentioned him, they had nothing but praise for him. He clearly had made an impression on the organization with his vision of what the organization should do for the people of Namibia. His picture was on the wall in the library and the fact that he received an OBE from the Queen of England “for welfare services to the people of Namibia” was clearly a source of pride. The Queen also visited the education center in Khomasdal in 1992. Both of these events were celebrated in the library with newspaper articles framed on the wall. I mention them partially because they were clearly important to the foundation and the library and partly because they demonstrate an outside perspective on the foundation, and an international appreciation of charity work in education and libraries.

Despite these accolades in the 1990s, the Foundation had difficulties because the price of Uranium fell drastically, and the money from the parent
corporation disappeared. The Foundation had to reinvent themselves and their purpose as a different type of charity organization. By the time I arrived in 2009, this seemed to mean that they had shifted their focus to the areas of Namibia closest to the mines and were engaged in working with these communities. The other areas of their charity were being slowly phased out, including the Khomasdal and Katutura libraries.

In 2005, the Khomasdal center was sold to the state for N$12 million through negotiations with the Department of Adult Education. A similar agreement was reached before I arrived for the Katutura Rössing Library, but the details of this agreement remain unclear to me. I asked many people about them and got a different answer from each one. The most consistent answer from the Rössing Foundation was that it had focused its interests on other projects, particularly those that were more likely to have an impact on the communities near their mining endeavors.

The administration of the library seemed to be shared between CLS and the Rössing Foundation. During the time I was observing, administrators from both organizations visited the library, including a visit from the Director of NLAS. The staff were still being paid by the Rössing Foundation, which I was told paid a higher salary than CLS. This meant that the CLS administration had little control over the staff. They were trying to train the staff to use their forms for statistics and book borrowing. The Rössing Foundation also sent a form requesting statistics. Because the staff were not used to working with spreadsheets, I helped them with the statistics for the Rössing Foundation.
The Rössing Foundation administrators were interested in education and in having the library be a place that supported education. In an interview, one administrator indicated that they would prefer that the library have a more formal structure in place to train children to read. In another library, this administrator stated, they had a reading program that the children could participate in to improve their reading. The administrators also praised the library for the quiet atmosphere in the study room. They also suggested that the library service was aimed at young people to help them do better in their lives, not for older people who had already had a chance to succeed in life. Throughout my conversation with the administrators and my time with them in a meeting with staff, they were clear that their emphasis for the library was on education and support of education for youth.

The library had three staff members, a librarian, a library assistant and a cleaner. I have difficulty describing the staff partly because I want to protect their anonymity, as per the IRB regulations, and also because I know that I judged them as a former librarian more easily than as an impartial scientist. The staff kept the library clean, the books organized on the shelves, and open during the open hours. They did no outreach or programs, except for a brief foray into children’s programs after one of the visits from the Rössing Foundation administration.

The director of NLAS also had an American volunteer spend some time in the library. This library science student from Pratt University set up some art programs for the children. These programs were a huge success, and although
the staff were supportive of them, they made no move to continue them after the American left.

5.2.2. Building and Layout
Katutura Rössing library moved in 1989 to its current location. A plaque by the front door commemorates the opening of the library there. The library is in the center of Katutura, by a large shopping center, one of two in the area. The library is on a side street, a bit behind the shopping center and surrounded by a tall hedge.

![Figure 5.7: The back of Katutura Rössing Library. Photo by T. Webb III](image)

Two signs, one on the main road, and one near the library announce its existence. It sits between the former “Damara Location” and the former “Herero Location” (see figure 4.1). Many of the people in the area were therefore Damara and Herero, although all of these neighborhoods are changing their composition.
The building was a former municipal building where people used to come to pay their utility bills. For this reason, the layout is not ideal for a library, and it has a large safe. The layout consists of three large rooms, an office and a small kitchen, as well as some outer storage areas and toilets (see drawing).
Figure 5.8: Layout of Katutura Rössing Library. I never measured the building, so I can only estimate that it is about 30 feet by 60 feet. This drawing is not accurate, especially in scale.
The first of the large rooms is used as a study room. It is filled with tables and chairs and also has a bench around the wall. It sits up against a busy street and can be slightly noisy. This room had seating for 25 – 30 people. Most days, 10-20 people would use it. Near exam time, every seat would be taken. The furniture between this room and the children’s room was occasionally rearranged to try to make more seating available.

Figure 5.9: Study Room at Katutura Rössing Library.
Figure 5.10: Study Room at Katutura Rössing Library

The next large room is full of bookshelves, and houses the bulk of the collection. It also has a water cooler, with a cup that people can use to drink water. The photocopier is along the wall of this room, right behind the door from the study room.
Figure 5.11: Girls in the book room by the Reference Collection
Figure 5.12: Boys in the book room at the Katutura Rössing Library. In the non-fiction shelves. Photo by T. Webb III

Figure 5.13: Girls by the water cooler with the photocopier behind them.
The third room is a children’s room, with some tables and chairs, a few sized for children, and bookshelves containing the children’s book collection. The room had seating for 20 or so children. Adults would occasionally use the children’s room, particularly in the morning, when most children were in school.

Figure 5.14: Children studying in the Children's Room at Katutura Rössing Library
The office is used as the circulation desk so people have to come and look for the staff; the staff are not instantly visible. Many people come and sit in the study room, and do not enter the library or interact with the staff. This is an important difference between this library and most of the libraries in which I have been. At times, this library felt more like a self-service library, a space that is available for use, but not a service. Although the staff do sometimes help people with their information needs or to check out a book, they can also let everyone just do their own thing. For example, at lunchtime, the study room is left open and the rest of the library is closed. The people continued studying, without any apparent need for the books or newspapers in the library.
Despite this, the library assistant was very attentive to the use of the books. He worked hard to make sure that none of the books were taken or stolen from the library, and seemed to have a second sense about the books that were being used. Books were used to help with studying and school work. The children often made photocopies of encyclopedia articles to help with their homework. Staff had to help with the use of the photocopier, because the machine was old and temperamental. If it was used too much, it stopped working properly. Photocopies cost $N0.50 a copy. Most of the children seemed well able to pay and came with money. If many of them needed copies, sometimes one child appeared to pay for everyone’s copies. The staff carefully recorded the number of copies made.

5.2.3. The Collection
All of the books were new from the CLS when I arrived. They had been brought to the library as part of the new agreement between the CLS and the Rössing Foundation. One person mentioned that the new books brought new life to the library. “I can see that people are streaming to the library now,” he claimed. A second shipment came in while I was there in April, and then, in October, the Rössing Foundation bought a large number of books for the library as well. The collection, during the time I was there, was representative of what the CLS purchased for libraries. The collection was about 60% non-fiction and 40% fiction, with the non-fiction tied closely to school related subjects and development information. The materials were mostly in English, with some Afrikaans materials as well. Many of the people using the library are
comfortable speaking Afrikaans, and prefer it to English, as did the staff. My sense was that most of the people in the library were from the surrounding neighborhoods and were more likely to come from central or southern Namibia where Afrikaans is more commonly spoken. A few materials also existed in the Indigenous languages, but not many.

The collection contained many books about Namibia, particularly in the reference section, but many gaps on Namibian topics remained because such materials are difficult to obtain. Figure 4.15 shows the shelf of science books in English (DDC 500s), to give some sense of the size of the collection in August, after the second shipment from CLS had come in. Some of the science books may have been checked out, but my guess is that this is an accurate representation of the science collection in English at the time.

Figure 5.16: The collection of Science Books in English. Photo by T. Webb III, August 2009.
At the beginning of the year, the library received two newspapers, the *Namibian* (English and Oshiwambo) and the *Republikien* (Afrikaans); mid-year, they also began receiving the *New Era*\(^{16}\) (English). The three papers were quite popular for their news, sports, and job ads. People had to leave their IDs or other similar items while reading the paper, to ensure that they would not take it. There were complaints about people cutting things out of the paper, but the staff never checked them when they came back. The staff also read the newspapers themselves.

**5.2.4. Typical Day in the Library**

Each day in the library was fairly similar to the one before it. Despite the lack of outreach or programs, the library was busy and often full or close to full. On a typical day in 2009, many people were in the study room reading or quietly studying their material. One or two were reading a book, one or two reading the newspaper, and the rest were studying or working on schoolwork. The children’s room would have a half-dozen or so children in it in the afternoon, some working on homework and some reading the books. The main book room would have one or two people looking at the books. The staff would be sitting in the office, reading the newspaper and watching as people came in and out to borrow other newspapers. Occasionally someone would come in to ask for the bathroom key. The water fountain in the book room, a 20 Liter jug of water with a tap and a cup, was often in use.

\(^{16}\) I was repeatedly told that the New Era reports the news as the government would like it reported. My sense was that few people read it for the news, but that it was important for job listings.
5.2.4.1. Statistics

The staff at the library collected statistics every day, by painstakingly counting the number of men, women, boys and girls in the library. They also kept informal track of the questions they answered, such as questions on farming, questions on science, etc. This way of keeping statistics was different from the statistics needed for CLS, and CLS made repeated attempts to have the staff keep their statistics. One woman from the Windhoek Public Library\textsuperscript{17} worked at the Katutura Rössing Library for over a month to help with the transition. Despite this, I never saw the staff fill out the forms for CLS.

The statistics collected by the staff showed that on average 80 people use the library in a day. The library had seating for 50 people, so it was very busy for its size. Near exam time, 180 people were recorded as coming to the library in one day. The chart below shows the number of visitors each month from February through May 2009. The staff counted people as they came into the library, and recorded these counts in a notebook. The library was not open much in January, and in February, use was low probably because people were still getting used to being back in school. In March some students had exams, so the library was heavily used. The library was closed for a week in April, which explains why the numbers were lower then. In May, the university students are on holiday, which explains why the numbers are lower that month also.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Month & February & March & April & May \\
\hline
Visitors & 100 & 150 & 90 & 50 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{17} The Windhoek Public Library was closed for renovations, and some of the staff were asked to work in other libraries as a result.
Some of the administrators at NLAS asked me to report on the statistics at both of my case libraries. For this reason, I spent some time compiling the statistics collected by the staff and also handed out a short survey. The survey was designed to gather some simple information about the library and the people using it. The staff helped translate the survey into Afrikaans, but almost no one filled out the Afrikaans version. The survey asked how often people used the library, which neighborhood they lived in; what they did when they visited the library; which school, if any, they attended; and had two open questions asking how they found the library and if they had anything else to say. The staff helped hand out the surveys, and after 100 surveys were filled out, we compiled the results.
People using the library came from a wide variety of neighborhoods. Most, 67%, came from the two neighborhoods between which the library sits, in the chart below these are marked as the neighborhoods within a kilometer of the library. Over 20% came from nearby neighborhoods, marked on the chart as within two kilometers of the library. A few, about 10% of the people who filled out the survey, mentioned that they came from the informal new neighborhoods to the north of Katutura, about 3 kilometers away.

Table 5.18: Distance traveled to visit the library. This chart shows the distance between where people mentioned they lived on the survey and the library.

Most also stated that they visited the library frequently with over sixty percent stating that they visit the library once a week or more. This may be a reflection of the way the survey was taken, as it was more likely to be given to frequent library users, since it was handed out by staff in the library. Thirty percent also said they only come during exams, and the survey was given during exam time.
Table 5.19: Frequency of library use: People filling out the survey, were asked how often they use the library. Numbers were almost evenly divided between those who use it every day, every week or only during exams. The survey was done during exam time.

Eighty-five percent of the answers to the open-ended questions about the library were positive and appreciative of the library service. Most of the criticisms were really demands for more service, such as a desire for computers, more space or Saturday hours. The survey responses gave the impression that the library was very popular and highly useful, but too small. This, again, may have been a factor of when the survey was given, as the library was full at exam time.

5.2.5. Use

In many ways, the library seemed functional, doing exactly what it had been designed to do: giving people in the community a place to sit and study. This functionality appeared to happen through the people using the library. Although the administrations of NLAS and the Rössing Foundation helped, as
did the staff, the main people responsible for creating a space of quiet study were the people quietly studying.

In interviews, people mentioned studying as the main reason for coming to the library with a secondary interest in the newspapers and the storybooks. One person explained to me that the other people in the library kept him motivated to study. In his words, “if I am studying with different people, now I am sure that I won’t get nervous or panic or change my mind to study.” Another mentioned that he came with a friend. “It is better to study with a friend.” A woman mentioned that when she tried to study at home she became sleepy and was easily distracted.

The reason for using the library, according to everyone I interviewed, as well as my observations of people in the library centered on studying. As one person put it, “The library is about learning. If you want to learn something, go to the library.” Most of the people observed in the library were studying. One woman explained that, “Education is the key to success, to a better living standard.” When I pressed her on this, she further explained that, “Education improves everything. If you are educated you even get to choose what is right and wrong. You become open. You have a mindset that helps you choose what is right and wrong.”

One person explained how his brother had been to school before him and was now making it possible for him to go to school. In his words, “It is my dream to come to study. I came from a long way. Because, since I write my grade 12, 2005, I was decided I would no more study because my result was
poor. I go to my uncle farm, I work there. Then from there, I get encouragement from my twin brother, who study and pass at Polytechnic and graduate. Then he told me that ... ‘I pay for your [school]’. And then go prove yourself. From there I go and get better motivation.”

5.2.5.1. Children and Library Use

Most of the younger children were also using the library to do their homework. Others came with older siblings who were doing homework and read or paged through the books. I often read books with the children. I would read a page and they would read a page, or I would read a story and then they would. The children of all ages clearly enjoyed the storybooks, reading and being read to. For them, the library was about the storybooks and doing their schoolwork.

One time, when I was helping the children with their homework, I found that one of them was doing his Basic Information Skills (BIS) homework. BIS is the curriculum developed to help students learn how to search for information. It is not part of the exams, however, and can be skipped by some schools. I was delighted to see the homework of such a course, but found that it was actually just a list of “Library Rules” for the children to learn. The list of rules was much the same as the rules I had learned when I was in elementary school, and explained how to treat books carefully so as not to damage them, such as, “Do not read books with dirty hands. Wash hands before reading.” Or “Do not pull the books roughly from the shelf at the top of the spine. They should be taken gently by the middle of the spine.” One rule was odd, “Do not flood the corner of the page to keep your place.” The boy (whose homework it was) and I could
not figure this rule out. Much later, I realized it meant, “Do not FOLD the corner of the page.” The boy’s homework also defined a library this way, “What is a library? A collection of books in shelves, rooms or entire resource centre full of books.” The boy’s school has a library, but the children told me that they could not check books out of the library. They must read them there, and they usually had 40 minutes a week to do so. Another child informed me that his school had a library, and he could check out books, but if he lost one, he must pay $N100. Also, he was only able to check out storybooks (fiction). This exchange with the children was the closest I was able to get to a school library. The schools I managed to visit did not have a school library.

5.2.5.2. Computer use in the library

The only computer in the building was in the staff office. The staff did not appear to use it much. It was not hooked up to the Internet, and for much of the time that I was there it did not have word processing or other programs available. It did have the Britannica Children’s Encyclopedia loaded onto it, and one staff member often used it to find articles and print them for people. The library also had the Britannica Encyclopedia and two years’ worth of the World Book Encyclopedia in print format, all of which provide much the same information. When word processing became available, I was occasionally asked to type people’s resumes for them on it.

5.2.6. Interactions with other Organizations

As New Institutional Theory notes, interactions with other organizations can be a way to see the forces influencing the organization in question. When I first
came to the library, the back patio of the library was being used by the Penduka Organization as a place to conduct TB testing and to help people in the community find out more about TB treatment and ways to live with the disease. This partnership ended shortly after I started visiting the library. I was surprised by its ending, because no one mentioned it to me or talked about why the library was hosting them or why it decided to finish hosting. The Penduka organization just moved elsewhere.

This was my only observation of a formal agreement between the library and another organization. School children often used the library to complete assignments and they mentioned to me that their teacher had instructed them to visit the library or to use the Internet to complete the assignments. The schools were therefore aware of the library as a place for students to find information. The teachers did not themselves, in my observation, visit the library to make sure that the assignments could be carried out as they had stated. (This is unfortunately very typical of teachers the world over. Teachers give assignments with great trust in the libraries or the Internet to provide the information, but of course, it isn’t always as easy to find as they perceive).

The library briefly had an agreement with the local grocery store for the purchase of magazines. This arrangement was set up by the Rössing Foundation, and was carried out through negotiations between the Library Assistant and the grocery store workers. It was reached later in my stay and did not seem to be working smoothly.
5.2.7. Interesting Incidents

The previous descriptions attempted to paint a picture of what the was normal or typical in the library. Life at the library was quite similar from day to day. Although it is important, especially from the perspective of New Institutional Theory, to understand the every day, the unusual can be more illuminating of what is happening beneath the surface. In this section, I will try to describe incidents or experiences (or non-experiences) that were revealing to me. The first item of interest is about my inability to connect deeply with anyone at the Katutura Rössing Library.

One of the more interesting aspects of the Katutura Rössing Library was that I never felt at home. I spent time with the staff and enjoyed getting to know them and to help with some of the tasks of the library (when asked). I also spent time in the library, either in the study room or in the children’s room. I expected that I would get to know some of the people, but this did not ever really happen. Everyone was nice to me, but there was always a distance.

Children often do not have the distance that adults do, partly because they saw me as a teacher or the equivalent and were willing to interact with me in this way. I spent time helping them with homework, singing songs, telling stores, and so forth. Many of the children were friendly, but they did not come every day, and I did not build any kind of relationship with them. The minute I started to know them and they started to know me, we would stop seeing each other and then I would come and there would be new children to talk to.
I could never fully decide what this meant – whether this was about me or about the library. I speculated that the distance I felt at this library was due to the neighborhood. Because the children in the neighborhood appeared better off than those in the Greenwell neighborhood (as described in the following section: 4.2.3), they had more choices of places to study and go. So, they did not come to the library every day as the only space in which they could hang out other than their homes. The adults in the library indicated in the interviews that they had a community spirit amongst themselves. Their focus at the library, however, was on studying and so, when I would come into the study room and sit for an afternoon, it wasn’t enough time for them to get to know me or start talking to me.

The second interesting incident happened one day when I was in a taxi, which stopped at a petrol station. Some children were walking by and they saw me and stopped to say hello. They recognized me from Greenwell Matongo Community Library (I recognized them, but did not know them well). They told me that they were going to the Katutura Rössing Library because it had a bigger collection of books (this was after the second set of books was delivered from CLS). I was slightly surprised by this, because I always thought of Greenwell as the larger library (partly because it had larger rooms and partly because it had the computers). The children explained that they needed a book on volcanoes, which they knew to be available at the Katutura-Rössing Library. I remembered that that book had been very popular the day before in that library. This incident made me wonder if the Greenwell children were in school with the
other children and that was how they knew about the book, but unfortunately, I did not ask them. The libraries are around 3 kilometers apart, so the distance is walkable.

A third incident was that the Katutura Rössing Library closed to be repainted in April. The Rössing Foundation paid for this. The staff discussed the issue of painting for a while before hand, and then closed the library. Unfortunately, they appeared to close the library right before exams for the university students and then re-open it when the university students were on vacation. While it was closed, a number of people complained. Some said they had nowhere else to go to study. This incident re-emphasized the distance that the staff had from the people in the library. Instead of talking to people and discussing the repainting with them, so that they could find a time when it would work, the staff organized the painting around their own schedule. They did not appear to recognize that the people using the library needed it as a place to study, and would not need it as much during their vacation.

5.2.8. Summary of Findings
Katutura Rössing Library was originally started by a charity foundation, the Rössing Foundation, which still was partly responsible for its operation during the time I was there. The library was in the process of being turned over to the government to be run by the Community Library Service. This should have allowed me to see how the CLS encoded its organizational norms onto a new library, although not much of this seemed to take place.
The library seemed to me to be mostly a self-service library. The majority of the adults who used the library interacted very little with the staff. Some would enter the library and spend the day in the front room, never speaking to a staff member. Others would interact with staff to borrow the newspaper or use the toilet. A few would make use of the materials in the library. The children interacted with the library in a similar way, although a few of them asked for help from the staff with their homework. The staff were attentive to the use of materials in the library and did help the children, but made little effort to market the library to the community or to interact with people.

5.3. Greenwell Matongo Community Library

The Greenwell Matongo Community Library started in 2005 and has a much briefer and thus different history from that of the Katutura Library. This section gives an overview of the history, the layout and use of the library and the interactions with other organizations.

5.3.1. History and Administration

Greenwell Matongo Library was built in 2005, and came into existence through the efforts of many people. The library is administered by a partnership group consisting of the City of Windhoek Community Development Office, the Community Library System through the Ministry of Education, the Department of Communication and Information Science at the University of Namibia, and the sister city of Vantaa, Finland. A few members of the community of Greenwell Matongo were also interested in having a library, and they brought
this interest to the City of Windhoek. Each of these groups had a particular interest in the library.

The Community Development Office, as its name suggests, has a mission of helping communities develop. As such, it has been working for many years with the new settlements of people in the Katutura area. As described earlier, these new settlements are often called “informal settlements” because people moving from rural areas to Windhoek constructed temporary housing from corrugated iron sheets\(^\text{18}\). In these settlements, services such as electricity and running water are difficult to supply, and the Community Development Office has been working on various ways to bring these services to the settlements in a reasonable way. One of the services they have managed to bring many of the settlements is a community centre. In the Greenwell Matongo Community Centre, a library is included. The Community Centre is run by the Community Development Office, which also oversees the library to an extent.

The Community Library Service is always willing to build another library if the municipality is interested and engaged. Since independence, new libraries were being built all over Namibia (as I will discuss in section 4.3). Once the Community Library Service heard about the desire for a library in the Greenwell Community, they put together plans for the library and it was built to these specifications. According to one informant, the original room of the library was mostly furnished with bookshelves. The community instantly complained about _______________

\(^{18}\) The term "corrugated iron sheets" comes from the 2001 Population and Housing Census to describe the material used to build these houses. You can see these sheets in figure 4.5.
the lack of study space, and so, more tables and chairs were added. The CLS had been replicating their plans of other libraries in the country. These mostly housed books for people to borrow and read at home. They were surprised to find that this community wanted a library that would offer a safe and quiet space to study.

The professors at the University of Namibia had been interested in creating a model library that would change how library service was done in Namibia. As noted above, the Community Library Service had an idea for how libraries should function – as places to borrow books to read at home. These professors thought that libraries could also be used as information providers that would help people economically and reduce poverty. To do this, a new type of library was needed, one that emphasized the provision of information in ways that would be accessible and informative to everyone. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library offered them a library that could be run along the model that they had in mind. They were also anxious to have a place to carry out studies of information and library use. The library offered both of these opportunities.

The City of Vantaa in Finland has a number of projects with Windhoek as part of their sister-city agreement. As do most Scandinavian countries, Finland has a vibrant public library system that supports a strong reading culture and the high levels of education found in their country. Finnish citizens have also been involved in Namibia for a long time, first as missionaries and then as strong SWAPO and liberation supporters. The work through the sister-city
program is a way to continue this involvement. The Finns working on the project are all from libraries in Finland, mostly from Vantaa. Some of them also worked in libraries elsewhere in Africa.

The Greenwell Matongo Community Library was thus built for the community and the community leaders who demanded it. Its funding came from Finland and the Community Development Office. These partners continue to meet at least yearly to discuss the project. While I was observing, the Finns visited the library twice – once as part of another trip and once on a long trip to oversee the project and the library. During my time observing, the University Professors were not much involved with the library, but I was able to read reports of previous involvement. One community elder continued to visit the library, but I was told another formerly interested community elder no longer visited (I did not discover the reason why).
5.3.2. Building and Layout
The library is inside the community centre, and actually behind another building. The centre has three buildings: the front building that has a soup kitchen, a large community room, and some offices. To the left of that building is a bathroom, and behind it is the library.
The library opened in 2006 and was immediately heavily used, according to a June 1st 2006 article in *The Namibian*¹⁹. I visited in 2006, and found the staff eager and friendly. At that time the library consisted of one big room with a large circulation desk. Some seating was available, especially at a long desk under the windows that faced the community centre.

In 2008, the library was expanded. A computer room and a study room were both added to the building. The study room was at the request of the

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community who continued to want more study space in the library. The library originally had three computers, and sixteen more were added in the computer room. The Finns paid for the expansion and Internet access. The computer room could also be used to teach computer classes.

In 2009, the main room was still the original room of the library. About one third of it was for children and had a large bookshelf of picture and chapter books. This area also had small tables and chairs for the children to use.

The photocopier was on one side of the circulation desk, and on the other side were three computers and the public printer. To print an item, a person needed to use one of those computers and not one of the computers in the computer room. Having the printer and the photocopier near to the circulation desk was convenient because people often needed help with these tasks. Many people needed to make a copy of their identification card, a complicated task that requires photocopying both sides of the card on one piece of paper and also changing the shading so that the picture on the card can be visible. Computer users often ran into problems, sometimes because they did not know how to do something on the computer, and sometimes because of all the viruses on these computers (anti-viral software was on only one or two computers).
Figure 5.22: Layout of the Greenwell Matongo Community Library. The picture is not to scale but shows the general layout and relative spacing.

Figure 5.23: The children's area at Greenwell Matongo Community Library
Figure 5.24: Children playing Monopoly in the children's area of Greenwell Matongo Community library
Figure 5.25: Greenwell Matongo Community Library photocopier in use. Behind the photocopier is the door to the computer lab.

Figure 5.26: Greenwell Matongo Community Library – view from the circulation desk towards the study room.
Figure 5.27: In the stacks of the Greenwell Matongo Community Library

Figure 5.28: By the reference collection of the Greenwell Matongo Community Library
Figure 5.29: The study room in Greenwell Matongo Community Library

Figure 5.30: Men reading in front of the circulation desk of Greenwell Matongo Community Library
5.3.3. The Collection

The collection, on the bookshelves in the other area of the room, was carefully arranged by language (English, Afrikaans and Indigenous languages) and audience (Adult, Teens and Children). The non-fiction was organized according to the Dewey Decimal system. In many ways, this collection was very similar to the one in the Katutura Rössing Library.

A shelf was devoted to items in Indigenous languages, but only a few books were there. Most of the materials in the local languages are published cheaply, and so the items look less interesting than others in the collection. Much of the material available was not in languages of interest to people in the library. Most of the people in the area spoke an Oshiwambo dialect or Otjiherero (both Bantu languages), but many of the materials were in Nama/Damara or other Khoisan languages.

5.3.4. Typical Day in the Library

Figures 5.22 – 5.29 show typical scenes from the library. Just as in the Katutura Community Library, each day in the library was fairly similar to the one before it. On a typical day in 2009, a few people would be congregated around the photocopier making copies, and possibly asking the staff for help. Some people would be reading or studying in the main room, and some in the study room. If the Internet was working, a few people would be in the computer room on the Internet and a few others would be typing on the computers. Children would be playing, reading or doing homework in the children’s section. The
staff would be helping people use the photocopier, print from the computers, and use the collection, including handing out newspapers on request.

5.3.4.1. Statistics

The library staff kept statistics by filling out a form provided by CLS. The form asked them to keep track of the number of people in the library for three days each month. The staff collected this information by asking people to sign in as they came into the library and by counting the children. The count of people was done in categories: children, primary/secondary school students, NamCOL students, University students, Typing, Internet use, and other. They also kept track of the number of books checked out and the number of new members for each month. The three days were averaged together to give an estimate of the number of monthly visits to the library. I collected the statistics for February through May of 2009 from the statistics sheets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Visits:</th>
<th>Daily:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>9239</td>
<td>460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>6695</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>6903</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>9972</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.31: Number of visitors each month at Greenwell Matongo Community Library

These statistics state that between 300 and 500 people used the library every day in 2009.
As I mentioned, the staff counted different groups of people, children, primary/secondary school students, NamCOL\textsuperscript{20} students, university students, and other, as well as how many people typed on the computer and how many used the Internet. Reading over my field notes, I was confused about how the people using the computers were counted because they were often university students. I do not know if they were counted twice. The group counts for February through May on average look something like this (I did not include January because many people were on vacation, and therefore use of the library was low during that month).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary/Secondary</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NamCOL</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typing</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.32: Average number of visitors according to the statistics collected for the Greenwell Matongo Community Library (by group as labeled on their statistics sheet)

The statistics were a source of tension between the staff at Greenwell Matongo Community Library and the CLS because somehow the paper with the statistics never seemed to make it to the CLS. At one point, the explanation was that the fax machine in the CLS office did not print them clearly. The staff at Greenwell Matongo Community Library faxed them to a

\textsuperscript{20} NamCOL stands for Namibian College of Open Learning and is a semi-distance education program for students who failed to pass the Grade 10 exam, but wished to continue their education.
different machine and had them delivered, but this didn’t work, so I walked
them over and handed them to an administrator. Still, at a meeting, an
administrator at CLS claimed not to have gotten them.

I could not understand this problem (particularly after I handed the
papers to the administrator and then heard her claim she hadn’t gotten them at
a meeting) because the statistics were important to CLS and NLAS. They used
the statistics recording how heavily used the Greenwell Matongo Community
Library was to justify the renovations for the Windhoek Public Library, which
would have computers after the renovations were completed.

5.3.4.1.1. Survey Statistics

As I mentioned in the section on Katutura Rössing Library, some of the
administrators at NLAS asked me to report on the statistics at both of my case
libraries (see section 4.2.2.4.1). I used a similar survey in Greenwell Matongo
Community Library, which asked how often people used the library; which
neighborhood they lived in; what they did when they visited the library; which
school, if any, they attended. I also included three open questions asking how
they found the library, what they thought of the computers (an addition, this
question was not asked in the Katutura Rössing Library survey), and if they had
anything else to say. The staff helped hand out the surveys, and after 100
surveys were filled out, we compiled the results.

As I noted earlier, the library was often full. It seemed to me that many of
the people in the library came often, and the survey supported this idea. The
survey asked if people used the library every day, a few days a week, weekly, or
monthly. The responses were as follows: 36 people said that they used the library every day, 26 said they used it multiple times in the week, 22 said they used it once a week and 13 said they used it once a month. For simplicity I have compressed the numbers to those who use it weekly or monthly. The graph shows that 13 people said they used the library monthly and 87 people said they used the library every week.

Table 5.33: Library use as reported on the survey.

As with the Katutura-Rössing Library, I was interested in the people using the library, and in particular which neighborhood they came from. I wanted to know how far people were travelling to use the library or whether people from the surrounding neighborhood were the only ones using the library. The survey asked people to report which neighborhood they came from, and the library collected an additional source of data about this that I used to confirm the survey data. The library staff asked people when they used the newspaper or a ready reference book to sign the item out, and to tell them which neighborhood
they came from when they signed it out. I looked through several days of these sign out sheets to get a sense of people’s stated neighborhood. The different data sets were collected at different times of the year. The results from the survey showed that seventy-three people said they lived within one kilometer of the library, eighteen said they lived within two kilometers and nine said they lived within three kilometers (roughly – some of the neighborhoods span a great distance, so someone in one neighborhood may be within a kilometer of the library and someone else may be within two). I looked through 122 entries for people signing out the newspaper, and converted these to percents to make them more easily comparable with the survey data. 63% listed their neighborhood as within one kilometer of the library, 23% listed a neighborhood within two kilometers of the library and 14% listed a library that was greater than two kilometers away.

![Pie chart showing distances to the library]

**Table 5.34: Distance people lived from the library. The top graph shows the data from the survey, and the bottom graph shows the data from the log.**
The two data sources differ slightly, but both show that the libraries were mainly used (according to what people said) by people from relatively nearby neighborhoods. The two data sources may have been biased towards one group over another. The surveys were mostly filled out by secondary school students, university students and a few adults. The newspaper and ready reference list may have been filled out by more adults, because many adults come just to read the newspaper. Children and people using the photocopier were unlikely to report on either data source.

Despite this possible bias, the surveys made clear that the libraries were heavily used by people in the nearby community and that a few people were willing to travel more than three kilometers to use the library. This finding is similar to the data from Katutura Rössing.

5.3.4.1.2. Survey Open-ended questions

The survey also revealed in the open-ended questions that some of the people who use the library to study would prefer complete silence. The children who visit the library make noise, and a few people complained about this. In any library, the circulation desk (and the computers and photocopy machine) can also generate a certain amount of noise as people ask questions, and the machines are noisy. The complaints about noise, however, focused on the children. At the partner meeting, this topic was raised as well. Some of the partners had already been thinking about building the children a separate room, so that the children could make noise without bothering the other people in the library.
5.3.5. Use

This need for a quiet space to study was also mentioned frequently in interviews and discussions with community members. The Greenwell Matongo Community is not quiet. Many of the shebeens (informal bars) and other businesses play music loudly and otherwise make noise. A few people noted that the community is loud and people are moving around all night.

A few informants mentioned that they study in the library because there are fewer distractions than there are in their homes. The presence of other people studying also motivates them to study further. At home, they can get up to eat or to play music, but this is not possible in the library. One informant mentioned that when she tries to study at home, she is often interrupted. People stop by to say hello. In the tradition of her culture, Oshiwambo, she must greet them and invite them in and talk to them. She cannot say, excuse me, I need to study at this time, can you come back later. She therefore comes to the library to escape these kindly interruptions. She also sometimes sleeps during the day and rises late at night so that she may study when people are unlikely to visit.

People who did not live in the area were also quick to point out that the houses are very small, so that people use the library to study because they do not have space to study at home. The informants in the library never mentioned this reason. They did note that studying at the library was nice because the dictionary and other resources were available to them.
University students used the Greenwell Matongo Community Library in lieu of travelling to their university to use the library there. Most of them did so because they could not afford to get to the university every day. This meant that many of them wanted the community library to have the resources that they needed for their university education—resources a small library collection could not possibly offer them. The university was working on making more resources available electronically and remotely, but this was not yet at a stage to be useful to the students (even if the Internet connection had worked consistently enough to make it possible).

5.3.5.1. Children and Use

Children did use the library, and were sometimes noisy. Unlike in the Katutura Rössing Library, there was no separate room for the children, just a space in front of the circulation desk and next door to the computer room. The children in the neighborhood went to school in shifts, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, so children were always in the library, although it was quieter in the morning.

The children read books, did puzzles and played games. The library had a Monopoly game, which was falling to pieces when I arrived (and was replaced by a friend of mine later). They also had a number of jigsaw puzzles, most with a few pieces missing. A few of the children amazed me with their ability to work on a difficult puzzle for hours. The librarians sometimes made paper and crayons available to the children, although paper was always in short supply.
The children also used the library to study and find material for homework assignments. As I mentioned earlier, the homework assignments were often similar to those of children at the other library.

The librarian offered story times to the children occasionally. During May, when school was not in session, the library had regular movie times for the children, although finding a good space was difficult as other people in the library wanted quiet. They showed some Nigerian films as well as some Disney films. Any library activity of this sort was well attended by children in the neighborhood.

5.3.5.2. Computer Use

Greenwell Matongo Community Library had two-three computers when it was first built. These computers and a public printer are still there and sit close to the circulation desk. One of the computers was unusable during the time of my visit because of viruses, but the other two were in constant use. Another fifteen computers were in a room to the left of the circulation desk, beyond the children’s section. This room was also outfitted with a projector so that classes could be offered.

The Internet was available on a few of the computers, but not all. The Finns paid for the Internet through the City of Windhoek, purchasing six gigabytes of Internet transfer (uploads or downloads of bits over the internet). People could check e-mail, surf the web, and download music and so forth. Usually the six gigabytes were used up after about two weeks by these activities, and Internet was not available for the rest of the month.
When I first arrived, people had to be members of the library in order to use the Internet. Membership in the library required filling out a form and paying $N6 per year (roughly $US0.85). After the Finns visited in September, however, the rule was changed so that anyone could use the Internet at any time. I left in October, and so I did not see if this change made a large difference in the use of the computers.

Computer classes were offered, but always by outsiders. CISP, an Italian NGO, offered a class that taught Internet and Microsoft Office basics. People who attended the courses were given $N250 at the end of the course. Because demand for the course was very high, the librarian asked if I would also teach a similar course, which I did. The librarian was also working to have university students volunteer to teach some courses, but was unsuccessful.

Three or four young men were called “volunteers” and helped out in the computer room regularly. They kept track of the people on the computers and made sure that everyone got to use them fairly. They also helped out when people had questions about how to use the computers. Many people paid them to type a CV or other documents on the computers. In exchange, these men were able to use the computers all day. They downloaded games and movies to some of the computers to the great enjoyment of many of the young library users.

On the surveys, many people expressed appreciation of the computers, although a few mentioned that they never used them. Regardless of whether the Internet was working, the computers were always in use. The children liked
to type on the computers, often bringing a book from the children’s section and trying to type the words into the computer.

The computers, more than any part of the library, showed the complexity of the administration. They were paid for by the Finns, maintained by the city, and the staff had to oversee them day-to-day. The City IT staff were responsible for maintaining the computers, but these people also maintained the computers for the rest of the city government. They were extremely busy and could not easily help with the maintenance of the library computers. The computers built up viruses regularly, and only one or two of them had anti-virus software protection. In addition, the programs on the computers varied from computer to computer. The staff had a scanner, but could not use it because they couldn’t upload the software to the staff computer without help from the city IT staff.

The staff had been trained on computers and one of the staff members was trying to get more training. Some of the people working for the Community Development Office accused the staff of not knowing enough about the computers. They also accused people in the area of stealing batteries from inside the computers (of which I saw no evidence). This second accusation occurred right before the Finns’ visit, when the Community Development Office came out to inspect the library and make sure that it would make a good impression on the Finns.

The Finns spent much of their visit working with the IT staff from the City to make sure that the computers and the Internet would work for the Greenwell
Matongo Community Library. They wanted continuous Internet service, and not the half-a-month service that was being delivered. They were negotiating to change the terms of the service provided – no longer offering only six gigabytes and to change the IT service to the library so that viruses and other computer problems would no longer disrupt service.

5.3.6. Interactions with other organizations
The Greenwell Matongo Community Library is built inside the Greenwell Matongo Community Center. One would therefore assume that the primary organizations with which it would interact would be the other organizations associated with the community center. The staff at the library did know all of the people working in other areas of the community center. The interaction seemed to stay on a friendly basis, and did not appear to me to include professional interaction or planning. One of the community leaders who was, I was told, instrumental in building the library and the community center visited the library frequently. She lived close by. A few people indicated that she had some authority over how the community center was used, but I never understood just how. My lack of understanding was partly because she did not speak English, so conversations with her were through interpreters.

In most ways, however, the library seemed quite separate from the community center. I will, however, start with a discussion of what I observed taking place in the community center and then discuss the organizations with which the library did interact.
The community center consists of three buildings, all built behind a wall that encompassed quite a bit of space beyond the buildings. The center is built about half a block from Eveline Street—a paved street near a four-way stop sign. The first building of the community center (Picture 15) has a number of rooms, including a kitchen, a main hall, and a few office spaces. The kitchen made soups and bread, and the bread was for sale for $N1 per piece (usually made in cupcake size rolls). It was described to me as a soup kitchen and a place that fed the hungry in the neighborhood. I only occasionally saw soup cooked there, and sometimes children eating the soup. I do not know if they paid for the soup or not. I often bought the rolls from the kitchen.

The main hall was often used for church services by a variety of congregations that did not have their own church building. It was also used in the evenings to host classes for adults. I attended these classes one day and promoted the library to the learners, but I do not think any of them came, partly because they were not able to visit the library except on Saturday. Although the teacher of one of the classes visited the library often, she and the staff seemed to have no plans to encourage library use among her students.

The City of Windhoek also used the space to conduct community meetings twice a year. The City of Windhoek conducted these meetings in all of the neighborhoods of Windhoek. One or two elected officials from the neighborhoods would meet with anyone who came to discuss the needs of the neighborhood. I attended one of the meetings in Greenwell Matongo. The meeting was conducted in English, Afrikaans, Oshiwambo, and Otjiherero. The
leaders checked often to make sure that they were covering all of the languages of those in the audience. At one point, however, one of the elected officials started speaking in Oshiwambo, and his statements were not translated. Most of the discussion was about the usual municipal needs—traffic monitoring and security. The discussion started out with a list of concerns from the previous meeting and what was being done (or not done) to meet those needs. The list was long, and the meeting took over two hours. Some of the complaints discussed were quite particular, relating to one group of informal settlements (perhaps 10 families), and for example, requesting a toilet. Other complaints were focused more on the larger community and were, for example, about the need for a stop sign at an intersection. I only heard the discussion of the previous complaints; I was not able to stay at the meeting to hear if new complaints were brought up.

I couldn’t help thinking that it would be wonderful to have the notes from the previous meeting (which one of the government officials had brought with them) available in the library; this idea had clearly not occurred to anyone there.

The City of Windhoek was also hoping, according to a few informants, to take over one of the offices in the community center to be used by a librarian. They had plans to hire a librarian as a community development officer. This librarian would oversee the Greenwell Matongo Community Library and the Maxiulili Community Library. The position was not posted during the time I was
there. This person would have added more of a library presence to the community center. In 2010, the position was filled.

5.3.6.1. Other Organizations

Before I arrived, the staff at the library wrote to the nearby primary schools about the library. The letters encouraged the local schools to use the library. One school responded by sending a teacher and some students on a visit. The principal said that the teacher arranged the transportation, which may mean that the children walked the kilometer from school to the library. The other principal responded with further demands of the library. The letters also requested that the teachers encourage the students to become members of the library. Neither of the schools have school libraries. In addition, when the Finns came to visit the library and see how their project was going, they visited the schools in the area. These interactions were formal, between the librarian and the schools.

Informal interactions were more typical. Students from both schools were frequent users of the library. Students used the library materials to complete some school assignments. I could not imagine how the students could complete the assignments without the use of the library. Some assignments asked for pictures of various farm animals, and so on, which for most children were only available at the library. I discussed this issue with some older students, and they said that if there were no library, students would find pictures from old magazines, often at a neighbor's house. I had thought that completing the assignments required money because one had to have a copy of
the picture, but the older students assured me that it was possible to fulfill the requirements even if one was quite poor. In that case, one would use the borrowed material from a neighbor and not make a photocopy.

In addition to these interactions with the schools and their students, the library also interacted with some of the nearby businesses. Some of the interaction seemed trivial; people needing change for the photocopier were sent to the barbershop across the street. Other interactions were more substantial. When the library hosted a celebration of the library during the Library Campaign in September, a few businesses were invited to sell their foods during the celebration. One business seemed to do well, but another did not. I don’t know if this practice of food selling will become standard practice.

Business owners were also encouraged to take computer classes at the library and to learn how to use software for their accounting and such. The computer classes took place while the Finns were visiting, and were taught by one of them. The classes appear to have been somewhat successful, because later the Finns noted that people were using the computers for this purpose.

As previously mentioned, CISP, an Italian NGO, also used the library’s computer lab to offer classes to the community. This was the only NGO I witnessed partnering with the library.

5.3.7. Interesting Incidents
As mentioned in the section on Katutura Rössing Library, the description of the Greenwell Matongo Community Library above tends to focus on the typical day in the library and summarizes what I observed in my frequent visits. The
following paragraphs focus on incidents that were not typical, and through their oddness, gave me insights.

The library was used as part of a tour of attractions for potential funders to Namibia at least twice. Once, the director of NLAS visited the library with people from the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a US aid agency, to show them what the Information Resource Centers, which they are funding for the regions, would be like when built. Another time, the Community Development Officer from the City of Windhoek brought some people from Cuba through the library. They were going to be funding a program at the Maxiulili Community Center’s library, a library in the informal settlements. Again, they were visiting Greenwell Matongo Community Library to see an example of what could be in the other library. Because the Greenwell library is so heavily used and lively, it makes a good example for selling projects to potential funders.

The library hosted two events during my time of observation. The first event was for World Book Day, although plans for the event started with Namibia’s Independence Day. The librarian worked with local children to put together a program of events, including a fashion show and a small drama. The events took place in the main community hall. The librarian also made a book display. Before the event, the children drew pictures of the library and a few wrote stories. The stories were typed up and made into a book that the children could find in the library collection.

The second event coincided with the visit from the Finns and a nationwide celebration of libraries (more about this in the section on the
current library situation). This event featured a drama and dancing by local groups. Parts of the drama and some of the dancing can be seen here:
http://sites.google.com/site/greenwellmatongo/events-and-happenings.
Speeches were given by one of the community elders and an administrator from the library. Both of these events at the library were well attended. The World Book Day event attracted mostly children, but the library celebration attracted a large number of adults as well.

Both of these events appeared to be part of the librarian’s desire to host programming in the library. She knew that programming was part of her duties as a librarian. She worked with students and members of the community to plan and carry out the programs. They were heavily attended by members of the community and brought more attention to the library.

5.3.8. Summary of Findings
Greenwell Matongo Community Library was built in 2005 through a partnership agreement among the City of Windhoek’s Community Development Office, the City of Vantaa’s sister city program with Windhoek, the Community Library Service, and the University of Namibia. The partners wanted to build a library that would work with the community to alleviate poverty and improve people’s life chances, in the spirit of the UPLM.

The library was heavily used by the community, mainly by secondary and university students working on their school assignments, but also by people wanting to make photocopies or read the newspaper and by children playing with puzzles or reading storybooks. The library staff worked with the
community to provide some programs for the library, mostly focused on children.
6. National Organizational Field: Namibia’s public libraries

The previous chapter (5) described the instantiations of the library that I used as my case study. This chapter discusses the organizational form of the public library in Namibia. The theoretical framework I laid out situated the actual libraries in their local environment, but understood that the organizational form for those libraries would be based on the interactions at the national level of the organizational field. My observations in the libraries and in the organizational field, as well as historical and present day documents about the library, informed my understanding of this organizational field. In this chapter, I describe the middle field of my theoretical model (see Figure 5.1, for a larger view of this figure, see Figure 4.1).
The description of the national organizational field has two parts. The first is a history of the libraries, which is important in explaining the roots of the organizational form as well as being helpful in showing the different organizational forms for the libraries. The second part is a description of the current state of the libraries, a tour of the organizational field as I drew it in the picture of the theoretical framework (Figure 6.1).

6.1. History

As I discussed in the previous chapter, during my time in the two libraries that served as my case studies, I became aware that the historical ideas about the library were important in the current practice. This awareness sent me to the National Library and the National Archives in Windhoek. This chapter describes
what I found in the archives and has two main parts, the pre-Independence era (1900-1989) and the ten years directly following independence (1990-1999). After Namibia gained independence, many changes took place, and these changes highlight what was historically in place as well as what was newly expected.

Historical understandings of the organization are part of many studies using New Institutional Theory. As New Institutional Theory notes, the process of institutionalization is ongoing (Barley and Tolbert, 1997) and can be thought of as a sequence. The sequence might look like this: yesterday, a library was built in a community and community leaders hosted a ceremony to open the doors. During the ceremony they introduced the library and gave the library certain meaning through their choice of words. Today, people use the library within the context of what they learned about it yesterday from the speech. An example of the types of remarks that are made at these celebrations might be this one: “I remember, it is true, the time I started schooling way back in the early sixties, so libraries were places where many of us were not allowed to go.” This was stated at a celebration of a library, and gives a sense of the history of the public library in Namibia as a privileged space, even as the celebration emphasizes that the library is now open to everyone.

To understand the sequence of the institutionalization process, therefore, I had to understand the idea of the library from the past in order to see it accurately in its current instantiation. In particular, various ways of doing business in the library often felt to me, as an outsider, as vestiges of previous
ways of doing, such as the membership fee. To understand where some of these ways of doing business came from, I looked into the historical record. As I did so, I began to recognize the different notions of the public library, one of my key findings (see Chapter 4). The historical narrative in this section tries to clarify both the historical notion of the public library in Namibia, and how I uncovered it, as well as the existence of the charity notion.

After Independence, Namibian society went through (and is still in) a period of great change. Many of the old rules and ways of doing changed or were supposed to change. Namibians often looked to international ideas of organizations to understand how things should be in the new country they were trying to build. This allowed the third idea of the public library, the international notion, to come into the country. I discuss these circumstances in a description of the 1990s.

ECM encourages a broader perspective because it uses a case study approach to ground the research in the local situation, but extends the case in two ways, one through theory and the other through understanding the case in the larger societal picture. In order to ground my understanding in the larger societal picture, I chose to locate my case studies in Windhoek, where, beyond the case-study libraries, I could have access to the administration of the national library system, to the National Archives, the National Library, and to other organizations associated with the community libraries. Observations in these areas gave me the insights into the history of public libraries and the library system in Namibia that is detailed in this section.
6.1.1. The Traditional Public Library in Namibia
The history of public libraries in Namibia provides insight into some of the current practices in libraries. As I talked with people, many informants mentioned that the libraries in the country were built to suit a White clientele, and that changing the structure of the library was difficult. The public libraries built before independence, according to my informants, were only open to Whites and were built near the White parts of town, thus making them geographically off-limits to non-Whites. My informants also thought that the service provided by the libraries was not in line with the needs of the non-White community.

6.1.1.1. The Swakopmund Public Library
I was intrigued by their comments, and made an effort to visit the Swakopmund Library, which was one of the first libraries to open in the country. I thought that this library would be representative of the libraries that my informants were discussing. I found it to be different from the two case study libraries in many ways, including the collection of materials available, and the layout of the library.

6.1.1.1.1. The collection
The Swakopmund library has materials in three languages, German, Afrikaans and English. The non-fiction material is arranged together in one room, following Dewey Decimal Classification, with the languages intermixed on the shelf. Three other rooms contain fiction materials, with a room for each language. The English and German rooms are roughly the same size as the non-
fiction room, and the Afrikaans fiction room is slightly smaller. I did some rough counts of the books on the shelves and found that the library appeared to have 2.5 times the amount of fiction material to non-fiction. This ratio is different from international guidelines for public libraries that suggest that fiction and non-fiction should be roughly equal, until a library collection reaches a certain size at which point non-fiction should be greater than fiction (Gill, 2001).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Fiction</th>
<th>German Fiction</th>
<th>English Fiction</th>
<th>Afrikaans Fiction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>13,500</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Book distribution in the Swakopmund Library

A few other languages were also represented. Three shelves of books contained “Namibia Language Books,” five shelves contained books in Dutch and five shelves contained books in French. This abundance of fiction was unexpected; I had thought that the collection would be more evenly divided between fiction and non-fiction. Later, I would learn that this abundance of fiction was representative of the older libraries.

6.1.1.1.2. The layout of the building

The Swakopmund public library had two parts. One part was for adults (and has been described above) and the other part was for children. In the adult section, there were a few tables and chairs for people to sit, but the rooms were cold. As I tried to make my observations, I became very cold and could not stay. I noticed that I was one of only three people spending a significant amount of time in the library; everyone else came in and left. This re-enforced the notion
of the library as a lending library, not a place to spend time. People came to find the books they wanted to read and left. It did not have many people sitting and studying or reading the newspaper as occurred in the Katutura Rössing Library or the Greenwell Matongo Community Library.

6.1.1.2. Membership Fee

The Swakopmund Library provided an interesting contrast to my case-study libraries, and this contrast encouraged me to understand the history of the library. As I mentioned, some of the institutionalized practices in the case libraries also made me curious about the history of the libraries. The most important of these was the membership fee. Anyone could come in and use a library, but to be a member of a library and therefore have the privilege of borrowing books (and in some libraries, using the computers or the Internet or other services), one had to be a member of that library. Membership for an adult in 2009 cost $N6.00 (worth approximately, $US0.60 for much of the time I was there, and with an approximate average of $US1.00 over the last five years). This allows the member to check out 3 books at a time for two weeks, and the circulation system is built around this checkout scheme (which I will discuss more in the part on the current workings of the libraries). A person can pay $N6.00 more to check out 6 books at a time (and can continue paying $N6.00 for every additional 3 books).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member Type</th>
<th>Membership Fee</th>
<th>Number of books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>$N1 / $US 0.15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>$N6 / $US 0.85</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Membership Fees
These two traits of the Namibian libraries, a large fiction collection (as seen at Swakopmund) and a membership fee, were different from the standard international library model of public library service. The UPLM and the accompanying guidelines both suggest that the library services should be freely available. The guidelines also state that fiction and non-fiction materials should be roughly equal in smaller collections, with non-fiction being greater in larger collections (Gill, 2001).

These features of Namibian libraries also seemed to be taken-for-granted attributes of the libraries, and for this reason, I wanted to know more about the history of their libraries. For this, I used the National Library and the National Archives. One report, *The state of Public Libraries in Namibia and the Need for Training for Public /Community Libraries* by Andree-Jeanne Tötemeyer and Cecilia Stander (1991) provides a history of the libraries. Using this report and documents from the Archives, I gained some insights into the history of public libraries in Namibia.

6.1.2. Early 1900s
The history of the public libraries in Namibia, then called Southwest Africa, starts with libraries developed by the German colonialists in the early 1900s, after Germany established colonial control in 1874. These libraries were private libraries available to the colonialists and funded by subscription fees (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). The Swakopmund Public Library was said to start during this time and in this way. In that time, worldwide, subscription...
libraries of this type were common, although the public library as a free library had started to emerge in the United States and Britain (see section 2.2.2).

6.1.3. 1920s-1940s
After World War I, Southwest Africa was put under the jurisdiction of South Africa and became one of its territories with an Administrator to take care of business, rather than a government. In 1920, a law was published\(^{21}\) in the *Government Gazette* promising that the government would match the money the libraries collected from subscription fees and other sources, if the library met certain stipulations. The stipulations were 1) the libraries would be open to all nationalities\(^{22}\), 2) the libraries would be run by a committee made up of members of the library and of local government, and 3) the library would spend only seventy-five percent of its book budget on fiction materials. I find this last stipulation to have an odd phrasing: *only* seventy-five percent of the budget may go towards fiction. This seems to show both in the phrasing and the intent of the law that these libraries were meant for pleasure reading and culture. They were not in support of information needs or education needs that would be more likely to be fulfilled with a strong non-fiction collection. They were also supported by a mixture of public and private funding, like libraries in South Africa (Dick, 2007) and unlike the public libraries in Britain that at this time legally did not have membership fees (Corbett, 1960).

\(^{21}\) I was unable to discover how laws were created, but they became law upon being published in the Government Gazette. South West Africa only had an Administrator at this time, and no legislature.

\(^{22}\) I asked one of the archivists about this, and was told that Nationalities meant Afrikaners or British and German descendants. It did not mean, according to him, all races nor any non-European nationality.
This law was re-published in 1923 containing the same provisions. In 1927, an ordinance established that interest free loans would be made available to towns wishing to build a public library. About 10 libraries existed under this framework. The table in Appendix 3 gives the town names for each library and the years that data about them were available in the archives and a map showing where the libraries were. These libraries served the White population, which in 1937 was listed as 31,155\textsuperscript{23} for the whole country. During a few years of the Second World War, library funding was not available, as South Africa’s budget was limited by the costs of the war.

Three important ideas about the libraries were established during this time period. First, the libraries were started and maintained as subscription libraries, which required a membership fee. These libraries allowed a certain elite group, White Namibians, access to the materials, if they paid a fee. Second, the library materials were mostly fiction. Third, these libraries were partially funded by the government and were governed by a committee of library members and local government.

6.1.4. 1950s-1970s
During the 1950s, South Africa’s relationship to South West Africa changed, and South West Africa began to be treated more as another province of South Africa and less as a territory to be administered. In 1948, the National Party, which had just seized power in South Africa, granted Namibia six seats in the

\textsuperscript{23} http://www.family-hipp.co.nz/site/klausdierks/FrontpageMain.html, viewed 5 November 2010.
Parliament and four seats in the Senate. Only White Namibians could vote in these elections (Thompson, 2001).

In South Africa at this time, some of the public libraries were switching to being completely publicly funded and ceasing to have membership fees (Dick, 2007). South Africa also had separate library services for non-Whites by this time, although not many libraries served non-White populations. Both of these situations would influence Namibia’s libraries.

In 1958, the Windhoek Public Library Committee wrote a letter to the administration of Southwest Africa and addressed a number of issues including funding, the need for a new building, that the library “must take the place of a University in SWA” (which is claimed as a quote from the administrator), and that the libraries in “the Union” (presumably South Africa) are free (non-subscription). This letter notes that the budget for the library was £1000 short of what was needed to run the library. It appeared to me that this letter served as the main impetus for the government to establish a commission to write a report about the state of the libraries in SWA.

Therefore in 1962, a commission was appointed by the Administrator of South West Africa to write a report about the public libraries (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). The report, Report of the Commission on Libraries in South West Africa April 1963, is still available for purchase in the archives.
The commission members\textsuperscript{24} are named on the report, but I could not judge if they were from South West Africa or South Africa. This important distinction was not mentioned anywhere that I could find, so I am unable to tell if the report is written by South West Africans who were interested in emulating the library services in South Africa, or if it was written by South Africans who wanted to bring to South West Africa the types of services available in South Africa (or a mixture).

The report is clearly influenced by South Africa’s libraries because it mentions the need to remove the membership fee, and it mentions that there are no library services for non-Whites. It also mentions *Standards for South African Public Libraries* that were produced by the South African Library Association in 1959.

The report found that there were fourteen public libraries in the country, although the authors did not feel that these were real public libraries because a membership fee was still required in thirteen of them, and the fourteenth (Walvis Bay) required people to pay a deposit before checking out material. These fourteen libraries were serving an approximate White population of 73,463 people. The fourteen towns with libraries can be seen in Appendix 4. The report emphasized the need for free library services. “The first condition for the achievement of this aim is that every citizen, in accordance with the laws of the land, without discrimination or barriers, shall have access to a

\textsuperscript{24} Commission Members are listed as Mr. J.T. Van Wyk (Chairman), Mrs. E.C. Groenewald, and Mr. C.A. de Wet, with Mr. C.J.J. van Vuuren as the secretary
public library, hence, that subscription or deposit libraries be replaced by free libraries” (pg. 6, van Wyk, 1963: emphasis in the original).

The report, which was in many ways critical of the libraries and their services, made a point of praising the hard work of the staff. It mentioned that the libraries were indebted to a small number of workers who believed deeply in library service and worked to make sure that these libraries would be available in their communities.

The report accomplished its goal. In 1968, The SWA Library Service Ordinance and Regulations became law, specifying that municipalities were responsible for the staff and the buildings for the library. A national library service under the Department of Education became responsible for the stock and “professional services” (I assume this means cataloging) (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991).

This law also specified that library services for Whites and non-Whites would be separate. Although previously the libraries did not serve non-Whites, this law was the first, according to Tötemeyer and Stander (1991) to state this in legal terms. I pointed out in section 6.1.3 that previous law stated that the library should be open to all nationalities, but did not specify that it should be open to all races. My guess is that the idea of offering library services to the non-White population did not exist until the writing of the later law when it was forbidden. By the time of the later law, there may have been some non-white library services offered through churches or charities. I did not find any evidence of these in the archives, but a few people mentioned that they did
exist (and Tötemeyer and Stander included a few libraries which served non-
White populations in their survey in 1990).

In 1969, a board of advisors for the library was set up under the
leadership of the Deputy Director of Education. This board of advisors oversaw
the central library service, which was responsible for providing the library
materials. Membership fees were removed (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). The
public libraries in the country could join the service, and if they did, the
members of the library would no longer have to pay a membership fee. Twelve
libraries eventually joined the service, and the number of subscription libraries
decreased (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). The libraries that joined received
their books from the national service, and this can still be seen in their books,
some of which are stamped with the Department of Education. Stamps for
books owned earlier name the town as the owner of the book.

This period of librarianship started with a desire for change in library
services and their funding. This desire resulted in a report of the libraries being
written and a new law being passed. Libraries became completely publicly
funded, and stopped having a membership fee. Library services were also
specified as separate for different races, and the libraries under the national
library service were only for Whites. The national library service was under the
department of education, and for the first time the libraries were associated
with education. I do not know if the level of fiction materials in the library
remained as high as it had been in the previous generation.
6.1.5. 1980s
In 1978, the relationship between South Africa and South West Africa shifted from one in which South West Africa was set to become another province to one in which South West Africa was set to become independent. This shift was in response to political pressure from the United Nations. South West Africa’s seats in the parliament and senate were confiscated in 1977, as the new Administrator of South West Africa, M.T. Steyn, prepared the territory for independence. From 1979-1983, South West Africa had a legislature of its own, but this was abolished by South Africa in 1983 (Cooper, 2001).

In 1981, the libraries, as part of all of the changes in government, were moved from the Department of Education to the Administration for Whites in the Cultural Promotions section of that department. With this change a membership fee was re-introduced (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). A survey in 1982 was carried out for a library directory of Southern African Libraries. The survey documents are available in the archives and reveal some items of interest all of which are available in Appendix 5. The highlights are as follows.

1. Sixteen libraries were serving a population of approximately 104,580 people. Libraries in larger towns were open many hours during the week, but libraries in smaller towns were open a few hours each week.
2. Libraries in town had “qualified” staff, presumably librarians trained at a library program in South Africa. Libraries in smaller towns had part time workers who were often listed as “unqualified.”
3. The library books were classified according to the 17th abridged version of the Dewey Decimal Classification system, a global standard for libraries at that time.

4. The average number of books owned by a library was around 6,850, with Windhoek a major outlier owning 62,832.

5. Interestingly, the survey asked for the date the library was established. All but one of the libraries was established before the law in 1968 set up the national service, but only 12 libraries joined the national service. As well, some of the dates do not match with the earlier records. For example, Otjiwarongo claims to have been established in 1952, but records show that a library in Otjiwarongo asked for money from the administration in 1935, 1938, and 1942. This shift in years of service suggests that library services were not consistently available in many towns.

6. The library membership fee was re-instated, and it was the same then as it is today in real terms. The fee for children was 1 Rand, and the fee for adults was 6 Rand. Today, the membership fee is $N1 for children and $N6 for adults (Namibian dollars are still tied to the Rand, and therefore $N1=R1). The worth of one Rand has changed from being worth slightly more than $US1 in 1982 (the time of the survey) to $US0.40 in 1989, to $US0.10 in 2009 (and $US0.15 today)\textsuperscript{25}. Thus, if we want to compare the

price of membership in today’s United States dollars, in 1982, it cost approximately $14 and in 2009, it cost 60¢ for a year membership and the right to borrow 3 books at a time.

7. All of the surveys have a small paragraph on the history of the libraries, and each one says that the library was “taken over by Cultural Promotions” in 1982. I found this an interesting word choice, as if the librarians had felt forced to be under Cultural Promotions.

In a report to the American Library Association World Encyclopedia written in 1984 and found in the archives, the librarians mention two items of interest. First, the authors state, “We have had to show that libraries here are a relatively new development in a country which still largely belongs to nature, rather than man of any colour.” They also explain that the libraries “fell under the Administration for Whites Cultural Promotions section” when the Department of Education of the then South West Africa Administration was dissolved. The use of “fell under” as well as the statement, “taken over” used in the survey, gave me a sense that the librarians were not pleased by the change in administration. Tötemeyer and Stander also seem to disapprove of the administrative change because it re-introduced fees. They mention that the re-introduction of fees after 1982 resulted in a decrease of use.

Hillebrecht and Zulu (1990) surveyed the libraries right after Namibia achieved independence, and they also criticized the Administration for Whites as a home for the libraries. They stated that libraries suffered under apartheid, and libraries lacked professional staff. They also stated that staff complained
about hierarchy and meddling in library affairs by administrators, poor quality of cataloging, and that people wanting improvements had to ask in South Africa.

Hillebrecht and Zulu (1990) also mentioned that library services for Black and rural populations were almost non-existent. They noted that a few libraries for Blacks were run mainly by churches, NGOs or with private funding.

The book stamps at this time state that the book is purchased by the Administration for Whites. The image below is taken from a book in the National Library, although the book was clearly purchased before the National Library existed. On the right side of the image is a picture of the bookplate, which proclaims the book as being from South West Africa, and purchased by the Administration for Whites for the Administration Library. On the left side is the title page of the book, which also has a stamp that it is from the Administration for Whites. This particular book, *Handbook of Black Librarianship*, from the United States, seemed almost too ironic to be bearing this stamp and bookplate, and that is why I photocopied both26. Books with these stamps and bookplates were not unusual in the book collections of the

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26 Despite the irony, it is interesting that the book was purchased for the library, as if services for Blacks would be offered in Namibia at some point.
In 1985, public libraries in South West Africa became open to all races (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991; Hillebrecht and Zulu, 1990). I had heard this from some informants as well, and so I looked very carefully through the archives to try to find documentation of this change, but could not find it.\footnote{Witbooi (2007) states that in the 1980s in South Africa, all libraries became open to all races. It may be that I did not find notice of this in Namibia, because the change in law happened in South Africa.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image6.4}
\caption{Photocopy of title page and inner front cover of a book. Title page has stamp indicating that the book was owned by the Administration for Whites, and the inner front cover had a bookplate. The title of the book is \textit{Handbook of Black Librarianship}.}
\end{figure}
Tötemeyer and Stander (1991) note that after this change, the number of people using the libraries increased markedly. This increase suggests that some Blacks and Coloureds did take advantage of this new opportunity, although the evidence is indirect. The change was not well publicized, and most informants talked about Independence in March 1990 as the time when library services became available to them.

The libraries were not only legally off-limits to Blacks and Coloureds before 1985; they were also geographically off-limits because they were in the White parts of town. Namibia’s geography, particularly the dryness of most of the country, also means that fifty percent of the population lives in a small area in the North of the country informally called Owamboland. Owamboland originally encompassed land in Namibia and Angola, but since the Europeans diced up the country, Owamboland in Namibia refers only to the Namibian side of this. The whole Northern part of Namibia, including Owamboland and the Caprivi Strip, was historically not offered the services found in the central and southern parts of the country. Libraries, education, electricity, health services, etc. were almost non-existent before Independence. In this way, the people living in this part of Namibia were easily excluded from library services. A few of the missionaries and churches did provide libraries, according to one informant. Tötemeyer and Stander (1991) also note one church library in this area. For the people living there, the change in 1985 to allow all races to use the libraries had no effect. They did not have public library services provided by
the government until 1995, when the first public library was built in the town of Oshakati, according to one informant.

As an aside, the Walvis Bay public libraries have always been somewhat distinct from the other public libraries in the country. I assume this is related to the fact that Walvis Bay, as a city, has been somewhat distinct from Namibia, and potentially also from SWA. It did not join Namibia until 1994, but remained part of South Africa. The 1963 report on the public libraries makes the point that Walvis Bay did not charge a membership fee, but instead asked patrons to pay a deposit before checking out books. Today, the city has 3 libraries, two of which opened in the late 1980s to serve the non-White neighborhoods of Walvis Bay. The three libraries are a municipal system and are not part of the Community Library Service. I mention this only for accuracy. As I talk about the public and community libraries in Namibia, I am for the most part excluding the libraries in Walvis Bay.

6.1.6. Windhoek Public Libraries
Because my study was based in Windhoek, the history of the libraries in Windhoek is of particular interest. The City of Windhoek received its first shipment of books in 1901, and by 1910 these were 17,000 in number and under the care of the imperial government (the German colonialists). In 1911, a building and a librarian were added to the books to make a library, and in 1917 “Regulations for the Use of the Public Library of the Municipality of Windhoek” was written. The library stopped its lending service in 1920 after the passage of the law in the Government Gazette. It moved in 1923 to a donated building and
officially opened in 1924 as The Windhoek Public Library (Schlettwein et al., 1975). The library had a committee and by-laws, which spelled out membership and the governance of the library. These laws were clear that non-Whites were not welcome in the library. The librarians, as I will show later, did not seem to have been as unwelcoming to all non-Whites.

6.1.6.1. Budget

As Windhoek is the capital of Namibia, and had the largest of the public libraries, more information is known about the budget and the population. I can therefore present the following chart of the library budget from the 1963 report. This chart has four columns. The first column gives the year for the data. The second gives the exact amount of money given to the Windhoek Public Library in a government grant. The third column gives the amount of money this would constitute in British Pounds today, and the fourth column translates the British Pounds into United States dollars\textsuperscript{28}. The table was created in 2010, and is not meant to be absolutely accurate, but is intended to give a sense of the amount of money being spent on the library then.

\footnotesize
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & Grant & Value in GBP & Value in USD \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{28} I converted the money to today's dollars using Lawrence H. Officer, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1830 to Present," MeasuringWorth, 2010. URL http://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/. This task was made easier because South Africa was using the British pound at the time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Year</th>
<th>Government Grants to the Windhoek Public Library</th>
<th>In Today’s British Pounds</th>
<th>In Today’s dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1935/1936</td>
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<td>£4530</td>
<td>$7063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936/1937</td>
<td>£120</td>
<td>£5740</td>
<td>$8949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937/1938</td>
<td>£120</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941/1942</td>
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<td>£8640</td>
<td>$13470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942/1943</td>
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<tr>
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<td>$49264</td>
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<tr>
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<td>£40900</td>
<td>$63765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950/1951</td>
<td>£1600</td>
<td>£37400</td>
<td>$58308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>£2000</td>
<td>£42900</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952/1953</td>
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<td>£45700</td>
<td>$71249</td>
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<tr>
<td>1953/1954</td>
<td>£2200</td>
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<td>£44500</td>
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<td>£45100</td>
<td>$70313</td>
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<td>$148733</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.5: Windhoek Public Library budget numbers*

These numbers only tell us how much money was being given to the library from Government Grants. By law, these were matching grants, so the library must have had a more sizable budget than this. To understand how
much money was being spent per person being served, I compare these numbers to the population of Windhoek. The exact population is not known, but the Chronology of Namibian History, compiled by Klaus Dierks\textsuperscript{29} gives the White population of Windhoek as 10,000 in 1945 and 20,000 in 1960. According to Herbert Goldhor (1985), the annual library expenditure per person in the United Kingdom in 1960 was approximately £0.38, and these data suggest that £0.30 was spent per white person in Windhoek by the government (and if the library truly also took in the same amount through membership fees, then £0.60 was spent per person). Thus, the library was spending a roughly equivalent amount as a library in the United Kingdom at this time. Given that the library was the primary one for the whole country (all of the Whites in the country, of course), this seems like a decent amount.\textsuperscript{30}

These numbers give some idea of what the services were like at that time, and how much the government was willing to spend on library services. The budgets were tight, according to the librarians (see next paragraph), and given that they were only serving a small percentage of the population, it doesn’t not seem that the government could have or would have given enough to provide library service at this level to the whole of Namibia.

\textsuperscript{29} http://www.family-hipp.co.nz/site/klausdierks/FrontpageMain.html, viewed 5 November 2010.
\textsuperscript{30} A quick calculation of the amount spent per person in today’s US dollars suggests that more than $80 was spent. This seems a bit high. In 1959, a library a bit larger than Windhoek would have spent $3.96 per person or roughly $30 in today’s money (ALA, 1960).
6.1.6.2. Building

In 1951, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer gave a generous donation to make possible a new building for a museum and the public library. The new building was designed to be a public library, and was much larger and more expensive to run. When the new building opened, it became apparent that the previous budget would not be enough for the new library. In 1958 the library committee wrote a letter to the Administrator of the territory requesting more money (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). This letter requested another £1000 from the government that would have meant an annual per person spending of £0.35.

6.1.6.3. Blacks and library use

Also, in 1958, the head of the Windhoek Public Library Committee wrote to the Administrator of the territory requesting that some native students who were studying for their matriculation be allowed to use the library. They were careful to state that the students given permission would be screened and would be kept separate from the other people in the library. The Administrator wrote back to say that he would not allow this. His reply was short, but he did note that a new library was opening in Katutura. He stated that the new library was being funded by the Lion’s Club.

6.1.6.4. Libraries in Katutura

This mention of a library funded by the Lion’s Club in Katutura in the Administrator’s letter was difficult to verify elsewhere. As far as I could learn from the archives, two libraries did open in Katutura in the 1960s, but the
information about them was sketchy at best. Katutura was built in the 1960s as a new location for the Black population of Windhoek to live. People were forced to move there, and the design of the neighborhood enhanced the Apartheid restrictions on Blacks (for more on Katutura see section 5.1).

Services were provided through a type of municipal governance. They were not connected to the services in Windhoek proper, but were separate. As far as I could judge, given the skimpiness of information on these libraries, they were not connected to the Windhoek Public Library in any way. When I was later observing in the Katutura Rössing Library, which is the descendent of these libraries, it was clear that this library had not received anything from the government libraries before 2009 (when the government signed an agreement to take it over).

Hillebrecht and Zulu (1990) did a survey of the libraries in existence when Namibia became independent. They mention two libraries in Katutura. The Katutura Community Centre Library was started in 1983, and is described thusly, “very sad example of grassroots initiative ruined by ill-advised foreign aid” (pg. 10). The library had books from Ranfurly Library in Britain, most of which the authors of the report felt were unsuitable, as they did not include any reference materials, any African literature, or anything on Namibia. The library had no desks, and was poorly lighted and in ill repair (Hillebrecht and Zulu, 1990, pg. 10). Katutura Community Library, on the other hand, was a public library run by the Rössing Foundation from 1988. The bulk of its material was from its predecessor the Katutura Municipality Library (about which I found
nothing else in the records, but which might have been the library mentioned by the administrator that was started in the 1960s). The Katutura Community Library, according to the authors had many reading desks and was tidy and well kept (pg. 10).

6.1.7. Summary and Discussion
The archival record provided a history of the public libraries in Namibia. These libraries were maintained primarily for White people to borrow books to read at home. The high levels of fiction material and the short hours of the library, particularly in the small towns, give evidence for this use of the libraries. The libraries also charged a membership fee for much of this time, with the short exception when they were under the auspices of the Department of Education from 1968-1982.

Libraries for non-White populations also existed during this time, although the record of them in the archives is almost non-existent. These libraries were not funded by the government and did not work with the libraries available to Whites. In the few notes about them, it seems that they were used more as places to study than places to borrow books. This important distinction is hard to verify but indicates that the model or organizational form for the two libraries was different.

6.1.7.1. Discussion
The historical record shows that the libraries for the White population started from and promoted a clear idea of library services, which forms the basis for what I labeled the historical notion of library service. This historical notion was
based on what the early colonizers of Namibia expected from their libraries. This notion therefore represents a process of the diffusion of an organizational form that is different from World Society Theory, because it comes from colonization. In the 1960s, the South African colonial influence played a strong role in changing the organizational form, removing the membership fee and placing the libraries under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. A few years later, the South African government re-asserted their colonial role by moving the libraries from the Department of Education and to the Administration for Whites under Cultural Promotion.

The first shift to the Department of Education marked a change in the organizational form, as the membership fee was lifted and the library became associated with education as well as pleasure reading. The second shift was to the Administration for Whites and seems to return to the traditional spirit of the libraries. The membership fee returns, and the emphasis is on culture not education. A more thorough study of the materials bought for the libraries under these two regimes could tell more about the emphasis of the library at this time. I do know that in the Swakopmund Public Library, the emphasis is still on reading and fiction. The membership fee is also still required if a person wants to check out a book. In this way, the historical notion of the public library is still holding sway in the current libraries.

In 1990, Namibia gained Independence from South Africa. The following decade marked a period of great change for the whole country, of course. All government organizations and government ministries were re-organizing themselves to suit an independent and democratic regime. All of the government structures also had to adjust to the end of Apartheid, and the provision of services to previously underserved populations. These two adjustments could not happen overnight nor be completed in the space of a decade; nonetheless, the start of the changes took place in the 1990s. Framing this change, however, was a key part of the agreement in which South Africa allowed Namibia to become independent. South Africa demanded that all civil servants be allowed to keep their jobs after independence, and this demand was met (Dobell, 1998). This meant that although the laws changed and the government changed, the people working in government positions and overseeing government services remained the same. In terms of this study, it meant that the people working in the libraries stayed the same.

After the Administration for Whites was disbanded, the libraries were all placed under the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture. The previous laws governing the library were nullified, but a new law would not be written until 2000, at the end of the decade. This meant that libraries were functioning without a legal mandate. To understand how all of this played out in the libraries, and particularly in the public libraries, I used four sources of data: 1) Annual Reports from the Ministry of Education and Culture for those years, 2)
Newsletters from the Public Library Service and 3) the Namibian Information Workers Association (NIWA), and 4) Informants who were working in libraries at that time. Unfortunately, for the last source, I was only able to talk to a few people from that time and they were not forthcoming. The past is the past, they felt. The informants and the materials are all from a higher-level administrative position. This gives a top-down view of the libraries, and I have almost no information from a bottom-up view.

For funding, the libraries clearly had some money from the government, but they also looked to outside sources. Throughout the decade, both the German international development fund, DES, and the Swedish development fund, SIDA, gave money for library services and improvements. The public library services also won a funding award from International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) for the enhancement of these services in 1991.

Five important events for libraries took place in this decade. 1) Library services moved from the Cultural Promotion section of the Administration for Whites to the Ministry of Education and Culture, and in 1995, they were given their own directorate within that ministry. 2) The National Library and the National Archives moved into a new building in 1999, which also had office space for the headquarters of the Education Library Service and the Community Library Service. 3) The national library services continued to provide books and cataloguing for the public libraries in various communities. This service would change its name from Public Library to Community Library, but in many ways it
would remain the same. 4) A number of reports were written about Namibia’s Libraries, including the 1996 report that was commissioned by the government as a prelude to a law about government-run library services. 5) The Wages and Salaries Commission (WASCOM) determined government salaries for all government jobs including that of librarians. Unfortunately, librarians’ wages stayed low after this determination.

Simultaneous to all of that, the Community Library Service increased the number of community and public libraries in the country, and Namibian Information Workers Association was formed to empower librarians and information workers.

### 6.2.1. National Administration of Libraries
As I mentioned, the government-run libraries appear to have existed during this decade without a real legal mandate because the law about them was not be passed until 2000. The annual reports for the Ministry of Education and Culture show that the libraries were initially placed within that ministry, but they did not have an official home there. To add to the confusion, this Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture, and then later (in the 2000s) changed to the Ministry of Education. Libraries would eventually settle under the directorate of Library and Archive Services, and the archives would be joined with the library as part of that service within the Ministry of Education. Before this change took place, the annual reports from 1991 and 1992 reflect some confusion about the library services and what is or is not under their jurisdiction. By 1993, however, the area of library services had four
subdivisions: School, Public, National, and Government libraries. These four changed names in the next few years to be Education Library Services, Community Library Services, National Library and Ministry Library Services, but their basic character remained the same. In the 2000s, two other areas of library service were added to the directorate: archives and tertiary libraries.

During the 1990s, an important administrative change involved the hiring of Black Namibians in the libraries and the administration of library services. Ellen Namhilo was the first Black director of library services, and also served a prominent role in NIWA in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

6.2.2. The National Library Building
The National Library was reformed out of a previous library, and together with the National Archives was given a new building that was completed in 1999. That new building also houses the headquarters for the Education Library Services and the Community Library Services. Ministry Library Services stayed with the directorate in the Ministry of Education building, which is not far away. Housing all of the library services close to each other should allow for cooperation and resource sharing.

The new building is prominently located in Windhoek near the Ministry of Education and other ministries. Its location and size demonstrate its importance in the new nation. The National Library also became a depository library and worked on a national bibliography.
6.2.3. Community Library Services (CLS)
The National Library housed the Education Library Services and the Community Library Services starting in 1999, when the building was completed. Before that time, the public or community libraries in the country continued to receive support from a nation-wide service, but I am not sure where it was housed. This service also changed its name during this decade. Using some survey data and the Community Library Service newsletters, I have pieced together some information about the service that was provided for libraries.

Tötemeyer and Stander wrote a number of reports in 1991 on the state of libraries and the need for library staff training. These reports were written for the newly formed Department of Library and Information Science at the University of Namibia and may have been an effort by Tötemeyer, the head of that department, to explain the need for a library science program in the new nation. The report, *The State of Public Libraries in Namibia and the Need for Training for Public Community Libraries*, has already been extensively quoted in this chapter because of its information on the history of public libraries. It gives extensive information on the state of the public libraries in 1991 through a survey of 26 public libraries. (Note: this is ten more libraries than filled out the survey in 1982.) Twenty-one of these libraries were formerly supported by the Administration for Whites, one was previously supported by the Administration for Coloureds, and four were privately funded libraries (funded by charities or churches). A list of the libraries and a map showing their location can be found in Appendix 6.
According to one informant, the public libraries in existence at the time of Independence continued to run throughout this decade (and the next, this informant states) much as they had before Independence. In other words, these libraries were continuing to function following the traditional organizational form, which I named and described in Chapter 4.

Despite this informant’s statement, however, my search through newsletters put out by the Community Library Service during this time showed that three changes were taking place in the libraries. These changes were 1) new libraries were built and services were offered in areas that had previously had no library service; 2) the focus of the library service shifted from being mostly about recreational reading to include information services; and 3) the name of the library service changed from Public Library Service to Community Library Service.

6.2.3.1. New Libraries

New libraries were built during this time in areas that had never had library services previously. The annual reports and the newsletters give different numbers at different times for the libraries in existence. Using Tötemeyer and Stander’s (1991) list of libraries surveyed, the decade started with 26 libraries (four of which were privately funded) and ended with 30. Appendix 7 has a table of libraries and their membership numbers, and a map showing the geographic distribution of libraries at the end of the 1990s.

Perhaps the most important new library was the Oshakati Community Library, which opened in 1995. This library was built partially with funding from
the Sweden development fund, SIDA\textsuperscript{31}. The newsletter mentions that it opened with 2201 books in English, 574 books in Afrikaans, 62 books in Kwanyama and Ndonga (the two written languages of the Oshiwambo people) and one in Kwangali (statistics from the Jan/Feb 1996 newsletter). The books were on the following topics: life-skills, community development, Namibiana, and Africa-oriented subjects. They also included books for new readers, resources for children and distance education students. “We are all getting excited as information will become a crucial resource for the majority of Namibians in the future” (pg. 1, May 1995 newsletter).

This library is the first government-funded library to open in a town that did not have a significant White population. Ondangwa opened a library shortly afterwards. Both of these libraries were the only government-funded libraries in Owamboland in 1999. Almost all of the other libraries were in the Southern and Central parts of Namibia. The Oshiwambo people, who live in Owamboland, make up about 50\% of the Namibian population, so even though the libraries look to be more geographically dispersed, all but two are serving less than half of the population. A library was planned for Katima Mulilo, in the Caprivi Strip, in 1997, and it was still not built by 1999, but is now completed.

6.2.3.2. Reading and Information Services

In the libraries before independence, most of the books were fiction, and information services did not seem to be stressed. This notion of the libraries

\textsuperscript{31} SIDA also gave money for the purchase of books for all of the libraries in Namibia.
appeared to shift after independence. Tötemeyer and Stander’s report from 1991 asked questions about information services, and this interest in these types of services was also indicated in the newsletters. In the early issues of the newsletters that I was able to read (1994-1996), library staff are giving prizes to good readers (the one pictured is White); and in later issues (1996-1999), the staff are being encouraged to answer reference questions.

A number of articles about information services in the newsletters also reflect a growing desire to provide the services that the community needs and wants. In 1994, a number of quotes about libraries (from famous people or librarians) discuss the importance of libraries in a democracy. In 1998, two programs were offered for library staff members on Community Information Centres, which promoted the library services as being primarily about the provision of information, particularly information for the alleviation of poverty. Even before these programs, the senior librarian was encouraging the library staff to recruit more members and make the libraries more accessible to the wider (non-White) Namibian population.

The annual reports also mention two readers’ surveys that are carried out through the libraries to give the libraries a clearer sense of what people want to find in their libraries. The annual reports also note that the libraries should be providing information materials and recreational reading materials. Both the newsletter and the annual reports mention often the need to create a “reading culture” in Namibia. In the 2000 annual report, however, the wording is changed to the creation of a “reading and information culture.”
This change of emphasis from reading to information may reflect a growing knowledge of the UNESCO organizational form of the library, particularly because SIDA, which was funding some of the libraries, would expect libraries to fit this organizational form, and not Namibia’s traditional one.

6.2.3.3. Name Change
The name of the Newsletter and the headquarters changed in 1996 to Public/Community Library Service, and in 1997, it became Community Library Service. One informant mentioned to me that the change in name was to make the libraries more welcoming to the non-White population, who continued to think that Public Libraries were exclusive to Whites. The name change also reflects a new way of thinking about libraries in communities—one in which the library is developed by and for the community it serves.

6.2.3.4. Additional issues
One article in June of 1999 discusses the problem of library hours. The libraries appear, in this article, to all be open from 9-13H (9 a.m. to 1 p.m.) and 14-17H, (2 p.m. to 5 p.m.), the typical store and work hours of Namibia. This is a significant increase in open hours for many of the libraries in small towns if compared to the hours listed in 1982 or mentioned in the 1991 report when nine libraries are only open 10-19 hours a week. The article notes, however, that this means that the library is not open when people are not working. A variety of suggestions are made to allow the library to be open at other times. I
don’t know if any library carried out these suggestions, but for the most part, libraries appeared to still be open those same hours in 2009.

The newsletters also mention budget difficulties and low salaries. These are generally reported in the preface, written by a library administrator. The library staff are encouraged to take good care of their book stocks, as money for new books is generally tight. This theme of low budgets and low salaries would continue to be emphasized throughout this decade and the next.

6.2.4. NIWA
The Namibian Information Workers Association (NIWA) came into existence shortly after independence and published a newsletter during the decade. Eight issues of the newsletter were also available in the Special Collection of the UNam library. This newsletter was more academic than the Community Library Services newsletter, and had longer articles on various items of interest for librarians. Early issues have advertisements from publishers, and later issues have information about new books published in Namibia. Despite this attention on books, the newsletter also discusses changes in Information and Communication Technologies like the Internet and CD-ROMs and their impact on libraries. E-mail addresses were first given out in 1997, and a listserv was started for the professionals.

The listserv generated much discussion, particularly on the issue of salaries. Low salaries were mentioned as problematic in 1994. NIWA had a sub-committee working on the issue of salaries, which was mentioned in 1995 and 1997. In 1997, the brief discussion of this sub-committee mentioned that
WASCOM (the Wages and Salaries Commission) took place, but this mention does not include any reaction to WASCOM. The reaction would be mentioned in 1998 and was fairly strong. “The problem of low salaries results in constant brain drain from libraries especially in government service and in serious difficulties in filling vacant positions in these libraries” (pg. 10, NIWA INFO, March 1998). Unfortunately, despite the call to arms in this issue of NIWA INFO, the problem, almost exactly as described here, was still in effect in 2009. Many informants were able to identify WASCOM as the reason for the low salaries, and low salaries the reason for so many vacant positions within government libraries. Low salaries and difficulty recruiting staff are mentioned in almost every annual report. The 1999 annual report states, “Until salaries improve and become more competitive, this directorate will continue to struggle to recruit and retain staff.” These types of complaints were still being made when I was there in 2009. I was often told that the salaries still had not improved, and the directorate was still struggling to retain and recruit staff.

6.2.5. Reports
Many reports were written about the state of the libraries in the 1990s.

Tötemeyer and Stander wrote a series of reports in 1991 about the different libraries in the country (I have quoted extensively from the report on the public libraries). They were seeking to understand the need for training of librarians, probably because Tötemeyer was in charge of library education at that time. Hillebrecht and Zulu also wrote a report on the state of the libraries in 1990.
Both of these reports presented the libraries as they had been before independence and made recommendations for the future.

In 1997, a policy framework was written, titled, “Information for Self-reliance and Development: a policy framework for libraries and allied information agencies for Namibia.” This report was written by a committee of five Namibian librarians with help from Peter Lor, a consultant from South Africa. The document relates the needs for information and libraries to the development goals of the government, as they were spelled out in the first National Development Plan. The document clarifies a vision and idea of library services for Namibia that would be built to aid the development of the country through access to information, equity of service, quality of service, and democracy.

For community libraries, the document states, “Namibian community libraries should, ideally, be conceived as a dynamic, effective and efficient service which enhances the quality of life of all Namibians through the user-friendly provision of information in all spheres required by its users, and through the promotion of a reading culture” (pg. 25). It further specifies that the community libraries should provide the following services free of charge: membership, borrowing privileges, access to any source of information in the library, guidance in the retrieval and use of information within sources, use of equipment to access information, e.g. computers and CD-ROM, and domestic inter-lending” (pg. 27). It also mentions that other NGOs and groups are welcome to provide the funding for community libraries. Although this
document was used to produce the Library Act of 2000, the vision of free services did not come to pass, because people still pay for membership and in some libraries for the use of computers.

The document also discusses the need for a large budget and high salaries, as do all of the other documents written during this time about libraries. Sadly, the budgets are still small and the salaries are not adequate. During the development of this document and the writing of the law (in 2000), a discussion took place about whether the community libraries should be paid for by the national government or the municipalities and the regions. This is an issue I will discuss further in the next section.

6.3. Community Library Services, 2000-2009

At the end of the 1990s, community libraries were expanding their service points, librarians were waiting for the Library Act to pass, and library staff salaries were low. Fortunately, the Library Act passed in 2000. To describe the next period, from 2000-2009, this section will start with an overview of the Community Library Services in 2009 from my observations while in the country. The section also includes a description of each part of the organizational field, the regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive forces influencing the creation of the organizational form for libraries in Namibia.

The point of all of these descriptions and clarifications is to give as clear a picture as possible of the community library organization in Namibia, as I observed it in 2009. I found in writing this section that some parts are
contradicting and confusing, because organizations and societies tend to be. After this overall description, I will go through my expectations for the organizational field, and discuss what I actually saw versus what I expected.

6.3.1. Community Libraries in 2009
By 2009, at least 59 community libraries were in existence. I used a brochure, *Libraries, Resource and Information Centres and Community Learning and Development Centres (CLDCs) in Namibia* (2008) from the Community Library Service office to count them all, and I think that a few new ones were built after the brochure was put together. This brochure coupled with information from the 2001 census in Namibia gives some idea of the library services in the country and whom they serve.

Table 6.6 includes other information about the regions, to give a better sense of the differences between regions. The census numbers were published in 2001, so I compared the population to the number of libraries in 1999.

I included information about the home languages spoken in each region. This is the best way to understand the different populations in Namibia. Afrikaans is mostly spoken at home by Whites and Coloureds, two groups that had greater privileges under apartheid. Among the Black population, Oshiwambo speakers are the most plentiful. They make up almost 50% of the total population. Most Oshiwambo speakers live in Owamboland in the northern part of Namibia (Ohangwena, Oshikoto, Oshana and Omusati regions). The Kavango and the Caprivi speakers also live in the north, but to the east along the Caprivi strip. All of these areas had fewer services under Apartheid, and
overcoming this lack of infrastructure has been difficult, as evidenced by the lower literacy rates and lower percentages of houses with electricity. Otjiherero and Nama/Damara speakers were traditionally cattle herders and lived in the central and southern parts of Namibia, historically.

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<td>15,380</td>
<td>88% Caprivian Languages</td>
<td>78%</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>11,375</td>
<td>37% Oshiwambo; 22% Afrikaans; 21% Nama/Damara</td>
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<td>73%</td>
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<td>Hardap</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>68,249</td>
<td>11,375</td>
<td>44% Afrikaans; 44% Nama/Damara</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>51%</td>
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<td>Karas</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>69,329</td>
<td>11,555</td>
<td>40% Afrikaans; 26% Nama/Damara; 23% Oshiwambo</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>202,694</td>
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<td>70%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>62,566</td>
<td>37% Oshiwambo; 24% Afrikaans; 13% Nama/Damara</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>69%</td>
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<td>Kunene</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>68,735</td>
<td>22,912</td>
<td>42% Otjiherero; 36% Nama/Damara</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ohangwena</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>228,384</td>
<td></td>
<td>97% Oshiwambo</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaheke</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68,039</td>
<td>34,020</td>
<td>39% Otjiherero; 27% Nama/Damara; 12% Afrikaans</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>95% Oshiwambo</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<td>80,958</td>
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<td>89%</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<td>Oshikoto</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>83%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otjozondjupa</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>135,384</td>
<td>33,846</td>
<td>28% Otjiherero; 22% Nama/Damara; 20% Oshiwambo</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia (TOTAL)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1,830,330</td>
<td>52,295</td>
<td>48% Oshiwambo; 11% Nama/Damara; 11% Afrikaans; 10% Kavango; 8% Otjiherero</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.6: Libraries, population, language, literacy rate and electricity by region

The growth of the number of libraries is impressive. Every region now has a library. The distribution of libraries is still uneven, however, particularly in northern part of the country where the majority of Namibians live. The table shows something of the distribution. Each of the regions with a high
percentage of Afrikaans speakers – Erongo (22% Afrikaans speakers), Hardap (44% Afrikaans speakers), Karas (40% Afrikaans speakers) and Omaheke (12% Afrikaans speakers) – has less than 20,000 people per library. The Northern regions, by contrast, have no Afrikaans speakers and, except for Kunene, have over 40,000 people per library. Another way to see this discrepancy is that the regions with more than 10% Afrikaans speakers (Erongo, Hardap, Karas, Omaheke and Khomas) have 32 libraries and 563,542 people (according to the 2001 census), whereas the regions without Afrikaans speakers have 26 libraries and 1,266,788 people (according to the 2001 census). To show the regions and their libraries, I have drawn a map of Namibia’s regions with the libraries in Afrikaans-speaking areas in green and the libraries in non-Afrikaans-speaking areas in purple. I also outlined the regions with less than 100,000 people according to the 2001 census in orange. This map was downloaded from maplibrary.org, and the libraries are drawn in because it was not possible to find a map of Namibia that named all of the towns with libraries, because some libraries are in very small towns. For a list of the towns in the map, see Appendix 8.
6.3.1.1. Library Collections

This rapid expansion of libraries was made possible partly because of a generous donation from Book Aid International. Opening so many new libraries
required a large number of books. Book Aid International is a British organization and provides books in English. They try to provide material that is appropriate and desired by the receiving library. Much of what Book Aid International has donated to Namibia has been school-related materials for the libraries. For this reason, the library collections have shifted from their historical focus on pleasure reading materials in English, Afrikaans and German to more non-fiction materials and more English materials. The libraries still have fiction collections, and still have Afrikaans collections, but most of the new materials are in English. The older libraries still have the fiction collections, and are taking care of these so they will last longer. An informant at the Otjiwarango library mentioned that some people are disappointed that the libraries do not receive more new fiction, particularly South African and Namibian new fiction. This implies that in the older libraries, people still want the fiction materials.

In contrast, a number of informants in the libraries in Windhoek mentioned their need for textbooks and other learning materials for schools. I have the impression that the CLS was initially wary of collecting textbooks directly, but eventually gave in to the community demand and began to purchase them. These materials tend to be kept in the reference collection and are not lent out, because so many people need to have access to them every day.

The materials in the library have changed in other ways as well. Books are not the only items offered. Previously, some audiotapes were also offered, but
the alternatives to books have grown. A few of the libraries have televisions, tape players and radios for use in the library. Computers may be the most important of these new materials in the library. Computers and the Internet are recognized as important information resources, but they are expensive and difficult to maintain. Different programs have been used to make computers available in the libraries. Some of these offer computer services for a charge, and others have offered the services free to members. The library administration is now working with Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP) to provide more consistent service in all of the libraries.

Providing the computers is only half of the issue. Computers require IT support so that they work, and this support is in short supply in Namibia in general. All of the computers I encountered in public spaces, at the libraries, at UNam, and in government offices had difficulties with viruses. In libraries, viruses are a real problem because people must be able to save their material to their own devices, such as flash drives. Doing so, however, makes the transmission of viruses easy and almost unstoppable when the operating system, such as Microsoft Windows, is open to the transmission. I did not see any computers in Namibia that were not using Windows as the operating system.

Computer services are also provided to communities through private organizations, particularly cybercafés. Use of cybercafés in Namibia has been studied by the University of Washington's Center for Information and Society
(James and Louw, 2008). Community libraries may be in competition with these businesses as they begin to offer Internet access for free or at a reduced rate.

6.3.1.2. Library Use

Not only did the language and materials change in the libraries, but I also perceived a change in the use of the libraries. This perception started from a comment made to me in 2006 about a new library. An informant mentioned that when the library was first built, it had many bookshelves and not many seats. The community quickly demanded more seats and fewer bookshelves. For community members, in this case poor people, the library was a place to study, not a place for borrowing books; but, for the administrator, the library was a place for people to visit, browse and borrow a book. The community members and the administrator had different notions and models for library use.

My observations in two of the libraries that have been around for a long time, Swakopmund and Otjiwarongo, indicated this change in use. I observed for only a short time in both of these libraries (Swakopmund for a few hours, and Otjiwarongo for 1.5 days), so my observations may be inaccurate, and may reflect my expectation for this change. In both libraries, White people came in to browse the fiction collection and borrow library materials. In Otjiwarongo, a number of Black students were in the library studying for exams. In Swakopmund, the library was too cold to be a pleasant place to sit and study. I only saw one other person who tried to stay for more than 15 minutes while I was there. Thus, in Otjiwarango, I saw the old use of the library and the new
use. In Swakopmund, for the most part, I only witnessed the old use of the library.

My observations in newer libraries, those built since Independence, showed that many young people (mostly Black) spent considerable time studying in the library. Some people, both Black and White, borrowed fiction material from the library in the newer libraries. I will discuss this new use of the library further in the case study section.

6.3.1.3. Continuation of services

Not all library services changed after Independence. Some stayed the same. Library services are still the same as they were before independence in three key ways: membership fees, hours of operation, and cataloging and classification of materials. Materials are still cataloged and classified centrally at the CLS headquarters. Each library has a card catalog that allows people to search for books by Author, Title, Subject and Ascension Number. (Subject is new since the 1982 survey.) The books are arranged by the Dewey Decimal Classification system on the shelves (as they were in 1982).

The method for becoming a member of the library and then checking out material is the same as it was in 1991. The system is called the Browne-issuing system (Tötemeyer and Stander, 1991). When a person wishes to borrow a book, the card from the book is put with a card for the member and then filed by the date the book is due. Given the small size of most of the libraries as well as the small number of members, this system appears to work well enough.
Plans to automate the libraries were mentioned. I don’t know if and when such plans will come to fruition.

The membership fee has not changed, as I mentioned in section 6.1.5. People can visit the library for free, but they must still pay a membership fee if they want to borrow books. As stated earlier, an adult can borrow 3 books at a time by paying $N6.00 (approximately $US 0.85) and a child can borrow 2 books by paying $N1.00 (approximately $US 0.15). If an adult would like to borrow more than 3 books, they can pay more ($N12.00 = 6 books, $N18.00 = 9 books, etc.). This rate has not changed since 1982. I observed it in Greenwell Matongo as people signed up to be library members, and I also read the description of how to make someone a member of the library in the training manual for community library staff. In general though, there was a silence around the membership fee. No one mentioned it when talking about library services or seemed to question its existence with me.

In addition to this expense that can be seen as a barrier to library service for the poor, I noticed another potential barrier for some potential library members. In order to become a member, a person needs to have a postal address and proof that they receive mail at that address. This is also true in some public libraries in the United States, usually to ensure that the person lives in the area. In Namibia, the reason given for the need for a postal address is that the library may want to contact the person about the books checked out, if they have not been returned. The Namibian Postal service does not offer home delivery, so people must rent a post office box at a post office in order to
have an address. Many people do not have a post office address, but may use a relative’s address, which was acceptable to the library staff. During my observations in the library, I witnessed this need for a post office box as a problem for some people wanting to be library members. They didn’t have proof of an address or access to a post office box. Some used a post office box in Owamboland, not Windhoek, because that was where they had relatives. This would upset the ability for the library to contact them about overdue material, but the address was accepted. The combination of the postal address and the fee for membership does meant that the poorest Namibians cannot become members of the library.

6.3.1.4. Reports on the state of the libraries

Two reports were written during the decade, one published in 2004 and the other in 2008. (This second was published on a CD_ROM). The 2004 report, *Library and Archives Consultancy Report* was paid for by the Embassy of Finland and carried out by two Finnish consultants. The report was commissioned by the Ministry of Basic Education and Culture and the Namibian Library and Information Council to identify “bottlenecks on national level, as well as how resources, problem-solving and other efforts could be improved by means of cooperation” (Haavisto and Karhula, 2004, pg. vii). The 2008 report was commissioned by the Namibia Library and Archive Service with “the overall aim of the studies, conducted within the framework of the National Development Plan (NDP3) and the Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP), is to provide the means to enable the Namibian Library and
Information Services (LIS) sector to align itself with Vision 2030” (Smith et al., 2008). This study appears to have been paid for by NLAS, and used consultants from South Africa through a group called Knowledge Leadership Associates (Knowlead).

Both reports surveyed the library services in Namibia. Both clarified the problems in existence. In the 2004 report: “The core problems being experienced by libraries include a lack of qualified staff due to poor salaries, and an IT infrastructure that functions without national cooperation or resource-sharing” (Haavisto and Karhula, 2004, pg. 4). In the 2008 report:

“The three principal obstacles preventing the library service from fulfilling its role in terms of Vision 2030 can be summed up as:

• the chronic lack of resources available to bring existing libraries in all sectors up to the required level, let alone to expand the network of school, community and ministerial/special libraries to include areas not yet serviced;
• an acute shortage of professional library staff. This shortage is due, at least in part, to the low levels of grading of posts and remuneration prevailing in the sector;
• the insufficiencies of the present ICT network infrastructure.” (Smith et al. 2008, pg. 5)

6.3.1.5. Summary

The reports from 2004 and 2008 echo concerns raised in the 1990s and by informants. Librarians’ salaries were low and therefore it was difficult to hire good, qualified professionals to work in the community libraries. This problem presented an interesting challenge in 2009 as each region needed a regional librarian to oversee all of the libraries and library staff, but many regions,
including the Khomas\textsuperscript{32} region could not find anyone who both met the qualifications for the position and was willing to take the job.

Despite these staffing problems, the number of libraries grew from thirty in 1999 to fifty-nine in 2009. This tremendous growth has allowed each region in Namibia to have a library, although regions in the northern parts of Namibia still have fewer libraries in proportion to their population. The new libraries receive most of their materials from BookAid International, and these books are generally for education support, with a smaller proportion of fiction materials than formerly.

People use the new libraries more out of a desire to study in the library than as a place to borrow books, as was done previously. Despite these changes, the methods of cataloging and checking out books remained the same. People still paid a membership fee to borrow books, and the poorest were unable to use this part of the library service. Computers and other non-book resources were available in some libraries. Many libraries have difficulty providing access to computers partly because of the cost of equipment and partly because of a lack of trained IT staff.

\textsuperscript{32} The Khomas Region is the one in which Windhoek, the capital is located. As Windhoek is the most populous city, with the most professionals, it should be relatively easy to hire a Regional Librarian there.
6.3.2. National Organizational Field
The previous section described the status of the community libraries in Namibia. In this section, I describe the regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive forces that together create, according to New Institutional Theory, the organizational form of the library. Scott (2008) defined three forces in New Institutional Theory that act upon an organization and which force the organization to follow a form. These are regulative (laws and rules), normative (norms and values), and cultural-cognitive (the taken-for-granted thinking). DiMaggio (1991) demonstrated that the organizational field could help the researcher see these forces. In the next three sections I attempt to clarify these forces as they influenced the community libraries of Namibia in 2009.

6.3.2.1. Government (Regulative forces)
The Namibian government influences the libraries in many ways. First, the government has written and passed the laws on library service and some of the laws for information and intellectual freedom. Second, the government has a vision for the future of Namibia, Vision 2030, which may have an impact on libraries and their services. Third, libraries are administered from the Ministry of Education and are directly funded by the government. I will explore the different issues arising from each of these influences in the sections below.
6.3.2.1.1. The Library Act of 2000

The most important regulation about the libraries is the Library Act of 2000. It was difficult to get a clear picture of how this law was written. Articles in the newsletters from the 1990s (mostly NIWA, but a little in the Community Libraries newsletters) make it clear that the professional community was anxious for the law to be passed. The government put money into the 1997 report on the need for library services in Namibia. I had only one interview conversation about the history of the law. Although I tried to get others to talk about it and I tried to get access to parliament and ministry officials, this proved too difficult. The one informant mentioned that the people writing the law did listen to expert advice (the informant’s and other library professionals). In particular, the Minister of Education, at that time, made a point of talking to the informant about the law and the best way forward for the community libraries.

The law established how the libraries under the control of the government would be administered and funded. It did so in a series of steps within the law. First, it named a section of the Ministry of Education, *The Namibia Library and Information Service*, and defined the role of that service as well as the head of that service. In doing so, it established the funds for that service, *Namibia Library and Information Fund*. The law then clarified the procedures for legal deposit, before going on to establish the *Namibia Library and Information Council (NLIC)*. The NLIC is a council made up of the head of the Namibia Library and Information Service, the head of the National Archives,
the head of the National Library, the head of the university library and other important people in library administration. This council works together to make the Minister of Education aware of library needs and services. I could not determine how powerful the council was, and I do not know whether it merely gave advice that could be ignored or if it had executive power.

Figure 6.7 has the exact wording of the law that relates to the Community Libraries. This section of the law is intended for all libraries that are not the national library, and therefore is titled, “Other libraries.” In the first part, the law clarifies what the libraries will do, such as collecting material, preserving and documenting local history, and so forth. The law contains a long list of activities for any library. In order for a library to perform many of these tasks, a professional librarian with university training would need to be hired. The law does not specify that such a person should be hired, however, and most of the community libraries do not have trained librarians. The law has set a very high standard of service, in part because it applies to so many libraries. In doing so, it does not provide clear guidance for community libraries.
6. Other libraries

are to -

(1) The functions of constituent libraries, other than the National Library,

(a) collect, develop and supplement material which will meet the needs of users;

(b) subject to the Archives Act, 1992 (Act No. 12 of 1992) collect, preserve or
document information pertaining to local events, customs and history;

(c) make information resources accessible to people;

(d) give advice and guidance to users;

(e) do research on any matter;

(f) promote and undertake projects with a view to encourage people to use
available library and information resources; and

(g) perform any function or exercise any power which has been authorised by
the Head of the Service.

(2) Subject to directives issued under section 4(2)(g), a constituent library shall
from time to time establish a user committee which shall consist of members of the
community which the library serves and staff members made available for that purpose
by the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries concerned.

(3) Subject to the terms of an affiliation agreement, an affiliated library may
perform the functions referred to in subsection (1).

Figure 6.7: Section of Library Act of 2000

The second section allows for the creation of a user committee for the library.
Such a committee sounds similar to the committees that were established to
govern the libraries by the laws passed in 1920 and 1923. The two libraries in
which I observed did not have these committees, and no one mentioned them for other libraries. The Greenwell Matongo Community Library staff were in favor of having community members help make decisions about the rules for the library, but this was as close to a discussion of community governance that I heard. Libraries in other communities may have had active committees, but I was not aware of them.

6.3.2.1.2. Administration of the libraries

Although the law does not directly state this, in practice, the Namibia Library and Archive Service (NLAS) is made up of six departments, the National Library, the National Archives, the Ministerial Libraries, the Education Library Services (ELS), the Community Library Services and the Tertiary Libraries. Community Library Services is obviously the area of the NLAS that deals with the community libraries. They process all of the materials for the libraries, and keep a master catalog of the books in the libraries. Municipalities or regions that would like a new library must provide the building. At present, I was told that the municipality provides the building and the maintenance of the building (including janitorial staff), the regional ministry of education hires and oversees the staff, and the CLS provides the materials by working in partnership with the local staff to ensure the right materials for the community.

This mixture of local, regional and national administration is a reflection in part of a current debate in Namibia about centralized versus de-centralized government. This debate happens for all government services, I think. For the community libraries, according to one informant, some library administrators
wanted the libraries to be decentralized, with each municipality responsible for library services. Others (including this informant) felt that in a country the size of Namibia (2 million people), library services should be national to maximize cost savings in the provision of materials and cataloging. A centralized approach was best for providing equal access to libraries, given that some municipalities are much wealthier and some regions are wealthier than others. The Library Act of 2000 reflects this latter viewpoint.

In 2009, however, all government services were de-centralizing to allow for regional control. This meant that the regional offices of the regional ministries of education were becoming more important to the libraries. Unfortunately, many of these did not have a Regional Librarian in place, including the Khomas region, which means that the library staff work for someone else in the ministry. This lack of library-trained staff reflects, in part, the general problem in Namibia of finding qualified professionals to work in low-paid government library positions. It may also reflect a lack of awareness of the importance of library services. Local ministries may not realize the importance of filling that position, and so leave it empty.

6.3.2.1.3. Other laws related to libraries

The Library Act of 2000 is the only law specific to library services, but other laws can impact the services offered in a library as well, particularly laws about intellectual freedom. The UPLM is very clear in its demand for intellectual freedom from libraries – that is the free flow of ideas and the freedom to express and read about any idea. Intellectual freedom is both a regulated idea –
either the law allows for this freedom or it doesn’t and also a norm – either people respect a variety of opinions or they do not. In Namibia, the constitution does allow for intellectual freedom (for the most part – one cannot desecrate national symbols like the flag, for example, but in other ways, one is free to express oneself). Namibia’s constitution is one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, partly because when it was written, the people writing it were heavily influenced by the United States and the United Nations (Dobell, 1998). Article 21 of the constitution, titled, “Fundamental Freedoms” has as the first two freedoms listed, “All persons shall have the right to a) freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media; b) freedom of thought, conscience and belief, which shall include academic freedom in institutions of higher learning.” These two freedoms, which spell out intellectual freedom in Namibia, clearly allow for intellectual freedom in the library, but also do not say so explicitly.

Furthermore, this idea of a free press was actively being debated while I was there. In November of 2009, elections were scheduled in Namibia, and so political discussions were happening in the press. Some of those discussions included criticisms of the current government. These criticisms were themselves criticized, with some people clearly wanting to limit what people could say. A radio program that allowed anyone to call in and share his or her opinion was cancelled after too much criticism of the government was heard on the air. The cancelling of the program produced an outcry, as can be seen in Appendix 9, which shows some of the responses to the cancellation. As the
elections came closer, the government leaders also criticized the Editor of one of the major newspapers.

I discussed this in some of my interviews. Some informants were clearly interested in having political discussions and being able to speak freely. Others were convinced that the current government could do no wrong and deserved to be in power because they had brought about liberation. A few mentioned that the library would have to be very careful if it included books or materials from opposing parties. Library neutrality did not mean, to them, carrying material from every party, but meant carrying nothing or only the current government material, an informant said. Anything else would have to be done very carefully, and he seemed worried about attempting it.

6.3.2.1.4. Namibia’s Vision 2030

The government of Namibia shaped the nation and the nation’s development through a vision for Namibia – a path or a set of goals for the country. This work is called Vision 2030, and mirrors similar visions from other African countries, such as Rwanda’s Vision 2020 or Botswana’s Vision 2016. It is written to give an idea of what the government would like the country to be like in the year 2030.

The Vision is “A prosperous and industrialised Namibia, developed by her human resources, enjoying peace, harmony and political stability”. The Vision also lists specific goals and broad strategies for achieving the vision. I will not list all of the goals or broad strategies (which can be found here: www.npc.gov.na/vision/vision_2030bgd.htm), but will mention a few that seem
related to libraries. Goal 7 states, “Accomplish the transformation of Namibia into a knowledge-based, highly competitive, industrialised and eco-friendly nation, with sustainable economic growth and a high quality of life.” Broad Strategy 7 states, “providing full and appropriate education at all levels;” and 8 states, “leveraging knowledge and technology for all the benefit of the people.” These goals and strategies can be related to libraries. The library administration recognized this and used it to help procure funding for the libraries.

The Vision is also used for the National Development Plans, of which three have been written. Interestingly, the third describes plans for building a resource center in Khomas. This plan for resource centers was being implemented through funding from MCC (see Section 7.1.3) and is clearly a part of the national development plans and Vision 2030.

6.3.2.1.5. Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education, according to the Library Act of 2000, oversees the libraries, and thus ministry plays a large role in how the libraries are thought of and run. The choice to house the libraries in this ministry shows an emphasis on the educational aspect of library services. The Ministry of Education may have been a natural choice, particularly since the libraries had been under the Department of Education from 1968 – 1982. As I have mentioned earlier, public libraries can serve many different purposes, educational, entertainment and cultural, and informative. The Namibian government seems to be putting the emphasis on education by placing the libraries under this ministry. The library
is situated to play a supportive role to formal education, which is the emphasis of this ministry. The government could have chosen another ministry such as the Ministry of Information, which oversees media-related issues and would have put more emphasis on the information role of the libraries.

The Ministry of Education is focused on Primary and Secondary education. One way to see how the ministry thought about libraries is to look at how they treated libraries in the schools. Education Library Service (ELS), one of the departments in NLAS, oversees the school libraries. Many schools were without libraries, although some informants told me firmly that many schools have libraries. I noticed, however, that three of the four schools I visited in Katutura did not have a school library. One of the professors of library science at UNam, who was doing a study of the school libraries, also found that many schools did not have a library. Often, classroom space is at such a premium that it cannot be given up for a library. ELS sends boxes of books to all schools regardless of whether they have a library. These are often kept in a closet or the principal’s office.

The Ministry of Education also oversees the school curriculum, which is called a Learner Centred curriculum, and has a stated emphasis on students learning actively, but not through memorization. This type of education would seem to rely on the ability of the children to get outside information from beyond their instructors, which therefore suggests that libraries and information-seeking would be a large part of their education.

A Basic Information Skills curriculum has been developed to help students
learn how to find and use information. One student was doing homework for this curriculum while I was observing. The homework, which he showed me, was a list of the rules of the library for him to copy (I described this homework in section 5.2.5.1). This curriculum is not part of the exams, however, so it is not a priority for many schools. But it does show a desire by the Ministry of Education for students to know how to work with information, something that can be the purview of the librarian. For schools that do not have a school library, the community library may have added importance as a source of information.

During my observation in the schools, I noticed that there were a number of courses on business and entrepreneurship. These types of courses are offered as early as Grade 8 to students. The emphasis appears to reflect two things: 1) An acknowledgement that many students will not complete much education past grade 10, and many of those students will be engaged in the informal economy that often consists of running one’s own business. 2) The emphasis in education is on some practical skills. Literature courses and other critical thinking courses are less available to students than courses on business and entrepreneurship. This emphasis on business and entrepreneurship over literature suggests that the curriculum does not value reading and story telling as learning. This is also reflected in the collections of materials in the libraries that are more textbook-oriented and contain less fiction than previously (and in particular in libraries in Black areas of Namibia).

When I observed classes in a secondary school, a few of the teachers were
teaching directly to the matriculation exams. Their focus was on the practicality of passing the exams and having students know the answers that would pass. It was not on the curriculum’s intended purpose, i.e., on having the students learn to think and problem solve. Given the low pass rates on exams, this made some sense to these teachers.

This emphasis on practical skills is also true at the University level. The Humanities and Social Sciences are not given the same respect or money as the sciences and technical courses. I heard this from professors in the university and also from university students. The other major university in the country is a Polytechnic, which focuses on technical skills. Some of the Zimbabwean professionals in Namibia complained about a lack of critical thinking in the students, and they were clear that this was because the students did not learn to read and understand literature in school.

Because the education infrastructure in Namibia needed to be upgraded, the government put together the Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme (ETSIP). This program is essentially a fund to improve education through improvement of infrastructure. In the document about Phase I (2006-2011), the rationale for ETSIP is laid out by associating the program with Vision 2030. Vision 2030 is presented as two simultaneous goals for Namibia, economic growth and equity. In order to achieve these goals, skilled workers are needed in the country, and the schools need to produce these skilled workers, including (in order for equity to be achieved) the schools serving poor or underserved populations. Thus, ETSIP continuously discusses the need for
education and training to be “pro-poor.” This “pro-poor” emphasis is in contrast to the reality of education in the country, because many schools are underfunded, and the best government schools charge higher fees to parents than the typical school.

I talked with some students at the University of Namibia about this issue of education inequalities. They recognized that certain schools in Windhoek were better than others, particularly those schools which had formerly been for Whites, and which in 2009 still had a higher fee (according to the students) associated with them. This suggested a “pro-rich” bias, of course. I was fortunate to speak to someone who had been at a meeting in the Ministry of Education about this inequity in the school system. This informant stated that the government officials recognized the problem, and recognized that it ran counter to their official stance on education and equity. At the same time, they wanted their own children to have the privilege of a good school. According to this informant, the government officials were unwilling to change the system in a way that might jeopardize their children in favor of the whole population. I would say, also, that the government officials were so used to the disparities of education, that they could not conceive of a situation in which education was equitable.

6.3.2.2. Normative Forces

Some of the regulative forces described above are less rule-oriented and seem more like the government trying to create norms for the country about education. I included them above, however, because they were government
ideas about what the library should be like. In this section, I will discuss the normative forces shaping the library, and in particular, the university and the professional organizations. In doing so, I am following DiMaggio (1991), who looked carefully at the universities and the professional organizations to understand changes to the organizational form of the art museum, the organization he was studying. I was similarly interested in the University of Namibia’s Department of Communication and Information Science, which trains librarians for the profession by offering a bachelor’s degree in information science and a thesis master’s degree. I was also interested in the professional organizations, mainly NIWA, which I have mentioned before, but also other activities that brought librarians together.

The norms and values related to librarianship as seen through these organizations were often obscured by the politics within these organizations. Most of these politics were too difficult for me to understand as an outsider. As well, I could not tell if they were more or less than the power plays and such that take place in any group of people working together. Most of the discussion of these politics focused on tribal affiliations. For example, one informant said that someone favored people from her tribe. In addition, an argument I witnessed started in English, but when one side wanted to discuss their position, they switched to Afrikaans, knowing the person arguing did not speak that language. I also couldn’t help but notice the lack of White people at NIWA meetings. Although, in the 1990s, the librarianship field seemed to have many Whites, only two were at any of the NIWA meetings I attended. Whites were still
working as librarians, usually as directors of libraries, and at least two of them had meant to retire earlier, but there was no one to replace them. They did not, however, want to be involved with NIWA any longer (although some of them were clearly involved earlier). One NIWA member, a younger person, was aware of this lack, and thought that the younger generation could benefit from the wisdom and mentorship of these older people who had left.

The documents from the 1990s also give insights into some of the norms and values in the 2000s. In both decades, people discussed the importance of libraries being about reading and information provision. A clash of opinions happened over these two notions. Numerous incidents demonstrated this clash of opinions, including a change in the library science curriculum, a discussion at a workshop, and a library promotion campaign. When a new professor came to work at the University in the late 1990s, he removed a course on the history of publishing. Removing this course upset some of the professors who had been teaching in the program, and they left. This course was taught to help students understand books as a fundamental part of the library. It supported the idea that libraries are about books and reading more than the provision of information resource, which now come in many forms, not just books.

This disagreement about the purposes of the library was also apparent in a workshop for librarians at the Goethe Center in 2008 that was partially sponsored by NIWA. A German and South African Librarian both travelled to

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This workshop is also mentioned in section 7.1.2 because the Gates Foundation funded libraries were emphasized as model libraries in the workshop.
Namibia to discuss marketing libraries. I was able to attend because I happened to be in the country at the time of the session. The workshop taught participants about marketing the library and the importance of marketing library services. In the evening, the librarian from Germany gave a talk about the same topic. She introduced the idea of having a celebration of library services in September, which is internationally recognized as Library Month. Both librarians also talked about the importance of using computers in the library and providing access to information. One administrator in attendance was clearly excited about the material covered, but she immediately began talking about the importance of promoting reading. She said, “You can’t take a laptop to bed or to the doctor’s office when you’re waiting for you appointment.” Another attendee immediately said, “Why not?” It appeared to me that the administrator felt that libraries should be about the promotion of reading and books, whereas others felt that should also be about the provision of information through many media.

In the first NIWA meeting of 2009 (which I attended), the issue of the celebration and promotion of libraries during the month of September was raised again. An administrator who had attended the Goethe Institute workshop reminded everyone of the decision made there to have a library campaign. She wanted to start the planning for the celebration and had definite ideas of what should take place. Her idea was to promote reading by reading stories to children in all of the malls around Windhoek. Most of the librarians in Windhoek work for Ministerial libraries such as the Library for the Ministry of Environment
and Tourism. Their work is to serve the people in the ministry and fulfill their information needs as well as to work with members of the public who want information on topics related to that ministry. To me, promoting library services to children seemed out of context for them. I was not surprised when the response to this demand for action was largely ignored.

Much later, another meeting was held for the proposed celebration of libraries in September. This time, only librarians who worked directly for NLAS were at the meeting, including ministerial librarians, and administrators from CLS and ELS. This group at first proposed working with ELS, who have a Readathon celebration in September every year to promote reading at schools. During this meeting, an argument broke out, which I couldn’t follow, because it sounded as if both sides were saying the same thing to me.

The University, in its coursework and the attitude of the professors, most of whom were not from Namibia, seemed to favor information over pleasure reading in the community libraries. In NIWA, the view of libraries as providing access to books and reading appeared to have lasted longer, partly because a few members continued to lead on this issue. This emphasis also comes with an emphasis on library services for children rather than for adults, which I found odd because most of the members of NIWA work in Ministry libraries that serve only adults.

6.3.2.3. Cultural-Cognitive influences

The cultural-cognitive influences on an organization may be the most difficult to see, because they are the meaning given to the organization and the
associations people have with the organization. The use of the organizational field helps to define the regulative and normative forces and to point out where they make cultural-cognitive meaning.

As I just discussed in the normative section, the cultural-cognitive meaning of the library was different for different administrators. Some library administrators active in NIWA, as well as a government official who gave a speech about libraries, emphasized books and reading. This fit with what I have called a *historical notion* of library services and seemed to be associated with the services public libraries had offered in Namibia to Whites. Others, particularly at the University, tended to associate the library with information services. This view was more in line with the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto (although the manifesto also believes that libraries should encourage reading and support education), and I called it the *UPLM notion* of library services. People using the libraries, particularly in the libraries in which I observed, tended to view the library as a place of formal education support where they could study and which would help them achieve life success. This latter view was associated historically with the *charity notion* of library service, and it can also be associated with the many messages from development organizations about the benefits of education towards self and countrywide development. Each of these notions gave different meaning to the library and each inspired different expectations for library service.
6.3.2.3.1. Media and the Library

Another area where the ideas of the cultural cognitive meaning of the library can be visible is in the media. I did not have as much access to local news as I would have liked, but I did notice a few programs. The local television station has run a documentary on literacy and particularly on literacy for older people. This is part of a campaign to help Namibia grow a “reading culture” and a literate population. Literacy is around 80% in the country.

The media also reported on the libraries. Many newspaper articles were more likely to emphasize reading in the library. For example, one newspaper, The Namibian, had two articles on the closing of the Windhoek Public Library for renovations. The first article has the headline, “Public Library Gets a Facelift” and the subtitle reads, “Bad news for bookworms is that the Windhoek Public Library is closed for six months while it gets a long overdue facelift.” The library is clearly staked out for readers in this subtitle. Information seekers are not in danger while the library is closed, only readers. A year and a half later, the headline states, “Public Library ‘Scandal’ has frustrated Readers up in Arms.” The scandal being that the library still has not re-opened and the bookworms must continue bereft without their library. The renovations were in part to ready the library for computers, but the headlines do not take into account this new possible use of the library.

6.3.2.4. Dimensions of the Field

In section 2.1.3.4.1, I described Scott’s (2006) dimensions of the organizational field that allow the researcher to think about how cohesive the organizational
field is. At this point, I would like to apply those dimensions to the case libraries in Namibia. The dimensions are as follows:

1. Funding Centralization
2. Unity of Governance
3. Public/Private Mode of Governance
4. Structural Isomorphism
5. Coherence of Organizational Boundaries
6. Consensus on Institutional Logics
7. Organizational Linkages
8. Clarity of Field Boundaries

6.3.2.4.1. Funding Centralization

The government had set up a method of library funding from one fund, through the library directorate in the Ministry of Education. This funding was for the books in the library, and to some extent the staff. The library building was funded by the municipalities, however. Thus, each library has at least two sources of funding. Thus funding is not centralized.

6.3.2.4.2. Unity of Governance

Similar to the funding issues, the libraries are governed by a number of groups. The library collections are governed by the Community Library Services, but the staff are governed by regional librarians. In the two case libraries, other partners are also involved in the governance of the library. Governance does not have unity, therefore.
6.3.2.4.3. Public/Private Mode of Governance

For many of the libraries, the governance of the library is from the government and is public. For both case libraries, however, private governance was also in place. In Katutura-Rössing, the Rössing Foundation was also governing the library. Although there was little overt conflict between the two governing bodies, their differences were a source of confusion in the library, particularly around the collection of statistics. For Greenwell Matongo Community Library, the many partners in the library were all related to public governance, but the Finnish group was obviously not from the Namibian government. Between the different groups there were some conflicts.

In the law governing libraries, permission is given to have a community committee to govern the libraries. Neither of the case libraries had this type of public governance, although the community in Greenwell Matongo did have some say in how the library should be structured.

6.3.2.4.4. Structural Isomorphism

The three different notions of the library, historic, charity and UPLM, demonstrate that there is not structural isomorphism. Each notion of the library had its own structure, although the case libraries were a blending of the structures.
6.3.2.4.5. Coherence of Organizational Boundaries

In the case libraries, which were public libraries, some of the people using the library used them as if they were academic libraries. This suggested a lack of organizational boundary.

6.3.2.4.6. Consensus of Institutional Logics

The three different notions of the library, historic, charity, and UPLM, had their own institutional logics. Each is based on a different conceptualization of the library, and the different conceptualizations lead to different structures.

6.3.2.4.7. Organizational Linkages

The libraries have some formal linkages to other organizations in the field. So far, I have been discussing the libraries in the organizational field, and the relationship between the public libraries and other libraries in the field. These organizations (each public library to other public libraries as well as to the other library types (academic, government, and national)) are linked to each other mostly through the governance structure. In addition, the library staff belong to the professional organization, NIWA, which creates a formal link between the library and this organization. It also furthers the links between the libraries.

The formal linkages to other organizations beyond the library, however, are thin. The libraries have no formal link to the schools or the university. Some of the schools in the neighborhood were not even aware of the library. Other
schools were aware and teachers made use of the library, but this use was not formalized in any agreements.

6.3.2.4.8. Clarity of Field Boundaries

The public library sits firmly in an organizational field defined by education. It interacts with other education-related organizations, and when people talk about the library, they invariably mention education. The *charity notion* of the library is strongly invested in education, and this notion is probably the main reason that the libraries are governed under the Ministry of Education. Bounding the public library in education, however, ignores some of the uses of the library that are not educational, such as reading the newspaper. As well, the *UPLM notion* of the library goes beyond education. In this notion, the library is also for information, for the alleviation of poverty. These notions may create new linkages to other organizations.
Table 6.8: Dimensions of the Field

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>High or Low</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Funding Centralization</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unity of Governance</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public/Private Mode of Governance</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structural Isomorphism</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coherence of Organizational Boundaries</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus on Institutional Logics</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Linkages</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarity of Field Boundaries</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table suggests, the dimensions of the organizational field, when loosely measured, suggest that the field does not have high structuration. The different organizations in the field, in other words, are not a cohesive unit. The public library is part of an organizational field that is not highly structured, and this is part of the reason that the institutional logics for the library are not clear, leading to three different notions of the library.

6.4. Summary and Conclusion

6.4.1.1. Summary of Data and Theory

At the national level, the organizational field gives a clear picture of the various influences on Namibia’s public/community library organizational form. The government has created a legal structure for the library, has placed the library
in the Ministry of Education, and has developed a vision of the future in which information and knowledge are crucial. The placement of the library in the Ministry of Education shows that libraries are associated with education, and opens up the possibility that libraries or library-like organizations will be powerful and important as the country seeks to enact the vision of its future described in Vision 2030.

The norms of the library are somewhat mixed between two ideas – that of the traditional librarians who believe in reading provision and creation of a reading culture as the primary role of the library, and new librarians who are interested in the provision of information as well as reading materials. The cultural-cognitive understandings of the library as represented in the media seem to reflect the traditional view of the library. Use of the libraries, however, seemed to reflect a need for educational support primarily, with information provision and reading material as a secondary need.

These different viewpoints can also be explained by looking at the history of Namibia’s public libraries and recognizing the traditions of library service. Three ideas of libraries can be found in the country: traditional, charity and international. The libraries may be changing slowly to fit the international idea of what a public library may be, but this change has not extended so far that the membership fee and ways of checking out books have been discussed or changed (as far as I observed).
This suggests that the traditional understandings of an institution are not easily done away with in a country that is newly joining the international community.
7. International and Regional Organizational Fields

The previous two chapters described the local library and the national organizational field for the library. This chapter gives a description of the organizational field at the international level, and the indications of influence from an international organizational model for the library. This chapter, therefore, fits within my theoretical framework here:

![Diagram of organizational fields](image)

**Table 7.1: Theoretical framework: this chapter describes the international organizational field depicted at the top of this figure.**

This chapter also describes the regional influences (which are not pictured in the original framework, but should have had a space between the International Organizational Field and the National Organizational field.)
7.1. International Organizational Field

My observations in Namibia suggested that I was right to think that the international organizational model for the public library would have influence in Namibian libraries. In particular, the UNESCO and IFLA documents on the public library were used by Namibian library administrators in their work. Other organizations external to Namibia were also influential particularly through funding of libraries. I expected the international organizational field to contain UN organizations, specifically for libraries—the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); an international professional organization, (which for libraries this would be the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA)); and international Non-Governmental Organizations (such as Book Aid International). World Society Theory, as described in Meyers et al. (1997) puts tremendous emphasis on the United Nations as a source for the diffusion of organizational models related to the nation-state. For this reason, as well as what the literature told me about the influence of UNESCO and IFLA on public libraries, I expected their influence to be strong.

My observations revealed that these and other international organizations did play a role, but that other influences were also at play. I also found some international influences in ways I had not anticipated, but which still support the theory. The biggest alternative influence was from government-aid organizations. International media and the international work of some librarians also had influence. Below I describe each of these more closely. I start with the organizations picture in the diagram – UNESCO, IFLA and iNGOs, and
then discuss the government-aid and the influence of librarians who are living in Namibia but were raised in another country.

7.1.1. UNESCO and IFLA
UNESCO and IFLA worked together to write the UNESCO Public Library Manifesto, which is described in section 2.2.4.4, and is the basis for what I call the *UPLM Notion* of library services as described in Chapter 4. The UPLM, to me, was the ultimate normalizing force for libraries worldwide. Not only did it lay out a plan for library services, but also books were written detailing how to create a library that fit its standards (Koontz and Gubbin, 2010; Gill, 2001; IFLA, 1977, 1986).

Two library administrators directly interacted with the UPLM. One sent out an invitation to a workshop that quoted the UPLM directly and used the quote as a reason for librarians to attend the workshop. She also stated that the workshop would help the librarians achieve the goals of the UPLM. This implied 1) that the administrator knew the UPLM, liked it and wanted her libraries to live up to it, and 2) that the administrator assumed the library staff were also familiar with the UPLM and would be motivated by it. The workshop was well attended, but not necessarily because of the quote from the UPLM.

The second administrator had *The Public Library Service: the IFLA/UNESCO Guidelines for development* (Gill, 2001) on her desk when I visited her office. If she had been actively using the book to help determine the library services then that clearly would show that the international organizational model for the library was influencing her decisions about Namibian public
libraries. The book may have been for show, but if so, it still implies that the book was important enough for someone to pretend to use it. In our discussions of the libraries, she did seem committed to a notion of the library and library services similar to those in the UPLM.

Kingo Mchombu, who spent many years as the director of the Information and Communication Studies Department (where the library science bachelor’s degree is taught) at UNam, has attended many meetings including some of the meetings surrounding the writing of the UPLM. The UPLM was not, for him, an imported concept, but a concept that he helped to develop. This attitude may have been clear to his students (including the administrator who had the book on her desk and was a former student of his) because he taught courses in library science.

7.1.1.1. UNESCO

UNESCO’s influence in Namibia, beyond the UPLM, was visible in other ways. First, UNESCO has a library in Windhoek, and second it was named as a source for potential library funding. The UNESCO library had been in the center of town but moved to a different location, and unfortunately, I never visited the new location. I heard that it had materials from the United Nations, mostly on development.

In discussions about possible funding related to ideas of the library, UNESCO was often named. If someone had a thought for improving library service, someone else would mention that they might get funding from UNESCO to implement the idea. This tended to be amongst people at the university
level. There was also general acknowledgement that UNESCO had less money now for libraries than it had in the past. I did not hear of any current library projects, aside from its own library, that UNESCO was funding in Namibia.

7.1.1.1.1. Other United Nations Involvement

During the fight for Namibia’s independence in the 1970s and 1980s, the United Nations funded the United Nations Institute for Namibia, which helped prepare people in exile from Southwest Africa for the time when their country would be independent. This institute also had a library, and both the institute and the library, as well as other learning by people in exile, may have influenced how they thought about libraries and education. Some of the people living in exile, particularly those associated with the South West Africa’s People’s Organization (SWAPO) are very influential in Namibia today. For example, one of the staff members at Greenwell Matongo was a teacher of adult education in Zambia and in Tanzania for people in exile. Her training was mostly made possible through the United Nations.

7.1.1.2. IFLA

IFLA’s presence in the country has already been partially identified because the UPLM and the Guidelines are both the combined work of UNESCO and IFLA. Therefore, the presence of both of these items in Namibia shows that IFLA has some influence there, as well as UNESCO. IFLA’s influence extends beyond the use of these documents however. In particular, IFLA’s annual conference is frequently attended by a number of professors teaching library science at the
university. For example, Chiku Mchombu, who teaches on the Modern Library at UNam, attended the conference in 2010. Elisha Chiware, who taught cataloging at UNam for many years (but has since moved to direct a library in South Africa) attended in 2008 and presented a paper on collecting statistics in libraries.

This involvement by professors was important because it shows that IFLA was not just an influence on Namibia but also that some of the people in Namibia are influencing IFLA as well. Kingo Mchombu is a brilliant scholar, and he may be unusually influential in IFLA. Other countries of Namibia’s size may not have such a scholar who can have that type of impact at the international level.

The chairwoman of NIWA, Jacobina Mwikilye, also attended IFLA 2010. She participated in the conference as part of her role as the NIWA Chairperson. This took place after I finished the data collection, so I have no record of what influence, if any, the conference had on her work as chairperson.

Overall, UNESCO and IFLA’s influence matched with my expectation (from World Society Theory) that the United Nations and international professional associations would have plans for the library, an organizational model of what the library would be, which in turn would influence the national idea of the organizational form of a library. The possibility does exist, however, that some of the people of great influence in Namibia would also influence IFLA and its ideas of the library, which was something I did not anticipate.
7.1.2. NGOs
Three NGOs had direct interactions with the libraries while I was in Namibia: BookAid International, the Gates Foundation and CISP (the International Committee for the Development of Peoples). Both BookAid International and the Gates Foundation appeared to have a direct influence on the libraries and their services. Other NGOs may have been involved with other libraries, but I did not witness that.

7.1.2.1. Book Aid International
BookAid International is a prominent organization in the current public library system for Namibia. Through an agreement with the Community Library Services (CLS), they are helping to build the collections of the new public libraries and to maintain the collections in the older library. Without their support, the shelves of many of the libraries would be bare.

BookAid International donates books, but as I discussed in Chapter 6, they ask librarians to suggest appropriate materials. Obviously, these books can only be chosen from the books that the NGO can get donated to them. Many of the books in the collections now support schoolwork. Namibia uses the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) system from Britain, and so can use many schoolbooks from British publishers. BookAid International also donated fiction materials covering a wide range of English Literature and including the African Writers Series. This series published by Heinemann contains books by writers from across the African continent. Other fiction includes best selling authors such as James Patterson and Nora Roberts.
Kingo Mchombu has served on their board, and has considerable influence in their organization. He wrote a paper with Nicola Cadbury (Mchombu and Cadbury, 2006) for BookAid International (quoted in chapter 2), which outlines how libraries help alleviate poverty. Again, BookAid International is influencing Namibia and its libraries, but someone from Namibia is also influencing them (Mchombu may be unique in this regard, however).

7.1.2.2. The Gates Foundation

The Gates Foundation, which is known worldwide as a big supporter of libraries, also has influence. In part, the Gates Foundation has influence, not because it actually gives money to libraries in Namibia, but because it might. Libraries that have received funding from the Gates Foundation have published information about themselves on the Gates Foundation web site. Library staff in Namibia was encouraged to read about these libraries as a way to think of improvements for their own libraries. This happened in a workshop at the Goethe Institute (this workshop was mentioned in section 6.2.4) for the librarians in the summer of 2008. Thus, the Gates Foundation is able to set standards for library service and influence other libraries to try to achieve these standards as well.

In the Greenwell Matongo Community Library, this influence was even stronger. The Finns were applying for one of the Gates Foundation Award Grants. Applying for the grant meant that the library had to meet the requirements, one of which was that people in the community should be allowed to use the computers in the library for free. The policy that I observed
in the library prior to this application was that the Internet was only available to members. Many people signed up to become members and paid the $N6 fee because they wanted to use the Internet. After the Finns visited and it was made clear that the grant could only be received if the Internet were available freely, this policy was changed. This change, as far as I could perceive, only impacted this library.

Thus, Book Aid International and the Gates Foundation, two organizations with a clear ideal for public library services, influenced the public libraries in Namibia, as outlined by my theoretical frame. They have a clear idea of a model library, and the organizational form of the library in Namibia was influenced by their idea.

7.1.2.3. CISP

Another NGO, CISP (the International Committee for the Development of Peoples) from Italy, supplied computers to the Maxiulili Community Center Library and provided computer classes at the Greenwell Matongo Community Library. The computer classes were offered through the library. The librarian found people who were interested in taking the courses and signed them up for it. The students then took the class and were paid $N250 upon completion. Computer classes were a service that the library administration (all of the partners involved with the Greenwell Matongo Community Library) was interested in providing to the community. The NGO was therefore welcome to use the library for this purpose. I was also asked to teach some overflow students about the computers. The librarians themselves did not feel
comfortable teaching the courses and they also felt that they did not have the
time. Teaching the courses would have taken them away from other duties in
the library.

7.1.3. International Government Organizations
I had been expecting the influence and charity donations from non-
Governmental Organizations, but I was not expecting the influence and charity
donations from other countries’ governmental organizations. Perhaps this was
naïve on my part. I know that other countries give sizable amounts of money in
foreign aid, but because it wasn’t discussed in World Society Theory, I forgot to
include it in my theoretical model. In fact, many other countries were involved;
some gave money directly to libraries or the building of libraries, whereas
others had libraries either as cultural centers or as part of their embassies (or
both). A few of the embassies also had grant money that libraries could apply
for. I will start by describing the government organizations I saw involved
directly with the public libraries, and the embassies involved in giving money,
then I will describe the embassy libraries.

7.1.3.1. Other Country funding for Libraries
The Greenwell Matongo Library, as I mentioned in 5.3.7, was often used as a
model library to show people interested in investing in Namibia’s libraries.
Because of this, during my observations in that library, I saw people from other
governments visit the library and I was able to learn of the different
organizations giving money to the libraries. I witnessed three visits like this,
two from Finns, one from the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a US
government-organization, and one from a group of Cubans.

7.1.3.1.1. Cuba

A group from Cuba came through. The group from Cuba may have been an
NGO, but my impression was that they were a government agency. As a little
background into the relationship between the two countries, Cuba had ground
troops in Angola that were connected to part of Namibia’s military campaign
for independence because South Africa sent troops to Angola to fight both the
Angolan communists (aided by Cuba) and the Namibian liberation forces.
Because of this connection, one of the major streets in Windhoek is named after
Fidel Castro. The Cubans were invited to the library by the City of Windhoek,
and they were thinking of giving money to the Maxiulili Community Library, but
were first seeing the impact of the library by visiting Greenwell. I don’t know if
they gave money to the library, in the end. This particular visit was interesting,
partly because Cuba is a totalitarian communist state, not a democracy. Given
that UNESCO and IFLA promise that libraries will support democracy, I would
assume that Cuba would have different reasons for investing in libraries than
these international organizations would.

7.1.3.1.2. The Millennium Challenge Corporation

The United States is involved with the public provision of resources in Namibia
because the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) is financing the building
of Resource Centres in each region. The MCC is an agency of the US
government that is designed to change the way the United States delivers foreign aid to countries. The MCC has a 304.5 million dollar compact with the Namibian government to help the country in many ways. Some of this money will be used to build regional resource centers, which will be under the jurisdiction of the NLAS. These centers will not be called libraries, but they will essentially be libraries and learning spaces for the region that can be used by both schools and libraries and everyone who comes in the door.

The MCC is a different way of doing business with a local government than the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the usual government agency that gives money to foreign aid projects. With MCC, in order for a government to receive aid, they have to first pass a 17-step test that shows that the country is democratic and has sound policies in place. In this part of the process, the country must conform to the United States’ ideals of good governance. Once the country passes, MCC helps the local government figure out what it would like to do with the money. The local government makes the decision and then MCC pays for it. This process is supposed to put the power back in the hands of the local government to use the money as it sees fit. A study of this process and its relationship with World Society Theory would be useful, but it was not within the scope of the present research.

Although the Namibian government asked for the resource centers, it seemed likely that the MCC staff would have ideas about how they should be built and such. When some officials from the MCC visited the Greenwell

As I learned from their website: http://www.mcc.gov/
Matongo Community Library, they asked me about best practices, etc. This indicated that they wanted to know what works and what doesn’t so that they can ensure that the resource centers work.

7.1.3.1.3. City of Vantaa, Finland

The City of Vantaa, a suburb of Helsinki in Finland, has a sister city arrangement with the City of Windhoek. This arrangement means that the City of Vantaa helps the City of Windhoek\textsuperscript{35} with a number of projects, one of which is the Greenwell Matongo Community Library. The City of Vantaa is very much a governmental organization. I did not figure out all of the details, but I had the impression that the City required many forms to be filled out so that they could ensure their money was well spent. Librarians from Vantaa were also involved in the project. Other librarians from Helsinki and surrounding suburbs also helped out. The City of Vantaa was uncomfortable with the other librarians being involved and specifically wanted a City of Vantaa librarian to lead the project.

The librarians from Finland involved in the project all seemed very knowledgeable about libraries. All of them work in libraries in Finland, and all have particular ideas of how libraries should be run. For example, the Finns were interested in visiting the schools in the neighborhood to make sure that the students and teachers knew about the library. They did not just influence

\textsuperscript{35} I only learned that the City of Vantaa was involved in other projects near the end of my time in Windhoek. It would have been interesting to explore some of the other projects, but unfortunately, I did not have time.
the library staff at Greenwell Matongo, but also spoke to members of NIWA who gathered to hear lectures about the libraries in Finland. One of these lectures featured pictures of school children visiting the public library. For this reason, I felt that they were probably bringing this idea from Finland to Namibia.

7.1.3.1.4. Finnish Embassy involvement with libraries

The City of Vantaa was not the only government organization from Finland involved with the libraries in Namibia. The Finnish Embassy also gave out small grants for various library programs. I heard about this from an informant who was trying to organize an event, and mentioned that she had gotten funding from the Finns in the past.

7.1.3.2. Embassy Libraries and Cultural Centers

As I mentioned, a number of countries had libraries or library-like cultural centers that were usually run by the embassy (or with help from the embassy). I never set out to discover all of these in Windhoek, but during my time in the country, I observed or heard about a few of them. These included the American Cultural Center, the Goethe Center, and the French Cultural Center.

The three had a few similarities. All three offered a library or information center as part of the overarching cultural center. The libraries housed material on the host country and mostly in the host country language. All three were in the center of town, and within easy walking distance of each other, the National Library and the Windhoek Public Library (which was closed during 2009). My guess, although I don’t have proof for the American Cultural Center or the
Goethe Center, is that if someone wanted to check out material, they would need to pay a membership fee. The libraries were open to people who just wanted to come in however.

7.1.3.2.1. The American Cultural center

The American Embassy runs a cultural center in Windhoek. The cultural center helps people learn more about American culture and how to visit the US, usually for school. The center also hosts an information center where people can come to read books, to check out materials, and to use the Internet. I visited one day, and found it fairly busy.

The NLAS director in 2009 had previously been the director of the cultural center. Her understanding of libraries and their services came in part from her work at this center and within this American context.

In addition to the information center in Windhoek, the libraries in Walvis Bay all have an “American Corner” in the library that provides a shelf of books and a computer. The books in the corners and in the cultural center are about the United States and are designed to help people learn more about the US. They are in some ways a leftover from the time when the United States was in a propaganda war with the Soviet Union (Rosenberg, 1994).

7.1.3.2.2. Goethe Center

The Germans have a system of Goethe Centers, which are in many countries around the world. These centers teach German and provide access to German language materials. As I have mentioned, the Goethe Center in Namibia also
had a workshop for NIWA and librarians to attend. A new librarian took over in 2009, and he visited the staff at Katutura-Rössing and Greenwell Matongo to introduce himself and see if they wanted to work with him.

Many White Namibians speak German and therefore may use the Goethe center for their reading material. They may have found it particularly useful during 2009, when the Windhoek Public Library was closed. I was concerned about the wealthier people in Namibia not having a public library while it was closed, and a number of people told me not to worry, the wealthy could access the Goethe Center and other libraries like that.

7.1.3.2.3. The French Cultural Center

All of these libraries were downtown in the center of Windhoek. The French Cultural Center was on my walk between the National Library and the Ministry of Education, and as such it caught my attention. As with the Goethe Center and the American Cultural Center, the French Cultural Center had a large number of materials in French that people could read in the library. It was offering story times on Saturday mornings, and I was curious to see what these were like.

I was able to attend one of the story times, and found a Damara man telling traditional Damara stories to children related to him. He translated them into English for my benefit and for the benefit of another non-Namibian, who brought her young child. The stories were very interesting and included a type of cannibalistic violence that I was not used to hearing in stories for children.
7.1.3.3. Summary

In sum, many government agencies were involved with libraries either by donating money to the libraries or by hosting their own. These more direct government agencies have specific goals for the money they are donating. The cultural centers are clearly built to help Namibians learn about the cultures of the host countries. The three I was able to visit and interact with were all from the West: France, Germany and the United States, but I would not be surprised to hear about an Islamic Cultural Center or similar. The government agencies giving money are also more direct about giving the money to help Namibia be more like their home country. The Finns may not have phrased it exactly like that, but their interaction with the library made that intention clear.

For example, one Finnish visitor asked about the availability of audiobooks and movies in the library. My sense was that he believed such items would be as useful to this community as they were to the communities in his home country. His question was answered with the information that few people in the community have the ability to play audiobooks or movies in their homes. Still, he brought the notion of this possibility into the library, thus influencing how the libraries in Namibia are built and run, as predicted by World Society Theory.

World Society Theory puts emphasis on the UN as an influence on other countries’ organizations, particularly in government, education, health and the military, all areas where public monies are frequently spent. The fact that other government agencies are involved in the libraries in Namibia differs from this
theory because their agencies make the involvement more personal and direct. Particular countries are spreading their particular idea of the library, not necessarily the international model.

The Finns and other Scandinavian countries put more money into libraries in their countries and internationally than other countries do. The IFLA conference was in Sweden in 2010, and it will be in Finland in 2014, which shows to an extent the greater interest of Scandinavia in libraries both at home and internationally.

The United States is a major super-power in the world, and therefore has given money in aid to many countries. Many believe it is part of their super-powerness to give money in these ways. In a way, the money is an important part of how the define their relationship to the rest of the world. The MCC, by only giving money to countries that follow certain democratic principles, also shows the power the US wields (or tries to wield) with this money.

China did not give money to the libraries that I was involved with, but China is giving a lot of money and making various agreements with the government of Namibia. For example, a Chinese construction company was building the new state house for Namibia while I was there. This relationship appears to be having a tremendous impact on Namibia, but it was unfortunately not part of this study to understand the relationship. It is possible though, that China’s influence in Africa will change the dynamics of World Society Theory, which so far has assumed a society moving in the same direction as the United
States and Europe towards democracy and individualism. This is not the path that China is on.

7.1.4. Media
As I mentioned, the international influences on the libraries are mostly normative. Media from other countries may be transmitting cultural cognitive meaning for the libraries. This transmission happens through many forms of media including television, movies, radio (music) and the Internet.

7.1.4.1. Television and movies
Namibians, even poor ones living in shacks, often have televisions and video players (contradicting the statement by one administrator that movies were not necessary in the library because of lack of these players). I watched parts of “The Gods Must Be Crazy” (a movie made in Namibia about the San people) in a shack in the Greenwell Matongo neighborhood, and I watched Oprah and similar shows in formal homes in that neighborhood and elsewhere in Katutura. People who do not have a television themselves (or electricity to run the television they have) usually have friends and can watch there.

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation, http://www.nbc.com.na, can be picked up with just an antenna, and watched in any home. This station broadcasts some indigenous Namibian material, and much media, (e.g. “The Bernie Mac Show”), from other countries. Telenovelas from Brazil are popular, as are soap operas from South Africa and shows from the United States. Some people, even in shacks, have satellite dishes and therefore receive cable channels from South Africa that play movies from all over the world. In the
drama the secondary students put on in Greenwell Matongo, as well as in the everyday speech of the youth, one can hear the influence of American television.

This means that Namibians see images of libraries from other countries. These images may be fleeting and may only happen sometimes, but still the idea of a library and all of the cultural-cognitive ties that surround it in the creators of the television show or movie are being presented to Namibians in the media.

7.1.4.2. Radio and Music
Radios were almost ubiquitous in poor neighborhoods. Many stations played American popular music and everyone seemed familiar with it. This familiarity was especially noticeable when a remake of an 80s song came on a radio in a taxi, and everyone started singing along (even me). We all knew the song.

American pop music does not carry many messages about libraries, but the strong influence of American music suggests a diffusion of culture in general.

7.1.4.3. Internet and Technology
I had expected that the Internet would put pressure on the library to conform. If a library offers the Internet, certain structural considerations must come with that. The library will need some IT people to fix the computers and keep them working. The library will need a standard supply of electricity and protection against electrical outages and surges in supply, anti-virus protection, a policy
about the use of the computers (can people look at pornography or not?), and so forth. All of these, and the technology itself, bring certain institutionalized ways of dealing with them. Thus, technology can create similarities. Furthermore, if the libraries had online catalogs for their materials, this would create even more standardization, as the libraries would have MARC records in their catalogs and other standards in place.

As I mentioned, in the actual instantiations of the library, the Rössing-Katutura Library did not have Internet access. In this library, the lack of computers differentiated it from the international model. The Rössing Foundation seemed only slightly interested in putting computers into the library. They were satisfied with the library as it was currently functioning. NLAS was interested in putting computers into the library. The director and another administrator visited one day to look at where the computers could go. They were most worried about security and making sure that the computers would not be stolen. The plans were discussed, but not implemented while I was there.

In Greenwell Matongo Community Library, computers and Internet were available. I have two perspectives on the computers. 1) The administration of the computers was difficult – the Internet ran out every month, the viruses were an ever-present problem, and administrators disagreed about funding them. 2) People used the computers mostly to write papers for school, thus extending what they were already doing in the library that is schoolwork. They also extended the game playing of some of the youth in the library, as games were
downloaded onto the computers. Some people used them for job searches or to help manage their businesses. The job uses were also an extension of the library services, but perhaps a more important one than the others, as less of this work may have been possible before the computers came. I do not know how people prepared CVs before the computers came, but clearly, typed CVs were now the norm, and therefore computers in the library helped people live up to this norm.

Neither library had an online catalog. This was discussed by some as an important innovation. The collections were so small, however, that I thought the card catalogs were a good enough catalog. On the other hand, I was the only person I ever observed using the card catalog. An online catalog, especially one that was linked to the other libraries in the country, might make the resources of the library more available and therefore used in new ways.

Some administrators also talked about getting CD-ROMs for the library. In these conversations and in conversations at the NIWA meeting about a web site, I found that Namibians were technologically behind. They were still working on getting technology that the United States had stopped using in the 1990s. Libraries are much more likely to have subscription databases now in the United States, but at prices which would be unaffordable to Namibia’s community libraries. CD-ROMs may still be the proper way for them to get this type of information, although hard drives and flash drives sometimes have more memory than a CD-ROM. This issue, as was true of much of the technology discussions, showed the lack of resources. The technology available
to the libraries in Namibia is not the same as the technology in libraries in wealthier countries for the very simple reason that Namibia cannot afford it. Thus, the technology rather than creating greater structural similarity to public libraries in other parts of the world just shows that the Namibian libraries are not able to be similar because of their lack of resources.

7.1.5. International Librarians
Another internationalizing influence on the libraries in Namibia comes from some of the librarians. Most of this influence is from librarians who grew up in another country and now work in Namibia for a library or the University. Some of them work briefly in Namibia, and others stay for a long time. A few of the librarians who grew up in Namibia also worked abroad. Others trained abroad to become librarians. Finally, many of the materials about libraries are written in other countries. These materials are used in the courses on librarianship taught at the University of Namibia and are in the libraries for use as professional development.

Librarians from other countries are plentiful, mostly because many librarians in administrative positions or working for the academic libraries are from Zimbabwe. I will talk about the Zimbabweans in the next section on regional influences. A few other countries are also represented by librarians. For example, a Finnish woman, Ritvah Niskalah works for NLAS in the administration. In a sense, I was a representative of this group as well. Everyone treated me as someone who would help improve the libraries and as
someone there to work for that improvement. I felt that part of this treatment came from an acceptance of the idea that foreign librarians come to help the libraries.

This cross-pollination of librarians is not one-way. The Director of NLAS, Veno Kauaria used to work in the United States. Other librarians train abroad. While I was in Namibia, one librarian was earning her master’s in library science in England. Another was pointed out to me as someone who had earned her degree in England as well. In addition, the chairwoman of NIWA travelled to Finland to talk about Namibian libraries and visit Finnish libraries in 2009.

Many of the professors of library science at the University of Namibia have trained abroad, usually for their master’s degree. Two of them trained in the United States and one trained in England (at least – this was what I was informed of). Some of the professors are from Zimbabwe and some from Tanzania. The students, therefore, learn about libraries mostly from people from other countries, not from Namibians. They also use mostly international texts, including the Anglo-American Cataloging Rules (AACR2), and other internationally recognized texts dealing with libraries. This is partly because libraries have standardized much of their practices so that materials may be exchanged. Thus, there are global ways of running libraries and processing their materials. This fits with World Society Theory in that organizations are globalizing themselves, which forces their structures to follow models and standards.
7.1.6. Summary of data and meaning for Theory
The data suggested a few changes to the theoretical framework that I had conceived. The original framework looked like this:

![Figure 7.2: Pre-conceived International Organizational Field](image)

The data upheld the influence of UNESCO, IFLA, NGOs and the media. UNESCO and IFLA were clearly influencing the libraries, and the UPLM was known to administrators. The data also suggested that the donors need to be more carefully indicated as iNGOs and government aid organizations. In addition, the global movement of people between countries is an important factor, as the librarians working in Namibia have worked abroad, trained abroad or are not Namibians. Thus, the picture should look like this:

![Figure 7.3: International Field Re-constructed](image)
In this picture, I have added the Government Aid Agencies and the international librarians, who I named “Globetrotting Librarians.”

The technology is changed in color to reflect the fact that although it was expected to be a normalizing presence, it actually had the opposite impact and showed the ways in which the library was not keeping up with the international model. Instead, it showed how outside influences would be necessary for the libraries in Namibia to be like the model. Outside influences, such as the Finnish government agencies (in the form of the City of Vantaa) were actively trying to provide the resources necessary to bring the libraries in line with the model through technology. This was not enough, however, to make that happen. Namibian libraries do not have the technology of other libraries and their structure reflects that.

As I also mentioned previously, the money from other governments is a large part of the funding for Namibia’s public libraries. This changes the nature of the organizational field. Government agencies are not necessarily international in their thinking. They may be more eager to help Namibia’s libraries become like their own libraries.

7.2. Regional Organizational Field

Regional influences, or influences on the library from other southern African countries, were expected by me, but not by World Society Theory. The theory is

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16 The librarians are also pictured running – as if they are globetrotting, to distinguish them from the IFLA people in the picture.
mainly interested in global forces (generally from high status countries), not forces that are divided up amongst various areas of the globe. Thus, in the theoretical framework, I noted that various regional influences might come into play, but I wasn’t really sure in what way they would play a role. Three areas suggested a major regional role in developing an idea of what the library should be like. South Africa, both as the regional economic powerhouse and the former colonial power, had great influence on Namibia and the libraries. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) had an influence, both as a regional regulative body and because it allowed people from other nearby countries to work in the country. Finally, regional conferences may have had a normalizing effect on the libraries. Let me take these each in turn.

7.2.1. South African Influence
South Africa had an historic impact on the libraries. The report in 1963 of the libraries in Namibia was very specific in modeling the libraries after those in South Africa. The librarians before independence were part of the library association of South Africa and thus the normative forces in that country on how libraries should be would have influenced those in Namibia as well. Historically, I assume that most of the Namibian librarians were trained in South Africa, although a teaching school in Namibia did offer some training for librarians. Even today, many people have degrees or are getting degrees from South Africa. One informant outside of Windhoek mentioned that he was

37 The South African libraries were probably modeled after libraries in Britain and Europe, but unfortunately, their history and influences was beyond the scope of this study.
getting a distance degree from University of South Africa (UNISA) in library
science.

Since independence, Namibia has had its own librarian association, and I
did not see much evidence of interaction with South Africa’s library association,
Library and Information Association of South Africa (LIASA). An administrator
suggested to one librarian in Windhoek that she might like to go to LIASA, but
that was the extent of interaction with that organization that I observed. Thus,
South Africa’s connection with the normalizing forces of libraries in Namibia
may be weakening.

Culturally South Africa still has a strong presence in Namibia. Many
people have families in South Africa. Even among people living in the poorer
areas of Windhoek, having family or traveling to South Africa was not unusual
(it was not the norm, but not so far from the norm to be odd). Most of the
businesses are franchises or chains from South Africa. Newspapers and
magazines from South Africa are sold many places, and much of the satellite
television comes from South Africa. Furthermore, Namibians shared in the glory
and pride of South Africa, when South Africa hosted the World Cup. As well, in
all of these ways, the cultural bond between Namibia and South Africa is strong.
I don’t know that this directly influences the way that people think about the
library, but it may have an indirect influence.

7.2.2. SADC influences
SADC is a coordinating body for the region, and has a mission of promoting
economic growth in the region with an emphasis on equality and good
governance. The fifteen member countries signed an treaty in 1992, and have signed various protocols since. In this way, SADC is both a regulatory and a normalizing influence on the member countries.

My interest was in how these agreements affected the libraries, and for the most part, the impact was felt primarily through labor. People in SADC countries can obtain work permits to work in Namibia. For the most part, in libraries, this meant that many Zimbabweans were working in the libraries.

Zimbabwean librarians, as noted earlier, have a major role to play in Namibia’s libraries. Zimbabwe’s economic trouble during the time of my research meant that many Zimbabweans were in Namibia. All types of Zimbabweans were in Namibia, and professionals were working in many administrative jobs for the libraries. They were often better qualified than any Namibians because the education system in Zimbabwe had been excellent for so long, and they were willing to work for low wages because they needed a job. As examples, here is a list of a few of the positions occupied by Zimbabweans in 2009: two professors at the University of Namibia Department of Information and Communication; the director of the Polytechnic Library, a librarian at the University of Namibia; and a director and an assistant director of departments in NLAS.

I am sure that the Zimbabweans brought ideas from home of how libraries should be and how they should work. These ideas would inevitably be worked into the fabric of Namibia’s libraries. Some Zimbabweans have also written books of normative standards for libraries, including Chiware and
Hadebe’s Manual for Rural Libraries (1999). Chiware was a professor at the University of Namibia for half of the time that I was there doing fieldwork, before he moved to South Africa for another job (another Zimbabwean took over his job).

I was privileged to attend a party of Zimbabwean librarians, all of whom were working in Namibia. At the party, they spoke of their education at the University of Zimbabwe, and a couple of them mentioned that they had also studied abroad in the United States or the United Kingdom. At the party, I had a World Society Moment, in a sense. I felt very culturally comfortable, in a way that I did not normally feel in Namibia. I felt as I would with a group of librarians in the United States, because we used the same jargon and had the same jokes about the library.

Zimbabweans often mentioned that their school system was “better” than Namibians. One informant mentioned that he felt that Namibians did not learn to think critically in school. In the opinion of a number of Zimbabweans that I talked to, Namibians did not learn enough literature and discuss it at a deep level in a way that would enable them to think critically. This was interesting because it spoke to an important distinction in education. The schools and the structures of the schools may be the same, but the actual curriculum had some key differences. The Namibian curriculum had a heavier emphasis on business and science than on critical thinking and literature. This difference was clear to the Zimbabweans.
I do not want to overstress my moment of cultural comfort that I experienced with the Zimbabwean librarians, but I think it offers a possible insight into World Society Theory. The theory states that a global society and culture are emerging – and this felt true in that moment at the party. That moment, however, may have been the result of an education in Zimbabwe that had taught those librarians better English, more literature and critical thinking skills than the Namibian schools. World Society Theory looks at broad similarities between organizations in different countries and claims that these show a similarity of societal structures. The differences in the education systems between Namibia and Zimbabwe suggest that even small organizational changes may make a big difference in terms of cultural similarity. This possibility should be explored further.

7.2.3. Regional Conferences
Namibian library and information workers are active in two regional professional organizations: the Standing Conference of Eastern, Central and Southern African Librarians and Information Professionals (SCECSAL); and Eastern and Southern African Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (ESARBICA). SCECSAL is held every other year, and in 2008 and 2010, a small contingent of librarians was there. ESARBICA was actually held in Namibia in 2009, and many Namibian librarians and archivists were involved in hosting that conference. Both of these conferences imparted norms and professional values.
7.2.3.1. Summary of data and meaning for Theory

As I noted earlier, World Society Theory does not have a perspective on regional influences. New Institutional Theory is usually within one culture, and many of the studies have been set in the United States, a country that dominates its neighbors and is therefore not often influenced by regional happenings. In a small country like Namibia, and one that was formerly colonized by a neighbor, the influence of neighboring countries may be quite substantial. African nations have many regional organizations, ones that cover all of Africa and ones that are more local – the African Union and the SADC being prime examples. I do not know how to fit this regional influence into the general ideas of these two theories; I just know that they were there. Future study is needed to understand whether these regional influences are stronger than the international influences and more likely to impact the library organization and its services.
8. Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter discusses some of the issues of the dissertation and then concludes the theory reconstruction. The discussion considers the choice of the case sites, policy ideas indicated by the research, issues of power, and issues of libraries and democracy. The conclusion will summarize the suggested theory reconstructions.

8.1. Limitations and Future Research

This study had some theoretical and methodological limitations, some of which suggest areas for further research. I will first describe the limitations related to the theories and then those related to the methods.

8.1.1. Theory limitations
I used two theories to frame the study, World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory. I used them together despite the fact that they can have opposing ideas. In the literature review, I mentioned that World Society Theory sometimes suggests that it is built on ideas of New Institutional Theory and sometimes suggests that it is counter to ideas in New Institutional Theory. I did not try in this study to tease these ideas apart or use my data to see if the two theories fit together or need to be stretched to fit together. Instead, I just worked with them as if they fit together.

In the future, I might work with some experts in both theories to see if the findings in this study suggest ways to fit them together. As I mentioned
early on, I used both theories because New Institutional Theory did not give me enough references outside of one culture, but World Society Theory did not give me enough particulars. Using the two together allowed me to look at the situation in one country as it related to the international circumstances.

I did find, however, that the regional issues were not the focus of either theory. The Namibian libraries were clearly heavily influenced by the South African public libraries and other libraries in the region. It was not within the scope of my dissertation to study those libraries as well. A comparison of the libraries in the two countries, and possibly also including Lesotho, as another country heavily influenced by South Africa might give better insights into how regional influences impact organizational structures and the institutionalizing processes. Such a study might also give insight into the global, regional and local influences on organizations in such a way that a clearer picture of how New Institutional Theory and World Society Theory work together could emerge.

8.1.2. Method Limitations
I faced a number of limitations to the study in the methodology including 1) choice of study site, 2) the length of time of the study was not enough for me to really understand the local culture or speak the local language, 3) the study was only conducted in two libraries, 4) lack of access to all of the people influencing the libraries.
8.1.2.1. Choice of study site

The choice of the study site grew out of my original impetus for doing the study. I came to the PhD program with the desire to understand how libraries can best serve oral tradition societies. Through the review of the literature, I began to understand that although some models of libraries or library-like organizations exist which could work with oral tradition populations, these libraries are often underfunded and are not the organizational structures first thought of when new libraries are opened in countries that have a long tradition of orality. As I dug deeper into the literature, I found World Society Theory helped explain why the libraries would not conform to the needs of the society that they were serving but would instead conform to international ideals of what a library should be. This research was an attempt to understand that process in Windhoek, Namibia.

In looking back at the study, I realize that orality was not a strong force in the Katutura neighborhood where I based my study. The urban environment meant that most of the people using the library were interested in bettering their education and used the library as a place to study. For them, the library was not a place to tap into their oral roots, but instead a place to step into the world of education and literacy. It could be that if I had found a library in a rural neighborhood where the surrounding community was still living a traditional and oral culture, my findings may have been very different. Doing this study in one of the knowledge sharing libraries designed by Kingo Mchombu (2004) in Ethiopia, for example, may have given a very different perspective on World
Society Theory and the institutionalization of the public library model worldwide.

The people using the libraries in my study appreciated it for helping them gain access to a written tradition culture. The people’s attitude also reflected the attitude of many of the administrators. When talking about libraries, administrators would inevitably tell me that Namibia did not have a reading culture and it needed to develop one. The library was not a vehicle for sharing information in traditional ways; it was a vehicle for changing Namibia and the habits of Namibians so that they begin to read and gain more of their wisdom and knowledge from books. Such a strong attitude forced me to reconsider my original premise. My notion that the library could support orality and continue the transfer of information through traditional measures did not seem as valid in the reality of Katutura as it did in the literature.

This notion that the library could or should be a place of cultural preservation or continuance came from two lines of thought. 1) Libraries are places of cultural preservation in the United States (Molz, 1988), which helps explain my own bias towards this notion. As well, the title of Amadi’s book, *African Libraries: Western Tradition and Colonial Brainwashing* (1981) puts the issue in stark terms. The libraries, by making available the culture of the colonial powers and not the culture of the local re-enforce the notion that the colonizers’ view of the world is correct. The libraries in Africa, then, by preserving someone else’s culture in their bookshelves forced a different view of the world on their community of users. 2) I had also assumed before
entering the field that the push for the library to be similar to libraries elsewhere would be part of a power relationship between the poor country (Namibia) and the wealthier countries (USA, Finland, Britain, and so forth). The situation would reflect the post-colonial and what some call the neo-colonialism of development. World Society Theory had neatly circumnavigated these issues in the articles I read. It explained that there was a growing global culture and as such all countries were swept up in the stream of this new culture. It wasn’t power that made this happen, it was the growing understanding of one global culture. I didn’t believe that this could be so simple or uncontested when I entered the study, and tried to see beneath this surface.

8.1.2.2. Length of time for the study

A true ethnographic study takes years for the researcher to immerse herself in the local culture, learn the language, and develop deep relationships with informants. I did not have time to do any of that. I learned some of the local ways of speaking English and made a few friends. I used the students from UNAM to inform me on cultural issues, but in many ways, this just scratched the surface. I did not even live near the libraries. An example of how my understanding could have been deeper happened around a cultural explanation. One informant mentioned that she studied in the library because Oshiwambo rules of hospitality meant that if she were studying at home, she would have to stop if someone came by. She was discouraged by this constant interruption when she studied at home, so instead she chose to come to the library to study. I tried to confirm this with other informants, but none of them
volunteered it on their own. I did ask directly of one interviewee, who agreed with the idea. Although I visited people’s houses and found them very hospitable, I could never tell if I had interrupted them in some work or not. I needed more time to observe to see how this practice would have played out in someone’s life.

8.1.2.3. Only two case libraries

I had purposely chosen my case libraries (see above) to learn particular ideas about the libraries. The two case libraries certainly helped me understand much of what was going on in libraries in Namibia. Visiting other libraries, however, may have allowed me to answer some of the open questions in this dissertation. In 2006, I visited two libraries in Owamboland and three libraries in Walvis Bay. During the dissertation study, I visited libraries in Swakopmond and Otjiwarongo. The libraries in Owamboland were similar to the case libraries in many ways, as I recollect, but it would have been nice to re-visit them and see how they compared to my more detailed understanding that came as a result of deeper immersion.

The Walvis Bay libraries are interesting because they are not part of the national library system. Walvis Bay gained Independence from South Africa in 1994, four years after the rest of Namibia. The town has more British and South African influence than the rest of Namibia. Although the libraries there are similar to libraries elsewhere in the country, they may have had some differences that may have illuminated institutional ideas about libraries in the country and between Namibia and South Africa.
The Rehoboth Library would also have been an interesting one to study, as it was built for the Baster population in Rehoboth. The Basters are a group of mixed race people who immigrated to Namibia from South Africa in the 1900s because they wanted to set up their own community, which they did in Namibia. Their library may have emulated the White libraries or it may have been more like a charity library, or it may have followed a different set of notions. Again, seeing what it was like would have helped to illuminate the ideas about libraries in Namibia.

Similarly, it would have been nice to visit some of the new libraries being built in the South. The three notions of the libraries were very clear in the two case libraries, but it was not clear which (if any) of the notions would be more likely to persist and be the dominant model. The new libraries in the South may have been able to demonstrate which of these notions was dominant in that region. I feel that they would be more likely to do this because more libraries existed in the South historically, mostly for Whites. Thus, the historical notion of the libraries might easily be dominating. If it isn’t, however, that would give support to the idea that the UPLM notion is diffusing beyond Windhoek and beyond the libraries receiving strong external support.

All of the above-mentioned libraries are public libraries, of course, and would have helped with my understanding of the organizational model for public libraries in Namibia. I did manage to spend some time in the national library and the UNam library, both of which are not public libraries. Spending more time in other types of libraries could deepen my understanding of the
organizational field for public libraries. It would also be interesting to carry out this study in the academic libraries. World society theorists have spent time discussing the similarity of universities around the world. The libraries attached to those universities are probably also similar. My experience of the library at UNam was that it was similar to other academic libraries, but it was under-resourced for a university of that size. This was a casual observation as I attempted to use the library to access journal articles and books. It does have implications for Frank and Meyer’s (2007) premise that university education is becoming similar around the world. If students and professors in some countries are attempting to do similar work but have less resources to do it with, they may not be able to replicate the experience of other universities. A number of initiatives globally have tried to correct these imbalances in university resources, including the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, which brought together seven foundations to work on issues of higher education resources in a number of countries in Africa. It would be interesting to explore further the resources for the academic libraries and their impact on scholarship at the university, through the lens of World Society Theory.

8.1.2.4. Access to more people

In any study, it can be difficult to interview or talk with all of the people one wants to. I was particularly frustrated not to have access to three groups of people: government officials, former librarians and library users, and non-library users. The first group of people I wanted to talk to, but had difficulty meeting with government officials, particularly those officials who had decision-
making power over the library budgets. Such people are elusive, partly because they are powerful. Without interviewing them, it was difficult for me to speculate on how the government of Namibia actually thought about the libraries (or even if they thought about them much at all). This left a big hole in the information on the national organizational field.

The second group of people to whom I really wanted access for historical accuracy was former librarians and library users. I did manage to interview a few former librarians, but they were naturally reticent to talk about contentious times or recriminating opinions they may have had or experienced previously. I did not manage to talk to any people who had used the public library before Independence. On the other hand, I am not an historian, and I think interviewing them would have taken some skills I don't necessarily have. I would have enjoyed hearing stories about how the libraries were in the past, though. I think this would have strengthened, in particular, my understanding of the *historical notion* of the libraries.

The third group I would have liked to talk to more were non-library users. The students from UNAM who helped with the study did some interviews of these people, but only one person expressed disdain for the library. If I had had more time, I might have tried to interview people in communities without libraries to see what they thought the community needed and how they felt about education. I would be curious to see if they had the same intense belief in educational success leading to life success that the library users all expressed.
8.1.3. Areas of Further Study
Many of these limitations speak to areas of further study. For example, a follow-up study could visit more libraries in the country and see how they compare to the case libraries. I would also like to study further the link between the libraries, school success and life success. This type of study might need to be longitudinal, and follow people over time as they make their way in life and in school.

Such a study of school and life success might also open up questions about Vision 2030 and World Society Theory. I find it fascinating that so many African nations have such similar visions that suggest that the country’s goal is to become a knowledge society. This fits in with many of the ideas in World Society Theory. The creation of a knowledge society may also have implications for libraries, which, particularly at the university, can be seen as the places that house and organize knowledge. As technology changes and societies potentially place more emphasis on knowledge, how libraries respond to these changes will be interesting to see. I have just conflated two trends, but I think they are deeply intertwined. On the one hand, many developing nations are setting goals of developing in a particular direction towards knowledge. They want to do so by using information technologies that are expensive and need infrastructure. Librarians, UNESCO, IFLA and others believe that libraries should be an important part of this infrastructure, but the libraries are often not directly mentioned in the Vision documents and statements. Studying how all of this plays out and how the vision statements are treated as they meet their time
goals will be fascinating. But before I jump into new studies, I should conclude this one.

8.2. Conclusions

As I discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, certain aspects of the library situation in Namibia were different from what the theory had led me to expect. These can be summarized as the following:

1. The public libraries in Namibia were built on three notions of what a library should be, which I called the UPLM notion, the charity notion and the historical notion. I had been expecting that they would follow one notion.

2. Use of the library by people in the community was a way to fit in with global scripts of development, education and life success. This supported the other aspect of World Society Theory, that a global society based on science, rational thought and liberty is emerging. Many of the scripts found in the study, such as the scripts about education and development had prominence here. The international scripts for the library about democracy and liberty were not as much in evidence.

3. International influences on the organizational structure of the library came from more sources than I originally anticipated. Librarians from other countries or librarians trained in other countries played a significant role. Governments from other countries also played a direct role in funding the library.
4. External funding exists because the government of Namibia cannot afford to provide library services at the level they are provided in other countries. This meant that external organizations had influence over the libraries in Namibia, contributing to their incorporation of external ideas of the library. The lack of local resources was still evident and created changes in the organizational structure of the library.

8.2.1. Theory Reconstructions:
My observations allowed me deeper insights into the guiding theories, World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory. The Extended Case Method (Burawoy, 1998) intends that the researcher should re-construct the theory at the end of the observation and analysis piece. Both theories are complex and have been used in many studies, even as I was carrying out my observations. For this reason, I found it difficult to re-construct them in new ways. Most of my insights into the theories have been elucidated in other studies or by other linguists. In this section, therefore, I explore how my observation that three notions of the library existed can be explained by two people working with World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory.

In the 1997 paper laying out the idea of World Society Theory by Meyer and colleagues, they suggest that the international idea of governmental organizations will appear in a country shortly after that country comes into contact with the United Nations and the international community (pg. 145). This idea ignores the fact that an organizational structure might already be in place in the country. As I found, the UPLM notion of the library had to compete with
two already established notions of the library in Namibia. Two papers add ideas to the World Society Theory and New Institutional Theory such that they can incorporate this idea. Drori and colleagues (2003) use the notion of loose coupling to describe why an instantiation of an organization might not match perfectly with an international model of that organization. Beckert (2010) expands notions in New Institutional Theory to explain divergence as well as convergence in organizational forms.

8.2.1.1. Loose Coupling.

Drori and colleagues (2003) define loose coupling thus, “loose coupling is hence the structural condition where organizational subsets are weakly coordinated or independently developed and operated” (pg. 159). In this study, the organizational structure of the library was independently developed separately twice, and after independence a third notion was also introduced.

Drori and colleagues’ (2003) book chapter explains loose coupling in science organizations and development within the context of World Society Theory. Their findings on that front help to explain the phenomena I saw in Namibia. They explain that external agencies can bring in different views of science and its relationship to development. Developing countries with low resources then try to create plans and organizational structures to meet these differing views. The resulting organizations and organizational field have loose coupling or mismatches between the policy and the activities of the organization. In the case of the libraries in Namibia, the umbrella description of
a public library in the manifesto allowed for the three different notions of the public library to co-exist.

Drori and colleagues note that loose coupling is especially common in developing nations. Lack of resources can make it difficult for organizations to match or tightly couple to the international model. Developing countries, therefore, loosely couple to the model, for example by writing mission statements that match the model, but do not necessarily implement them. This idea explains the frequent studies of library services in Namibia and the lack of action to implement the suggestions for change in those studies.

Drori and colleagues also note that different external agencies may bring in and implement different ideas of science in a developing country. They do so partly because the international notion of science is so broad and encompasses many facts. This creates a loose coupling to the overarching international model. In my study, the broad ideas of public libraries in the UPLM were differently applied by the international agencies, thus allowing for support of the three notions to exist.

8.2.1.2. Convergence and Divergence in Institutional Theories

Jan Beckert (2010) discusses the issue of divergence in organizational forms as related to New Institutional Theory. He felt that although New Institutional Theory does a good job at explaining convergence of organizational forms, it should also help explain divergence. Beckert returns to the three processes of convergence outlined in DiMaggio and Powell’s “The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields” -
Coercion, Attraction, and Mimesis - and shows how they can also explain divergence. I found his discussions of coercion and attraction helpful for understanding what I witnessed in Namibia.

8.2.1.2.1. Coercion

Coercion, according to DiMaggio and Powell (1983), is the formal and informal pressure put on an organization to be a certain way. Beckert notes, “isomorphic change occurs if existing institutions have been thoroughly discredited, morally or functionally, and, at the same time, if there is a powerful external actor who is able to enforce a new institutional design” (pg. 153). In Namibia, I saw powerful external actors in the form of donors to the libraries enforcing new institutional designs, but without discrediting the existing institutions.

As Beckert further explains, “Institutions gravitate towards inertia because the existing distribution of resources tends to produce the kind of political decisions that reinforce them” (pg. 154). Therefore, the inertia around changing the power relations left over from Apartheid may be why I saw the fees for membership staying in place, even as the external donors suggest that the library should be freely available to the whole community. In essence, the power of the external funders was enough to introduce the UPLM notion, but not enough to remove or reduce the other notions of the library.

As Beckert phrases it, “The external power holder must have the organizational capacity to make the envisioned model know and needs support from the local actors putting the institutional blueprint into practice” (pg. 154). Since the librarians trained in the university are often trained in the UPLM
notion, and some of the library administrators support it, the problem is that this message of a different notion of the library has not been sold to the general public. The library celebrations in September were an attempt to sell the idea of libraries to all Namibians, but again, the different administrators different views of the library did not allow one notion to be at the forefront.

8.2.1.2.2. Attraction

Beckert defines attraction this way, “Isomorphic institutional change occurs if institutional models exist that institutional entrepreneurs actively seek to imitate because they are interpreted as attractive institutional solutions to problems being faced” (pg. 155). Some of the library administrators were aware of Namibia’s Vision 2030 and felt that the public libraries, especially in the UPLM notion, had a place in this vision. They could be seen as institutional entrepreneurs who were actively imitating institutional models that would offer solutions to the problem of helping Namibia reach Vision 2030. The professional training of new librarians at the university also emphasized these goals.

At the same time, the diversity of people in Namibia allowed for different people to be attracted to different institutional models. As Beckert explains, “actors with distinctly different backgrounds feel attracted to different institutional models, and the attraction of institutional models differs among actors despite overarching similarities in the situations they confront” (pg. 157). Administrators for the libraries adopted different notions of the library because of their backgrounds. White administrators and librarians might be more likely
to expect the *historical notion* of the library because that is what they grew up with. They might also see reading as a way to help the country develop and meet the goals in Vision 2030. Administrators who have trained in other countries, on the other hand, may prefer the *UPLM notion*.

Beckert also mentions the importance of the other organizations in the field creating a consistency around one idea. This relates to the dimensions of the field as depicted by Scott (2006), in a way. The fact that the organizational field was not strongly aligned allowed for different notions of the library. At the same time, some of the organizations in the field, particularly the schools, supported different organizational structures. The schools had fees associated with them and this strengthened the idea that the library should have a membership fee, despite the fact that both of these ideas are not supported by international ideas.

8.2.1.3. **Summary**

I observed three notions of public libraries in Namibia. Theoretically, this divergence of organizational structures can be explained by loose coupling, coercion and attraction. Loose coupling between an external model of a public library and the local instantiations happen for two reasons. 1) The international model has many facets, not all of which can be affordably realized in Namibia. 2) Ritualized attempts at conformity are made through studies of the library services, even though recommendations are not implemented.

Coercion in the form of informal pressure to conform to the UPLM notion of the library happens mostly through external funding of the library. This
funding is enough to have brought in this notion of the library and to get many administrators to commit to it. It is not enough to overcome the alternative coercion in the form of commitment to local notions of the library. The charity and historical notions of the public library were too strongly embedded to be forced out by the new notion.

Attraction had a similar effect. Although some administrators were attracted to the idea of the public library in the UPLM notion helping with Namibia’s Vision 2030, other administrators from different backgrounds did not see the attraction. They remained committed to their historical notions of the library, and this commitment was further strengthened by a similar commitment (or inertia) in other organizations in the field, such as the schools.

8.3. Discussion:

This discussion, as indicated above, will cover the following topics: 1) power and the power relationships in the study and the theory; 2) considerations of the impacts of funding on the libraries; and 3) democracy and libraries.

8.3.1. Power Relationships
My chosen methodology, ECM, has as part of its method that the researcher try to understand the power relationships behind the situation they are observing. The idea is to see and expose resistance. Burawoy (1993) uses Jürgen Habermas’s idea of the lifeworld versus the system world to discuss how one might see this resistance. Before I started my study, I thought this might be useful to help me understand how the lifeworld, the time within the family
where people spoke in their native tongue, would be different from the system world, where people spoke in English and engaged with the issues I mentioned above. Of course, because I did not speak the native language, nor through my interpreters could I get close enough to people to discuss their lifeworld thoroughly, this type of understanding remained elusive. Therefore, as far as I could see, rather than people being resistant to the system, they embraced it through the library. The library was a means of opening the door into the system world for them. For example, some read to improve their English so that they would be more comfortable in the system world.

Bourdieu (1986) might discuss this in terms of cultural capital. The library, under Apartheid, was clearly a place of cultural capital. To read the books in the library (which were mostly fiction materials in the three colonial languages, German, Afrikaans, and English) was to embed oneself in the dominant culture. Because the color of one’s skin would be more obvious than the amount one had read, I am not sure how much good it would have done to be a well-read person under Apartheid. Now that Apartheid has been lifted, education is the understood way to gain cultural capital, and the library supports that. People use the library to increase their cultural capital and their ability to get a job. Habermas, with his notion of the lifeworld and system world (as represented by Burawoy, 1991), and Bourdieu (1986), with his notion of cultural capital, both give some indication of the meaning of the library in people’s lives. The library, it seemed, gave access to the system world and to cultural capital, thus helping people with life success.
Unfortunately, as I observed and heard in one conversation with unemployed youth in the neighborhood, education is not enough for life success. Tribal affiliations and similar nepotism may also have an impact on one’s ability to get a job. This suggests that the library and the education system could be a false hope to cultural capital. The idea that education will lead to a successful life is incredibly strong despite the counter-reality many experience. It is also definitely part of the development story. As such, it is part of the global culture mentioned in World Society Theory. The question then becomes how does power (and resistance) work in World Society Theory?

While I was in the midst of this dissertation, Meyer (2010) wrote a new article titled *World Society, Institutional Theories, and the Actor*, that speaks a little more to the issues of power in World Society Theory. This article discusses the notion of the Rational *Other* as the all-powerful person who decides how a situation should be. “At the very top are those schooled professionals who most stand as Others, reflecting universal truths of rationality, law, and science, and who least bring their agentic powers to the service of local interests, including their own” (Meyer, 2010, pg. 10). This rational, scientific *Other* is an outsider who through a rational, scientific approach, has determined the best way to have a library. Ironically, one could say that I came to get my Ph.D. in order to be this Rational *Other* spreading the right way to create and build libraries in Africa. Frank and Meyer (2007), in their article on the university,

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18 Meyer actually labels this person *Other* in his paper, but I added the title Rational to make more clear the idea of this person and their strength.
show that the scientific process has set up the idea that there can be a universal way of doing something, and universal answers to problems. Thus, scientific enquiry at a university can find the universal, best way of running a library or a hospital or a school.

In partial support of this idea, I found that many reports have been written on the libraries in Namibia. Outsiders from South Africa and Finland, often University professors, came to Namibia to study the library situation and make recommendations. One participant mentioned that the reports were done regularly, but action on the recommendations of the reports was not done. He felt that the reports generally said the same thing: the libraries need bigger budgets, more staff and better-trained staff. Getting another report written was easy; getting the recommendations of the report put into place was not easy. In this way, the reports both support and go against the idea of the Rational Other as powerful. The Rational Other came in, wrote reports, and left. The reports were held up to everyone as truth, but were not acted on.

As an aside, the Rational Others in librarianship seems to have based their “truth” less on scientific study, as Buschman (2008) pointed out about democracy and the library, and more on a desire of what the library should be. The UPLM, Ranganathan’s laws, and other screeds on libraries seem to be more about what the writer wants the library to be and less about what has been proven that the library is. I do not know if this is true in other fields. I mention it here, because I think it gives an interesting opportunity to explore how rational and scientific the Rational Other is. Are the universal truths taught in
the university, in fact, proven universal truths (through rational, scientific processes) or are they just taken-for-granted ideas of what the truth should be? World Society Theory does not suggest that the Rational Other is actually giving rational, scientific advice, but that they have the appearance of doing so.

The library administrators, in my case libraries in Namibia, do listen to these Rational Others, even if they cannot always fulfill the ideas expressed in the reports. As discussed in chapter 6, the library administration knows what the library should look like (from UPLM and other sources), and they know (from the reports) that they need more money to make their libraries fulfill these promises. This means that the libraries seek outside funding sources as well as internal funding sources. The power thus becomes mixed between the power of the ideas of the library and the power of the money givers (external funders). Meyer and colleagues (1993) present an argument against the idea of a power relationship between the funders and recipients in their study of education in Botswana. They note that “this pervasive external influence would be described as domination or hegemony,” (pg. 467) but then state, “If hegemony is involved, it is at a much more general level in rationalistic principles of society and state, and in the meaning of individual citizenship” (pg. 467). Their argument is, therefore, that the external help in creating and funding the organization is not where the power dynamics happen. Rather, the hegemony is built into the global culture with its deep roots in European Enlightenment and the production of the Rational Other.
Certainly, the same seems to be true for Namibia’s libraries. Also, both Botswana and Namibia have vision statements written by the government that demand education systems that follow global culture, Vision 2030 (Namibia) and Vision 2016 (Botswana). These visions describe a desire to make their countries knowledge societies with an economy built on knowledge and information, and thus leaping from their current agriculture-based economies over the industrial economies and into the knowledge economy. For Namibia, this vision has helped them secure large amounts of funding from other countries, including the USA through the Millennium Challenge Corporation (see chapter 7). The push and pull of such funding is still fuzzy to me. Does Namibia want to be a knowledge society because it will get funding? The trend for having such visions is so great (seemingly every African country has one), that some process must be at work.

At the same time, other funding with very different strings is now becoming available, mostly from China. The Chinese influence is clear in Namibia. Chinese construction firms are building government buildings; Chinese shops are everywhere selling Chinese exports at affordable prices; and government officials’ children are attending Chinese universities (LaFraniere, 2009). Thus, to some extent, we will see just how strong the current global culture is.

My sense is that the Chinese influence may settle some of these questions of power. Unfortunately, the Chinese were not involved in the libraries, and so my understanding of their influence was very superficial. I
could see their signs and their shops, but had no way of understanding their agreements with the government or their plans. I have two hypotheses, however, for the future in terms of World Society Theory and power, as shown by the Chinese influence. 1) World Society Theory as currently understood is correct. The rise in power of the Chinese will mean that the global culture will probably take on more ideas from the Chinese, but the underlying premise of the scientific and rational understanding of the world through university education and culture will remain in effect. The Rational Others may therefore come from China more often than they currently do, but their role and their influence will be much the same. China will slowly become a democracy, like other countries, as will other currently “rogue” nations (e.g. North Korea, Iran, Cuba) as they too settle into the global culture. 2) The global culture, which World Society Theory sees being spread and influencing structures and organizations, is in actuality being spread through the power of the United States and Western Europe (which is why it reflects so strongly their notions of life). As the power of these countries lessens in the world, so will the influence of their worldview. As the money from China grows in various countries, so will China’s influence, and the countries will find less need to adopt Western ideas of the Enlightenment, rational, and scientific thought. Thus, the global culture will either cease to exist or shift dramatically, and its premises will change.

Time and future studies will help to determine which of these hypotheses is correct.
8.3.2. Libraries without External Funding
One of my findings was that the external funding to the libraries impacted the libraries, and in particular, was one of the ways that the external ideas of the library entered Namibia. Therefore, it is interesting to speculate what the libraries would have been like without this external funding. This thought game allows me to think about what aspects of the libraries are locally generated. The locally generated ideas may still be influenced by global or external ideas, but they are only culturally influenced, not economically. World Society Theory is about the cultural diffusion of an organization, and thus, this speculation can focus on that. To indulge this speculation, I first summarize the external funding sources and then the information I have on local demand for libraries.

8.3.2.1. External Funding and its influences

The external funders of the libraries included BookAid International (Britain), the City of Vantaa (Finland), CISP (Italy), MCC (USA), the US and Finnish Embassies, Cuba, Microsoft, and Gates Foundation. (Although the latter did not actually give any money, the application to them for money influenced the service provided by the library.) The Gates Foundation had the most obvious, direct influence on library services, in fact. I witnessed in a meeting a discussion of Internet provision, and the conclusion was that the Internet in the Greenwell Matongo Public Library must be delivered freely to everyone in the community in order to qualify for a particular award from the Gates Foundation.
This was a change in service, as previously one had to be a member of the library to use the Internet (at a cost of $6.00 per year).

Another example of external funding influence on the libraries was the influence of the City of Vantaa on the Greenwell Matongo Community Library. Librarians from Finland visited the library every year and encouraged particular relationships between the library and organizations in the community when they came. They helped establish relations with the local schools and new businesses, even informal businesses in the neighborhood. This was part of their vision for the library as an information provider and a provider of access to technological tools, such as spreadsheets. The librarians tried to adopt these notions and keep them going between visits.

BookAid International supplied most of the books in the library collections. The books they supplied were in English and mostly published in Britain. Books in Afrikaans and from South Africa were also prevalent in the libraries, and seemed to make up most of the purchased material. I was intrigued by the lack of local language material, such as books in Oshiwambo. The Finnish made an effort to purchase some of these books for Greenwell Matongo Community Library. Administrators often remarked on the importance of having local language material in the library, but the collections were small, and some languages were not represented. I may be implying that if BookAid International had not been supplying books in English, more books would have been purchased locally, but I’m not sure that’s the case. It may have been that a greater percentage of the books in the library would have been local or
regional. It seemed, however, that there was another reason for the lack of books in local languages, but I could never figure out what that was.

8.3.2.2. Local influences on the library

In chapter 6, I explored at length the historical influences on the library structure. In this section, I want to briefly discuss some of the direct local influences on the library that I observed, as counter examples to the international influences on the library.

The Greenwell Matongo Community Library came into existence because people in the community asked for it. During the building and the expansion of the library, the local community had some influence over the library. Each time, the community asked for more study space, and particularly dedicated study space. The community also asked for more computers. This idea of a space to study was quite strong, as I have mentioned repeatedly. I believe even if the City of Vantaa had not helped to fund the library, the community center would have included study space.

The great success of the computers in the Greenwell Matongo Community Library was used as a lobbying tool to get the money for a remodel of the Windhoek Public Library building. The remodel was intended to provide for computers and the right electrical provision for them. Unfortunately, the remodel was not finished during the time I was there, or even when I came back for a visit a year later.

The library administrators were also using ETSIP (Education and Training Sector Improvement Programme) money to put computers in all of the libraries
in the country. Most would have only a few computers from this project, but more than would otherwise be possible. The placing of computers in libraries, particularly as tools for information, was clearly a priority within the administration of the libraries. They found ways to fund it, some of which were from outside funders (MCC, CISP, City of Vantaa), but some were from internal sources.

Local influences on the library were most noticeable in making the library a better place to study and a place with computers. The local community demand for study space and use of the computers in Greenwell Matongo helped establish these as goals for libraries in other parts of the country. As I mentioned previously, studying more of the libraries in the country, particularly the newer libraries would show whether this trend extends beyond Windhoek.

8.3.3. Libraries and Democracy
I had hopes that this study would be able to answer some of the questions about the role of the public library in creating or maintaining democratic countries as raised by Buschman (2007). Democracy when applied to public libraries is often discussed in two ways. 1) The library is a social equalizer, allowing all citizens access to the same information (Kranich, 2001). 2) The library grants access to government materials and ideas in such a way that people can make their own decisions about government policy and vote accordingly.

I hesitate to make any strong conclusions on either of these points from my data. To prove that the library is working in either of these ways would
require a different theoretical framework and more careful observation. Having said that, I will say that the data suggest that the libraries in Katutura are helping more people have access to information. In Windhoek more of the libraries are in poor neighborhoods than wealthy ones, giving the role of social equalizer some support. In the rest of Namibia, however, the Northern part of the country still has fewer libraries, and fewer libraries per person than in the central and Southern regions.

In terms of the second democratizing influence of the library, many people were seen reading the newspapers in the case libraries. In a few interviews, people mentioned that they read the newspaper and the opinions in the newspaper as a way to think about how the government is doing. Some of them expressed a desire to given their opinion of how the government was doing, as well. This tentatively suggests that the libraries are providing material that allows people to develop their political opinions. More government documents could be made available in the library in a more systematic way, however.

8.3.4. Conclusion
My study of the libraries in Namibia gave me insight into the global diffusion of public libraries around the world. I indirectly answered my question about why libraries in Africa follow external traditions and not the local oral cultures. People in the countries clearly see the library as a way to change their life and improve their chances of life success through education. For this to work for them, the library must have access to external information sources, particularly
ones written in English. I will be interested to see how the libraries in Namibia continue to develop and whether over the next decades the libraries become more or less like the UPLM ideal of library service as it encompasses information provision, educational support and recreational reading. If the libraries do succeed in being sources of information, particularly around government information, they may indeed be one of the organizations supporting democracy in Namibia.
Appendices and Bibliography

Appendix 1: Conversation between Swati and Me

swati.skypecalcutta:
16:31:13 how come you bumped on Apartheid?

Sarah:
16:31:23 Well, it still has a major impact here

Sarah:
16:31:34 and particularly in Katutura, which exists because of Apartheid laws.

Sarah:
16:31:57 the inequality in Namibia is extreme (the highest income inequality in the world)

swati.skypecalcutta:
16:32:28 so?

Sarah:
16:32:55 Apartheid is a method to create income inequality

Sarah:
16:33:06 and even though the laws are gone, the income inequality remains

Sarah:
16:33:18 I think there is something here that I need to understand.

Sarah:
16:33:33 But also interestingly, the wealthier neighborhoods, do not have libraries

Sarah:
16:33:37 in Windhoek.

swati.skypecalcutta:
16:33:51 I see
Appendix 2: Example of Field Notes

11:15 Library still full. Monopoly players are here. Many young boys in reading area. People studying and using computers. Doesn’t seem different from weekdays.

Not many adults or different activities. Two girls are hoping to secure a tax but they haven’t yet. Some of the younger boys come to watch the monopoly game. Perhaps a few different players. They are talking in English.

Girls come in to use computers. Boy watches a movie sometimes. Some talk at computers.

I bring a laptop. They check it. An older man comes in. He wants to use the PC and to have something typed. He expects to be served. He says, you can make me this copy, he says, self-service, but there’s a lot to do. He says you can make this copy.
Appendix 3: Towns with Libraries 1922-1950

Map 8.1: Map of towns with libraries, 1922-1950
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Years Data Available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gobabis</td>
<td>1922 1926 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lüderitz</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okahandja</td>
<td>1922 1926 1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keetmanshoop</td>
<td>1922 1929 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
<td>1922 1926 1929 1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karibib</td>
<td>1922 1926 1935 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walvis Bay</td>
<td>1922 1926 1935 1938 1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windhoek</td>
<td>1926 1929 1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grootfontein</td>
<td>1926 1929 1935 1938 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outjo</td>
<td>1926 1929 1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaruru</td>
<td>1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otjiwarongo</td>
<td>1935 1938 1942 1950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1: Libraries reporting to the Government from 1922 – 1950
Appendix 4: Towns with Libraries 1963

Map 8.2: Map of towns with libraries, 1963
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gobabis</td>
<td>Otavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grootfontein</td>
<td>Otjiwarango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamanjab</td>
<td>Outjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karasburg</td>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lüderitz</td>
<td>Walvis Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariental</td>
<td>Welwitschia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okahandja</td>
<td>Windhoek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8.2: List of Public Libraries in 1962 Report*
Appendix 5: Towns with Libraries 1982

Map 8.3: Map of towns with libraries, 1982
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Public Library</th>
<th>Hours</th>
<th>Staff Size</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
<th>Periodicals and Newspapers</th>
<th>Year Established</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windhoek</td>
<td>M-F 9-18; Sa 9-12</td>
<td>3 qual.; 6 unqual.</td>
<td>62832</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1924</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamanjab</td>
<td>M 16-17; Th 16-18; F 10-12</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>2512</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsumeb</td>
<td>M-F 9-18</td>
<td>2 ft unqual. staff</td>
<td>5126</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
<td>M-Th 9-12 &amp; 15-19; F 9-12</td>
<td>1 ft 3 pt unqual.</td>
<td>17899</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outjo</td>
<td>M-F 10-12 &amp; 16-18</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>8437</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otjiwarongo</td>
<td>M-F 9-12:30 &amp; 15-18</td>
<td>1 ft unqual.</td>
<td>14299</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otavi</td>
<td>M 17-19; F 9-12</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>3161</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaruru</td>
<td>M &amp; W 15:30-18; F 12-13 &amp; 15-18</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>5584</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okahandja</td>
<td>M &amp; Th 9-12 &amp; 16-19; F 9-12</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>6311</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariental</td>
<td>M-F 10-12 &amp; 16-18</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>7565</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lüderitz</td>
<td>M 16-19; T-Th 16-18</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>Opening Hours</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Cycles per Week</td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Cycles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keetmanshoop</td>
<td>M-F 10-18; Sa 10-12</td>
<td>1 ft qual.; 1 ft unqual.</td>
<td>10242</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karasburg</td>
<td>MWF 16-18</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grootfontein</td>
<td>M-Th 16-19; F 9:30-11:30 &amp; 16-19</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>9169</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gobabis</td>
<td>MWTH 16:30-18; Sa 10-11:30</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>5015</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranos</td>
<td>MW 16-18; F 9-12 &amp; 15-17</td>
<td>1 pt. unqual.</td>
<td>2506</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.3: Survey report data for public libraries in 1982 (see section 6.1.5)

Map 8.4: Map of towns with libraries, 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karasburg</th>
<th>Gobabis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keetmanshoop</td>
<td>Okahandja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethanie</td>
<td>Otjiwarongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luderitz</td>
<td>Otavi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koes</td>
<td>Grootfontein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosh Pinah</td>
<td>Tsumeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oranjemund</td>
<td>Outjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aranos</td>
<td>Ondangwa*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariental</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maltahöhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehoboth*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windhoek (3)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swakopmund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usakos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaruru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Libraries marked with a star denote ones that were built for non-Whites.

Windhoek had two libraries in Katutura at this time; Rehoboth is a Coloured community; and Ondangwa had a church library for its Black population.
## Appendix 7: Towns with Libraries, 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>143</td>
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<td>498</td>
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<td>1355</td>
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<td>Keetmanshoop</td>
<td>1165</td>
<td>1073</td>
<td>3536</td>
<td>3442</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Koës</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>758</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lüderitz</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1524</td>
<td>1812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosh Pinah</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>569</td>
<td>498</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hardap</td>
<td>Aranos</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gibeon</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>349</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gochas</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>618</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maltahöhe</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>393</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mariental</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2124</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehoboth</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>1424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erongo</td>
<td>Henties Bay</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>1019</td>
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<td>No Stats</td>
<td>No Stats</td>
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<td>Swakopmund</td>
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<td>928</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Usakos</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>766</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khomas</td>
<td>Katutura Children's</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No stats</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>No Stats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Windhoek</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>3362</td>
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<td>10062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaheke</td>
<td>Gobabis</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>1049</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leonardville</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otjozondjupi</td>
<td>Grootfontein</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>1047</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Okahandja</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>2036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Otjiwarongo</td>
<td>1054</td>
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*Table 8.4: Public Library Membership and Circulation figures 1998, 1999*
Map 8.5: Public Library Distribution, 1999
Appendix 8: Towns with Libraries 2009

Map 8.6: Towns with Libraries in 2009
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**Table 8.5 Towns with Libraries in 2009 by region**
Appendix 9: In Defense of Free Speech: SMSs in the Namibian 03

February 2009

The following are a few of the SMS messages that appeared in The Namibian newspaper after a call-in radio program was cancelled because some government officials felt that the speech on the program was insulting and inappropriate. These were copied from The Namibian’s web site (http://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=28&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=52060&no_cache=1) on August 8, 2011.

Democracy Rules

* THE Namibian can’t be blamed for giving a platform to the voiceless to express themselves. The Government should bring its side and start serving the nation. The Elders should advise the Government of its duties and responsibilities towards the citizens and the country and if they are unquestionable let them set the record straight.

* CAN Mr Kanana (Hishoono) please leave democracy alone. Please state what insults you are referring to?

* OUR politicians are not able to distinguish between insults and criticism. Any disagreement is seen as an insult. Shame on such juvenile behaviour.

* CAN Tatekulu Kanana Hishoono of Swapo Party Elders Council also pronounce (on) and condemn the insulting and provocations from his own party which are – “traitors, Hidipo Hamutenya’s dogs, cut their tails”, etc.

* SWAPO elders, ministers and others who complain that radio talk shows, SMSes and letters in newspapers are used to insult certain people have it wrong. Pointing out mistakes is not insulting. Mentioning corruption, poor leadership, wrong and ill-timed decisions, incompetence, do not make people anti-Swapo or anti-government, only anti-corruption and anti-general-inefficiency. These are the only means by which we can make our voices heard, something not done by the politicians – is this criticism now an insult and anti-government?

* WE are no longer living in the stone age, Mr Hishoono. We voted for democracy. Please check your dictionary. Viva to The Namibian.
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the Public Libraries of Cleveland, East Cleveland and Lakewood, and by
the Library School of W.R.U.). Cleveland, Ohio.
Angeles, Calif.: Sage Publications.
Vita

Sarah M. Webb

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Instructor, Syracuse University 6/2007-12/2007 and 2010
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• Co-Taught Collection Development and Access (IST635)
• Taught Information Organization and Access (IST616)
• Taught Information Presentation and Reporting (IST444)


Publications and Presentations:
